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Sub-national funding arrangements and fiscal equalisation in the United Kingdom



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Welcome



- Institute for Fiscal Studies is the UK's leading microeconomic and public finance research institute
 - Tax, social protection, labour markets, consumption, saving health, education, development and more...
- I help lead to areas of work
 - Sub-national public finance in the UK
 - Taxation in low- and middle-income countries
- TaxDev programme partnering with 6 countries – including Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Finance

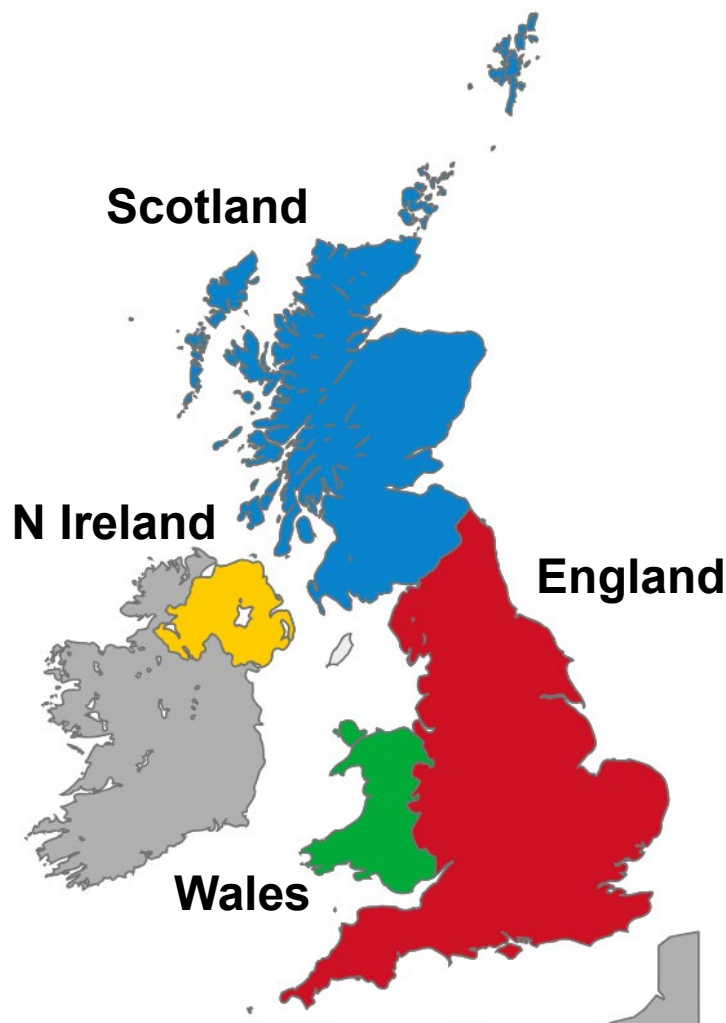
What we'll cover

- Funding arrangements for the nations of the UK
 - UK government is the English government
 - Asymmetric arrangements for different nations
 - Difficulty of reforming flawed systems
- Funding arrangements for English local government
 - Aim to account for variation in needs and own revenue capacity
 - System was allowed to atrophy leading to
 - Political will has enabled reform – but compromised it too
- Lessons from our (at best) mixed experience



Funding arrangements for the UK nations

Nations of the UK



- The UK government IS the English government
- Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have own governments, responsible for some areas of public policy and spending
- Funded by transfers from the UK government and their own revenue sources
- Arrangements differ by nation – asymmetric devolution
- Reflects history and politics – and a little economics

Block grant funding from UK

- Largest single source of funding for each nation
 - Intimately tied to planned spending in England via Barnett formula

$$\text{Block grant in year (t)} = \text{Block grant in year (t-1)} +$$

$$\left(\text{Change in planned comparable English spending} \times \text{Population share relative to England} \right)$$

