# Private sector: the Good, the Bad and the Ugly

Dr John Lister, Keep Our NHS Public, February 2016

# What's so special about Britain's <sup>2</sup> NHS? 1948 changes summed up:



UNIVERSAL ACCESS to comprehensive health care – including drugs, eye care and dentistry – free at point of use (funded from general taxation).



<u>Decommodified</u> health care. Went <u>beyond</u> failed pre-war 'market': created something NEW and superior. Low management/overhead costs

THE NEW NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE Your new National Health Service heads y July. What is it? How do you get it?

<u>Nationalised</u> (linked & <u>unified</u>) ramshackle networks of (mainly small) municipal, private, charitable, teaching hospitals.

### Much more than just single-payer

Formation of NHS opened new possibilities above & beyond "free at point of use"

- Neighbouring hospitals work together for first time instead of separately
- Health professionals to collaborate
- National training system for doctors & professionals
- Possibility of PLANNING resources to meet health needs of local population – many of whom private sector does not want
- (Later) replace smaller hospitals with new district-wide hospitals.
- Possibility of multidisciplinary teams.
- Research... Modern medicine ... & much more.

#### However since 1989

Moves to unravel and fragment NHS ...

- "Internal market" (Thatcher reforms 1990, inspired by Alain Enthoven)
- Under Thatcher almost no clinical services provided by private sector.
- Experiments with competitive market
- Labour NHS Plan 2000-2010 first private providers of clinical care (ISTCs, diagnostics, etc)
- Since 2010 full-scale reorganisation
- Maximum market opportunities for private sector to cherry pick services.

#### The progress of privatisation

**Privatisation** defined: The use of for-profit and non-profit private providers to undertake services PAID FOR, and previously PROVIDED BY, the NHS.

Began with contracting out **support services** (cleaning, laundry, portering, catering) 1984

Who now thinks that was a good idea? 1980s: new low-wage, under-staffed, exploitative companies formed to **compete on price** for contracts

NHS staff cut & casualised, hygiene compromised, MRSA maximised, quality minimised

## Labour gets in on the act



Pure Financial Idiocy. Picking up a silly Tory idea – and making it even sillier & more expensive.

#### Concordat with private hospitals -2000

#### NHS Plan 2000

- Diagnostics
- ISTCs

FOR SALE

£1.50 EACH!

ONLY

 Primary Care: Out of Hours, APMS etc Deepening the purchaser/provider split:

Break off and break up Community Services

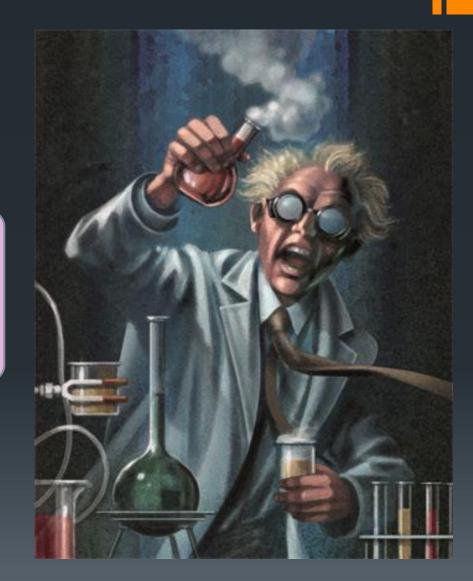
- "Social Enterprises"
- "Any Willing Provider"

## More wild experiments

'Franchising' & contracting out NHS hospital management

## **Good Hope Hospital** (2003) – costly failure

Hinchingbrooke (2012) – costly failure



## Health & Social Care Act 2012

Section 75 & Regulations require CCGs to open up services to tender from "Any Qualified Provider"

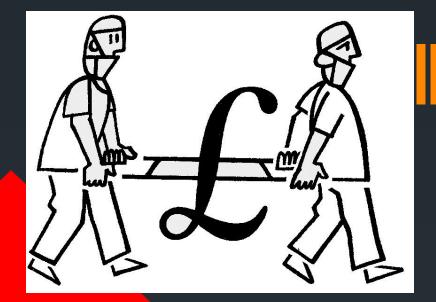
Who vets firms to ensure they are "qualified"?

Foundation Trusts encouraged to make up to **HALF** their income from private medicine & deals with private firms

CCGs spending millions on competition lawyers

NHS decisions vetted by Competition & Markets Authority

# Privatising ambulance services



Patient transport services privatised – savings from reduced quality

NSL failures – Derbyshire, Kent, Devon, Cornwall

Problems for CCGs disengaging from failed contracts

Company walks away from contract in Northants Private firms contracting for 999 ambulance contracts: would you trust them?

## Mental Health

Addictions and alcohol services	<ul> <li>Voluntary sector</li> <li>threat to more specialist services</li> </ul>
Child & adolescent mental health	• Virgin!
Mental health medium secure beds	<ul> <li>Poor quality</li> <li>Long distances</li> <li>Perverse incentives</li> <li>Inflated costs</li> </ul>

#### 'Lead provider' contracts ...

Staffordshire Cancer Services	<ul> <li>Daft idea. Process/opposition</li> <li>Interserve-led contract chaos</li> </ul>
MSK – Sussex	<ul> <li>BUPA contract – ended by BUPA because of threat to 2 A&amp;Es</li> </ul>
Dermatology Nottinghamshire	<ul> <li>Circle's contract brings chaos to specialist care</li> </ul>
Cambridgeshire Older Peoples Services	<ul><li>Process/opposition</li><li>Uniting Care contract collapse</li></ul>

## Community & primary care

Serco Suffolk Community health services

> Serco Out of Hours Cornwall

£126m Community Health Services contract Kent Losses & withdrawal

Failure & withdrawal

 Legal challenge by Kent Community Foundation Trust to Virgin winning contract

"Any Qualified Provider" 105 healthcare firms granted "any qualified provider" (AQP) status in 2013 – no vetting of quality

39 different services up for grabs

 physiotherapy, dermatology, hearing aids, MRI scanning & psychological therapy

# Privatisation in age of austerity

- Cambridgeshire
- Staffordshire
- Leicestershire support services (Interserve)
- PLUS Virgin, Circle, Care UK etc – all with hedge fund shareholders seeking profits ... but getting none



#### Not enough money to guarantee ££ profits

#### **Overhead costs of contracting**

Even when private sector does NOT win contracts ...

