

## **Operational Selection Policy 5**

The administration of Social Security 1979-1997

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## **Executive summary**

This policy relates to records of the social security divisions of the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) from 1979 until 1988, and thereafter for the records of the Department of Social Security (DSS) to 1997.

Relevant government departments will select records which record accurately the development and delivery of government policy concerning the administration and provision of Social Security. Departments will also select records which summarise the government's response to significant social reaction (to government policy).

Records which summarise new government initiatives and programmes designed to reform the pension and benefit system will be selected for permanent preservation. Records which summarise the impacts to society due to the changes will also be selected.

Selection will focus on key themes surrounding major reviews undertaken on the provision of pensions and benefits, the public consultation and enacted legislation of the period, restructuring reviews relating to the scope and functions of departmental agencies, and reviews and changes to the benefit regime in the 1990s.

Material which relates solely to internal departmental administration (including records of personnel, estates and accommodation, and departmental finances) will not be selected. Similarly, duplicate material will not be selected.

Aggregated statistics (many of which are published) provide evidence of the impact of social security provision on the individual. Therefore, within the scope of this policy, case files would not be selected for permanent preservation, due to the limited amount of information which they would add. Social security case files may be selected for permanent preservation under <u>OSP 30</u> or <u>OSP 48</u>.

## 1 Authority

- 1.1 The National Archives' Acquisition Policy announced the Archive's intention of developing Operational Selection Policies across government. These would apply the collection themes described in the overall policy to the records of individual departments and agencies.
- 1.2 Operational Selection Policies (OSPs) are intended to be working tools for those involved in the selection of public records. This policy may therefore be reviewed and revised in the light of comments from users of the records or from archive professionals, the department's experience of using the policy, or as a result of newly discovered information. There is no formal cycle of review, but comments would be welcomed at any time. The extent of any review or revision exercise will be determined according to the nature of the comments received.
- 1.3 If you have any comments upon this policy, please email information-management@nationalarchives.gov.uk

or write to:

Information Management and Practice Department

The National Archives

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## 2 Scope

- 2.1 This policy relates to records of the social security divisions of the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) from 1979 until 1988, and thereafter for the records of the Department of Social Security (DSS) to 1997.
- 2.2 This policy is not an exhaustive statement of all the records that will be selected for permanent preservation, but is intended to provide a clear direction to acquisition work and to those who are making review decisions.
- 2.3 Read this selection policy in conjunction with <u>OSP 30</u>, which deals with the selection of electronic records and datasets, and <u>OSP 48</u>, which provides general guidance on when to select case files for permanent preservation.
  - Use this policy for cases where the file documents how the case directly influenced the government's administration of social security (outcome of case led to re-interpretation of policy and/or prompt re-consideration of policy).
- 2.4 This policy will focus on the period from 1979 (the beginning of the first Thatcher administration) to 1997 (the end of John Major's second administration), which not only saw significant changes to the social security regime, but also to the structure and management of the DHSS and successor departments. Several divisions within the department were given agency status, and there were a number of government bodies that were created or were restructured based on the policy decisions of the day.
- 2.5 Records created by the Supplementary Benefits Commission (abolished when its functions were subsumed by DHSS in 1980) have already been reviewed and are not within the scope of this Operational Selection Policy. Review work done on those records has informed the development of some of the themes below.
- 2.6 The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) is currently reviewing files opened in the early to mid 1980s. Allowing for the cycle of review of material when it becomes twenty-five years old, this OSP became fully operational in 2004. Much of the review work is done in five-year tranches.

2.7 This OSP states an intention to select. However, on rare occasions it might not be always be possible to transfer all the records identified due to issues with format or the way in which the records have been managed or organised within the creating department. The National Archives and the creating department should discuss these issues at the earliest opportunity.

## 3 Departmental responsibilities

- 3.1 The DHSS was created in 1968 by the amalgamation of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Social Security which had itself been created from the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance and some of the functions of the National Assistance Board in 1966. Other functions of the National Assistance Board passed to the Supplementary Benefits Commission.
- 3.2 The social security divisions of DHSS and the Department of Social Security were responsible for the National Insurance scheme (including the collection of National Insurance) and the provision of pensions for the elderly, the widowed and the disabled, as well as the series of non-contributory benefits which replaced national assistance.
- 3.3 Although outside the structure of the DHSS, one agency that had a significant impact in the administration of social security was the Manpower Services Commission. The Commission, which was an agency of the Department of Employment, included the national JobCentres network.
- 3.4 In October 1987 the functions of the Employment and Enterprise Group of the Commission were taken from the control of the Commission and merged with the Unemployment Benefit Service to reconstitute the Employment Service (which later became an executive agency). From this point on, the focus of the Commission was on the government's training and vocational education programme, and it was re-named the Training Commission in May 1988.
- 3.5 In September 1988, the Commission was abolished, and the Training Agency was created to perform its functions as an executive agency within the Employment Department Group. The Training Agency was wound up in November 1990 and its functions were reintegrated into the Department of Employment.