- Arguments about what counts as ‘comparable’ spending
- No account for differing funding needs or population growth

$$\text{Block grant in year (t)} = \text{Block grant in year (t-1)} +$$

$$\left(\text{Change in planned comparable English spending} \times \text{Population share relative to England} \times \begin{array}{l} \text{'Special factor'} \\ 1.24 \text{ (N Ireland)} \\ 1.05 \text{ (Wales)} \end{array} \right)$$

Devolved revenues

- All nations determine and retain local government taxes
 - Largely property taxes, new 'tourism' taxes
- Powers over other taxes vary
 - Scotland has the most (inc. most of personal income tax)
 - N Ireland the least (long-distance airline tax)
 - Consideration given to corporate income tax to compete with the Republic of Ireland
- Unusual revenue equalization and insurance arrangements
 - Full equalization at the point these powers were devolved, and against UK-wide shocks
 - No equalization of subsequent changes in revenue capacity or nation-specific shocks

- Borrowing powers are highly constrained – UK government does vast majority of borrowing on behalf of whole of the UK
- Devolved nations can borrow (up to modest caps) for
 - Forecast errors for their devolved taxes
 - Capital investment
- Why not grant them more borrowing powers?
 - Fairness – there are no England-only borrowing powers, so unfair if other nations have unlimited extra borrowing on top of what UK government borrows on their behalf
 - Politics – UK is worried devolved governments will borrow to influence elections, and Scottish independence debate

Key lessons

- UK set-up is very unusual – direct lessons for Nigeria are limited but there are some broader lessons
- 1. Hard to reform unfair or inappropriate arrangements once in place
 - Barnett formula was meant to be temporary but has been retained (with ad-hoc adjustments) due to Scotland
 - ➔ Important to ‘get it right’ when reform opportunities do arise
- 2. Politics will inevitably play a role, esp. where different regions have differing bargaining power
 - e.g. Scottish independence
 - ➔ Need a strategy to respond to that when designing system
- 3. Need clear sense of what differences and risks that regions will be equalized for and insured against
 - Spending & revenue? National shocks & idiosyncratic shocks?
 - ➔ Agree a clear set of principles for the funding system



Funding arrangements for English councils

English local government

- Responsible for (some) schools, social care, public health, refuse services, housing support and advice, and other local services..
- Some areas have one council (unitary), others have two-tiers (county and district)
 - Unitary areas range in population from 30,000 to 1.2 million
 - Government thinks 0.5 million is ideal size (limited evidence)
 - New tier of “regional” mayors and authorities focused on economic development, adult skills & transport
- Funded through a combination of
 - Central government grants (vertical equalization)
 - Fees and charges for some services (vertical equalization)
 - Residential property taxes (vertical equalization)
 - Business property taxes (horizontal equalization)

Short history of council funding

- From mid 20th century, a complex system to assess councils' spending needs and revenue-raising capacities and allocate central government funding accordingly
- Reforms in the 2000s to make this system less transparent and more subject to ministerial discretion
 - Councils didn't like the spending needs assessments being seen as spending 'targets'
 - UK Ministers wanted more flexibility to allocate funding
- By early 2010s system had broken down
 - Much bigger cuts to funding in poor areas when funding cut
- Major reforms in 2013 ended needs and revenue assessments, with a greater focus on local business property tax retention

Balancing objectives

Redistribution

Insurance

Consistency



Incentives

Responsibility

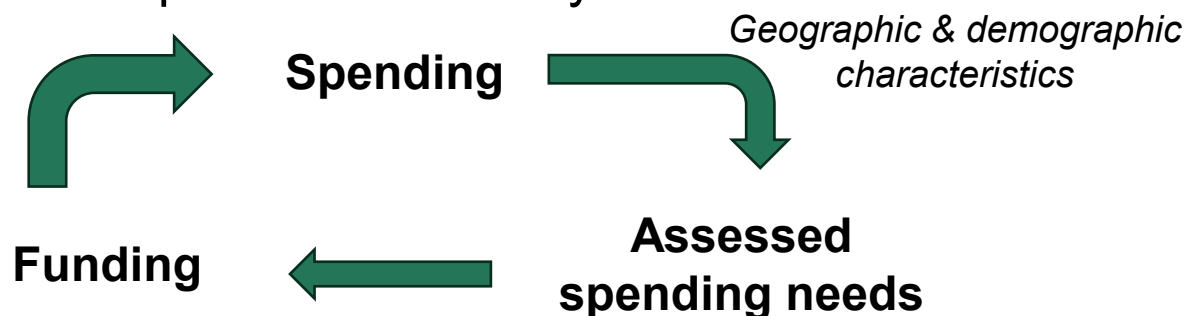
Discretion

Problems and solutions?

