# DEVELOPING AND REHABILITATING SOCIAL HOUSING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INSTITUTIONAL MODEL: STRUCTURE OF PROVISION

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Abstract: Social housing development may involve the provision of new dwellings or the refurbishment/rehabilitation of existing buildings. The term social housing means housing provided and managed by local authorities as well as by housing associations and other organisations regulated by government. Institutional model is a model of the development process which can elaborate the interaction between structure and an agency's interests in the fabric of society. Structure of provision is one of the methodologies used in the institutional analysis. Detailed processes in initiating the development, preparing detailed designs, and constructing the development are the stages of the traditional process of social housing development and rehabilitation. This paper seeks to understand the significance of the structure of provision model in the process of social housing development in the United Kingdom (UK). In addition, the events of social housing development will also be mapped in order to understand the processes involves in social housing development and the interaction of agents. Finally, this paper will examine the main institutions and their roles in the development of social housing in the UK.

**Keywords:** Social housing, development process, institutional models, structure of provision

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The social housing industry is vast and still growing. There are very few countries in the world where some form of subsidised housing does not exist, and the total volume of social housing is likely to grow worldwide, as there are challenges within the sector (Reeves, 2005). Some countries do believe that the elements of social housing already existed with different names, context, strategies, governance and procedures for implementation (Sulaiman et al., 2005a). In terms of the theory of development process, a new institutionalism has grown rapidly since 1985 and has produced an extensive literature (Lowe, 2004). Healey (1990) proposed an approach known as institutional model of development process as an attempt to establish a link between structure and agency empirically through relating the construction of roles, and the strategies and interest of agencies, to the material resources, institutional rules and organising ideas. This approach has been disputed by many housing scholars who cited that it is not relevant for certain social phenomenon (Hooper, 1992; Ball, 1998). Ball (1998) has surveyed approaches to study of institutions and revealed that instead of a structure and agency approach, institutional analysis can be approached from mainstream economics, power, and structure of provision. Ball (1986) has proposed a structure of housing provision model and has suggested that structure of provision model is most applicable to other forms of building provision as well (in Ball, 1998). The aim of this paper is to understand the concept of social housing development in the UK through the reviews of development process models. This paper will emphasise specifically the structure of provision approach and its relationship to social housing

development in the UK. In order to respect the principal aim of the paper, it also adopts an event sequence approach to clarify and identify the sequence and social agent's roles in the development of social housing in the UK.

### 2. SOCIAL HOUSING IN GENERAL

In the UK, the basic objective of housing policies are reflected in the phrase "a decent home for every family at a price within their means" (Stephen et.al, 2005). By 2010, government's aim is to bring all social housing into decent condition with most of the improvement taking place in deprived areas, and also to increase the proportion of private housing in decent condition occupied by vulnerable groups (ODPM, 2004). In the UK, social housing can embrace public housing (often called 'council housing') and also the dwellings of housing associations (Whitehead, 1994; Perry, 1995; Best, 1996; Herriot and Matthew, 2004). According to ODPM (2003) presently the social rented sector in UK comprises council rented housing managed by local authorities (approximately 5 million dwellings) and social rented housing managed by housing associations (approximately 635,000 dwellings). Traditionally, the social sector has housed a wide range of households, including the skilled and semi skilled, as well as households in priority need - those accepted as homeless and having one or further characteristics such as dependent children, expectant mother, elderly or otherwise vulnerable (Monk, 2004). Sulaiman et al. (2005b) summarised the characteristics of social housing in the UK as in Table 1 below.

CHARACTERISTICS	Social Housing in United Kingdom  COMPONENT OF PROVISION
Development Driven	Do not exist to make profit
Provider	Local authorities, Housing Association (non-profit society, body of trustees, or company established to develop and manage housing)
Stock of Housing	Regional Housing Boards (RHBs) advise on investment priorities for housing in each region through the development of Regional Housing Strategies (RHS)
Ability to pay	Ability to pay is not criterion
Financial for Housing Provider	Own resources (mainly rental income and receipts from dwellings sales) and partly from support provided by central government (ODPM). Regional Housing Pot through Regional Housing Board (RHB) will be allocated to LAs(the Housing Investment Program (HIP)) and HAs (the Approved Development Programme, the Starter Home Initiative and the Challenge Fund managed by Housing Corporation)
Financial Support to the renters	Qualified households may obtain housing benefit which pays some or all of the property's rental costs
Housing needs	Housing to be developed is either for general family needs or specialised for certain types of household.
Allocation or letting policies	The selection of households depend on allocating and letting policies by housing organisation
Subsidies for housing provider	Capital Subsidy (for LA's and HA's) and Revenue Subsidy (for LA's only)
Subsidies for households	Capital Subsidies, or ownership (Right to Buy, Right to Acquire, Homebuy, Cash Incentive Scheme; Do It Yourself Shared Ownership (DISYO), and Conventional Shared Ownership) Revenue Subsidy, for Renters (Housing Benefit) and for Mortgagors (Mortgage Benefit – Income Support)

