

Commentary

Decolonisation of Health Care in Tanzania

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Access to healthcare largely depends on where you live and how much money you have. It is far from equally accessible to all. The authors are three physicians from Tanzania and two from the United Kingdom (UK) who share a common commitment to understanding and addressing the consequences of colonisation on the provision of healthcare. Our opinion is based on extensive experience of working in East Africa, in both a clinical and academic capacity. We define decolonisation from the perspective of building sustainable and independent clinical and academic services in Tanzania with the support of experienced UK clinicians. This opinion piece describes and discusses workforce and political issues which have shaped past and present influences of the UK in Tanzanian healthcare. We describe some successful initiatives already improving outcomes in Africa and offer further examples of practices that might facilitate improved clinical and academic outcomes for all marginalised people in the future.

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Introduction

The National Health Service (NHS) was established in 1948 to address inequality and improve access to reasonable standards of healthcare to all UK residents and to ensure that this was free at the point of delivery. The NHS has been described as ‘the envy of the world’ despite its well-documented challenges. The NHS has driven quality and consistency of clinical care within the UK for decades, and along with universities and many other organisations, it has also fostered a reputation for excellent academic research and teaching. However, the long shadow of the UK’s colonial past on health care provision elsewhere is increasingly recognised. Far from producing and sharing its ‘commonwealth’

equally with people inhabiting the countries it colonised, the UK has been accused of exploiting them in several ways.

It is somewhat ironic that indigenous peoples experience higher morbidity and mortality than those who arrived later in the same lands. Although these differences cannot be entirely attributed to the actions of the colonisers, inevitably their actions have contributed. Understanding and reversing this trend has proved challenging. The potential for settler colonialists to propose that these differences are inevitable, or even normal, has been described as a form of racism. The decolonisation of global health has attracted much publicity but is yet to achieve a globally acceptable definition [Khan et al 2021]. Its concept developed from the twin fields of tropical medicine and colonial health, which have been described as 'designed to control colonised populations and make political and economic exploitation by European and North American powers easier' [Hirsch 2021]. One danger for physicians from the Global North who become involved in health care initiatives in previously colonised countries is to inadvertently perpetuate this inequity [Abimbola, 2018], or at least to be perceived as doing so. However, this is now beginning to change as recent articles have highlighted the opportunities to develop pathways for improving clinical care and research initiatives towards achieving equity and true decolonisation of healthcare [Wispelwey et al. 2023]

Khan et al. proposed a 'roadmap' to guide decolonisation efforts and called for an integrated 'Action to Decolonise Global Health' [Khan et al 2021]. A recent review found that few 'clear norms exist in conceptualizing the definitions and processes of decolonization' but that recent articles were starting to 'articulate decolonial processes in manners that are consistent, cohesive and attentive to the goals of decolonization' [Narasimhan and Chandanabhumma, 2021]. In Australia, native art and storytelling have been used to express the adverse effects of colonisation on indigenous health [Quayle and Sonn, 2019]. A Botswana-based paradigm proposed a postcolonial research framework for all [Chilisa et al 2017] and cited song and proverb as important sources of indigenous African wisdom. A practical 'framework ... that integrates decolonial processes into health promotion practice' has been proposed and is being more widely adopted [Chandanabhumma and Narasimhan 2020]. In this opinion piece, we define how physicians from Tanzania and the United Kingdom (UK) are working together to develop and apply an integrated approach towards the decolonisation of health in East Africa.

How Can We Redress the Global Imbalance Within Health Care Access and Delivery?

