

The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier

The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier: Understanding the Struggles of the World's Poorest Nations
the bottom billion by paul collier is a groundbreaking book that sheds light on a group of people often overlooked in global development discussions. Paul Collier, a renowned economist and development expert, dives deep into the challenges faced by the poorest one billion individuals living in the world's most fragile and conflict-ridden countries. In this article, we'll explore the key themes of the book, why it remains relevant today, and what lessons it offers for policymakers, international organizations, and anyone interested in global poverty and development.

Who Are the Bottom Billion?

When Paul Collier talks about "the bottom billion," he refers to roughly one billion people trapped in countries that have failed to progress economically over the past several decades. These countries are distinct from the broader developing world because they are often stuck in what Collier calls "development traps." Unlike countries experiencing steady growth, the nations housing the bottom billion struggle with persistent poverty, poor governance, civil wars, and isolation from global trade. These nations are mostly found in sub-Saharan Africa, parts of Asia, and some fragile states in other regions. What makes their situation particularly dire is that conventional development strategies often don't work for them, requiring tailored approaches to break the cycle of poverty.

Key Traps Identified in The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier

One of the most valuable contributions of Collier's analysis is his identification of four primary traps that keep the bottom billion from advancing:

1. The Conflict Trap

Countries with chronic civil wars or political instability face enormous hurdles. Conflict destroys infrastructure, displaces populations, and deters investment. Collier highlights that many of the bottom billion live in nations where internal conflicts have become a vicious cycle, making peace and development incredibly difficult to achieve.

2. The Natural Resource Trap

While natural resources might seem like a blessing, Collier explains that they often become a curse for poor countries. Resource wealth can fuel corruption, conflict, and economic mismanagement. This paradox, often referred to as the "resource curse," means that countries rich in oil, minerals, or diamonds sometimes end up poorer and more unstable than those without such resources.

3. The Landlocked with Bad Neighbors Trap

Geography plays a crucial role in development. Countries that are landlocked and surrounded by unstable or economically weak neighbors face enormous challenges in accessing markets and integrating into the global economy. Collier points out that these geographic disadvantages significantly limit trade and growth opportunities.

4. The Bad Governance Trap

Poor governance, corruption, and weak institutions are perhaps the most difficult traps to escape. Without effective leadership and transparent institutions, development initiatives falter, aid is misused, and citizens lose trust in the state. Collier stresses that improving governance is fundamental to addressing the bottom billion's plight.

Why The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier Matters Today

Even years after its publication, the insights from *The Bottom Billion* remain crucial for understanding global inequality. While global poverty has decreased overall, the bottom billion continue to lag behind, stuck in a cycle of hardship that the international community struggles to break. Collier's work challenges the simplistic narrative that all developing countries are on an inevitable path to prosperity. This book also influenced how policymakers think about aid and development assistance. Instead of treating all poor countries the same, Collier advocates for targeted, context-specific strategies that acknowledge the unique challenges of the bottom billion.

Impact on International Aid and Policy

Following the ideas presented in *The Bottom Billion*, many development agencies and governments have reconsidered their approaches to aid. Some key shifts inspired by Collier's work include:

1. Focusing aid on countries with the potential to make progress rather than those mired in conflict.
2. Supporting peacekeeping and conflict resolution as prerequisites for development.
3. Encouraging transparency and good governance reforms as part of aid agreements.
4. Promoting regional cooperation to help landlocked countries overcome geographic disadvantages.

Lessons from The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier for Sustainable Development

Collier's book offers several valuable lessons for anyone interested in development economics, international relations, or humanitarian efforts:

Understanding Complexity

One of the biggest takeaways is the importance of recognizing the complexity of poverty. The bottom billion face intertwined problems that require multifaceted solutions. Quick fixes or one-size-fits-all policies often fail because they don't address the root causes embedded in conflict, governance, and geography.

The Role of Global Cooperation

Collier emphasizes that solving the issues of the bottom billion isn't just the responsibility of the countries themselves. The global community must play an active role through fair trade policies, conflict prevention, and thoughtful aid programs. Collaboration between governments, NGOs, and private sectors is vital.

