## Contents

| Illustrations  | xi   |
|--|------|
| Acknowledgments  | xiii |
| PART I: Market Menagerie: Planning the Health of Late Industrial Development |      |
| Introduction   | 1    |
| Health and Development in Late Industrial States                             | 1    |
| Barbarians at the Gate: Late Industrial Supply                               | 8    |
| Data, Methods, and Structure   | 19   |
| The Chapters Ahead   | 22   |
| Appendix: Sample Questions   | 28   |
| Well Beyond Market Failure   | 32   |
| A Time for Integration: Evolution of States and Markets                      | 32   |
| Technology's Insights for Markets  | 33   |
| Extant Systems and the Weakness of Ideology for Reform                       | 34   |
| Beyond Minimalism  | 37   |
| Bringing an Evolutionary Perspective to Development                          | 39   |
| The Fine Touch   | 50   |

|   | PART II: 1950–2000: Indian Market Menagerie  |     |
|---|--|-----|
| 2 | The First Market Environment: Trouble in the Making Phase I, 1950–1970s: Coveted Universalism, | 55  |
|   | Controlled Markets   | 55  |
|   | A Crucible for Learning: The Public-Sector Effort  | 57  |
|   | Nehruvian Efforts in the Manufacture of Medicines  | 61  |
|   | The Public-Sector Legacy Today   | 65  |
| 3 | "Essential" Markets, Public Health, and Private Learning                                       | 67  |
|   | The 1970s and 1980s  | 67  |
|   | Process Patents  | 70  |
|   | Price Controls   | 72  |
|   | Monopolies, MNCs, and Accelerated Indian Learning  | 74  |
|   | Trouble in the Making: The New Drug Policy and Production                                      | 75  |
|   | Taking Stock   | 79  |
| 4 | Demand and Democracy   | 84  |
|   | The Institutional Unraveling of Industrial Planning  | 84  |
|   | Planning for the Nation's Heartland and Outposts   | 85  |
|   | Demand and the Health of Health-Care Financing   | 86  |
|   | Industrial Slowdown and Fiscal Inertia   | 88  |
|   | Universalism and Demand Identities: From Control   |     |
|   | to Dissipation   | 90  |
|   | The Reemergence of Nonmarket Institutions  | 92  |
|   | The Ragged Edges of Consumption and Delivery   | 95  |
| 5 | The Second Market Environment: Learning by   |     |
|   | Proving in Global Regulatory Harmonization   | 99  |
|   | National Universalism and Global Nationalism:  |     |
|   | The State's Loosening Hold on the Domestic Market  | 99  |
|   | Institutional Shifts to Global Nationalism   | 102 |
|   | Expansionist Market Tiers  | 109 |
|   | Growing Innovation, but Not Access?  | 116 |
|   | Looking Ahead  | 119 |

| 6 | Demand as Necessary but Not Sufficient: Vaccine Procurement Markets | 121 |
|---|---|-----|
|   | Vaccines  | 121 |
|   | Health for Some: The Development Mandate                            | 122 |
|   | International Procurement Markets: Beyond                           |     |
|   | Government Failure  | 124 |
|   | Procurement's Effect  | 126 |
|   | Fine-Tuning Demand Policy Instruments                               | 128 |
|   | Learning by Proving: Health Policy as Industrial Policy             | 131 |
| 7 | The Third Market Environment: Uncertain State of                    |     |
|   | New Technologies  | 135 |
|   | Bringing the State Back into the Process                            | 135 |
|   | Process, Process: New Technologies Ahoy!                            | 137 |
|   | Advances Nevertheless   | 143 |
|   | New Technology Maps and Blurred Market Signposts:                   |     |
|   | Organizational Vignettes  | 145 |
|   | Finally, Niches and Local Relevance                                 | 156 |
|   | New Interactions for Old Players                                    | 158 |
|   | PART III: The Institutional Basis for Industry and Health           |     |
| 8 | Health Technologies in Comparative Global Perspective               | 163 |
|   | Instituting Welfare Regimes: Building the Double Movement           | 163 |
|   | Pharmaceutical's Historical Advance: Early Capabilities,            |     |
|   | Early Welfare   | 165 |
|   | Private Property Markets  | 168 |
|   | Collective Rights and Markets in Welfare Institutions               | 169 |
|   | Varieties of Health-Care States                                     | 17  |
|   | Late Industrial Suppliers: Marrying Late Capabilities with          |     |
|   | Later Welfare   | 174 |
|   | Revisiting the Institutional Triad                                  | 179 |
|   | Moving Forward: Transitioning Developmental States                  | 182 |

## x Contents

| 9 | Markets and Metropolis                                    | 186 |
|---|---|-----|
|   | The Design of (Re)distribution                            | 186 |
|   | Nation and City in Development                            | 189 |
|   | Universalism in Federalism: Between Capitalism            |     |
|   | and Commune   | 192 |
|   | Industrial Welfare and the City in Context                | 196 |
|   | Cities, Antibiotics, and Universalism                     | 199 |
|   | From Poor Law to Welfare Paternalism in England and India | 201 |
|   | Ahmedabad, circa 1915                                     | 202 |
|   | The Body Corporal and Politic: Utopias in Universalism    | 204 |
|   | The Quest for Healthy Places                              | 208 |
|   | Nations and Cities: An Evolving Social Contract?          | 211 |
|   | Limited Double Movement: Contractualism and               |     |
|   | Bo(u)nds of Exchange                                      | 214 |
|   | Conclusion: Soft Determinism in the Market Menagerie      | 219 |
|   | Infusing Evolution into Economic Plans                    | 219 |
|   | Planning Process and Outcomes                             | 222 |
|   | Soft Determinism in a New Pharmaceutical World            | 228 |
|   | Intervening in Variety                                    | 230 |
|   | Evolution and Orchestration of the Social Contract        | 238 |
|   | Market Variety and Morality: Planning with Small          |     |
|   | and Large "P"   | 242 |
|   | Notes   | 247 |
|   | Index   | 311 |