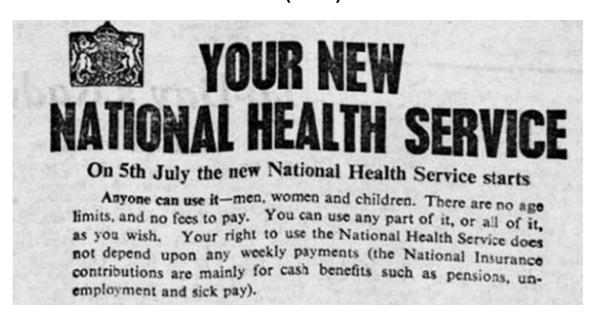
# International Health Service: how the NHS has always relied on overseas labour

Would-be NHS staff from overseas will shortly find it easier to secure permission to work in the UK. Doctors and nurses from the European Economic Area, who have helped to meet staff shortages in recent decades, may no longer have the right to do so. **Parvati Raghuram (Open University)** looks at how the NHS has depended on foreign workers since its creation.

The claim that the NHS would get an additional £350m per week if the UK quit the EU was arguably one of the most persuasive slogans of the Brexit campaign. The National Health Service has been one of the prides of the postwar social architecture and has come to be closely tied to British identity. Skilfully linking the NHS with Britishness was thus a winning strategy for Leave campaigners.

# Commonwealth countries and the (Inter)National Health Service



Early NHS leaflet from 1948. Photo: Bradford Timeline via a CC-BY-NC 2.0 licence

Migrant doctors from Europe, especially Jews who moved due to rising anti-Semitism in parts of Europe, had always formed a part of the medical profession in the UK. However, after the establishment of the NHS in 1948, many of the early flows were from the British Commonwealth countries. Training and work were inextricably intertwined through immigration regulations and the architecture of the health service, ensuring a steady supply of doctors (Table 1).

Thus. the *National* Health Service has always been an *international* health service. It has been populated by large numbers of migrant doctors who not only served the NHS but also constituted it, innovating and establishing it through specialist services in remote locations all over the UK. From the 1960s onwards a number of legislative changes were made to attract migrant doctors, who would come to populate the lower and middle parts of the pyramidal medical hierarchy. They did not contribute to a pre-existing NHS; rather they *made* the health service what it is today.

#### Table 1: Immigration rules affecting Commonwealth migrant doctors

Year Regulation

1962 Voucher system introduced

1971 Vouchers abolished; work permit system introduced

1985 Four-year permit-free training scheme introduced

Date originally posted: 2018-06-25

Permalink: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2018/06/25/international-health-service-how-the-nhs-has-always-relied-on-overseas-labour/

Nature of training available to non-EU migrants allegulation ing typically takes five years, but all training posts had shorter stay periods

2006 Non-EU migration virtually closed

## The NHS and the EEA

Since the early 2000s there has been a shift towards recruitment from within the European Economic Area (Table 2). Freedom of movement within Europe led to an increase in the pool of migrant doctors, and in 2006 a dramatic shift took place – a virtual end to the migration of doctors who are third country nationals, i.e. those whose primary medical qualifications were obtained outside the EEA.

### Immigration and EU workers: timeline

- Free movement until World War 1
- 1957: Reintroduction of freedom of mobility of workers through the Treaty of Rome
- 1973: UK joined European Community
- 1992: Freedom of mobility of citizens Maastricht Treaty

PMQ country of origin 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017

2004 onwards: Expansion of the EU (ten countries joined in 2004; 2 in 2007; and 1 in 2013)

Migration regulations only tell half of the story. Professional workers like doctors can practice in the UK after registering and obtaining the appropriate licence. Under <u>EU law</u> doctors within the EEA cannot be discriminated against, but in June 2014 a new English language test was introduced for hose trying to obtain the licence to practice in the UK. This led to a reduction in the numbers of doctors obtaining a licence, <u>compared to those who registered</u>.

