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# Private Equity and its growth in healthcare

Atul Gupta

University of Pennsylvania and NBER

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# What is Private Equity (PE)?

## Private:

- Target firms are not publicly listed on a stock exchange
- No transparency on ownership or financial performance for those outside the deal

## Equity:

- PE partners raise funds from investors: pension fund managers, endowments, sovereign funds, and wealthy individuals
- Combine this equity with debt to acquire controlling stakes in target firms
- PE partners and investors keep profits from the sale of this stake when they “exit” in 5-8 years

## PE partners have three revenue streams:

- Annual management fees, taken from the fund (1-2% of capital)
- Share of profits from exit, usually 20% (known as “carried interest”)
- Annual “monitoring” fees, taken from the target firm

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# The PE playbook: How do they obtain profits?

## Financial engineering:

- Deal is financed 60-90% using debt, hence the term, “leveraged” buyout<sup>1</sup>
- Debt is placed on the balance sheet of the target firm, not the PE firm
- The use of debt helps reduce tax liability and increases return on equity
- Sale of real estate unlocks capital even before exit from the deal
- Dividend recapitalization – more debt on the target firm to return capital to PE

## Governance engineering:

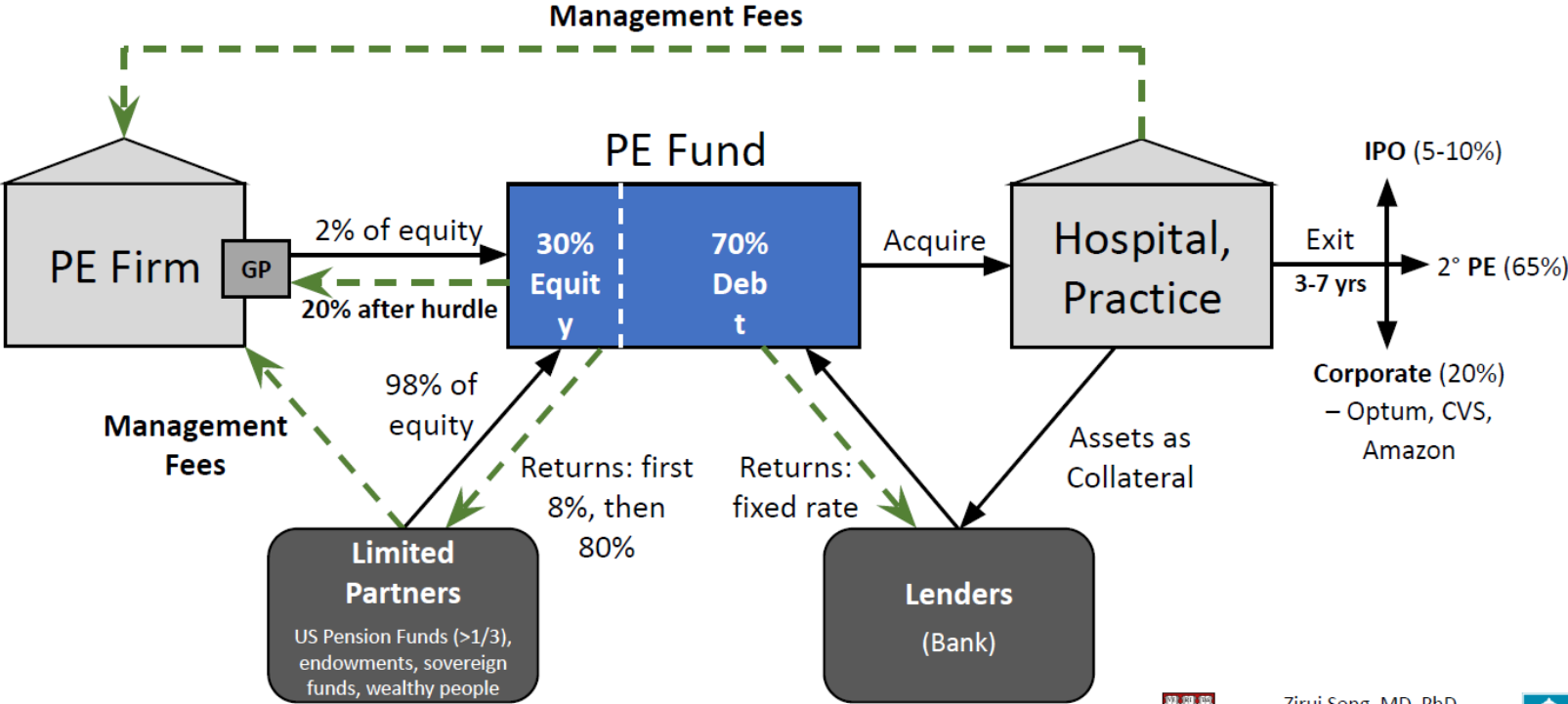
- Change the managerial leadership, rejig the board; change performance incentives

## Operations engineering:

- Costs: layoff staff, realize scale efficiencies (e.g., procurement)
- Revenue: renegotiate higher prices, expand volume (e.g., referrals), increase treatment intensity, upcoding

Notes: 1. Kaplan and Stromberg (Journal of Economic Perspectives, 2009).