Source: Adapted from Sulaiman et.al (2005b)

Social housing units will continue to be given to people in the greatest housing need and for whom suitable private sector housing is not an affordable option (DETR, 2000). In general, only those households considered to be in housing need will be offered a social housing dwelling, which may, or may not meet with their desire or aspirations (Harriot and Matthews, 2004). Local authorities and registered social landlords currently allocate housing to people on their housing registers in accordance with their assessment of people's needs. Potential applicants who may need to be considered for social housing allocation are slum clearance applicants, homeless applicants, refugees and asylum seekers, transfer applicants, applicants who are sick and disabled, applicants with social reasons for moving, mortgage repossessions applicants, National Mobility Scheme applicants, waiting list applicants and keyworkers (Harriot and Matthews, 2004). Instead of just households housing needs, local authorities need to draw up a strategy or needs assessment for the identification of future housing supply needs in their local authority area. Most needs fall within one of three categories: *need for work on the existing housing stock*, *need for more dwellings* and *need for care and support* (ODPM, 2005).

### 3. OVERVIEW OF THE MODEL OF A DEVELOPMENT ROCESS

Development as a process involves the dynamic and complex interaction of land, labour and capital (Adams *et.al*, 1998). In general, the development might be taken either to modify the existing building through refurbishment, redevelopment or new development (Harvey, 2003). The development process, as the response to such changes may itself be dynamic, one development generating others elsewhere. In the UK, by the mid 1980s, the policy shift emphasised the role of the private sector in property development and reflected a rapid growth in the study of the development process (for review see Healey and Barrett, 1991; Gore and Nicholson, 1991; Healey, 1991; Healey, 1992; Ball, 1983; Ball and Harloe, 1992; and Ball, 1998). This has been directed from a variety of perspectives, and the models of the development process produced later. Five different approaches to this conceptualisation have been identified:

- 1. *Equilibrium model*, which assumes that development activity is structured by economic signals about effective demand, as reflected in rents, yields, etc. In the real estate adage, *at the right place*, *the right time and the right place*.
- 2. Event-sequence model, which focuses on the management of stages in the development process. These derive primarily from an estate management preoccupation with managing the development process.
- 3. *Agency model*, which focuses on actors in the development process and their relationships. These have been developed primarily by academics seeking to describe the development process from a behavioural or institutional point of view.
- 4. *Structure model*, which focuses on the forces which organise the relationship of the development process and which drive it dynamically. These are grounded in urban political economy.
- 5. *Institutional model*, which focuses on the land development process, is viewed as not only the physical process of creating and transferring buildings to occupiers but also as a social process dominated by economic interests involved. Interaction between structures and agencies are merged in this model.

As mentioned earlier, Ball (1998) revealed that instead of a structure and agency approach, institutional analysis can be approached from mainstream economics, power, and structure of provision. However, this paper only refers to the structure of provision model to be discussed. This approach has been chosen for the purpose of identifying social agents, their economic interest and how they interact in the structure of housing provision. Very simply, a housing provision approach is a social construct, and that

there are combinations of social agents involved in housing provision that relate to each other in empirically observable ways (Ball and Harloe, 1992). Any narrowly conceived examination of the agents and social relationships implicated in housing provision and its development only leads to some equally narrow and misleading answers to the 'when, how and why' questions in the production of theories of housing development (Harloe, 1995). Initially, Ball (1983) came out with argument that on understanding of social aspects of housing provision are necessary to comprehend the social relations of housing provision. The core of his work is that production and consumption of building are not only the physical process of creating and transferring such artifacts to their occupiers, but are also a social process dominated by the economic interests involved (Gore and Nicholson, 1991). This model appeared when it was believed that a consumption oriented approach neglected the social relations involved in provision. Thus, in terms of residential property "a structure of housing provision describes a historically given process of providing and reproducing the physical entity, housing; focusing on the social agents essential to the process and the relations between them" (Ball, 1986). This model emphasised that;

