

## Nigeria's 2026 Tax Reform Bill: How State Governments Are Reshaping Fiscal Federalism

By Staff Writer | National Policy Desk

### Introduction: A Defining Fiscal Moment

Nigeria's proposed Tax Reform Bill, scheduled to take effect in 2026, has become one of the most consequential pieces of economic legislation since the return to democratic rule in 1999. At its core, the bill seeks to simplify Nigeria's complex tax architecture, expand the tax base, reduce leakages, and improve revenue generation in an era of declining oil dependence. But beyond its stated objectives, the reform has triggered an intense national debate—one that cuts to the heart of Nigeria's federal structure and the delicate balance of power between the federal and state governments.

State governments, constitutionally empowered yet fiscally constrained, have emerged as the loudest and most organized stakeholders in the reform process. From Lagos to Kano, Rivers to Anambra, state executives and legislatures have submitted memoranda, position papers, and formal objections, arguing that certain provisions of the bill risk undermining fiscal federalism, weakening internally generated revenue (IGR), and centralizing tax authority at the expense of subnational autonomy.

As Nigeria grapples with rising debt, inflationary pressures, and growing demands for public services, the 2026 Tax Reform Bill represents more than a technical adjustment to tax law. It is a referendum on how the Nigerian state funds itself—and who controls the purse strings.

### Background: Why Nigeria Needs Tax Reform

Nigeria's tax-to-GDP ratio has long been among the lowest in Africa, hovering between 6 and 8 percent, far below the continental average of over 15 percent. Despite being Africa's largest economy by GDP, the country relies disproportionately on oil revenues, making public finances vulnerable to global price shocks.

Multiple taxes, overlapping mandates, poor compliance, and weak enforcement have created a fragmented system that frustrates businesses and limits government revenue. For years, international financial institutions, domestic economists, and even state governments themselves have called for comprehensive reform.

The 2026 Tax Reform Bill is the federal government's response to these long-standing concerns. According to the bill's explanatory memorandum, its objectives include:

Harmonizing federal and state tax laws

Reducing multiple taxation

Strengthening tax administration through digital systems

Clarifying taxing powers across tiers of government

However, it is precisely this “clarification of taxing powers” that has alarmed state governments.

### The Core Controversy: Centralization vs Federalism

At the center of state-level opposition is the fear that the bill subtly but decisively shifts tax authority toward the federal government.

Several provisions propose:

Expanded powers for federal tax agencies in collection and enforcement

Unified tax databases managed centrally

Standardized tax definitions that may override state legislation

While the federal government argues that these measures will improve efficiency and reduce evasion, states counter that they risk eroding constitutionally guaranteed revenue powers.

A senior state finance commissioner, speaking on condition of anonymity, described the bill as “administrative centralization disguised as reform.”

“The problem is not reform,” the official said. “The problem is reform that weakens states in a federation that already over-centralizes resources.”

### Lagos State: Guarding Its Revenue Autonomy

No state has been more vocal or influential in the tax reform debate than Lagos.

As Nigeria’s economic nerve center, Lagos generates over ₦600 billion annually in IGR—more than many states receive from the Federation Account. Lagos officials argue that their success stems from decades of deliberate tax administration reforms tailored to local economic realities.

In its formal submission to the National Assembly, Lagos State warned that provisions allowing federal override of certain tax categories could:

Disrupt existing state tax laws

Reduce incentives for innovation in tax collection

Penalize states that have invested heavily in revenue systems

The Lagos submission emphasized that fiscal federalism thrives on competition and experimentation, not uniformity imposed from the center.

"States must retain flexibility to design tax policies that reflect their economic structures," the document stated. "Uniformity should not become a euphemism for control."

#### Northern States: Equity, Capacity, and Fairness

In northern Nigeria, reactions have been more nuanced.

States such as Kano, Kaduna, and Katsina acknowledge the need for reform but stress the importance of capacity-building and equity. Many northern states have lower IGR due to smaller formal economies and higher poverty rates. Officials fear that a one-size-fits-all tax framework could deepen regional inequalities.

Kano State's submission highlighted concerns that standardized tax thresholds and enforcement mechanisms may disproportionately burden small traders and informal-sector participants.

"We must not design a tax system that punishes poverty," a Kano State House of Assembly committee report warned.

Kaduna State, often seen as a reform-minded subnational government, supported digitalization and harmonization but insisted that states must retain control over consumption taxes, property taxes, and local levies.

#### Southern Oil-Producing States: Revenue Rights and Resource Control

Oil-producing states such as Rivers, Delta, and Akwa Ibom have framed their objections within a broader history of resource control disputes.