Encouraging Long-Term Commitment

Development is not a short-term project but a long-term process. The bottom billion need sustained support that adapts to changing circumstances. Collier warns against abandoning countries when progress is slow, urging commitment even in the face of setbacks.

Critiques and Further Discussions

While *The Bottom Billion* by Paul Collier has been widely praised, it has also sparked debates among scholars and practitioners. Some critics argue that Collier's framework may oversimplify the diversity of challenges across different countries. Others feel that the emphasis on state-led solutions overlooks the potential of grassroots movements and local entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, such discussions only highlight the book's significance in prompting deeper examination of persistent poverty. It has opened doors for further research on fragile states and development traps, inspiring a new generation of development thinkers.

How To Apply Insights from The Bottom Billion in Today's World

For those working in development or simply interested in global issues, Paul Collier's analysis provides practical guidance:

1. **Focus on conflict resolution:** Supporting peacebuilding initiatives can create the stability needed for economic growth.
2. **Push for governance reforms:** Encouraging transparency and accountability helps build trust and effective institutions.
3. **Support economic diversification:** Helping resource-dependent countries develop other sectors reduces vulnerability.
4. **Promote regional integration:** Working to improve trade routes and regional cooperation benefits landlocked nations.

By keeping these principles in mind, policymakers and development professionals can better

tailor their strategies to help the bottom billion move toward sustainable prosperity. The bottom billion by Paul Collier remains a vital reference point for anyone seeking to understand why some countries remain trapped in poverty despite global progress. Its insightful analysis, combined with practical policy recommendations, continues to influence how the world approaches the complex challenge of lifting the poorest nations out of stagnation. As global dynamics evolve, revisiting Collier's work offers fresh perspectives on fostering inclusive and lasting development for those who need it most.

The Bottom Billion: Paul Collier's Framework for Understanding the World's Most Marginalized Populations

Paul Collier's seminal work, *The Bottom Billion: Developing Countries in the Age of Globalization* (2007), represents a foundational contribution to development economics and political science, offering a rigorous, empirically grounded typology and analysis of the 60–100 million people concentrated in the world's most disadvantaged and conflict-affected low-income countries—what Collier terms “the Bottom Billion.” This group, defined not merely by poverty but by systemic exclusion, institutional fragility, and exposure to violence, occupies a critical nexus in global development discourse. Collier's framework transcends conventional poverty narratives by dissecting the structural, political, and economic mechanisms that entrench this marginalization, providing actionable insights for policymakers, researchers, and practitioners. This article delivers a deep-dive exploration of Collier's bottom billion concept, analyzing its theoretical foundations, historical emergence, operational mechanisms, real-world applications, benefits, caveats, comparative frameworks, expert strategies, and evolving relevance in an era of shifting global dynamics.

The Conceptual Foundations of the Bottom Billion

Paul Collier, a British economist and director of the Oxford Centre for the Study of African Economies, introduced the “Bottom Billion” as a precise categorical label for the world's most impoverished and politically unstable nations—countries where extreme poverty persists not due to isolated shocks but due to compounding structural and systemic failures. Unlike broad poverty classifications, Collier's categorization isolates a cohort defined by three core features: (1) extreme poverty levels (median income below \$1,000 per capita), (2) institutional collapse or fragility, and (3) exposure to armed conflict, resource curse dynamics, and external instability. The Bottom Billion comprises approximately 120 countries, primarily in Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of South Asia, where decades of colonial legacies, weak governance, geographic marginalization, and economic overreliance on volatile commodity exports converge to trap populations in cycles of deprivation.

Collier's approach diverges from traditional development paradigms by emphasizing endogenous vulnerabilities rather than external dependency alone. He identifies five key “pitfalls” confronting the Bottom Billion: extreme inequality, youth bulges without opportunity, natural resource dependence

The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier: An In-Depth Exploration of Poverty Traps and Global Inequality **the bottom billion by paul collier** represents a seminal work in development

economics that sheds light on the plight of the world's poorest populations. Published in 2007, this influential book meticulously analyzes the socio-economic and political factors that trap over a billion people in persistent poverty, despite global progress in reducing extreme deprivation elsewhere. Collier's insights challenge simplistic narratives about development and provide a nuanced framework for understanding why these nations remain stagnant and how international policy might effectively intervene.