- 1. A social relation is part of a structure of provision. This offers a criterion by which to include or exclude social relations from a structure of provision.
- 2. Failure to understand the inner workings of a structure of provision can lead to faulty analysis about what causes particular problems in housing phenomenon.
- 3. Without considering social relations in housing provision, major issues in the housing sphere (consumption, exchange and production) will be denying their actual factors (class struggle and social conflict in the nature of housing provision-internal dynamic).
- 4. The internal and external division of factors creating change, but should not be regarded in stylised ways.
- 5. Actual inter-connections within the actors are likely to be complex; some of it might not have direct commonality of interest between struggles.
- 6. Any alliance between social groups in the structure generated their link over areas of mutual interest.
- 7. It is necessary to be quite precise about which social agents are actually involved in a particular form of housing provision.
- 8. Physical factors, obviously influence the nature of provision such as locationally specific land is required.
- 9. Finance in the form of money capital or credit, can intervene at various points in the structure of provision and most likely affect all the actors involved.
- 10. If the state agencies and capitalist agencies are necessary part of the structures of provision they must be included. This is applicable even to the housing which developed by local authorities.
- 11. The state intervenes into all structures of housing provision in one way or another from setting of legislation (building regulation, planning control, and employment legislation), policy framework (taxes and subsidies-*capital* or *revenue*), and political of landownership to outright ownership of stock and control over all aspects of provision which can effect the structure of provision as a whole.
- 12. There might be some pressure from particular reactions from politician and government administrations.

Ball and Harloe (1992) added that we should not ignore the institutional and other structures within which it takes place nor should we forget the social agencies engaged in such structures. In fact, it involves the whole physical process of creating and transferring a dwelling to its occupiers, its subsequent use and physical reproduction and at the same time, a social process dominated by the economic interests involved. In relation to that, *structuration* theory developed by the British social theorist Anthony Giddens made Ball and Harloe's argument stronger. Giddens revealed that structures are not something external to social actors but are rules and resources produced which are reproduced by actors in their practices (Dictionary of Sociology, 1998). Structure shapes people's practices, but these practices constitute and reproduce social systems in a society. The word society means "a group of people who share a common culture, occupy a particular territorial area, and feel themselves to constitute a unified and distinct entity" (Dictionary of Sociology, 1998). Giddens argued that structure and agency cannot be conceived apart from each other. Structures are neither independent of actors nor determining of their behaviour. Rather, they are a set rules and competencies on which actors draw and which, in the aggregate, they tend to reproduce over time (Sulaiman et al., 2005a). Lowe (2004) also summarised his idea about the definition of the whole institution and refers to a "wide range organisation, social groups and settings and value systems, encompassing relationship within and between agencies (government department, central-local relations), election and voters, political parties, the structure and organisation of key economic groups (such as trade unions) as well as social structures (social class) and social norms and values".

### 4. SOCIAL HOUSING DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Ratcliffe *et.al* (2004) agreed that a structure of provision model in the development of real estate may be seen as a set of interrelated processes and not merely a single sequential process. It can be seen through the Figure 1. In a way to identify the stages of social housing development process, this paper essentially adopts an *event sequence* approach as well. It should also be appreciated that there are many number of ways in which the development process can be described as a sequence of events or series of stages from the start to the finish of the project. There might be slight variation but according to Harriot and Matthews (2004) there are three main stages in the processes of social housing development as follows;

Stage 1: Initiating the Development. This stage includes all of activities which need to be undertaken before there is a firm decision to go ahead with the project. This involves the concern about the type of development needed, sustainability of assessment, planning consent, feasibility study, and site acquisition.

Stage 2: Detailed Design. This includes all of the activities which contribute to the final detailed plans for the project, generally produced by the consultant and guided by a briefing from the client. This stage will determine whether the organisation achieves the sort of new development or refurbishment that it requires, because the outcome is the final design, which will be constructed.