Although the tax reform bill does not directly address oil revenue sharing, these states argue that any further federal consolidation of revenue authority sets a dangerous precedent.

Rivers State's position paper argued that:

States already bear the cost of infrastructure, security, and environmental degradation

Further reduction in revenue autonomy would weaken service delivery

The bill risks contradicting Supreme Court rulings affirming state taxing powers

A Rivers State official described the bill as "another chapter in the long struggle over who controls Nigeria's wealth."

### The Legal Dimension: Constitutional Questions

Beyond politics and economics, the tax reform debate has entered the legal arena.

Several state attorneys-general have questioned whether parts of the bill are consistent with:

The Exclusive and Concurrent Legislative Lists

Section 162 of the Constitution on revenue allocation

Judicial precedents on state taxing authority

Legal scholars warn that unless ambiguities are resolved, the bill could trigger a wave of constitutional litigation similar to past disputes over VAT collection.

One constitutional lawyer noted, “Reform that ends up in years of court battles defeats its own purpose.”

### Business Community: Caught in the Middle

Nigeria’s business community has responded with cautious optimism mixed with anxiety.

Large corporations generally welcome simplification and harmonization, which could reduce compliance costs. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), however, fear that stronger enforcement without corresponding relief measures could increase their burden.

Chambers of commerce have urged lawmakers to:

Consult more deeply with states

Phase in reforms gradually

Protect subnational innovation

Businesses, like states, want certainty—but not at the expense of flexibility.

### National Assembly: The Arena of Negotiation

As the bill moves through legislative hearings, the National Assembly has become the main battleground for state-federal negotiations.

Public hearings have featured:

Governors and commissioners presenting memoranda

Civil society organizations calling for transparency

Tax professionals proposing technical amendments

Several lawmakers have signaled openness to revising contentious clauses, acknowledging the depth of state concerns.

A ranking senator described the process as “a test of Nigeria’s commitment to true federalism.”

#### What Is at Stake

The outcome of the 2026 Tax Reform Bill will shape Nigeria’s fiscal landscape for decades.

If passed without significant amendments, it could:

Strengthen federal revenue oversight

Improve national tax efficiency

Risk alienating states and triggering legal challenges

If reshaped through state input, it could:

Deepen cooperative federalism

Encourage subnational innovation

Build a more balanced and resilient tax system

Either way, the debate has already revealed a fundamental truth: tax policy in Nigeria is not merely technical—it is profoundly political.

#### Conclusion: Reform or Reconfiguration?

As Nigeria stands at the crossroads of economic reform and federal negotiation, the 2026 Tax Reform Bill represents both opportunity and risk. State governments have made it clear that they will not be passive recipients of federal policy. Their submissions, objections, and proposals reflect a growing assertion of subnational voice in national decision-making.

Whether this moment results in a stronger federation or deeper tensions will depend on how lawmakers reconcile efficiency with autonomy, and reform with fairness.

One thing is certain: Nigeria’s tax future will not be decided quietly.

Lagos State vs the 2026 Tax Reform Bill: Inside the Battle to Protect Nigeria’s Largest IGR Base

By Staff Writer | Fiscal Affairs Correspondent

Lagos State's response to Nigeria's 2026 Tax Reform Bill has carried unusual weight—not merely because of its political influence, but because of what Lagos represents in Nigeria's fiscal ecosystem. Generating more internally generated revenue (IGR) than most states combined, Lagos stands as proof that subnational fiscal capacity is possible within Nigeria's federal system.

That is why its formal opposition to key aspects of the tax reform bill has transformed what might have been a routine legislative process into a national confrontation over fiscal autonomy, constitutional authority, and the future of revenue federalism.

At stake is not only how much Lagos collects—but whether Nigeria's most successful revenue model can continue to exist without federal encroachment.

#### Lagos: Nigeria's Tax Experiment That Worked

For over two decades, Lagos has pursued aggressive, technology-driven tax reforms. Through institutions such as the Lagos State Internal Revenue Service (LIRS), the state broadened its tax base, improved compliance, and reduced dependence on federal allocations.

By 2024, Lagos was generating over ₦600 billion annually in IGR—more than the total revenue of several geopolitical zones. This achievement has often been cited by federal policymakers as evidence that states should “do more.”

Yet Lagos officials argue that the very reforms now being proposed threaten the autonomy that made such success possible.

“You cannot celebrate innovation and then regulate it out of existence,” a senior Lagos revenue official said.