# Visualizing the financing of and returns from PE investment



Zirui Song, MD, PhD  
 Harvard Medical School  
 Massachusetts General Hospital



Source: Dr. Zirui Song, Harvard

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# How does PE differ from conventional for-profit ownership?

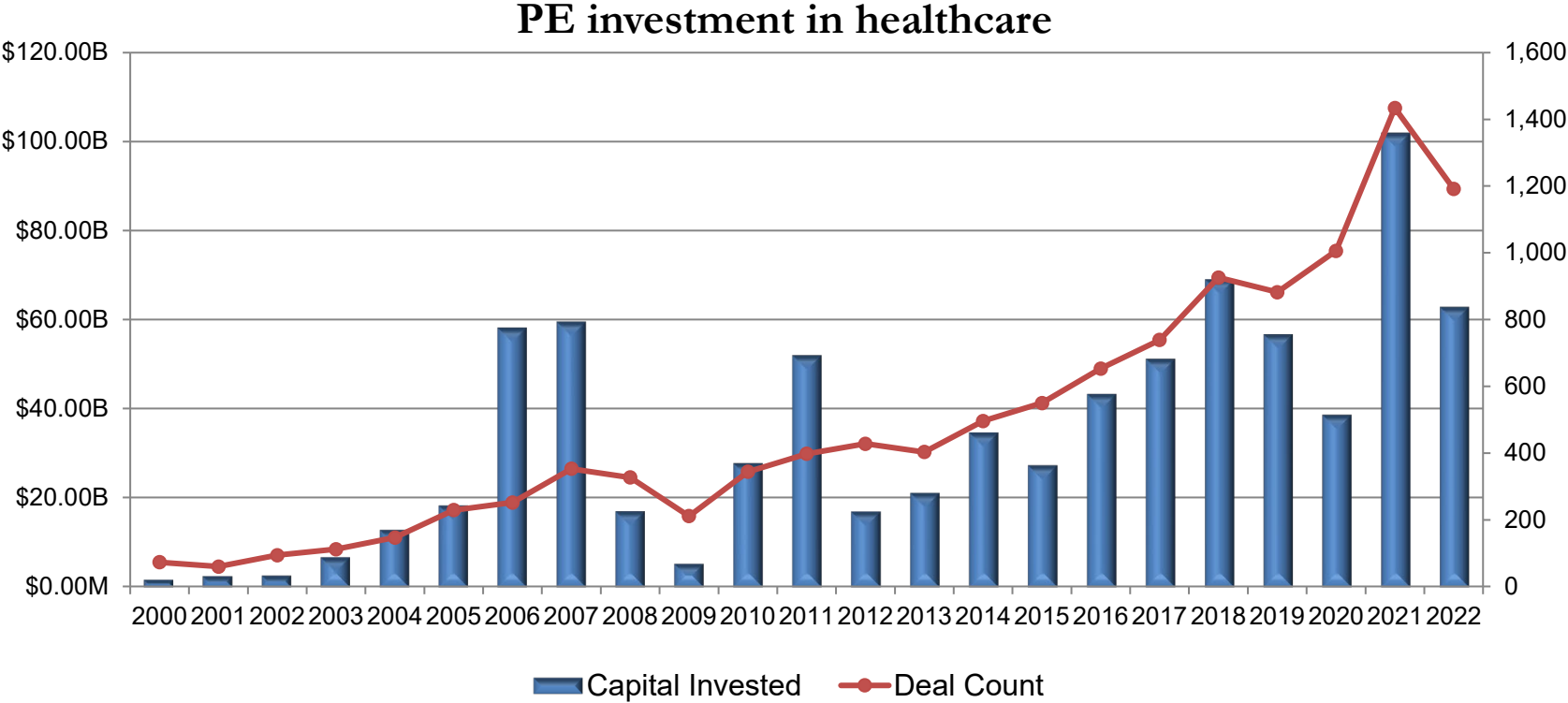
## Private Equity

- Target receives relatively little capital infusion due to large share of debt
- Short-term horizon: Increase firm value within 5-7 years for resale
- Moral hazard: PE firm can do well even if the target suffers
  - Debt on target's balance sheet
  - Loss limited to (minimal) equity investment
  - Minimal hit to reputation

