



Land and Property Tax Reform in Puntland and Somaliland: Exploring the Connection Between Revenue Optimization and Service Delivery

OSAA-ACBF Academic Conference - 23.02.2022

Objective

- To learn from the Municipal Finance and specifically land and property tax (LPT) reforms carried out in Puntland and Somaliland since the early 2000s
- To find answers to two key questions of interest:
 - Can decentralization of revenue authority (particularly land and property taxation) and associated building of local government capacity lead to significant increases in Own Source Revenues (OSR)*? If yes, how is it possible?
 - Will increases in OSR lead to more effective public expenditure and improved service delivery? Why or why not?

Methodology



Context

Pre-Independence

- Newly created states in 1990s
- Little prior formal local governance
- Little prior formal local revenue collection
- Strong presence of clan and community politics

Economy and Finance

- GDP/capita around \$370 Puntland, \$700, among poorest countries in world
- Slow steady economic growth
- Livestock 60% of economy in Puntland and 30% in Somaliland
- Very high donor dependency and external support (remittances)
- Very low tax revenue % GDP ratio (3- 4%)
- Hargeisa and Bosaso ports key sources of local revenue
- High current expenditure & security-related expenditure



- Relatively stable compared to sourthern Somalia
- Al-Shabab presence in Bosaso, ongoing inter-clan rivalry
- Border disuputes

Reforms

Decentralized Governance

- 3 levels of government
- Local level run by elected mayors
- Centrally-appointed district committees retain significant powers
- Significant expenditure assignment to local level
- Municipal elections not very regular but took place recently in Somaliland and few districts in Puntland

Local Revenues

- Local revenues include transfers, donor funding, debt, OSR
- Transfers not based on clear formula in Puntland
- AIMS and BIMS software introduced in 2008
- IFMIS introduced in 2017
- OSR authority substantial including LPT, service fees, business license, etc.

Land and Property Taxation

- Taxes on land and property exist separately, plus tax on land transfer
- Property tax based on size of building (plus area-based rates per m2)
- In Somaliland rate is 0.006 USD per m2 at the lowest end to 0.16 USD per m2 at the highest end
- GIS technology used to register properties greatly increasing database

Results Summary



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Total Annual OSR



Total Annual OSR % of Total Revenue



Total per capita OSR



\$ 1,000 \$60 \$ 750 \$40 OSR per Capita GDP per Capita \$ 500 \$ 20 \$ 250 Borana Alghanistan \$ -\$ Malani B05850 Gaido Bunundi Loanda Burao Revenda Tarzania Ethiopia Taikistan Country Code OSR/capita GDP/Capita 2016

Annual OSR per capita peer comparisonç

Results – LPT Revenue

Annual Property Tax Revenue



Results – LPT Revenue

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Annual Property Tax Revenue as % of Total Revenue

Results – LPT Revenue

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80,000 60,000 40,000 20,000 0 Borama Burao Gardo Bosaso Estimate Properties Taxpayers Who Paid Property Tax

Compliant vs Estimated Total Property Tax Payers

Results Expenditure

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100% 75% 50% 50% 25% 0% 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 Borama Burao Bosaso Gardo

Planned Capital Expenditure % of Total Expenditure

Municipal Wages as a % of Total Expenditure



Analysis

3 Main Explanations

3 Minor Explanations

Revenue increases did not require improved service delivery	 Improvements based primarily on technological changes, more demand notices, larger taxpayer database Compliance remains low (below 50%), harsh enforcement measures still needed 	Covid	 Covid had an effect on the overall economy Covid does not need to break-down the revenue expenditure link
Public expenditure efficiency is not just a determinant of revenue increments	 The way OSR is raised matters. In some districts OSRs like checkpoints were very important (8x higher than LPT revenue) which do not strengthen the social contract) Fiscal Decentralization system is complex for citizens Many factors impact government perception (where overall issues of corruption exist with government, difficult for revenue alone to strengthen social contract) 	Local Government Capacity	 Capacity issues were present Capacity issues cannot explain ongoing challenges
Improved governance is not always a dominant regime survival strategy at the local level	 Enhancing service delivery is only one of many regime survival strategies Service delivery may not be as important as securing key partnerships, appeasing national politics, local elites Serious political push-back to improving revenue system in such a way that it would really improve local government perception 	Reform Issues	•Reforms issues were observed but these did not have to impact the revenue expenditure link

Policy Recommendations

- Strengthen the political incentives for local governments to raise OSR and land and property tax authority
- Address issues of corruption within tax administration as a priority for local government revenue reform
- Design simpler fiscal decentralization systems with cleaner distinction between revenue and expenditure assignments of different levels of government and a small but powerful range of OSRs.





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