### STAGE 1: INITIATING THE DEVELOPMENT STAGE

### 1. Type of Development Needed

 Clear ideas about sort of housing needs through LA's housing strategy and HA's housing data.
 Identifying the proportions and ratio of units to be built

### 2. Identifying Suitable land

- Finding a site, collecting information about site
- Initial site appraisal. Assessment of potential site through Housing Quality Indicator (HQI) system to evaluate housing scheme

### 3. Accessing the Sustainability of the Development

- Meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.
- Assessment should consider 9 key factors contributing to the housing sustainability following the European Institute of Urban Affairs (EIUA) requirements:
  - Demand
  - Reputation
  - Crime and anti social behaviour
  - Social exclusion and poverty
  - Employment accessibility
  - Community quality and green environment
  - Quality, layout and design of housing
  - Community cohesion
  - Mix of comunity.

### 4. Planning Consent

 Check and obtain approval from the planning officer of the local planning authority. Two usual stages required are outline planning application & detailed planning permission.

### 5. Feasibility Study

- Prepared by consultant after all elements in the initial site appraisal are acceptable. Two stages are involved.
  - Selecting and appoint a consultant
- Undertaking feasibility study
   Project will consider feasibility depending on the estimated cost, the rent levels to cover scheme cost and

the result of risk assessment

### 6. Site Acquisition

- Agreeing the price. It is required only when the housing organization does not already own the site. Price should be agreed by housing organisation and validated by local authority/independent valuer.
- Purchasing the site. Client's solicitors must ensure the title and ownership of the land. If it is leasehold, minimum lease expiry terms need to be known.

### STAGE 2: DETAILED DESIGN

#### 1. Determine the Detailed Design Requirements

- Design should fulfil two key human requirements:
  - Functional (adequate shelter, comfort and security for inhabitants)
  - Symbolic and aesthetic (type, style and locality- physical expression-status, a sense of worth and success, 'respectability' and accessibility)

#### 2. Ensuring Sustainability through Partnership

Effective partnerships can be integrated between local management initiative, tenant involvement, wide range organisation and agencies in housing sector.

### 3. Preparing the Briefing

- Document which specifies exactly what the client wants (client's requirements) to be produced by the designers. It involves and is consulted by the person who has the future responsibility for the project.
- Done in a short time period. Full brief will emerge later and used by client to evaluate the consultant's work.
- Consists of general (all aspects of design) and specific requirements (particular site or property) in the development project.

### 4. The Designs Drawing

- Needed to show the ideas for interpreting the brief (physical representation of the scheme).
- Produced in three stages. Outline drawing (should be in line, firmed-up and conform to the brief by consultant), detail drawing (more numerous and detailed, carefully to scale and needs to be submitted for detailed planning consent) and construction drawings (more drawings for different parts of the dwelling approved by Building Regulations).
- Needed by the contractor, with the main ones are location plan, site layout plan, floor plan & elevations.
- Construction specifications also need to be followed which specify the construction methods & quality of material to be used (highly detailed, technical and following the standard).

### STAGE 3: CONSTRUCTING THE DEVELOPMENT

### 1. Selecting the Contractors

Two normal approaches have been used either traditional (preparing list of contractors, capability, inviting and selecting tender) or non traditional (package deals, design and built and design and construct)

### 2. Pre contract Planning

- Should be arranged to ensure that no time is wasted. Details could be sorted out in advance.
- Pre contract meetings will help to sort out
  - Contract commencement date
  - The contract completion date
  - The programme of work
  - The role of planning supervisor
     Arrangement for informing other parties
  - Site security

### 3. Agreeing the Contract

- Contract is a written legal document to ensure that all parties are clear as to what has been agreed. Contract will set out and cover the basis of payment, the contract period and construction design details.
- Once the contract is signed, contractor can commence work on

### 4. The Progress of Construction

- Two approaches normally used. Traditional (clear the site, dig and lay, build the walls, construct the roof and fix the external joinery) and Non Traditional (involves 'kick start' project, faster, lower cost and high quality standards)
- Changes to the design and extending the contract period might be made

### 5. Monitoring Information

 Excessive numbers of expensive variation orders should not be issued. The way of monitoring includes site meetings, progress reports, site inspections and occasional inspections.