- Funding levels increasingly arbitrary
- No account of differential population growth let alone other changes in local area characteristics
- Government recognized that a bigger focus on incentives did not mean abandoning assessing needs and revenue-raising capacity
- In 2016 brought together working groups of central and local government, and public sector accountants to discuss principles and design architecture of new system
 - Updated needs and revenue assessments
 - Fiscal incentivization schemes
 - Potential new responsibilities
 - A funding system to bring this all together

Challenge: assessing needs

- Spending needs cannot be observed – must be estimated/assessed
 - This process is inherently subjective
 - Estimates can be prone to circularity

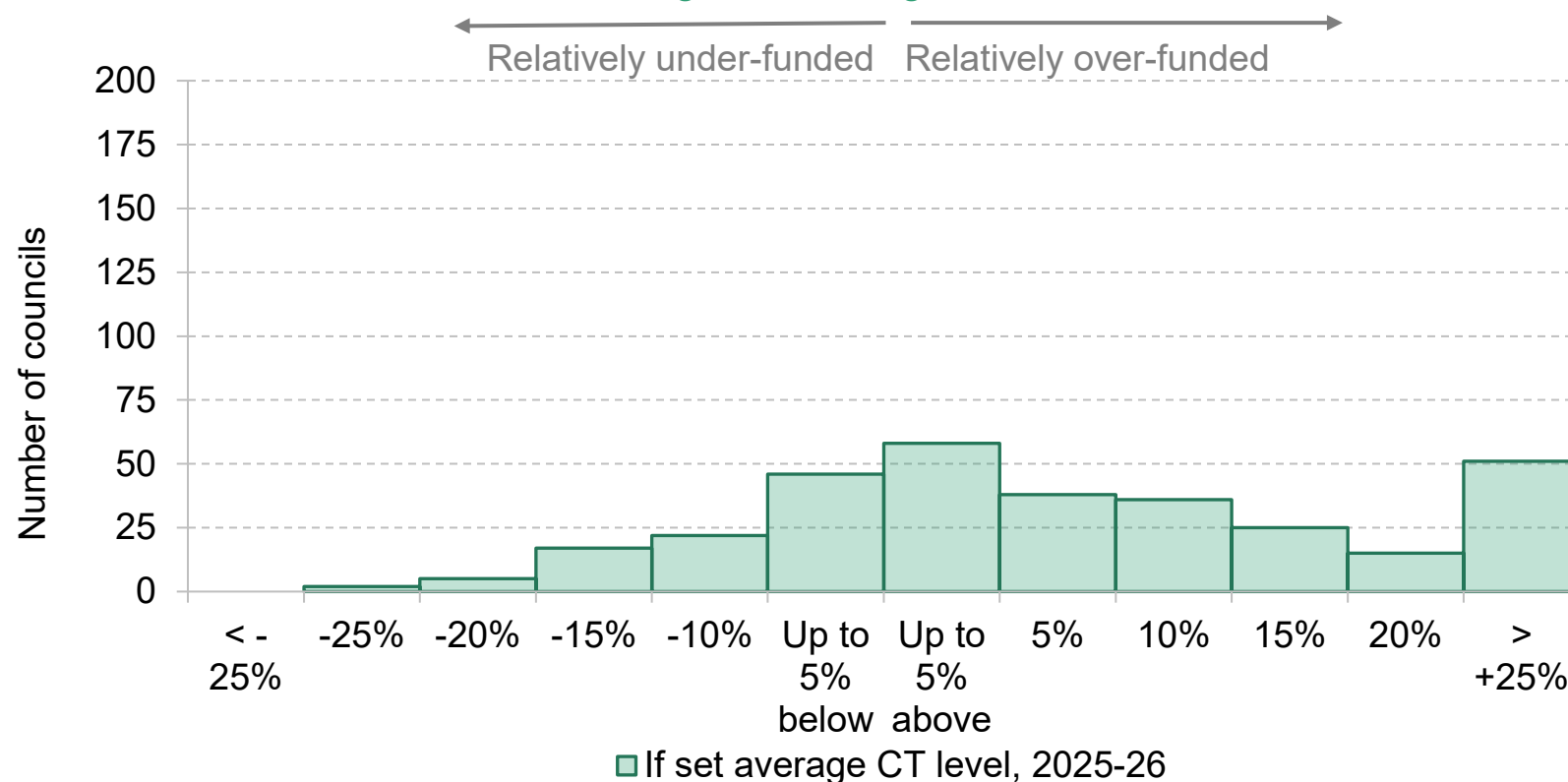


- Can use sub-council variation in spending to help avoid this problem
 - But requires granular data on spending
 - Doesn't solve problems entirely

Challenge: moving from status quo