# 4 Relevant collection themes in The National Archives' acquisition policy

4.1 The Acquisition Policy Statement outlines certain themes which form the basis of The National Archives' appraisal and selection decisions. Of the themes, these are of potential relevance to the area of the formulation of social security policy and social security services:

#### 2.2.1 Policy and administrative processes of the state:

2.2.1.5 Formulation and delivery of social policies

## 2.2.2 Interaction of the state with its citizens and its impact on the physical environment:

2.2.2.1 The economic, social and demographic condition of the UK, as documented by the state's dealings with individuals, communities and organisations outside its own formal boundaries

## 5 The administration and provision of Social Security 1979-1997

- 5.1 The Conservative government, which assumed office in 1979, was committed to reduce both public spending and the role of the State. It expressed concern about the complexity of the social security system, and introduced measures to limit abuse and fraud. Increases in National Insurance contributions were introduced in the early 1980s to fund increases in pensions and to support increased funding for the National Health Service. Expenditure on social security benefits during the early and mid 1980s amounted to about one quarter of public spending, and about half of that was dedicated to pensioners. Changes in benefit provision in the late 1980s resulted in considerable political debate, especially regarding the question of selective provision of community charge relief for income support claimants.
- Themes for the selection of records will focus on: the major reviews under Norman Fowler (secretary of state for social services 1981-1987) of the provision of pensions and of benefits, in 1983 and 1984; the public consultation and enacted legislation of the period,

especially the Green and White Papers on 'Reform of Social Security' in 1985; the restructuring reviews relating to the scope and functions of departmental agencies; and reviews and changes to the benefit regime in the 1990s.

The key selection themes below capture the relevant areas of activity during this period, and significant events and developments are noted under each heading. The order of themes is not significant. Notable events and developments are in broad chronological order in the Annex, which contains a more detailed approach to the themes below in tabulated format.

#### 5.2.1 Uprating of benefits and contributions

This theme covers the general uprating of benefits, and the policies connected with its implementation. Individual benefits are described in the themes below. And it concerns policy material about the periodic increases in contributions rates, and the variations in rates for different categories of contributions. A major element centres on changes in the connective balance between National Insurance contributions and pensions.

Another important element is the gradual reduction and reformation of contributions by employers, partly to encourage the employment of lower paid workers in the face of high unemployment. This theme also covers reviews by relevant bodies, for example Birche Committee as to making benefit regimes stricter.

#### 5.2.2 Agencies

This theme concerns major restructuring of the department and the creation of new agencies. This includes the creation of the Benefits Agency and the Contributions Agency in 1991, as part of the government's programme of diversifying the delivery of services, and the eventual integration of JobCentres and benefit Agency offices (the Contributions Agency moved to Inland Revenue in 1997).

It also includes the restructuring of the Manpower Services Commission within the Department of Employment. The Commission had been established to create and manage training schemes designed to reskill employees. The government changed its direction to deal with mass unemployment. Additionally, it includes the review of internal

groups and committees, the transfer of functions and activities, and the Commissions' reorganisation as the Training Agency (and eventual reconstitution as the Executive Services Agency).

This theme also includes the creation of the Social Security Advisory Council and the abolition of the Supplementary Benefits Commission in 1980, the creation (and eventual closure) of the Resettlement Agency in 1989, the establishment of the Child Support Agency, and the creation of the Social Security Advisory Committee.

Other agencies covered by this theme include those that the government or the department created as a result of significant policy changes and reports, for example Goode Report on Pensions.

#### 5.2.3 **Pensions**

This theme deals mainly with pensions and related benefits paid to the elderly, but it also covers occupational pensions. It comprises policies which adjusted pensioners' earnings limits, introduced cold weather payments, and established a system of grants for improvement of energy efficiency in homes. The major administration events of the period are the inquiry into index-linked pensions of 1980-1981, and the ministerial inquiry into state, occupational and private pensions of 1983.