Costs of bureaucracy – purchaser-provider split

**Transaction costs** 

Management time and energy diverted from patient care

Management consultants

£awyers, accountants... etc

Estimated cost of Lansley reforms £3 billion

Estimated yearly cost of market **£5-£10 billion** – Commons Health Committee declared it a "**costly failure**"

#### Private sector – perceived "Good"

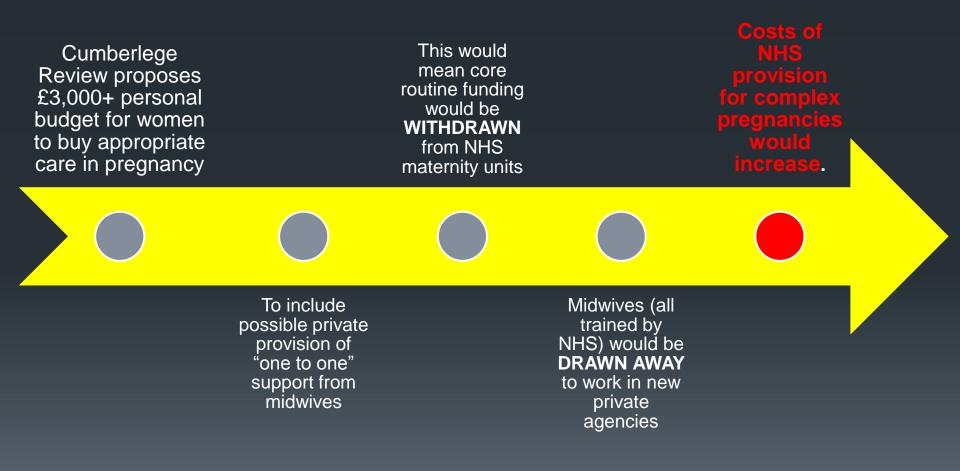
#### Care/cleanliness/food/comfort in private hospitals

- Quicker treatment
- Choice of time/flexibility

#### ALL this is an ILLUSION. Reality:

- Private hospital average size 50 beds
- **No emergencies**, or chronic, complex or risky cases
- No doctors overnight; no ITU emergencies & failures simply sent to NHS
- No multidisciplinary teams: but staff trained by NHS
- "Cleaner" because small buildings = fewer visitors + private hospitals use *in-house* cleaners
- EXTRA MONEY spent per patient = better food etc.
- Small, quiet, because *limited* services
- Flexibility = no emergencies, unused capacity

### **Personal budgets - maternity**



But private sector will always rely on public sector to cover emergencies, complex, chronic and costly care.

Pressure to erode NHS principles – restrict access. introduce charges for treatment, to create opportunities for private insurance

The privatisation we are talking about is all STATE-**FUNDED** 

England

is <u>NOT</u>

the USA

of **PUBLIC** BUDGET

Private hospital sector is **TINY**, & unable to grow or compete in "free" market. Sponsored by govts.

Inherent problem for genuine market in health care:

 INVERSE CARE LAW: those who most need most health care are least in the position to pay a market price for it

So in England a stunted, narrow private sector seeks to carve out slices We all know CCGs are under pressure to put services out to tender

But now also required to work with trusts on STPs in "footprint" areas

And "integrate" services, working with trusts, GPs & social care

Contracts need to be <u>monitored</u> to ensure compliance and corrective action taken

CCGs must account to CQC and others for contractors' standards of care.

So what has outsourcing (privatisation) got to do with heroin?

Both are nasty habits. The only sensible answer to either is **JUST SAY NO!** 

'Essential reading in the battle to save the NHS before private companies bleed it dry.' – Ken Loach

'This is the most important recent book about the future of the NHS. It examines the havoc created by Andrew Lansley's costly and damaging "reforms" and George Osborne's spending cuts. It's a must read.' – Owen Jones

In 2010 David Cameron's coalition government discarded preelection promises about the NHS. Instead they imposed savage spending cuts and pushed through 'reforms' which put at risk the health and lives of all of us. As a result the NHS is now in crisis.

NHS For Sale challenges their myths and lies, arguing that:

- The NHS is efficient and affordable and didn't need radical reform
- The private sector is not cheaper or more efficient than the public sector
- The government is privatising the NHS
- The NHS market is wasting billions of pounds while harming the service
- The Coalition's Health and Social Care Act: Has not put GPs in the driving seat
  - Has reduced patient choice

Has reduced community control over healthcare priorities Has increased bureaucracy and waste

This book sets out what needs to be done to protect the NHS against corporate greed, and enable future governments to meet the challenge of delivering high quality and affordable healthcare for all.

Royalties from this book will go to Keep Our NHS Public www.keepournhspublic.com

MERLIN www.merlinpress.co.uk



#### Myths, Lies & Deception Jacky Davis, John Lister, David Wrigley

www.keepournhspublic.com, www.healthcampaignstogether.com www.healthemergency.org.uk

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