## Conventional

- Transaction does not add to target's debt burden
- Going concern: Exit is not needed to make a payoff from investment
- Fortunes of investor and firm are intertwined, even more so if publicly listed

# PE investment in healthcare has grown dramatically in the last decade

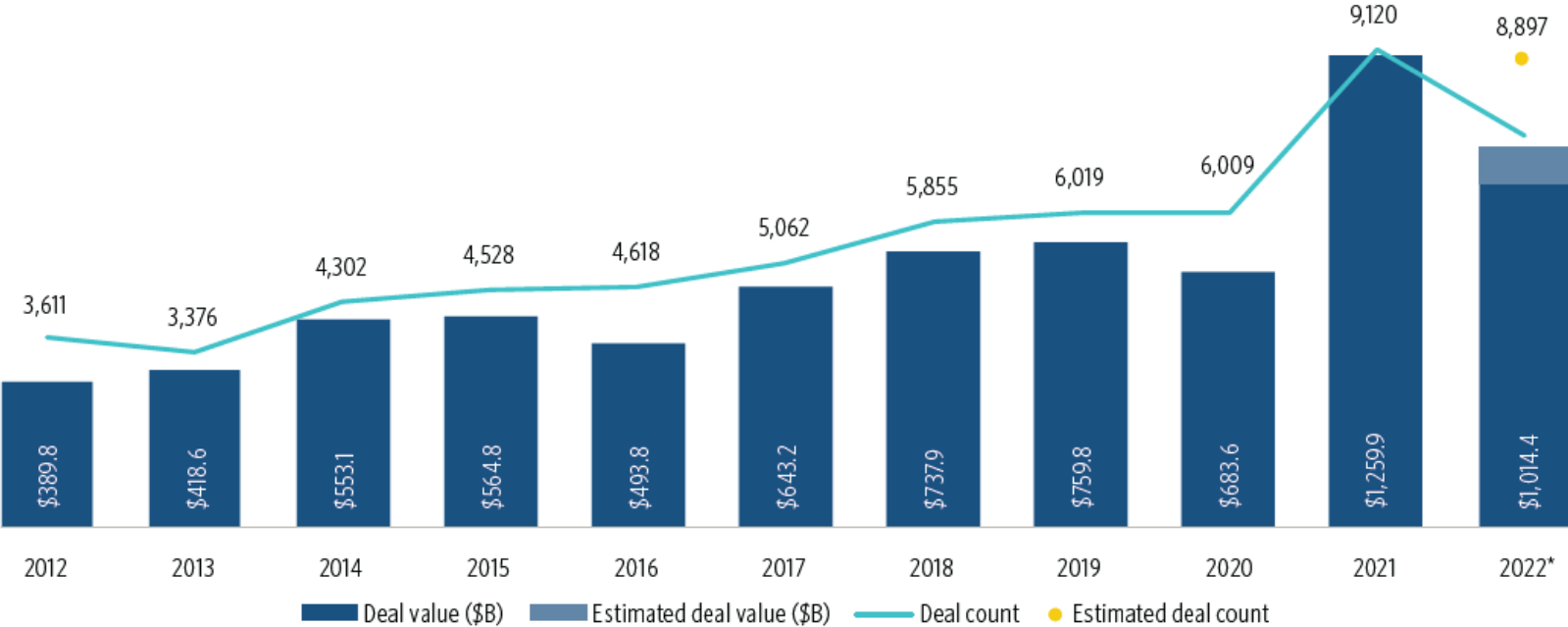


Notes: Figure 1, Howell and Liu (working paper, 2023). Data sourced from Pitchbook



# Healthcare accounted for about 8% of total PE deal value in 2021, up from 5% in 2012

PE deal activity



Notes: 2022 annual US PE breakdown. Pitchbook, Inc. Available at <https://pitchbook.com/news/reports/2022-annual-us-pe-breakdown>



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# Why has PE investment grown so rapidly in healthcare?