This theme also covers the modifications to the State Earnings-Related Pension Scheme (SERPS) proposed in the Green and White Papers of 1985 and enacted in the Social Security Act 1986, and the introduction of the right to individual responsibility for pension arrangements. The adoption of privately-funded pension schemes was promoted and, in the Social Security Act 1990, the Pensions Ombudsman and a Registrar of Occupational and Personal Pension Schemes were proposed to oversee the work of occupational pension schemes. It also includes government policies allowing people greater mobility in moving pension funds and cashing in their pensions, which led to people seeking early retirement and indirectly contributed to the rise in mass unemployment in the 1980s.

In addition this theme includes actions and impacts arising from the Maxwell investigation, including the Goode Report, and the resulting legislation and regulations.

#### 5.2.4 Supplementary benefits (income support)

This theme covers a range of supplementary benefits, but it excludes those mentioned under other headings. It comprises policies on payment limits for care provision and board and lodging cases, and the exclusion of students from benefits during short vacations. The theme also covers the Green and White Papers of 1985 on 'Reform of Social Security' (see 5.2.3) which led to the establishment of the Social Fund, the reduction in value of special payments, and limitations on the part-payment of mortgage interest. Further reforms, under the Social Security Act 1988, introduced restrictions on benefits, including the removal of entitlement to income support for most people under 18, and a requirement for the entitlement to benefit to be determined by whether or not sufficient contributions had been paid over the preceding two years (previously only one year). The theme also covers the proposal in the Budget of 1990 that benefits for those with capital should be commensurately reduced

#### 5.2.5 Benefits for disabled people

This theme deals with all benefits for disabled people, including attendance allowance and industrial disablement benefits. It includes the abolition of the disabled person's vehicle scheme and its replacement with a war pensions mobility supplement, the rationalisation of the various benefits for severely disabled people into a single severe disablement allowance in 1984, and the eventual replacement of attendance allowance and mobility allowance with disability living allowance. The widening of age qualifications for attendance allowance and mobility allowance, the extension of mobility allowance to include deaf-blind people, and policies concerning vaccine damage payment also come under this theme. This theme also covers the relationship and key policy decisions made with key stakeholders, including Remploy, the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Disabled People, and intra-agency groups.

#### 5.2.6 Unemployment and other benefits

This theme covers all unemployment benefits, including earnings-related supplements, as well as benefits for strikers and their families, sick pay and maternity pay. An especially significant event is the introduction of statutory sick pay and the abolition of injury benefit under the <u>Social Security and Housing Benefit Act 1982</u>. The theme also covers the development of policies regarding the abolition of earnings-related supplements for the

unemployed, the taxation of unemployment benefits, changes in benefits for those living in hostels or farmed housing (known as 'board and lodge'), and variations in the government's reimbursement of statutory sick pay to employers and the periods for which this benefit can be paid.

The theme includes the development of regulations (announced in 1981) to allow benefit claimants to do voluntary work without loss of benefits, and the introduction of the jobsharing scheme. One particularly significant event is the 1984 policy decision that families of strikers would receive less in benefits than others, when benefits were increased (introduced in response to the disruption in industry, especially the coal industry, during that period). The proposed abolition of SERPS is covered under Pensions (5.2.3). This theme also includes the decision in 1994 to implement new performance measures for claiming unemployment benefits, including the requirement to produce evidence of 'activity', and studies which directly influenced government policy.

#### 5.2.7 Housing benefit

This theme concerns the Department of Health and Social Security's involvement in the reviews and reform of housing benefit throughout the period, but especially in 1981-1982 and 1988. In particular, the theme covers policy discussion relating to the Community Charge (also known as Poll Tax) and the results and reaction to the policy in the public arena.

#### 5.2.8 Family and child benefits

This theme covers all family and child benefits including the replacement of child tax allowances by child benefit, and the introduction of family credit. It also covers the policy development of principles for financial support of children by absent parents, the White Paper Children come first (1990), the preparation of the <a href="Child Support Act 1991">Child Support Act 1991</a> and the inception of the Child Support Agency. The theme also covers major reforms in family and child benefits and the impacts these reforms had on society and government.

#### 5.2.9 Computerisation

This theme deals with the delivery and administration of benefits to claimants, concentrating on the effect on the individual's experience of the changing system

consequent upon the introduction and development of computerisation, including the development and implementation of special schedules and services – such as the General Matching Service. It also covers the relationship between DHSS/DSS and the Department of Employment. However, only a limited amount of material concerning policy development in this area is likely to be selected.