Understanding the Core Thesis of The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier

At its heart, *The Bottom Billion* by Paul Collier argues that the poorest countries are caught in complex traps that prevent them from benefiting from globalization and economic growth. Unlike middle-income developing nations that have experienced rapid growth, the "bottom billion" are stuck in poverty due to four key traps: conflict, natural resource dependence, poor governance, and geographic disadvantages. Collier's analysis departs from traditional development paradigms by emphasizing the multidimensional nature of poverty traps. He identifies that over 50 countries, home to roughly one billion people, have failed to grow economically since the 1980s. This stagnation is not merely a consequence of inadequate aid or investment but rather a structural issue reinforced by internal and external factors.

The Four Traps Explained

1. **Conflict Trap:** Many of the bottom billion live in countries plagued by civil wars and political violence. These conflicts devastate infrastructure, displace populations, and deter foreign investment, creating a vicious cycle difficult to break.
2. **Natural Resource Trap:** Paradoxically, countries rich in natural resources often suffer from the "resource curse," where dependence on commodities leads to economic volatility, corruption, and weak institutions.
3. **Bad Governance Trap:** Poor leadership, corruption, and ineffective institutions prevent the implementation of policies that could foster growth and development.
4. **Geographic Trap:** Landlocked countries or those with inhospitable terrain face significant challenges related to trade costs, disease burden, and isolation from global markets.

These traps do not operate in isolation; rather, they frequently overlap and reinforce each other, making it extremely difficult for affected countries to escape poverty without substantial external support.

Policy Prescriptions and Critiques

One of the distinguishing features of *The Bottom Billion* by Paul Collier is its pragmatic approach to policy recommendations. Collier does not advocate for one-size-fits-all solutions but instead proposes tailored interventions that address the unique challenges facing the bottom billion.

Targeted Aid and Military Interventions

Collier argues that traditional aid models are insufficient and sometimes counterproductive. Instead, he suggests more strategic aid focused on countries in the bottom billion, combined with "smart" military interventions to stabilize conflict zones. This approach has sparked debate among policymakers and scholars, with some praising its realism while others caution against the risks of military involvement.

Trade and Investment Reforms

Improving access to global markets and encouraging foreign direct investment are central to Collier's prescriptions. He highlights the need for richer countries to reduce trade barriers and for international institutions to support investment-friendly environments in poor nations.

Strengthening Governance

Recognizing that governance is often the most challenging trap to overcome, Collier underscores the importance of institutional reform. This includes promoting transparency, fighting corruption, and supporting the development of effective legal systems.

Comparative Insights: The Bottom Billion and Other Development Literature

The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier stands out when compared with other influential works on poverty and development. Unlike Jeffrey Sachs' optimism in "The End of Poverty" or William Easterly's critique of foreign aid in "The White Man's Burden," Collier strikes a middle ground. He acknowledges the limits of aid but also the necessity of coordinated international efforts. His emphasis on the structural traps provides a more comprehensive framework that explains why some countries lag behind despite decades of aid and development programs. Moreover, Collier's use of empirical data and case studies lends credibility to his arguments. His focus on the "bottom billion" shifts attention to a subset of developing countries often overlooked in broader global development discussions, which tend to emphasize either extreme poverty or emerging economies.

Relevance in Today's Global Context

More than a decade after its publication, The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier continues to inform debates on global inequality and development policy. The challenges identified remain pressing, particularly as the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated existing vulnerabilities in fragile states. Countries trapped in conflict and poor governance face compounded difficulties in vaccine distribution, economic recovery, and social stability. In this context, Collier's call for nuanced, context-specific interventions offers valuable guidance for international organizations, governments, and NGOs.

Technological Advances and New Opportunities

Since 2007, technological changes have transformed global connectivity and economic potential. Mobile banking, digital education, and telemedicine have created new avenues for development even in remote areas. However, the bottom billion often remain excluded from these benefits due to infrastructure deficits and governance challenges, reinforcing Collier's argument about the importance of addressing structural barriers.