The NHS has traditionally relied on international medical graduates (IMGs) and overseas nurses, and this trend is accelerating. In 2019, 20% of registered General Practitioners (GPs) in England had qualified outside of the UK, with 80% of these coming from Africa and Asia [Office for National Statistics 2019]. Three years later, in 2022, that percentage had doubled to over 40%, with Africa contributing the greatest number. That same year overseas doctors accounted for 63% of the 23,838 new additions to the UK medical workforce [Rimmer 2023]. This amounts to an accelerating brain drain, with many African doctors leaving their own countries after completing their medical training to support the ailing NHS, often replacing UK medical graduates who have elected to move overseas to work in Australia, New Zealand, Europe or North America. Concerns about exploitation have also been voiced over the experiences of African nurses working in the UK [Likupe 2006]. Medical emigration feels unfair to many Africans whose access to health care in their own country has often diminished because of these trends. Attempts to regulate this were agreed between the governments of the UK and both Kenya and the Philippines in November 2021 Bilateral agreement between the UK and Kenya on healthcare workforce collaboration – GOV.UK (www.gov.uk). However, the present attitude of the UK Government towards immigrants and refugees has become increasingly negative and unhelpful. Only those with qualifications deemed to be useful to the UK are welcomed. This selective approach applies especially to those with health care qualifications who are treated as ‘persona grata’, unlike many of their less favoured fellows. However, recent announcements by the UK government that even overseas health care workers may no longer be able to afford to bring their families with them suggests a lamentable lack of insight into the challenges and sacrifices made by these workers. Overseas health care workers will also see their surcharge for accessing the service they help to provide nearly doubled, despite paying income tax and national insurance. The previous thinly veiled exploitation of overseas health care workers has evolved into clear evidence that epistemic injustice remains alive and well in the UK at least.

Throughout East Africa, hospitals were often established in areas convenient to the colonisers, with disregard to the needs and preferences of the indigenous population. Although this has improved to a degree, the issue persists for some populations such as the Maasai. They already had a long history of using traditional healing methods, for which colonial physicians expressed no regard. This continues

as Western medicine is touted as superior, despite the absence of comparative studies. Furthermore, the lack of any real effort to understand the traditions of different tribes led the colonists to create artificial borders and restrict the movement of cattle. This altered their way of life irrevocably and contributed to disease and malnutrition, with the enforced introduction of cash-crops replacing staple foods within several communities. The enforced use of men from these communities for labour also produced changes in population dynamics, often exposing women and children to famine and disease. The situation was not helped by the UK's decision to reduce its support for developing countries in the wake of its own financial challenges following the Covid-19 pandemic [Cameron-Chileshe 2021], and Africa bore the brunt of these cuts. Having already lost so many people to the AIDS epidemic a generation earlier, this has threatened the gradual recovery evident across much of the continent. However, Rishi Sunak, who was responsible for this decision as Chancellor, has now announced that he will host a UK / Africa investment summit conference in April 2024 as Prime Minister [The Africa Report 2024]. This could conceivably presage a return to previous levels of support for Africa. The reduction in the provision of UK government- sponsored expert medical staff to former colonies to help with education and staffing left several initiatives incomplete and greatly diminished the value of their legacy. Despite acknowledging the atrocities perpetrated in Africa, the British government has been intransigent in not apologising (as Germany did). Such an attitude may indicate reluctance to engage in decolonisation efforts in the health sector. Given the UK's political intransigence, how can we begin to redress the global imbalance within healthcare access and delivery? Such a task needs to be undertaken with collaboration across many organisations. The British Medical Association (BMA) must reassess its policies and priorities from a decolonising perspective [Akinawonu 2023], whilst the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) needs to change its focus away from a UK-centric to a more global interest in healthcare [Looi 2023]. A fundamental change in approach is required in the relationship between the Global North and Africa as the present mechanisms of support risk potentiating the tendency to maintain the present power base in 'coloniser countries' [Rasheed 2023].

Clinical Service Challenges and Changes

A recent British Medical Journal (BMJ) editorial encouraged us all to be "brave, hopeful and essential" in decolonising health [Abbasi 2023] and the authors would like to share our experiences in that endeavour. Over the last 5 years Tanzanian and UK physicians have worked together to design, develop and deliver clinical services for Tanzanian patients with non-communicable disease (NCD).