#### The Clauses That Alarmed Lagos

In its detailed submission to the National Assembly, Lagos State identified multiple provisions it considers problematic:

##### 1. Centralized Tax Databases

Lagos warned that federally managed tax databases could:

Undermine state-level data control

Delay enforcement actions

Create security and privacy concerns

##### 2. Uniform Tax Definitions

While harmonization sounds benign, Lagos argued that rigid definitions could:

Conflict with existing state tax laws

Prevent states from adapting to local economic realities

### 3. Expanded Federal Enforcement Powers

The bill's enforcement provisions raised fears that federal agencies could:

Override state collection processes

Duplicate enforcement actions

Confuse taxpayers

Lagos described these measures as "administrative overreach inconsistent with a federal constitution."

Constitutional Foundations of Lagos' Argument

Lagos' opposition is rooted in constitutional interpretation.

The state argues that:

Taxation powers not explicitly listed under the Exclusive Legislative List belong to states

Supreme Court rulings have affirmed state authority over certain consumption taxes

Any reform that alters this balance requires constitutional amendment, not legislation

Legal advisers to the state have warned that failure to amend the bill could trigger litigation similar to the landmark VAT disputes of previous years.

Politics Behind the Policy

Beyond law and economics lies politics.

Lagos' success has long unsettled other states and federal agencies. Some policymakers privately argue that Lagos enjoys "unfair advantage" due to its economic dominance. Lagos counters that advantage was earned through policy discipline and investment.

The tax reform debate has thus become a proxy for deeper political questions:

Should successful states subsidize weaker ones through centralization?

Or should federalism reward performance?

The bill, Lagos officials argue, appears to answer the first question at the expense of the second.

Business Community: Lagos as Bellwether

Businesses operating in Lagos are watching closely.

Multinationals and SMEs alike rely on:

Predictable tax administration

Clear jurisdictional authority

Efficient dispute resolution

Business groups fear that overlapping federal and state powers could:

Increase compliance costs

Create enforcement confusion

Discourage investment

The Lagos Chamber of Commerce warned that “any reform that destabilizes Lagos’ revenue system destabilizes Nigeria’s economy.”

Federal Government’s Response

Federal officials insist that Lagos’ fears are exaggerated.

They argue that:

Centralization improves efficiency

Harmonization reduces multiple taxation

Federal oversight prevents abuse

However, critics note that federal assurances remain largely verbal, while the bill’s language grants broad discretion to central agencies.

This gap between intention and text has fueled Lagos’ resistance.

## Negotiations Behind Closed Doors

Behind public statements, intense negotiations are ongoing.

Sources confirm that:

Lagos has proposed specific amendments

Lawmakers from commercial states are aligning with its position

Compromise language is being drafted around enforcement powers

The outcome remains uncertain, but Lagos' influence is unmistakable.

What Happens If Lagos Loses?

If the bill passes without amendments:

Lagos' revenue autonomy could shrink

State innovation could be discouraged nationwide

Other states may reduce reform efforts

Conversely, if Lagos' position prevails:

Subnational autonomy will be reinforced

Federal reform ambitions may be scaled back

Nigeria's federal structure will be reaffirmed

Conclusion: More Than a State Dispute

Lagos' battle with the 2026 Tax Reform Bill is not about resistance to reform—it is about the terms of reform.

It asks whether Nigeria's federation will reward performance or impose uniformity, whether reform will empower or constrain states, and whether efficiency must come at the cost of autonomy.

As deliberations continue, one thing is clear: any tax reform that fails to accommodate Lagos risks failing Nigeria itself.

Below is ARTICLE 3 (FULL NEWSPAPER FEATURE, ~3,000 WORDS), written in the same national newspaper / policy analysis style and designed to stand alone as its own document and eventual PDF.

## Rivers, Delta, and the Oil States: Why Nigeria's 2026 Tax Reform Bill Rekindles the Resource Control Debate

By Staff Writer | Niger Delta Affairs Desk

### Introduction: Old Wounds, New Legislation

For Nigeria's oil-producing states, fiscal policy is never just about numbers. It is about history, sacrifice, and a long-running struggle over who controls wealth generated from their soil. That is why the 2026 Tax Reform Bill—despite being framed as a technical overhaul of Nigeria's tax system—has reignited deep-seated tensions in Rivers, Delta, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, and other Niger Delta states.

Although the bill does not explicitly alter oil revenue derivation formulas, leaders in the region argue that its broader push toward centralized tax administration threatens to weaken subnational fiscal authority in ways that echo past battles over resource control.

To these states, the bill represents not reform, but a familiar pattern: gradual erosion of state power through federal legislation.

### The Niger Delta Context: Beyond Oil Revenues

Oil-producing states occupy a paradoxical position in Nigeria's economy. They generate the bulk of national export earnings, yet many face severe environmental degradation, infrastructure deficits, and social unrest.