### 6. Paying the Contractor

- Usually, payment is made in stages of work progress (interim payment).
- Interim payment procedures include Interim Certificate, Retention Money and Receipt of Housing Association Grant (HAG)/Social Housing Grant (SHG)

Stage 3: Constructing the Development. This final stage is concerned with getting the project built. The client must first appoint a contractor to undertake the work, and there are several possible approaches to this. The consultant oversees the process of constructing the properties, with close supervision provided by the clerk of works. Figure 1 shows the stages of social housing development and the agent's interest likely to be involved in the project taken by a social housing client.

### 5. NATURE OF ACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Specifically, housing development process includes all activities which are necessary to achieve the construction of a new housing scheme or the refurbishment of existing dwellings (Harriot and Matthews, 2004). Generally, the provisioning of housing involves the whole physical process of creating and transferring a dwelling to its occupiers, its subsequent use and physical reproduction and at the same time, a social process dominated by the economic interests involved (Ball and Harloe, 1992). Introducing the social aspect of housing would involve the structure and agents role in the provisioning of housing. As Ball (1986) revealed, a structure of housing provision describes a historically given process of providing and reproducing the physical entity of housing, focusing on the social agents essential to that process and the relationships between them. Colton and Dunlop (1999) cited that there is wide variety of actors with competing interests in the world of housing and urban policy. Some housing scholars referred to these agents as actors for the development process. As an example, Fisher and Collins (1999) cited that housing development is undertaken by variety of actors each also distinguished by their aims, status and roles. Social agents are associated with creating and sustaining a particular set of housing conditions, costs and benefits (Ball and Harloe, 1992).

## 6. KEY AGENTS IN SOCIAL HOUSING DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Many parties are involved as agents in the development and rehabilitation process of social housing in the United Kingdom (UK). However, to seek to understand the structure of provision model, even when there are a wide variety of agents involved in the social housing development process, this paper has examined main agents and institutions involved as follows;

### 6.1 Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM)

Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) was created as a central department in May 2002 to be responsible for local and regional government, housing, planning, fire, regeneration, social exclusion and neighborhood renewal. This put the Office at the heart of the Government's ambition to create sustainable communities for all. ODPM's Communities Plan includes major investment in housing, transport and regeneration, changes in planning, design and construction and a new regional approach to tackling the different housing problems across the country (Varady, 1996). ODPM establishes national priorities and the policy framework for new investment by identifying the key

national level outcomes it is pursuing (e.g decent homes, awareness of homelessness, key workers recruited/retained).

### 6.2 Housing Corporation (HC)

Housing Corporation is a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) which oversees the registration and operation of housing associations in England. Wales has a separate body which perform the functions of the Housing Corporation known as Welsh Office and Scottish Homes has the functions of the Housing Corporation in Scotland. In Ireland the central agency for managing and producing social rented housing is the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) (Gibb et. al, 1999). The Housing Corporation has the responsibilities to pay grants, lend money, and monitor and regulate housing associations (Lomax, 1996). It invests in housing associations and protects that investment and to ensure it provides decent homes and services for residents (Housing Corporation, 2005). The board of the Housing Corporation has overall responsibility for the running of the organisation, to make sure it will meet the performance delivery targets, and provides advice to Ministers on housing issues, policy and its implementation. It will collaborate with RHBs (Regional Housing Boards) in the development of Regional Housing Strategies (RHS) by importing its knowledge and experience of regional and sub regional market/data/trends, the full range of housing needs, the practical delivery of housing investment, and the strategic projects being developed by LAs, RSLs and other bodies (ODPM,2005).

### 6.3 Regional Housing Boards (RHBs)

RHBs were established following the publication of the Sustainable Communities Plan in February 2003. The boards identify and propose housing investment priorities within regions for achieving the regional outcomes quantified by ODPM. They also gather knowledge from the Housing Corporation on local housing markets to ensure that practicable investment plans for Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) sector can be delivered through preparation of a Regional Housing Strategy (RHS). According to DETR (2000) the RHBs roles are also to identify for sub regions their relative needs in relation to national level outcomes, establish an overview of investment and other actions to address housing need in the region and propose a split of Regional Housing Pot investment (whether in demolition, new social build, low cost home ownership) by sub region and type of product that best achieves the outcomes.