#### 5.3 Government policies, initiatives and programmes

Records of evident historical worth, which accurately record the development and delivery of government policy, will be selected for permanent preservation. Records which summarise how the government's responded to significant social reaction to government policy will also be selected.

Records which summarise new government initiatives and programmes designed to reform the pension and benefit system will be selected for permanent preservation.

Records which summarise the impacts to society due to the changes will also be selected.

Material, which relates solely to internal departmental administration (including records of personnel, estates and accommodation, and departmental finances), will not be selected. Similarly, duplicate material will not be selected.

#### 5.4 Statistics

Aggregated statistics (many of which are published) provide evidence of the impact of social security provision on the individual. Therefore, within the scope of this policy, case files would not be selected for permanent preservation, due to the limited amount of information which they would add. Social security case files may be selected for permanent preservation under OSP 30 or OSP 48 (see section 2.3).

#### 5.5 Training schemes and programmes

DHSS and its successor departments undertook studies and schemes which were designed to reduce people's reliance on social security, encourage and assist people back into the workforce, and upskill people for new careers. This was one of the original functions of the Manpower Services Commission, and later the Training Agency - which was incorporated into the Employment Services Agency. This theme covers the

establishment of notable schemes, special review of schemes, and abolition that was noted at a national level. It also includes reviews of aspects and measures that hinder people entering workforce or particular jobs (includes discrimination).

The development of relevant schemes (for example the Youth Opportunities Programme) will be covered by the Operational Selection Policy 31 Post 16 Education 1974-1988.

## 6 Structure of Filing Systems

- 6.1 The centrally-administered filing system, employed in over two hundred registries within the social security divisions of DHSS and DSS, is based on an alphabetic prefix which will generally identify the broad subject area to which the file is related. The alphabetic prefix is followed by a further alphabetic or numeric identifier, which narrows the topic of the file. A simple consecutive number completes the file identifier, occasionally with sub-numbers for sequential volumes or parts of the file. In many cases, the files registries did not employ the prefixes and identifiers in a consistent way across the departments.
- 6.2 A potential error in reviewing or accessing files is to assume that the consecutive file identifier identifies the subject of the file. This number was allocated by a file registry in consecutive running order; meaning that if a new part was requested then the file registry would create a new file, with the next available number. With over two hundred registries, this meant that many files would be raised with the same number, but with totally different subjects.

Many of the file series continued from their creation under predecessor bodies (Ministry of Pensions, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, and Ministry of Social Security).

## 7 Implementation

7.1 DWP have agreed an implementation strategy and it takes the form of the two-stage review plan below.

It is proposed records are selected for permanent preservation by a two-stage assessment of the records:

- 1. An assessment will be made at file series level, regarding the likelihood of the series containing material of historical interest. This will include an examination by DWP departmental records staff and The National Archives' Information Management Consultant of the listed titles of all the files, as well as a check on the contents of some of the files to confirm the decision.
- 2. File series, which survive this preliminary selection, will then undergo file-by-file review.

Files which do not fall within the selection themes and the related conditions above will normally be destroyed, though not without prior consultation between DWP and The National Archives.

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## **Annex**

Year	Subject
1979	Child Benefit now fully replaces child tax allowances
	Arrival of Vietnamese refugees ('boat people') in UK
	June: government proposes largest ever increases in SS benefits (including 19% rise in retirement pensions)
	June: first proposal for introduction of private health insurance
	October: promise of assistance for payment of fuel bills for the elderly and families on supplementary benefit and family income support
	November: proposal for pensions for 'pre-1950' widows of servicemen
	November: proposal for increases in NI contributions
1980	Raising of maximum age for awarding (65) and paying (75) mobility allowance
	Fortnightly signing and payment to unemployed persons
	Social Security (No. 2) Act 1980:  • retirement pensioners earnings limit frozen at £52 per week  • Earnings Related Supplement abolished from January 1982  • uprating of some short term benefits abated by 5%
	Industrial Disablement Benefit to include occupational deafness in certain occupations
	February: proposed 'up to 1000' extra officials to concentrate on social security fraud
	May: announcement of inquiry into index-linked pensions (basically Civil Service pensions) to be chaired by Sir Bernard Scott
	November: announcement of increases in NI contributions
1981	Uprating restored 5% abatement of invalidity allowance introduced in Social Security (No. 2) Act 1980
	February: publication of Scott report on index-linked pensions
	March: Jenkin announces increases in benefits
	October: Fowler promises that (from April 1983) government will reimburse employers for the first eight weeks of sick pay given to employees
	October: Fowler announces taxation of unemployment benefits (from 5 July 1982)
	December: announcement of higher NI contributions