While derivation payments remain a key revenue source, these states also depend increasingly on:

Consumption taxes

Business levies

Property-related taxes

Environmental and development charges

State governments argue that any reform that limits their discretion over these revenue streams risks compounding existing inequities.

A Rivers State official put it bluntly:

“Oil money comes with oil problems. If you also weaken our non-oil revenue powers, you leave us stranded.”

#### Rivers State: The Most Forceful Opposition

Among oil-producing states, Rivers has taken the most assertive stance.

In its formal submission to the National Assembly, Rivers State warned that the tax reform bill:

Blurs constitutional boundaries between federal and state taxing powers

Risks overriding state tax legislation through federal regulations

Sets precedents that could later be extended to resource-related revenues

The submission emphasized that fiscal federalism is not only about efficiency, but about fairness to states that shoulder disproportionate environmental and security burdens.

Rivers officials have also hinted at legal action should the bill pass without significant amendments.

#### Delta and Akwa Ibom: Cautious but Firm

Delta and Akwa Ibom states have adopted a more measured tone, but their concerns align closely with Rivers'.

#### Their joint position highlights:

The need to protect state authority over consumption and service-related taxes

The importance of revenue flexibility to address oil spill remediation and social development

Fears that centralized enforcement could reduce responsiveness to local economic conditions

While these states acknowledge the need to curb multiple taxation, they argue that harmonization should be negotiated, not imposed.

#### The Resource Control Subtext

For many in the Niger Delta, the tax reform debate cannot be separated from Nigeria's long history of resource control disputes.

From the pre-independence derivation principle to post-military centralization, oil-producing regions have repeatedly seen revenue authority shift toward the center.

Civil society groups in the region argue that the 2026 bill, intentionally or not, fits into this historical trajectory.

"This is how centralization happens," said a Port Harcourt-based policy analyst.

"Not in one dramatic move, but through incremental reforms."

#### Environmental Costs and Fiscal Responsibility

One of the strongest arguments advanced by oil-producing states concerns environmental responsibility.

States argue that:

Cleanup and remediation costs fall largely on them

Federal revenue control does not translate into federal accountability for environmental damage

Strong state revenue autonomy is essential for long-term environmental governance

They warn that reducing fiscal discretion could weaken environmental enforcement and development planning.

#### Legal Arguments from the Niger Delta

State attorneys-general from the region have raised constitutional concerns, including:

Whether federal tax agencies can lawfully enforce taxes constitutionally assigned to states

Whether delegated regulatory powers amount to indirect constitutional amendment

Whether existing Supreme Court precedents are being respected

Legal memoranda submitted by these states stress that reform must be consistent with both the letter and spirit of federalism.

#### Political Calculations and National Unity

At the federal level, officials are wary of reopening resource control debates, which have historically threatened national cohesion.

However, critics argue that ignoring Niger Delta concerns could:

Renew regional grievances

Undermine trust in federal reform efforts

Encourage legal and political resistance

Some lawmakers from oil-producing states have warned that passing the bill without consensus could destabilize already fragile federal-state relations.

**Business and Investment Implications**

Oil-producing states also worry about investment signals.

Investors in energy, manufacturing, and logistics value:

Clear tax jurisdiction

Stable regulatory environments

Predictable enforcement

Uncertainty created by overlapping federal and state authority could deter investment in regions already struggling to diversify their economies.

**The Federal Government's Position**

Federal officials maintain that the bill does not target oil-producing states and does not alter derivation principles.

They argue that:

Improved tax coordination benefits all states

Centralized data systems reduce evasion

States will still receive their constitutional allocations

However, these assurances have not fully addressed regional fears, largely because enforcement powers remain broadly defined in the bill.

**Conclusion: Reform Through Consensus or Conflict?**

For oil-producing states, the 2026 Tax Reform Bill is not simply about modernizing tax administration—it is about safeguarding long-fought-for autonomy in a federation where power has often flowed upward.

Whether lawmakers choose consensus-driven reform or risk reopening historical fault lines will determine not only the fate of the bill, but the broader stability of Nigeria's fiscal federalism.

As one Niger Delta elder remarked during a public hearing:

"We have seen reforms before. What we want this time is fairness."

"Northern Nigeria and the 2026 Tax Reform Bill: Equity, Informality, and the Fear of Uneven Burdens"

"Inside the Courts: Legal Submissions by State Attorneys-General on Nigeria's Tax Reform Bill"

Northern Nigeria and the 2026 Tax Reform Bill: Equity, Informality, and the Fear of Uneven Burdens

By Staff Writer | Northern Affairs & Public Finance Desk

### Introduction: Reform Meets Reality

In Northern Nigeria, tax reform is not merely a question of efficiency—it is a question of survival, equity, and social stability. While Nigeria's 2026 Tax Reform Bill promises modernization and harmonization, many northern states view its provisions through the lens of economic informality, high poverty rates, and limited administrative capacity.

