The Closure of Philadelphia General Hospital and the Politics of Ownership

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David B. Smith <u>David.B.Smith@Drexel.edu</u> Center for Health Equality Drexel University School of Public Health The Philadelphia General Hospital Mystery: A Precautionary Tale for Public Hospitals

The nation's first hospital.

- Played a central role in the development of medicine and nursing and regarded as "indestructible as the pyramids."
- Disappeared without a trace and with little apparent impact in 1977.

Underlying the Mystery: Who "owns" our community hospitals? Investors: 889 (18%, a 5% increase since 1976) State and Local Governments: 1,119 (23%, a 7% decline since 1976) Non Profit Organizations: 2,919 (59%, a 2% increase since 1976)

Source: AHA 2007

State and Local Public Hospitals: **Direct Public Accountability** -Publicly Owned Accountability through elected public officials -No cost shifting, no one turned away.

Corporate For Profit Ownership Accountability: Limited

- Publicly chartered limited liability to investors
- Heavily leveraged ("owners" own little)
- Chains insulated behind "shell" subsidiaries.

Stockholders cede control to managers
 Designed to cost shift, yet almost 60% of income from government

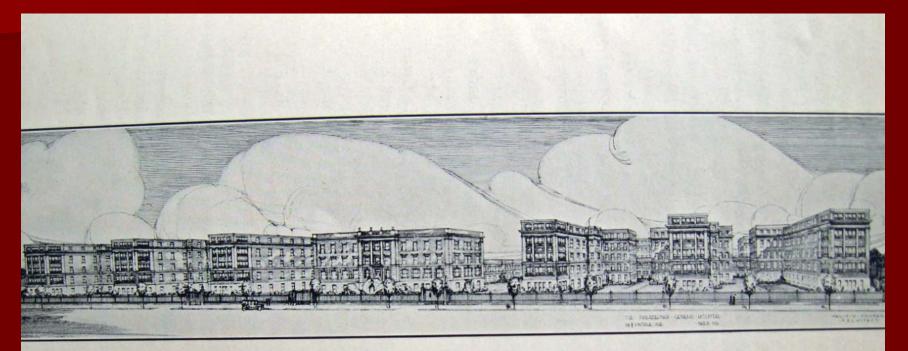
Non Profit Accountability: At Best Perplexing at Worst Non-existent

- Self perpetuating boards with charitable contributions accounting for less than 5% of funding for operations and capital projects.
- Direct subsidies by government and shaped by government plans (e.g. Hill-Burton) make it an "arm of the state."
- Yet, cost shifting behavior mostly indistinguishable from that of the for profits.

The Case of PGH: 1732-1977

- 1732 Philadelphia Almshouse
 1828 Philadelphia Hospital ("Blockley")
 1884-1888 Foundations of Modern Medical and Nursing Professions (Osler and Fisher)
 1928 "New" Philadelphia General Hospital Completed.
- 1976 Closure announced

The "New" PGH 1928



THE NEW PHILADELPHIA GENERAL HOSPITAL.

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Last Remaining Archeological Fragments 2007



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Gate From the Past Between the Present and Future



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Why PGH Closed: Portrait of the "Perfect Storm"

- Local Ruling Class Culture: "Quaker Egalitarian Individualism"
- Uncontrolled Growth of the publicly subsidized voluntary hospital sector 1946-1976 (Hill-Burton, Medicare/Medicaid, Hospital Authority)
- Medical schools centralize the contracting process
- Cream Skimming/Patient Abandonment
- Municipal Fiscal Crisis in 1970's
- Press exposes and black community protests
- Complacency and Powerlessness of PGH Supporters in the Rizzo Era

What happened to PGH's patients?

Inpatient census had already dropped from 1,858 in 1960 to 800:

- 400 Nursing home eligible transferred to the new public nursing home or other facilities
- 200 acute care patients covered by public and private plans transferred to other hospitals
- 200 "difficult placements" (Drug and alcohol, infectious disease, etc.)
- Outpatient load, in theory, transferred to district health centers.

Longer Term Impact

- Little impact on inpatient volume of voluntary hospital sector.
- Periodic crises in emergency department use.
- Periodic scandals associated with nursing homes and adult homes caring for the behavioral health and elderly populations
- Growth of the homeless population
- Escalating cost and increasing fragmentation of care: at best PGH closure resulted in cost shifting rather than real cost saving.

PGH's Failures: Lessons for the Future of Public Hospitals

Develop long term advocacy
 Create regional plans based on that advocacy
 Build structural safeguards

- Insulation/flexibility
- Independent funding streams