## Supply side

- Cheap debt
- Favorable policies: corporate practice of medicine laws relaxed, limited antitrust scrutiny
- Macro factors: recession-proof, aging society, govt. subsidies
- Micro factors: (nearly) inelastic demand, provider fragmentation, opaque quality and uninformed consumers

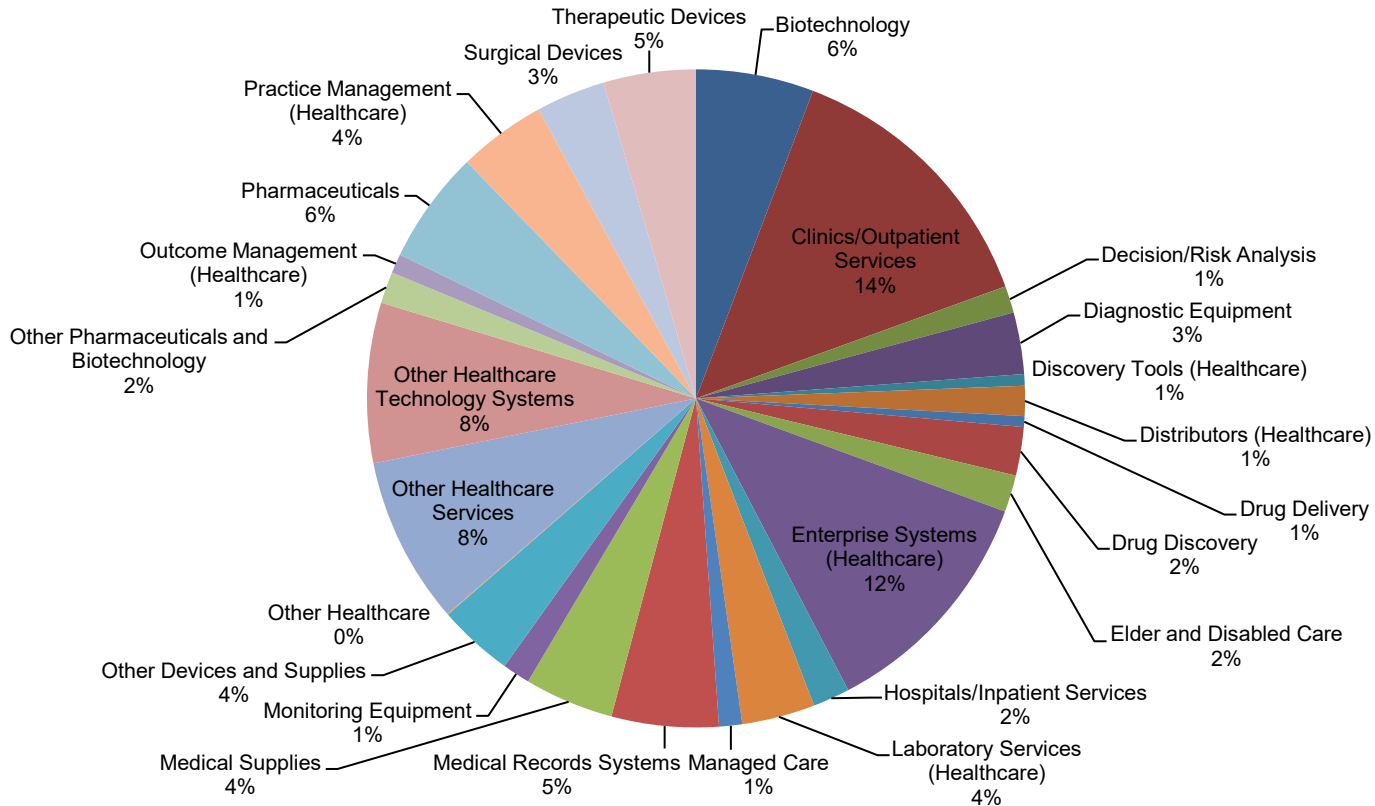
## Demand side

- Providers are looking for capital infusion to survive or scale up
  - Manage regulatory burdens
  - Afford IT and marketing costs
  - Negotiate higher prices
  - Defend against competitors
- PE typically nimbler than publicly listed firms and non-profits



# PE firms are focusing on providers and new technology/therapeutics

Deals in different segments of healthcare (2011-2022)



Notes: Figure 2b, Howell and Liu (working paper, 2023). Data sourced from Pitchbook

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# What is the concern over PE involvement in healthcare?