#### 1982 | Social Security and Housing Benefits Act 1982:

- employers responsible for paying minimum level of statutory sick pay (SSP) for first eight weeks of absence from April 1983
- abolition of Injury Benefit from April 1983
- administration of rents and rates assistance moves to local authorities from April 1983

February: new regulations proposed to allow unemployed people to do voluntary work without loss of benefits

July: introduction of job-share scheme

1983 Equal treatment for men and women in regard to supplementary benefit and family income support - November

War Pensions Mobility Supplement (WPMS) replaces existing vehicle scheme

June: increase in state pension

November: Fowler sets up ministerial inquiry into state, occupational and private pensions schemes

1984 February: government reduces proposed cuts in housing benefits, but funds this from a £33 million cut in other Social Security funding

<u>Health and Social Security Act 1984</u> the introduction of Severe Disablement Allowance (SDA) replaces NCIP and HNCIP

Introduction of Freefone information and advice service

April: Fowler announces a review of Social Security benefits

May: Fowler announces legislation for employees to transfer pension entitlements when changing jobs

June: increases in pensions, child benefit, unemployment and other benefits

July: Fowler announces legislation for people to have right to be responsible for their own pension arrangements

November: government announces that families of striking miners and other strikers will receive less than other people when benefits are increased

November: on 26 November increases to pensions and all other Social Security benefits announced (overall annual cost of social security now nearly £40 billion) and emergency debate on changes in rates of benefits to strikers

#### 1985

Local Office Project (LOP) – plans announced for phasing in of a mainframe-based DHSS local office network for benefit processing

National Insurance contributions computer system – detailed study of replacement begins

Introduction of Local Office Microcomputer Project (LOMP) to aid with supplementary benefit claims processing

Green Paper Reform of Social Security published in June, includes proposal to phase out state earnings-related pension scheme (SERPS) Social Security Act 1985:

- SSP extended to 28 weeks from eight weeks from April 1986
- residential care and nursing homes: new scales of limits payable for differing types of care provision
- curbs on the level of benefit payable in board and lodging cases

June: increases in pensions and unemployment benefits announced, as well as smaller increases to child benefit and alterations to housing benefit rates

White Paper Reform of Social Security published in December

#### 1986

Students excluded from claiming benefit during short vacations

#### Social Security Act 1986:

- Family Credit replaces family income support from 1988
- restructuring of widows' benefit: £1000 lump sum in place of widows' allowance from 1988
- occupational pensions schemes will be able to contract out of SERPS
- SERPS modified, based on lifetimes earnings not best 20 years
- · reduction in value of special payments in supplementary benefit cases
- invalid care allowance extended to married women

February: increase of 1.1% in pensions, unemployment benefit and most social security benefits announced for July, accompanied by a cut in value of special payments to those in receipt of supplementary benefit

November: elderly people claiming supplementary benefit are allowed to claim an extra £5 per week for heating needs during periods of exceptionally cold weather in the winter

#### 1987

Social Security Act 1986:

- Statutory Maternity Pay (SMP) to be administered by employers
- Social Fund payments for funeral and maternity expenses introduced. Maternity and death grants abolished
- half rate mortgage interest payable for first 16 weeks with supplementary benefit

January: a second severe weather payment is made to elderly supplementary benefit claimants, and the scheme is amended to make future claims more straightforward

May: Vietnamese 'boat people' to be admitted to the UK over the next two years

June: general election and subsequent cabinet re-shuffle

#### 1988 | Income Support replaces Supplementary Benefit

Amendments to the cold weather payment provisions from November – extended eligibility and simplification of the trigger period for payment

Social Security Act 1986 - full implementation of the Social Fund (loans and grants)

#### Social Security Act 1988:

- period for determining if sufficient contributions paid for entitlement to unemployment and supplementary benefits changed from one to two preceding years
- removal of entitlement to income support for most people under 18 from September 1988
- age limit for receipt of mobility allowance raised to 80 from November 1989

April: demonstrations by pensioners in Downing Street and DHSS staff in Whitehall in protest at changes in social security regulations; subsequently an emergency debate is allowed in Parliament; Moore introduces a number of changes to the new regulations (partly because of a threatened Tory backbench rebellion)