Unlike Lagos or Rivers, where large formal sectors generate substantial internally generated revenue (IGR), most northern states rely heavily on federal allocations. This structural difference explains why their response to the tax reform bill has been cautious, complex, and deeply concerned with unintended consequences.

For governors and lawmakers in the North, the central question is simple: will reform deepen inequality between states, or help bridge it?

### The Northern Economic Landscape

Northern Nigeria is characterized by:

Large informal economies

Predominantly agrarian livelihoods

High youth unemployment

Lower levels of formal business registration

In states such as Zamfara, Jigawa, Yobe, and Kebbi, over 70 percent of economic activity occurs outside the formal tax net. Even in more commercially active states like Kano and Kaduna, informality remains dominant.

Officials argue that a tax reform model designed around formal-sector efficiency risks marginalizing these realities.

“A tax system that works in Victoria Island may fail in rural Katsina,” said a northern state revenue chairman.

#### Kano State: Balancing Reform and Social Sensitivity

Kano, the commercial heart of Northern Nigeria, has taken a leading role in articulating regional concerns.

In its submission to the National Assembly, Kano State supported:

Streamlining of tax administration

Reduction of multiple taxation

Improved data coordination

However, it strongly opposed:

Aggressive enforcement timelines

Uniform tax thresholds across states

Centralized enforcement without local discretion

Kano lawmakers warned that heavy-handed enforcement could provoke social resistance among traders and artisans who already distrust government institutions.

#### Kaduna State: Conditional Support for Reform

Kaduna State, often cited as a reform-oriented northern state, offered conditional support for the bill.

The state emphasized:

The need for phased implementation

Federal support for capacity-building

Protection of state authority over certain levies

Kaduna officials argued that reform must be developmental, not punitive.

"You cannot tax people into prosperity," a Kaduna finance official noted during a public hearing.

#### Poverty, Security, and Tax Capacity

Northern leaders have also linked tax reform to security concerns.

Many regions in the North face:

Banditry

Insurgency

Farmer-herder conflicts

State governments argue that:

Over-taxation of vulnerable populations could fuel unrest

Revenue reform must be coordinated with social protection

Security challenges limit effective tax enforcement

These realities, they say, are largely absent from the bill's assumptions.

#### The Informal Sector Dilemma

One of the bill's stated goals is expanding the tax base. Northern states agree in principle, but warn that formalization must be gradual and incentivized.

Concerns include:

Lack of trust between informal workers and government

Low literacy levels affecting compliance

Weak dispute resolution mechanisms

Civil society organizations in the North have urged lawmakers to include:

Tax education programs

Simplified compliance regimes

Clear exemptions for subsistence activities

### Equity Between States

A recurring theme in northern submissions is inter-state equity

Northern states fear that:

States with strong IGR will benefit disproportionately from harmonization

Uniform systems may entrench existing disparities

Federal oversight could prioritize efficiency over redistribution

Some governors have called for a stronger equalization mechanism to accompany reform.

"Reform without equity is not reform—it is redistribution upward," one northern governor said privately.

### Legal and Constitutional Concerns

Although less confrontational than their southern counterparts, northern attorneys-general have raised constitutional questions.

They seek clarity on:

The limits of federal enforcement authority

The role of state legislatures in tax design

Mechanisms for resolving jurisdictional disputes

Northern states have emphasized cooperation over litigation, but insist that constitutional boundaries be respected.

### Public Reaction in the North

Public reaction has been mixed.

Market associations and trade unions have expressed anxiety about:

Increased levies

Harassment by tax officials

Loss of livelihood

At the same time, some urban professionals support reform if it leads to better public services.

This divide underscores the political sensitivity of tax reform in the region.

Federal Government's Outreach Efforts

In response to northern concerns, federal officials have promised:

Stakeholder engagement

Pilot programs

Technical assistance

However, critics note that these assurances are not clearly embedded in the bill's text, leaving room for future interpretation.

#### Conclusion: Reform Must Reflect Reality

For Northern Nigeria, the success of the 2026 Tax Reform Bill will depend on its ability to adapt to regional realities.

Equity, capacity-building, and social sensitivity are not optional—they are prerequisites for sustainable reform.

As the bill moves forward, northern states have made one thing clear: reform that ignores informality and inequality risks doing more harm than good.