We agree that "efforts must begin with medical education and training" [Naidu 2023], as our Tanzanian medical curriculum previously focussed largely on infectious disorders. With tropical diseases like malaria [Dattoo et al 2023], and even leishmaniasis [King 2023], likely to gradually diminish with vaccination programs, and access to free retro-viral and anti-tuberculosis therapy proving highly effective in reducing deaths from infectious disease, NCDs already account for nearly half of all deaths [Kraef et al 2020] and much morbidity across East Africa. We facilitated a program on NCDs to combine medical education, clinical research, and service development and replicated this across several sites. African and European hospitals and universities have worked in tandem to exchange knowledge within an equitable partnership to provide and sustain evidence-based clinical practices. The rapid changes in the patterns of disease in Africa have implications for the training and responsibilities of all health care workers across the continent. There is a huge need to develop and staff screening programs for the detection and treatment of hypertension and diabetes which requires investment in teaching and training in these areas. Likewise, there is increasing recognition of the importance of auto-immune disorders [Krauth et al 2022] and musculoskeletal disease (MSK) [Kuo et al, 2023] across all age groups [Walsh et al, 2022] in East Africa, although the present provision of rheumatological services remains woefully behind that available for the rest of the continent [Mody et al, 2023]. Evidence exists that an increasing burden of systemic complications of these chronic disorders is recognised [Said et al, 2023], and that mental health issues are becoming a bigger issue among younger Africans [Elinisa et al, 2020]. Together these carry a growing clinical, economic and societal burden for East Africa [Mmbaga et al, 2023]. Perhaps the previous poor emphasis on NCDs is another legacy of the former colonial administrators?

Strategies to Address Clinical Challenges

Much rhetoric has been expressed over the principles of decolonising medicine, but less has been written about the practical aspects of how to achieve this at a clinical level. Following the recognition that there is a gross lack of darker skin tones among clinical learning resources [Abduelmula et al, 2022], the authors have been part of a collaborative to develop medical educational videos of African doctors examining Africans with Swahili commentary, along with a photo library to show disorders present in patients with dark skin. These will soon be freely accessible to all African clinicians. The Tanzanian medical curriculum has been expanded to incorporate the increasing burden of NCDs for all staff and consolidated in a series of open access PowerPoint presentations. Clinical services have been

established with ongoing input from self-funding UK clinicians during sabbaticals and study leave, who continue to facilitate online seminars, case discussions and advice via regular virtual meetings and WhatsApp consultations. These sessions are attended by clinicians from several different regions of Tanzania, and we have been requested to expand the discussion into neighbouring countries. The Tanzanian Ministry of Health has engaged with further efforts to improve care for people with MSK disease in Tanzania. Our collaborative is especially involved in addressing deficiencies in the provision of MSK care and support and we recognise that it is essential that these initiatives are not just directed towards doctors but extend to all health care workers who play a huge part in providing clinical care, especially in the community. We presented our findings and experiences at the first East African regional NCD conference, which enabled us to sensitise stakeholders beyond Tanzania.

The provision of MSK care is worse in East Africa than anywhere else on the continent. Although educational courses in rheumatology are available online, they are very focussed on presentations of patients from the Global North and are not context specific. Many of the investigations and therapeutic interventions described and proposed, although scientifically sound, are simply not appropriate for, or indeed available within, an East African setting. Tanzanian clinicians request advice and support from clinicians working in the Global North who respond to the needs we identify locally. Tanzanian physicians are best placed to define the deficiencies in our clinical service and which patients we need help with. Hence, we can seek targeted and patient-specific support from our northern colleagues as and when required, and we control the clinical agenda. It is very much a case of quality, not quantity, when it comes to requesting clinical support, and the dynamics of the collaboration feel both constructive and appropriate.

