

efficiency, to name just a few, would exceed the scope of this contribution. However, it is important to keep in mind that the rentier state approach represents only one specific combination of two general dimensions of stateness: different degrees of taxation and state spending.

		Taxation	
		<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
State Spending	<i>Low</i>	Weak state	Predatory state
	<i>High</i>	<i>Rentier State</i>	Welfare State

Figure 3 – Contextualizing the Rentier State Approach (author's own compilation)

FROM RICHTER (2019) OIL & THE RENTIER STATE

To highlight another important scholarly debate on the rentier state, a distinction is sometimes made between pure or first-order rentier states and semi- or second-order rentier states (Beblawi 1987; Schmid 1991; Beck 2009). The latter category includes countries with low or no oil revenues such as Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen, while the former consists of classical oil states such as the smaller Gulf monarchies and Saudi Arabia, but also includes countries such as Algeria, Iran, Iraq and Libya. From an analytical point of view it seems to make sense to assume that different levels of rent revenues explain different levels of legitimacy and/or stability among authoritarian regimes. However, suggested thresholds for differentiating between rentier and semi-rentier states seem to be chosen rather arbitrarily. The most prominent example is Luciani's (1987, 70) measure that at least 40 per cent of state revenues in the form of (oil) rents constitute a rentier state, or in his words an "allocation state". He gives no reason for why a country becomes a rentier state at exactly this point. An alternative way of looking at the question of whether different levels of oil rents have different political effects would be a systematic comparison of oil-rich and oil-poor countries over a longer period of time, looking at specific political problems in order to identify systematic differences in different policy fields. However, to the best of my knowledge no one has ever conducted such a time-consuming exercise.

Measuring the Impact of Oil Income