DHSS to be split into Department of Health and Department of Social Security, with full effect from April 1989

October: DSS claims that 200,000 families are not claiming family credit

October: announcement of changes to benefit payments

#### 1989 Creation of Resettlement Agency

Relocation of work from London offices to commence in 1990

First stage of Local Office Project (LOP) implementation - computerisation of income support processing

White Paper Caring for people – proposed new structure of support for community care from April 1991. Local authorities to be responsible for determining care needs

#### Social Security Act 1989:

- changes to attendance allowance (no qualifying period for terminally ill, lower age limit abolished)
- Mobility allowance extended to include deaf-blind people

Relocation of work from London to Leeds announced from 1992

Announced intention to replace attendance allowance and mobility allowance with a new benefit (Disability Living Allowance)

#### 1990 | Creation of Information Technology Services Agency

January: introduction of Disability Employment Credit (disability allowance for people of working age and below, and age-related addition to Severe Disablement Allowance)

March: Budget introduces reduction of benefits for those with capital, on a means-tested basis

<u>Social Security Act 1990</u>: creation of Pensions Ombudsman; register of occupational and personal pension schemes, grants for improvement of energy efficiency in certain dwellings

October: White Paper Children come first

#### 1991 | Creation of Benefits Agency and Contributions Agency

<u>Disability Living Allowance and Disability Working Allowance Act 1991</u>; DLA is non-contributory, DWA is income related

<u>Statutory Sick Pay Act 1991</u>: reduction in amount of sick pay which employers are entitled to cover

Overseas Superannuation Act 1991

<u>Social Security (Contributions) Act 1991</u>: introduces contributions under SS Act 1975 regarding cars made available for private use and car fuel

Child Support Act 1991: assessment, collection and enforcement of child maintenance

July: launch of Citizen's Charter

December: Maxwell pensions fund scandal

## 1992 January: appearance of Maxwell brothers before House of Commons Social Security Select Committee

March: Social Security (Mortgage Interest Payments) Act 1992

June: Lilley announces committee (chaired by Professor Roger Goode) to review occupational pension schemes, and sets aside £2.5 million for Maxwell pensioners

July: Major legislation passed, including:

- Social Security Contributions and Benefits Act 1992
- Social Security Administration Act 1992
- Social Security (Consequential Provisions) Act 1992

1993	Social Security Act 1993 mainly amendments to SS Act 1986 re payments by government into National Insurance Fund
	April: creation of Child Support Agency
	September: publication of Goode report on occupational pensions
	October: Lilley announces measures to tackle benefit fraud and welfare payments to foreigners
	November: Pensions Schemes Act 1993 substantial consolidation of previous enactments; creation of Occupational Pensions Board; certification schemes, following recommendations of Law Commission.
	December: White Paper, Equality in state pension age
1994	February: Social Security (Contributions) Act 1994 increasing Class 1 National Insurance contributions
	Statutory Sick Pay Act 1994 removal of right of employers to be reimbursed
	March/April/May: Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill
	June: White Paper, Security, equality, choice: The future for pensions, includes 185 of the 218 recommendations of the Goode report (September 1993)
	July: Social Security (Incapacity for Work) Act 1994 replaces sickness benefit and invalidity benefit with incapacity benefit
	September: Ros Hepplewhite, CE of Child Support Agency, resigns
	October: White Paper, Jobseeker's Allowance
1995	January: White Paper, Improving Child Support. Lilley announces 'radical reforms' of Child Support Agency
	<u>Disability Discrimination Act 1995</u> follows on from bill of 1994. Illegal to discriminate against disabled persons in employment and provision of goods and services; establishment of National Disability Council
1996	January: Lilley makes statement in House of Commons regarding reform of benefits for asylum seekers, following criticisms from Social Security Advisory Committee, and introduces amendment regulations.
	Attempts by Labour to annul the Social Security (Persons from Abroad) (Miscellaneous)  Amendment Regulations 1996, fail in both Houses. Defeat in House of Commons is by only 15 votes

#### 1997

White Paper, Pension rights on divorce

March: <u>Social Security (Recovery of Benefits) Act 1997</u> reform of compensation recovery for victims of accident, injury or disease

<u>Social Security Administration (Fraud) Act 1997</u> creation of fraud inspectorate; suspension of benefits; recovery of overpayments from landlords