Climate Change and Environmental Risks

Another emerging factor that intersects with Collier's traps is climate change. Many of the bottom billion countries are highly vulnerable to environmental shocks such as droughts, floods, and rising sea levels. These risks threaten to deepen poverty and conflict, complicating efforts to promote sustainable development.

Key Takeaways from The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier

1. **Complexity of Poverty:** Poverty is not simply a lack of resources but often a result of complex, interrelated traps.
2. **Need for Tailored Solutions:** Effective interventions require understanding the specific context and challenges of each country.
3. **Role of the International Community:** Strategic aid, fair trade policies, and support for governance reforms are crucial in breaking poverty traps.
4. **Importance of Stability:** Peace and security are foundational for economic growth and development.

By unpacking the multifaceted reasons behind persistent poverty, *The Bottom Billion* by Paul Collier challenges policymakers and development practitioners to rethink conventional approaches and to engage with the bottom billion in more informed and effective ways. As global inequality continues to pose ethical and economic challenges, Collier's work remains a vital resource for understanding the intricacies of poverty and for crafting policies that aim to uplift the most marginalized populations worldwide.

Access to knowledge has always shaped how people think, learn, and grow. What has changed in recent years is not the desire to learn, but the way learning happens. With the option to download **The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier** in digital format, information is no longer something people wait for. It is something they reach instantly, often at the exact moment curiosity appears.

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Organization becomes easier with digital libraries. Files can be categorized, backed up, and synced across devices. Over time, readers build personalized collections that reflect interests, goals, and learning paths. Important information remains easy to retrieve whenever needed.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of downloading **The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier** is how it encourages curiosity. When information is readily available, exploration feels effortless. Readers follow ideas naturally, discover connections, and engage with topics more deeply. Learning becomes an ongoing process rather than a task with a clear endpoint.

Digital access does not replace traditional reading habits; it expands them. It allows learning to adapt to modern life without sacrificing depth or quality. With **The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier** available in digital form, knowledge becomes a companion that evolves alongside changing interests, challenges, and ambitions.

The Bottom Billion: A Paradigm of Structural Marginalization in the Global Order

Beneath the veneer of global economic growth and technological acceleration lies a stark reality: over a billion people remain trapped in a condition Paul Collier famously termed “the bottom billion.” Defined not merely by poverty but by systemic exclusion from the benefits of

globalization, this group inhabits a global periphery shaped by geographical, political, economic, and institutional forces that perpetuate their marginalization. Collier's 2007 seminal work, **The Bottom Billion: Developing Countries in the World Economy**, emerged from over a decade of field research across Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and fragile states in the Middle East and Caribbean, synthesizing data, interviews, and policy analysis into a diagnostic framework that reshaped development discourse. This article reconstructs the origins, evolution, and enduring relevance of Collier's thesis, examining its geopolitical roots, economic mechanisms, expert critiques, and long-term implications for global equity and stability.

The Genesis of a Concept: From Fragile States to a New Development Narrative

Paul Collier, a former director of the Oxford Centre for the Study of African Economies, did not invent the idea of global inequality, but he redefined its spatial and temporal contours. Prior development paradigms often emphasized governance failures or cultural deficiencies as root causes of poverty. Collier's breakthrough was to shift focus to **structural economic conditions**—the “bottom billion's” geographic isolation, resource dependence, and vulnerability to conflict—conditions that globalization, far from eradicating poverty, often intensified. His research, conducted in over 40 countries during the early 2000s, revealed a cluster of nations where low GDP per capita, landlocked geography, weak institutions, and exposure to violent conflict created a self-reinforcing cycle of underdevelopment. These were not simply poor countries; they were **trapped** poor, distinct from the “failed states” of the post-Cold War era and from the emerging economies of Asia. The intellectual lineage of **The Bottom Billion** traces back to dependency theory and the structuralist critiques of the 1960s, yet Collier grounded his analysis in rigorous empirical data. He identified five key characteristics defining the bottom billion: low income (median income below \$1,000), landlocked geography (increasing trade costs), conflict-prone environments (civil war incidence), resource dependence (natural resources as curse rather than blessing), and youth bulges (demographic momentum increasing social pressure). These factors, Collier argued, interacted synergistically to create “traps” — not just economic stagnation, but political instability, brain drain, and institutional decay. His work emerged at a pivotal moment: the post-2000 optimism of the Millennium Development Goals, the rise of China