## Evidence from other sectors is generally positive:

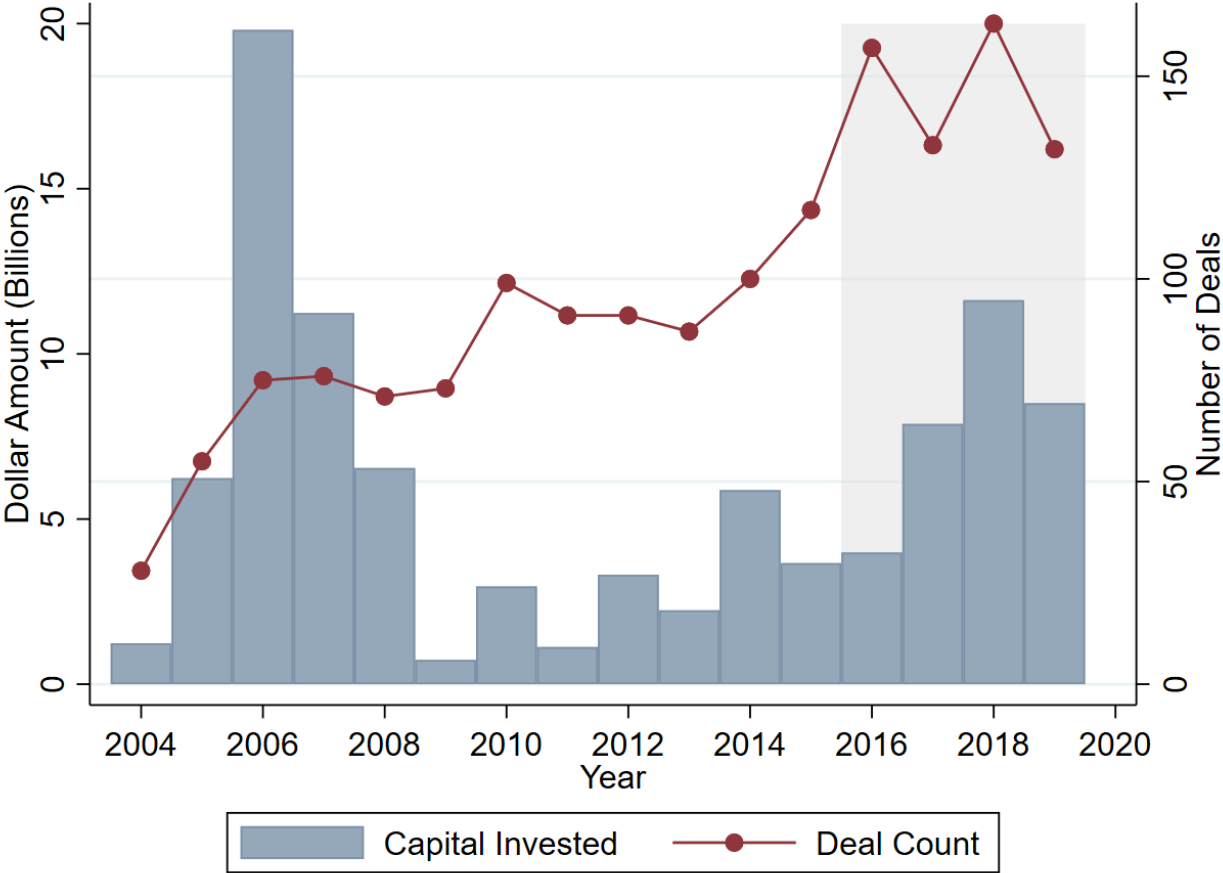
- PE ownership increases firm revenue, reduces costs, increases use of IT, in some cases increases service levels/quality (e.g., restaurants<sup>1</sup>)
- PE ownership also leads to staff layoffs. But since it increases growth, overall employment increases<sup>2</sup>

## But healthcare markets have some uniquely dysfunctional features:

- Low quality providers are difficult to identify and rarely punished by the market
- Consumer demand is relatively insensitive to price and quality
- Extensive government subsidies and fixed/inflexible prices
- Markets for some services are concentrated (e.g., hospitals, dialysis), and in general, very far from perfectly competitive

Notes: Bernstein and Sheen (Review of Financial Studies, 2016). 2. Davis, Steven J., John Haltiwanger, Kyle Handley, Ron Jarmin, Josh Lerner, and Javier Miranda (American Economic Review, 2014).