Our colleagues from the north share our vision of developing an independent sustainable clinical service in East Africa. There are several other programs designed and developed to support knowledge exchange between the Global North and East Africa. This includes the International Postgraduate Medical Training Scheme (IPGMTS) which focuses largely on physical health and ‘enables overseas doctors, by arrangement with international governments, to undertake full speciality training to UK standards. This takes doctors from entry to the Certificate of Completion of Training (CCT) and recognition in the General Medical Council (GMC) specialty register, in England, before returning home to practice as consultants in their chosen field.’ Another initiative, this time in the field of mental health, is the Mental Health Gap Action Programme (mhGAP) which supports scaling up

services for mental, neurological and substance use disorders mainly in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC), an area which was adjudged as low priority by the former colonial administration.

We African physicians who helped to coordinate this joint venture, would say that our experience with this collaboration has been great. We managed to get support to attend training for research methods and management of MSK conditions for more than 20 staff members in total. We also managed to start a clinic for these patients because our capacity and confidence in identifying, diagnosing and treating patients was enhanced by working in tandem with our Global North collaborators. We came up with recommendations for what is needed to improve MSK care in Tanzania by conducting several in country multistakeholder meetings from which emanated the training videos concept. Our Global North collaborators sought to understand us and our needs, offering clinical and personal developmental support whenever necessary and feasible. All activities were initiated and supervised by African healthcare providers and have had a great capacity building effect on our part.

The Royal College of Physicians (RCP) in London facilitated the establishment of the East, Central and Southern African College of Physicians (ECSACoP) in 2015, bearing in mind that the West African College of Physicians (WACP) has been in existence for several decades. ECSACoP includes 6 countries, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe and one of the main aims is to improve, and harmonise, postgraduate medical training in these countries. The RCP with East African colleagues also supported the medical training and fellowship (METAF) programme with funding support from the East African development bank to provide training in neurology and oncology in Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda from 2016 to 2020 [Walker and Eastin, 2021]. Courses were jointly developed between UK and African colleagues with most of the faculty being African and with sustainability in mind, using methods such as train the trainer approach.

Volunteering abroad can also provide real benefits for NHS staff. Health Education England (HEE), who provided this opportunity, state ‘It can give them a fresh perspective, new skills and approaches that can be applied to their work in the health service and help them and the wider health service improve the quality of care we provide.’ We have been involved in the HEE initiative and can confirm the benefits experienced by UK trainees in learning from local culture and customs and reflecting on the colonial biases which everyone must overcome when partnering with Africa. Change only comes about when individuals shift their mindsets, and learning from the experiences of local healthcare providers offered much insight into how care might be improved elsewhere. Specific examples related

to learning of the healing properties of banana leaves in the treatment of burns, and the use of mucuna beans in the treatment of Parkinson's disease.

Academic Challenges and Changes

The situation in academic medicine has placed Africans at a distinct disadvantage for decades. Not only does it take non-native English speakers longer to read and write scientific papers [Amano et al, 2023], but preprints from the African continent are over 50% less likely to be published as full peer-reviewed papers [Eckmann and Bandrowski, 2023]. This is consistent with reduced resources and editorial bias. One African author had a paper rejected from a prominent journal when he gave an African address, but the same paper was accepted with minimal corrections when it was submitted from the UK [Rasheed 2023]. Whilst academic output was never our priority, we have published eight articles which document our collaboration spanning several clinical domains. With the equality, diversity, inclusivity and justice (EDIJ) agenda visibly linked to decolonisation, it is worth noting that 60% of our authors are African, while 57% are female. Furthermore, the majority of the first authors are African and the last authors are female, which is important as female African doctors have been much under-represented until recently. Publishing such work in African journals needs to be more actively encouraged by increasing their value and visibility.

Funders in the Global North (who are the major supporters of funding programs) usually set the priorities for funding opportunities which impact health care in Africa, and so these funding opportunities tend to be focused on what the Global North perceive needs changing in Africa. This amounts to neocolonialism and is an issue. Decolonizing health care in Africa and other parts of the Global South will require shifting away from national security and other priorities that infuse so much of Global North-driven funding and toward the many other issues that exact such tremendous cost in morbidity and mortality globally, such as NCDs and mental health. As stated in the British Medical Journal (BMJ) podcast series, Journal editors have a huge influence in this area. Developing a 'global health' BMJ and Lancet is an acknowledgement "that you give equal weight to the quality of life and to the rights of all populations" [Rasheed 2023], but all true "partnerships must be built on humility, a willingness to learn, and a shift of power to individuals and institutions" in the global south [Chandanabhumma and Narasimhan 2020], and this philosophy should extend to academic as well as to clinical arenas. A reduction in the often-excessive author processing charge (APC) levied by many

journals has been widely adopted recently for LMIC authors, which is a welcome move in the right direction.