Questions & Answers About the bottom billion by paul collier

No	Question	Answer
1	What is the central theme of 'The Bottom Billion' by Paul Collier?	The central theme of 'The Bottom Billion' is the exploration of the economic and social challenges faced by the poorest billion people in the world, primarily those living in countries trapped in poverty due to conflict, poor governance, and economic isolation.

2	Who are referred to as the 'bottom billion' in Paul Collier's book?	The 'bottom billion' refers to the approximately one billion people living in about 60 countries that are stuck in a cycle of poverty and underdevelopment, often due to factors like civil war, resource wealth mismanagement, and poor governance.
3	What are the main traps that keep the bottom billion in poverty according to Paul Collier?	Paul Collier identifies four main traps: the conflict trap, the natural resource trap, being landlocked with bad neighbors, and poor governance in small countries.
4	How does Paul Collier suggest the international community can help the bottom billion?	Collier suggests targeted interventions including better aid policies, military interventions to prevent or end conflicts, trade reforms to integrate poor countries into global markets, and improved governance support to help these countries escape poverty traps.
5	What role does governance play in 'The Bottom Billion'?	Governance is crucial in the book; poor governance and corruption are highlighted as significant factors that prevent development and trap countries in poverty despite their natural resources or international aid.
6	Does 'The Bottom Billion' discuss the impact of natural resources on poverty?	Yes, the book discusses the 'natural resource trap,' where countries rich in natural resources can experience slower economic growth due to mismanagement, corruption, and conflict fueled by resource wealth.
7	What policy recommendations does Paul Collier make for aiding the bottom billion?	Collier recommends a combination of aid focused on accountability, military interventions to stop conflicts, trade policies that favor poor countries, and international efforts to improve governance and economic management.
8	How does 'The Bottom Billion' differ from traditional development economics books?	'The Bottom Billion' focuses specifically on the poorest countries trapped in poverty traps rather than global poverty in general, emphasizing the unique challenges these countries face and tailored policy solutions rather than one-size-fits-all approaches.
9	What is the significance of landlocked countries in Paul Collier's analysis?	Landlocked countries with poor neighbors face significant economic disadvantages due to lack of access to global markets and infrastructure challenges, which Collier identifies as one of the key traps keeping the bottom billion in poverty.

poverty trap, economic development, fragile states, governance, conflict, aid effectiveness, globalization, resource curse, foreign aid, Africa development

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The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks are suitable for beginners seeking foundational knowledge as well as advanced readers refining specific skills or deepening existing expertise.

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The modular design of The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks allows readers to focus on specific sections.

The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks are suitable for beginners seeking foundational knowledge as well as advanced readers refining specific skills or deepening existing expertise.

The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks support intentional learning by encouraging focused

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The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks support knowledge standardization within structured learning environments.

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The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks align with modern productivity systems.

Standardization ensures consistent understanding.

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Segmented content helps reduce cognitive overload and improves comprehension.

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The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks are suitable for academic and professional contexts.

Professionals often rely on The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks for ongoing skill maintenance.

From an educational standpoint, The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks encourage active reading through annotation, highlighting, and structured navigation tools.

Search functionality enhances review and recall.

The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier eBooks enable careful pacing.

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Reading reviews is one of the most effective ways to choose the best edition of *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier. With many versions, formats, and publishers available, reviews help readers avoid low-quality or poorly formatted editions and focus on content that meets their expectations.

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Community-driven platforms such as Goodreads, Reddit, and specialized forums offer additional perspectives. These communities allow readers to discuss content in depth, compare editions, and share personal experiences. Recommendations from experienced readers or subject-matter enthusiasts can be particularly valuable when choosing educational or technical *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier materials.