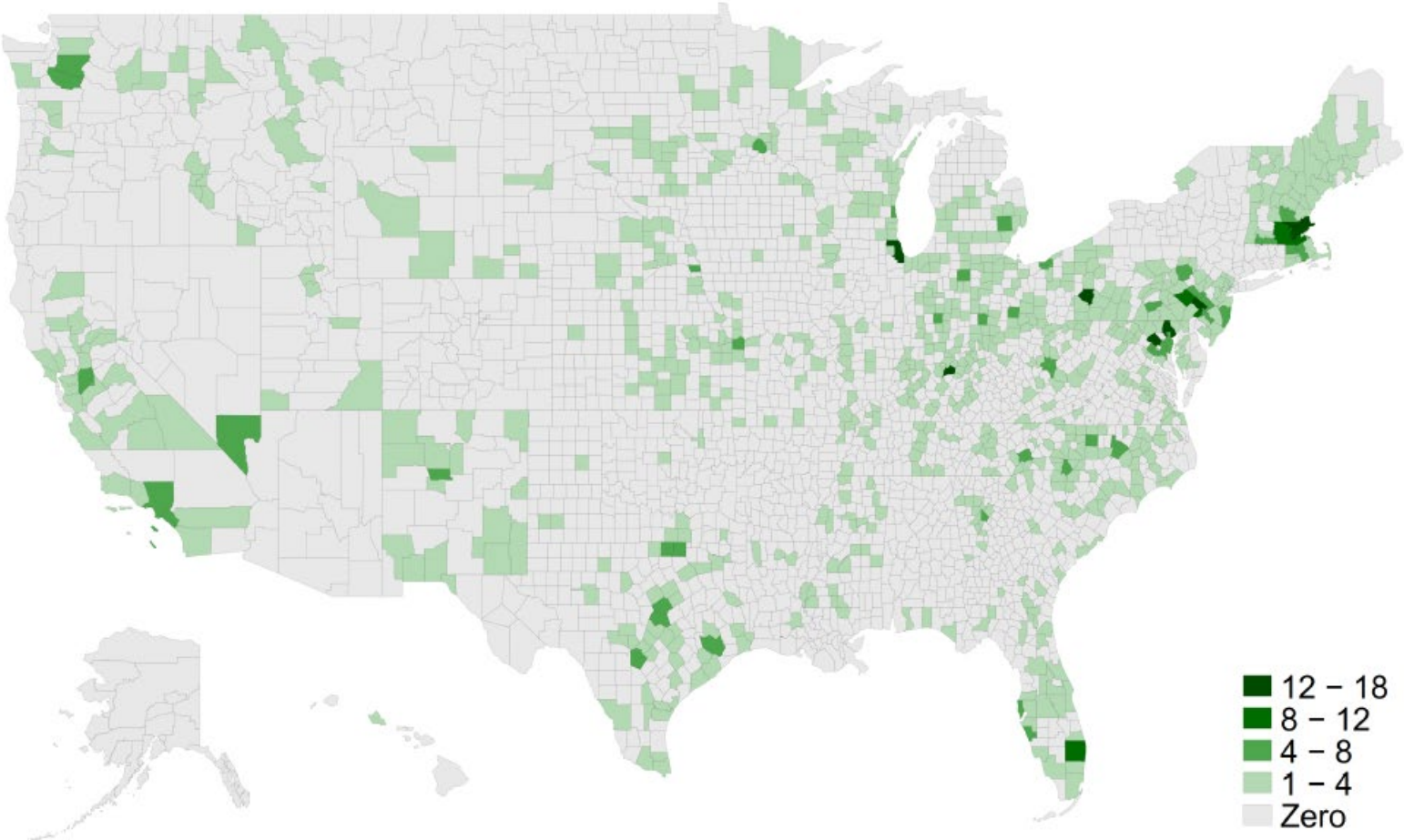
# Growing PE involvement in nursing homes and assisted living



Source: Pitchbook, Inc.