Table 2: Number of registered & licensed doctors in the UK by primary country of qualification

Austria	35	38	20	37	28	19	19	16
Belgium	43	36	36	22	37	31	35	45
Bulgaria	166	139	129	94	89	20	32	33
Croatia	1	2	3	23	110	24	23	25
Czech Republic	116	141	128	124	102	60	80	103
Denmark	30	20	17	16	25	7	14	7
Estonia	13	7	10	9	12	4	5	10
Finland	13	7	10	9	12	4	5	10
France	41	51	50	72	72	15	29	21
Germany	195	153	129	138	135	57	80	70
Greece	282	365	524	465	406	123	171	169
Hungary	207	186	175	125	89	44	57	63
Iceland	5	5	1	5	1	2	1	1
• •	5 129	5 145	1 137	5 170	1 174	2 242	1 244	1 241
Iceland								
Iceland Ireland	129	145	137	170	174	242	244	241
Iceland Ireland Italy	129 370	145 386	137 425	170 610	174 744	242 124	244 137	241 137
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia	129 370 59	145 386 25	137 425 26	170 610 22	174 744 18	242 124 14	244 137 11	241 137 21
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia Lithuania	129 370 59 71	145 386 25 45	137 425 26 38	170 610 22 38	174 744 18 44	242 124 14 8	244 137 11 13	<ul><li>241</li><li>137</li><li>21</li><li>26</li></ul>
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia Lithuania Malta	129 370 59 71 20	145 386 25 45 23	137 425 26 38 42	170 610 22 38 39	174 744 18 44 40	242 124 14 8 24	244 137 11 13 48	<ul><li>241</li><li>137</li><li>21</li><li>26</li><li>62</li></ul>
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia Lithuania Malta Netherlands	129 370 59 71 20 43	145 386 25 45 23 57	137 425 26 38 42 86	170 610 22 38 39 106	174 744 18 44 40 114	242 124 14 8 24 72	244 137 11 13 48 98	241 137 21 26 62 72
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia Lithuania Malta Netherlands Norway	129 370 59 71 20 43 3	145 386 25 45 23 57 6	137 425 26 38 42 86 3	170 610 22 38 39 106 5	174 744 18 44 40 114 12	242 124 14 8 24 72 3	244 137 11 13 48 98 3	241 137 21 26 62 72 2
Iceland Ireland Italy Latvia Lithuania Malta Netherlands Norway Poland	129 370 59 71 20 43 3 158	145 386 25 45 23 57 6 113	137 425 26 38 42 86 3 137	170 610 22 38 39 106 5 163	174 744 18 44 40 114 12 173	242 124 14 8 24 72 3 82	244 137 11 13 48 98 3 95	241 137 21 26 62 72 2 123

Date originally posted: 2018-06-25

Permalink: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2018/06/25/international-health-service-how-the-nhs-has-always-relied-on-overseas-labour/

Blog homepage: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/

#### PMQ: ciountry of origin 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017

Spain	124	159	264	323	247	49	67	65
Sweden	21	25	22	21	22	11	23	15
Switzerland	29	27	37	37	28	10	17	28

## And back again to the Commonwealth?

Ten years later the tables turned as the UK voted to leave the EU. This led to large drops in the number of some health professionals such as nurses, although the full effects are yet to be documented across the sector. Growing staff shortages in some parts of the health sector are causing concern that the EEA will no longer serve the health workforce requirements of an ageing and rising population and its attendant demands for health care.

Although some areas such as emergency medicine, paediatrics and psychiatry have almost always been on the list of shortage specialties, and are allowed to recruit internationally, shortages are now more widespread. Moreover, the cap on Tier 2 visas (previously the Work Permit category) from outside the EEA to a maximum of around 20,000 per year across all the professions – alongside the demand from some other sectors such as IT for these visas – meant that many areas of the health service remain understaffed. NHS bosses have claimed that this significantly affects their ability to deliver healthcare safely and have pressed for the removal of the cap. The Home Secretary has now capitulated to these demands. What is clear is that the NHS, as ever, struggles to remain national.

Yet this internationalism of the NHS is only one exemplar of the UK's position within a world of connections – with Europe and with other countries, including the Commonwealth. Only when the power and necessity of these connections – and their role in making the UK what it is today – is recognised will anti-immigration arguments and sentiments about Europeans and non-Europeans alike be challenged.

This post represents the views of the author and not those of the Brexit blog, nor the LSE.

Parvati Raghuram is Professor of Geography and Migration at the Open University.