Professional reviews from blogs, academic journals, or reputable websites can also provide objective evaluations. These reviews often focus on content accuracy, relevance, and usefulness, making them helpful for students and professionals who rely on reliable information.

Evaluating review credibility

Not all reviews carry the same level of reliability. When reading reviews, consider the reviewer's background, level of detail, and consistency with other feedback. Multiple reviews highlighting similar strengths or weaknesses usually indicate a genuine pattern. Avoid relying solely on extreme opinions and instead look for balanced assessments that discuss both pros and cons of the *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier edition.

Using Audiobooks

Audiobooks offer an alternative way to experience *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier content and are increasingly popular among modern readers. Instead of reading text, users listen to narrated versions, allowing them to engage with content while performing other tasks.

Audiobooks are especially useful during commuting, exercising, or completing routine activities.

Platforms such as Audible, Google Audiobooks, Apple Books, and Scribd offer professionally narrated audiobooks of many The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier titles. These versions often feature high-quality narration, clear pronunciation, and structured pacing that enhances understanding. Some audiobooks also include chapter navigation, bookmarks, and playback speed controls for added convenience.

For public domain works, platforms like LibriVox provide free audiobooks narrated by volunteers. While narration quality may vary, LibriVox remains a valuable resource for accessing classic or open-access versions of The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier without cost. Listening to samples before committing to a full audiobook can help ensure a comfortable listening experience.

Audiobooks are particularly beneficial for auditory learners or individuals with visual impairments. They also help reduce screen time, making them a healthy alternative for extended content consumption. However, audiobooks may not be ideal for detailed study that requires frequent referencing, highlighting, or visual analysis.

Combining audiobooks with text

Many readers find value in combining audiobooks with digital or printed text. Listening while following along in the text can improve comprehension and retention. Others use audiobooks for initial exposure and then refer to the text version of The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier for deeper study. This multi-format approach maximizes flexibility and learning efficiency.

Tracking Progress

Tracking reading progress is a powerful way to stay motivated and organized when engaging with The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier. Monitoring progress helps readers set goals, manage time effectively, and reflect on what they have learned. Whether reading for leisure, study, or professional development, tracking tools enhance accountability and consistency.

Apps such as Goodreads, StoryGraph, and LibraryThing allow users to log books, track reading status, write reviews, and set annual or monthly reading goals. These platforms also offer personalized recommendations based on reading history, making it easier to discover related The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier materials.

For readers who prefer a more customized approach, spreadsheets or note-taking apps can serve as effective tracking tools. Creating a simple reading log that includes dates, chapters completed, key notes, and personal reflections helps organize learning and maintain focus. Digital notes can be linked directly to highlighted sections within The Bottom Billion By Paul Collier for easy reference.

Using tracking for study and research

For academic or professional purposes, tracking progress goes beyond simple completion.

Recording insights, questions, and references while reading *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier creates a structured knowledge base that can be revisited later. This approach supports deeper understanding and improves long-term retention of information.

Tracking tools also help identify patterns in reading habits, such as preferred formats or optimal reading times. Understanding these patterns allows readers to adjust their routines for better productivity and enjoyment.

Community engagement and motivation

Sharing progress within reading communities can increase motivation and accountability. Many platforms allow users to join reading challenges, discussion groups, or book clubs centered around specific topics or genres. Engaging with others who are also reading *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier fosters discussion, insight exchange, and a sense of shared purpose.

However, sharing progress should always respect privacy preferences. Users can choose what information to make public and what to keep personal. Balanced participation ensures that tracking remains a supportive tool rather than a source of pressure.

Final thoughts on sharing and managing *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier

Responsible sharing, informed selection, and effective tracking are key aspects of enjoying *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier in the digital age. By respecting copyright, relying on trusted reviews, exploring audiobooks, and monitoring reading progress, readers can create a well-rounded and ethical reading experience. These practices not only enhance personal understanding but also contribute to a sustainable and supportive reading ecosystem built around high-quality *The Bottom Billion* By Paul Collier content.