# PE firms tend to target facilities in urban markets

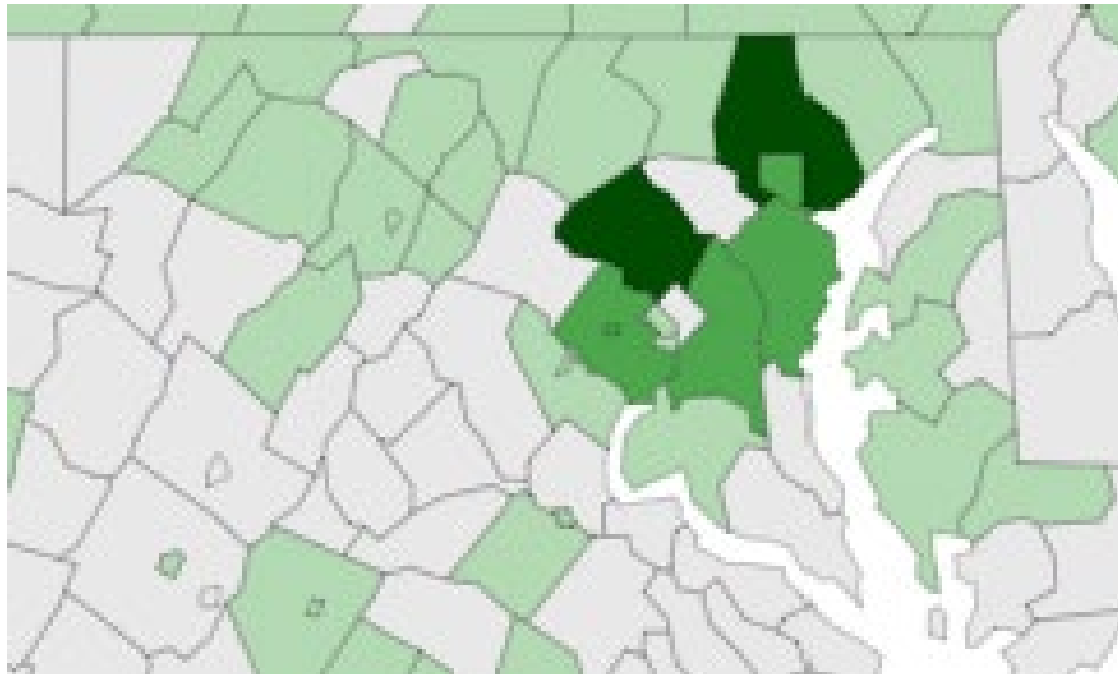


Source: Pitchbook, Inc.



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## Baltimore-DC area had a disproportionate number of PE-owned facilities



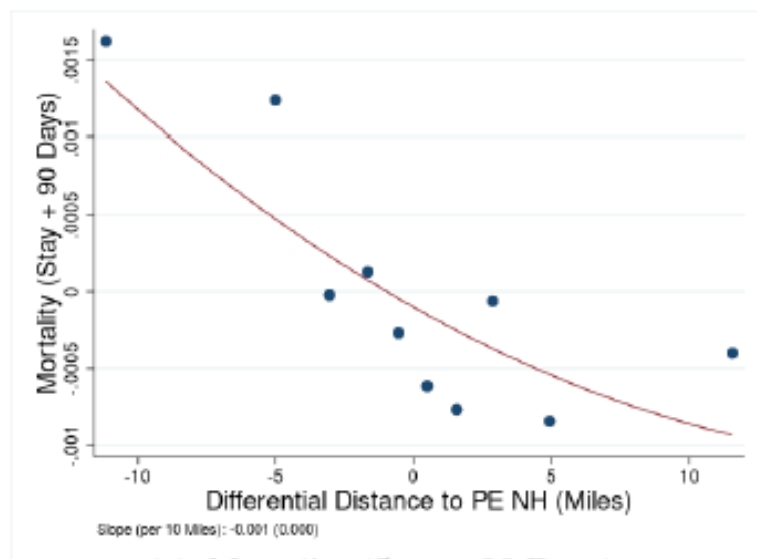
Source: Pitchbook, Inc.

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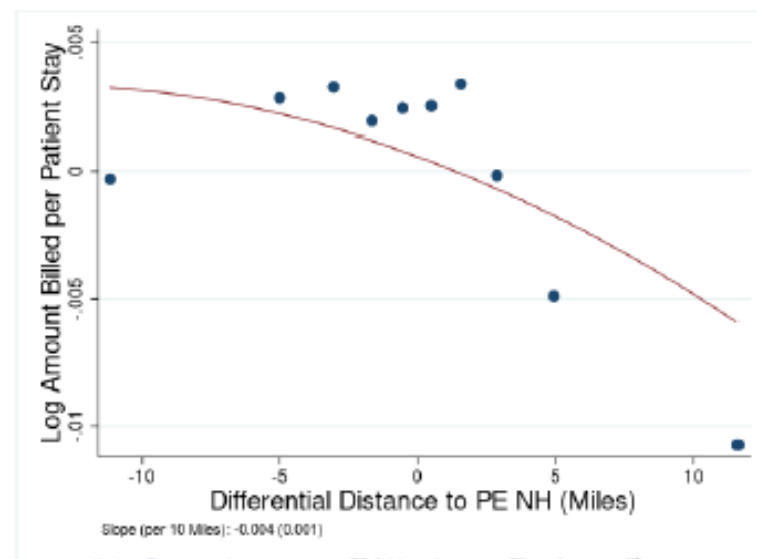
## Evidence on PE ownership for short-stay patients