- Breakdown of equalization system and changes in local characteristics means funding was far from assessed needs

Distance between share of funding with average CT and share of assessed needs



Estimated CSP if CT level was in line with assumed notional level by type of council, rather than actual level set in 2025-26 or assumed level set in 2028-29. Excludes City of London, Isles of Scilly, fire and combined authorities.

Breaking the deadlock

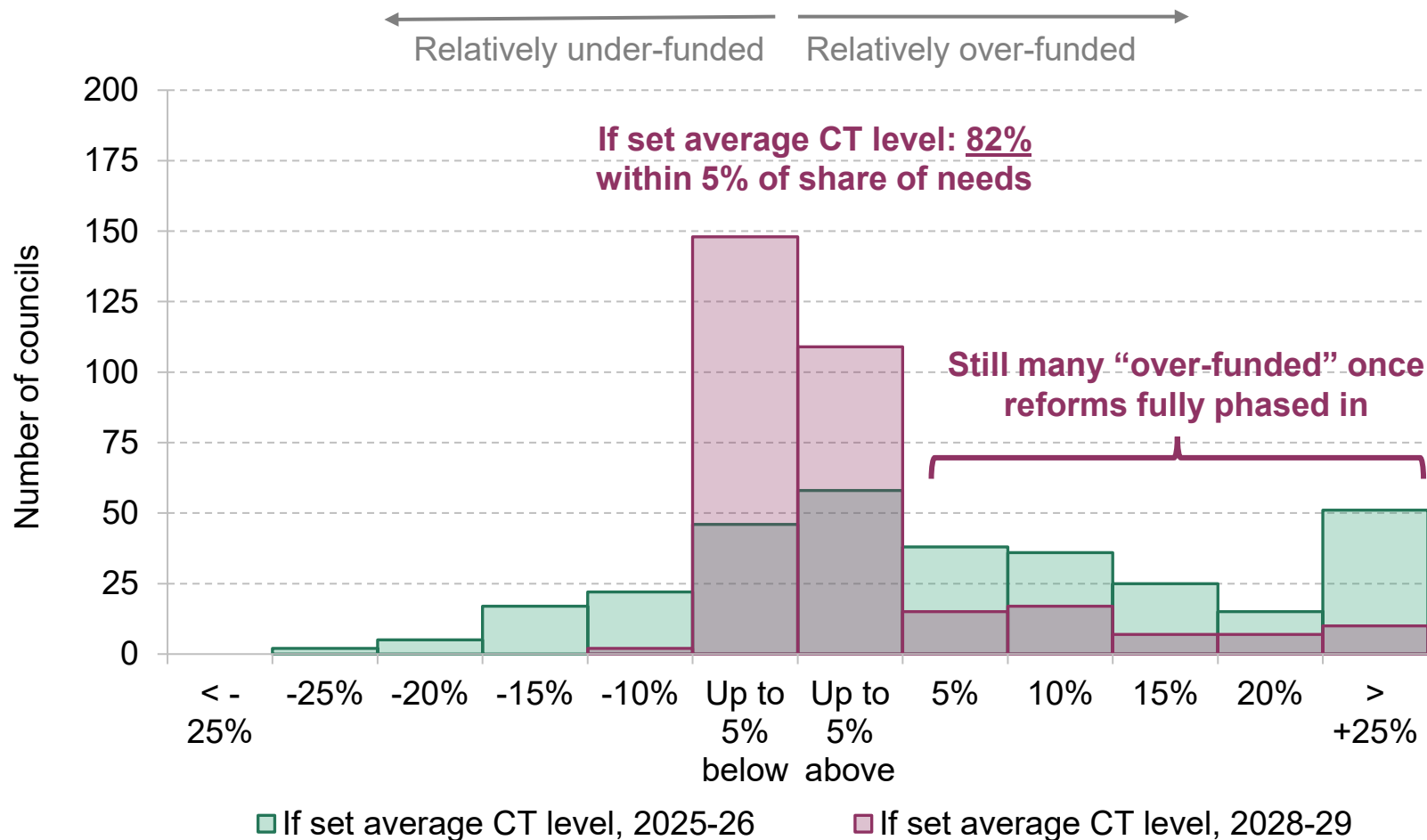
- Process for designing new system started in 2016
 - But after repeated delays no agreed plan by 2024 when government changed
- New government rapidly committed to reform with key principle to align funding with assessed spending needs
 - Consulted on principles in late 2024 / early 2025
 - Consulted on more detailed design in summer 2025
 - Less co-working with local government than previous approach
- New system to roll out from April 2026 and will result in major changes in funding for different councils