Strategies to Address Academic Challenges

The majority of funders for research in LMICs are based in higher income countries (HICs) and, up until recently, a lot of the funders required grants to be led from the HIC partner. This necessitated LMIC partners to be approached by HIC partners or else to find out which HIC partners might be interested in submitting a bid. Submitting such bids requires a lot of experience and support which are often lacking in LMICs. However, recently several grant calls have specifically stated that bids can be led by LMICs, and don't necessarily require an HIC partner. For example, there are now 6 National Institute of Health Research (NIHR) Global Health Research Groups (GHRG) which are led by LMIC partners and, while this is only a small proportion of the overall GHRGs, this is certainly a step in the right direction. Furthermore, two of the authors of this paper are presently undertaking PhDs with the direct support of academic institutions in the Global North. This has already led to several publications that will help signpost and sustain the development of clinical services in East Africa.

However, too many publications using data from Africa are still published in Global Northern journals by researchers without inclusion of those who collected the data or to whom the data relates. In addition to placing Africans at an academic disadvantage, this approach reduces the likelihood of a change in approach as a result of the study as those most affected are less likely to receive appropriate feedback. A recent paper on the microbiome of hunter-gatherers in Tanzania excluded those who collected the data and offered no feedback to the tribe who had agreed to produce the samples in exchange for scientific advice [Carter et al, 2023]. However, equitable access to grant funding and authorship for Africans is entirely feasible and should be the rule rather than the exception. A cross-sectional multi-centre study is underway to investigate sickle cell disease mutational burden across Uganda and Tanzania, with ethnically matched controls in the USA and UK, and has the potential to unlock gene therapy for this devastating condition [Igbineweka et al, 2023]. It is self-evident, in an academic environment where success is judged on the quality and quantity of published papers in tandem with grant funding achieved, that African researchers should have equitable access to grant funding and should be encouraged to seek greater representation on the editorial boards of influential journals. Indeed, not only editorial support, but positive discrimination should be considered [Clark et al, 2023].

There was an inevitable dependency on remote access during the Covid-19 pandemic which left many Africans struggling to remain involved because of unreliable internet access [Tremblay et al, 2021] or unavailable electronic devices [Makri 2019]. Colonialism still influences the structure and function of health care systems in East Africa, long after other legacies have left [Yanful et al, 2023]. Covid-19 was only the latest in a series of African epidemics, following hot on the heels of the Ebola crisis, which was related to chronic underfunding of the healthcare system because of funds being previously prioritised for profitable mining operations [Frankfurter et al, 2019]. This hints at the heart of the issue. European guidelines for maternity and ante-natal services recommend access to hospital support services for all [European Foundation for Care of Newborn Infants, 2018], whereas global guidelines in Africa accept a much more basic level of care with the attendant difficulties in transportation to the hospital if complications arise [World Health Organization 2009]. As Yanful et al state 'Highlighting such double standards may push health systems to change course, develop innovative solutions to facilitate access to comprehensive services before labour begins, and help achieve more equitable and effective systems' [Yanful et al, 2023]. Most African countries, including Tanzania, can only spend about US\$100-200 per person per year on health, while the UK invests US\$ 4-5000 per person per year into their healthcare [Wirtz et al, 2016]. A global and common health care standard may appear fanciful at present, but a hard-hitting article on racism in maternal care argues otherwise. Catalao et al suggest that new approaches are needed to tackle the root causes of race inequalities in this area, and that these are a direct consequence of both historic and current colonial policies [Catalao et al, 2022].