### 6.4 Local Housing Authorities (LAs)

A local authority is a local administration run by elected councillors and paid officers responsible for local services including housing, planning and education. The, Housing Act 1985 requires local authorities to provide housing for certain categories of homeless people, such as families, the elderly and disabled, and pregnant women. The Green Paper: Quality and Choice: A Decent Home for All, published in 2000, set out a series of aims and objectives which laid the foundation for subsequent policy initiatives (Harriot and Matthew, 2004). Under Best Value regime local authorities need to examine critically the range and detail of their service provision, together with service standards, carefully specified and accounted for as local authorities are subject to

inspections by the Audit Commission's Housing Inspectorate. However, not all local authorities have housing responsibilities. Harriot and Matthews (2004) identify the key responsibilities of local housing authorities as:

- 1. Developing and keeping up to date a strategy for dealing with all the major housing issues both public and private, in their area;
- 2. The assessment of housing needs in the area and the development of plans to meet those needs;
- 3. The provision of rented accommodation and the management of that housing stock, including the letting of dwellings, rent collection, arrears recovery and the enforcement of tenancy conditions;
- 4. Assisting housing associations and private developers to provide housing within their area: the enabling role;
- 5. The provision of accommodation and other services to the homeless;
- 6. Exercising powers to tackle disrepair in private sector housing and in relation to houses in multiple occupation;
- 7. The administration of housing benefit for both private and public sector tenants.

### 6.5 Housing Association

A housing association is a nonprofit society, body of trustees, or company established to develop or manage housing and which receives large capital grants from central government (Whitehead, 1994). Since 1988, housing associations have been regarded as wholly private sector bodies (Lomax, 1996). They are the main providers of new social housing and technically known as Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), registered and regulated by the Housing Corporation, whose regulatory code requires them to meet the Decent Homes Standard by 2010 (ODPM, 2005). Housing associations are run as businesses but they do not trade for profit. Any surplus is ploughed back into the organisation to maintain existing homes and to help finance new ones. A large housing association might have paid staff and a committee or board of management made up of volunteers and has overall responsibility for the work of the organisation. A board might include tenants, representatives from local authorities and community groups, business people and politicians. The basis for public funding of housing associations has remained the same and is provided a capital grant toward the cost of development called Housing Association Grant (HAG)/Social Housing Grant (SHG). However, the total amount of capital grants available (the Approved Development Programme (ADP)) and the rate at which grants may be offered to associations are reviewed annually by the government.

Ball (1983) structured two example of provision taken from the contemporary British context one is shown in the Figure 2. This figure is adapted from the structure of council housing provision developed. This figure reflects the nature of the structure of housing provision which is concern with the various social agents which intervene in the physical process of provision. A social relation is part of the structure of provision if it is a component of the physical process of housing which consists of production, allocation, consumption and reproduction of housing. The important elements are the relationships between the social agents in the provision of council housing, as shown by the interaction between the arrows. The ways in which relations between two types

of agent work and deliver their interests is likely to have repercussions throughout the rest of the structure. The other feature is the considerable degree of latitude within the structure, courtesy of the vacillating relations between human agents that provide their driving force. Agents are seen as having a certain amount of discretion, albeit within the confines of structure the provision (Gore and Nicholson, 1991).

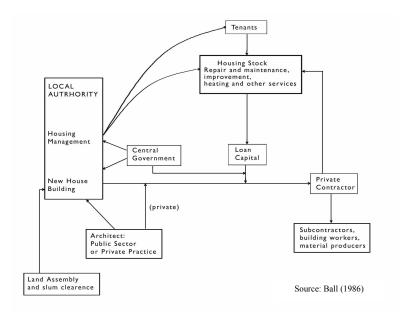


Figure 2: The structure of council housing provision.

### 7. CONCLUSION

Based on the structure and provision model, the sets of social agents are defined by their economic relationship to the physical process of provision, which includes the production, exchange, distribution and use of the built structure. This model has a series of interconnected social relations between the agents and institutions involved. It needs a legal framework to regulate such activity and the financial arrangement that allow it to proceed. Detailed processes for initiating the development, preparing detailed designs, and constructing the development are the stages of the traditional process of social housing development and rehabilitation. There are a wide variety of social agents with competing interests in social housing development but the main ones are ODPM, Housing Corporation, RHBs, LAs and HAs. The main agents' interests and actions are intrinsically dynamic mainly because of the pressure brought about by the way in which social relations within them operate. The exact content of this structure of provision can be identified only by studying the real world, focusing especially on the social agents that are central to the process and on the relationships between them. Moreover, due to the external forces in the wider economy and society as a whole, may also bring about further adjustments in the structure of provision in the future.

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