Key aspects of new system

- Updated assessments of spending needs and revenue raising capacity for all services bar public health
 - Aim to fully account for these (100% equalization)
 - Spending assessments use sub-council data where possible
- Aim to balance redistribution with incentives
 - Only update needs and revenue assessments every 3 or 6 years
 - Partial retention of local business property tax growth until horizontal equalization is reset
- Transition to the new funding allocations over 3 years
 - Funding floors for those facing the biggest cuts in funding
 - Councils serving poor areas allowed to retain 'temporary' top-up funding originally introduced in 2025-26 as a stop-gap measure

Big shift in funding – closer to ‘needs’

Distance between share of funding with average CT and share of assessed needs



Estimated CSP if CT level was in line with assumed notional level by type of council, rather than actual level set in 2025-26 or assumed level set in 2028-29. Excludes City of London, Isles of Scilly, fire and combined authorities.

Key lessons

1. If equalization system atrophies, funding becomes arbitrary
 - Many councils with funding over 20% different from ‘needs’
 - ➔ Keep equalization system well-maintained
2. Funding system design inherently subjective and political
 - e.g. service expectations, redistribution versus incentives
 - ➔ Clear principles needed (linked to constitution & citizenship)
 - ➔ Strategy for dealing with politics
3. Data and technical capacity will determine needs and revenue capacity assessment approaches
 - e.g. statistical analysis, judgement-based etc.
 - ➔ Careful balance between simplicity and potential ‘accuracy’



Final lessons

Key lessons

- Difficulty of reforming funding arrangements, even if clear problems
 - get it right when you have the chance

- Importance of a clear set of principles underpinning system
 - There are trade-offs between these

- Inherently subjective and political nature of funding systems
 - Build politics in or try to design it out
 - Needs to align with constitutional and political reality

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Key references

Devolved government funding

[Statement of Funding Policy.pdf](#)

[Fiscal framework: agreement between the Scottish and UK Governments - gov.scot](#)

Local government funding

[Reforming local government funding in England: the issues and options | Institute for Fiscal Studies](#)

[Provisional Local Government Finance Settlement 2026-2027 to 2028-2029 - GOV.UK](#)