Although this paper focusses chiefly on decolonisation and its specific application to healthcare, it seems appropriate to reference the EDIJ agenda and other disadvantaged groups. Disability can be associated with reduced representation in academic circles [Lewis, 2022], and diversity may be under-represented among senior academics [von Below et al, 2021]. The parallel with the challenges faced by many people of colour is apparent. It seems self-evident that the motto 'nothing about us without us' [Charlton 1998] should be applied equally to all minority groups under the EDIJ banner, and that academic proposals should invite, involve, and include those on whom the research focusses and without whom there would be no story to tell. However, it is well-documented that this is not always the case. As recently as 2021, the proposed Spectrum-10K study came under heavy criticism for not including sufficient input from the autistic community within its construct, leading to a 2-year voluntary pause for detailed consultation [Sanderson 2021]. The invited involvement of patients and

academics to help design and complete studies relevant to them is surely self-evident. Such an approach is essential if the work is to be relevant and credible, and this approach facilitates a wider distribution of relevant information among those to whom the study recommendations apply. This principle is commended wherever possible for all people-based research as required by patient and public involvement (PPI) [Jackson et al, 2020]. Recent practical resources facilitating the widespread adoption of these principles are now published [Arumugam et al, 2023].

Future Priorities

A change in the balance of power is required with the evolution of an 'equal access to healthcare for all' philosophy [Basu et al, 2017]. The Global North must learn to work in partnership with Africans on their terms and in their own environment [Victora and Moreira, 2006]. Clear outcome measures must be discussed and agreed, with an expectation of mutual knowledge exchange [Hedt-Gauthier et al, 2019]. Practical, affordable, and culturally acceptable change must be considered in the context of a sound evidence-base, with lessons learned shared with the population from whence the data were derived [Bhakuni and Abimbola, 2021]. Indeed, given that PPI has become engrained into the philosophy adopted by clinical researchers in the Global North, why should Africans accept anything less? At a teaching level too, a change in approach is overdue. Perhaps the curriculum should include a reflection on the nature of colonialism and its effects on present day societal structures and related healthcare priorities [Skopec et al, 2020]? On a positive note, the introduction of newer technologies such as point of care ultrasonography into the Emergency Department, does save lives, and is now being taught in several LMICs in East Africa [Trovato et al, 2016].

Clinical research studies on newer pharmaceutical agents use data largely derived from the population of the Global North with few participants of African origin. Given such historically low representation in clinical studies, it is hardly surprising that African countries and their people might be sceptical about replacing their more traditional approaches to treating illness with drugs which have not been proven efficacious in the African population. Future studies should actively recruit from all populations to which drugs are subsequently likely to be marketed or made available.

An example of improving care in LMIC is the recently established African Network of Medical Excellence (ANME), which is an initiative to develop an integrated network of medical centres of excellence across the continent, affirming the right of every human being to access free, high-quality medical care. Their aims, as stated in May 2022, include: promoting the ANME model inside our own

countries to build a deeper knowledge of the system and to foster a higher level of political endorsement; Identifying relevant health priorities that can be addressed by a cooperative and comprehensive response, and that allow for the referral of patients from across the region; Improving regional cooperation amongst ANME countries and partners in order to reinforce the network and all its components; Strengthening efforts to mobilise resources from governments, international institutions, and donors to guarantee the long-term financial sustainability of the ANME.

The ultimate aim of decolonisation must be to provide parity across every domain to all people independent of who they are and where they live. Whilst gross inequality remains evident even within the UK, we must not let this distract us from trying to level the playing field elsewhere, especially as the Global North was responsible for marking out the pitch as well as inventing the rules. As a bard once famously wrote "All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players" [Shakespeare W, 1623]. Given the UK's recent political and financial disinvestment in Africa, we have a lot of ground to make up. We like to think that the development of equitable partnerships facilitates sustainable independence and that those willing to invest their time and experience in catalysing this process will be galvanised by the prospect of shared success.

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