- Gupta, Howell, Yannelis, and Gupta. “*Owner Incentives and Performance in Healthcare: PE Investment in Nursing Homes*” Accepted, *Review of Financial Studies*.
- Study the impact of PE ownership of nursing homes on care and health outcomes
  - Medicare short stay patients
  - 4.2mn patients admitted over 2003—16
  - 1,674 facilities bought by PE firms over 2004—15
- Bottomline: PE ownership increases short-term mortality by 11% and Medicare spending by 6--8%
- Mechanisms: Decrease nursing staff, particularly lower-skilled nurses; greater use of antipsychotic drugs; shift in operating costs toward financial costs

# Effects on mortality and spending for Medicare patients



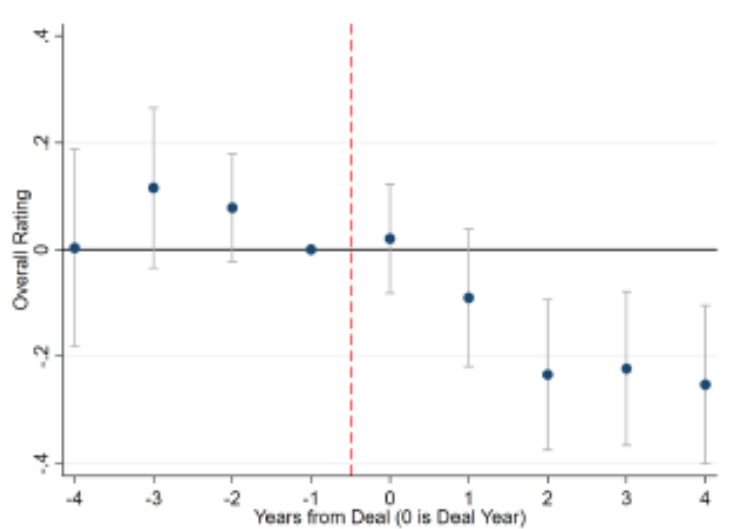
(a) Mortality (Stay + 90 Days)



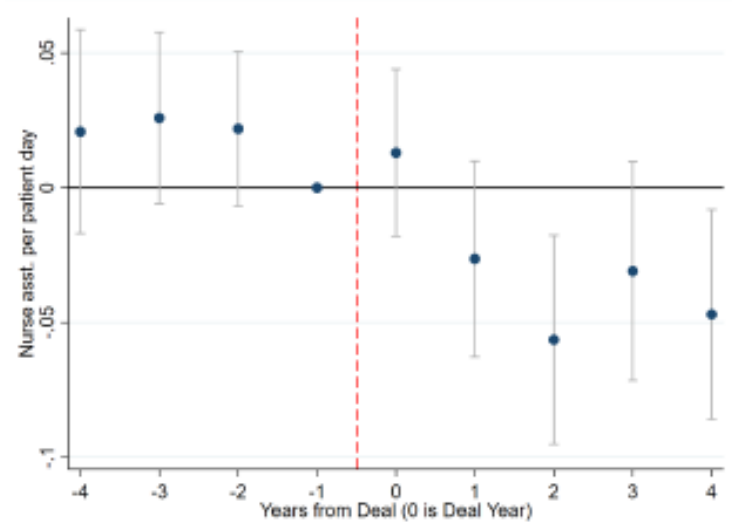
(b) Log Amount Billed per Patient Stay

Notes: The figures plot the differential mortality rate (panel a) or log amount billed to Medicare per stay (panel b) on the Y-axis against the differential distance to a PE-owned nursing home. Lower values of differential distance imply the patient is relatively closer to a PE facility than a non-PE facility. The figures indicate that patients located closer to PE facilities have higher mortality rates and spending on stays.

# Effects on quality ratings and nurse availability



(b) Overall Rating



(d) Nurse Asst. per Patient Day

Notes: The figures plot the differential overall 5-star rating (left panel) or nursing aide hours per patient day (right panel) at PE-owned nursing homes on the Y-axis in each year around the change in ownership (year 0). A lower value of 5-Star rating implies lower levels of compliance with standards, patient outcomes, and nurse availability. Similarly, fewer nurse aide hours per patient-day implies lower quality of care.



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## Evidence on long-term care patients also disturbing

- Braun, Jung, Casalino, Myslinski, and Unruh. “*Association of PE investment in US Nursing Homes with the Quality and Cost of Care for Long-Stay Residents*” *Jama Health Forum*, 2021.
- Study the impact of PE ownership of nursing homes on care and health outcomes
  - Long-stay patients (about 80% were dual-eligibles)
  - Nearly 260,000 patients admitted over 2012—18
  - 302 facilities bought by PE firms over 2013—17
- Bottomline: PE ownership increases prevalence of ED visits (11%), hospitalizations (9%), and spending (4%). No change in anti-psychotic drug use.