JUST DEVELOPMENT

THE WORLD BANK
IBRD • IDA

94704

MAKING IDENTIFICATION SYSTEMS WORK FOR THE BOTTOM 40%

By Megan Brewer, Nicholas Menzies and Jared Schott[1]

INTRODUCTION

Over 150 countries maintain mandatory civil registration systems. The number, variety and functionality of these systems has expanded with the rise of the Internet, with delivery mechanisms for services and benefits increasingly tied to registration (World Bank 2015). Attracted by the promise of new technology, countries and development partners alike have invested heavily in identification, registration and documentation ("IRD") systems, in terms of both development dollars[2] and strategy. Regarding strategy, IRD systems have found their way onto no less preeminent a platform than the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, which include the proposed target, "[b]y 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration," under the broader goal of peaceful and inclusive societies.

IRD systems can assist governments to more effectively and efficiently deliver public services and

---

KEY POINTS

We need to disentangle the terms 'identity', 'registration' and 'documentation' to properly understand the development problems we are seeking to address – and the pathways to achieve them.

We need to invest in more rigorous evidence establishing the link between registration/ documentation and development outcomes.

Where basic services (e.g. health and education) are made conditional on registration and/or documentation, diligence and impact mitigation strategies are needed to address the risk of increased exclusion.

---

entitlements. They can generate demographic data to inform policy, planning and delivery processes. They can provide tangible means through which citizens can assert their legal identity. And, they can open up new opportunities, such as access to finance, which otherwise would be inaccessible. Functional applications of such systems have catalyzed flood relief for 1.5 million families in Pakistan, generated millions in payroll savings through the identification of "ghost" public sector employees in Nigeria, and underpinned social protection programs ranging from old age pension cash transfer in South Africa to food program beneficiaries in Kenya.

For all of their important development benefits, though, IRD systems may also pose risks, especially with regard to vulnerable populations. This article will explore the prospects, challenges

and risks of pinning inclusive development outcomes on IRD systems. Much of the current discourse on IRD-related issues[3] is framed from a state-centered perspective; that is, improving the functioning of government agencies and enhancing the collection of data for planning and policy. We suggest complementing this with a stronger focus on the impacts of IRD systems on the poorest and most marginalized. In some circumstances, IRD systems risk not serving the development needs of such people. In response, there is a need to more clearly and critically articulate in IRD strategies the implied benefits, costs and risks of alternative approaches. And, at the country-specific (and sub-national) level, strategy and implementation need to incorporate due diligence assessing a broader, non-technical spectrum of governance[4], social and implementation risks. Toward this end, dialogue and practice around identification and registration can be enhanced by:

i.   Being clearer about the difference between the terms 'identity', 'registration' and 'documentation';

ii. Expanding the focus of dialogue from technical solutions to the development problems that IRD systems seek to address – and investing in better understanding their link to development impacts; and

iii. Understanding that identification, registration and/or documentation systems may result in *increased exclusion* for the poor and margin-alized, if the underlying legal, social and po-litical contexts aren't properly analyzed.

1. DISENTANGLING 'IDENTITY', 'REGIS-TRATION' AND 'DOCUMENTATION'

The policy and operational dialogue around identification systems sometimes conflates 'identity', 'registration' and 'documentation'/'certification'. A shared and clear definition of what is meant is important.

Legal Identity is generally defined as a status, ascribing rights and duties, that people and

Simone D. McCourtie / World Bank

organizations (e.g. corporations, NGOs, etc.)[5] have based on their characteristics. Legal identity emerges from different legal sources including international and national law.[6] Often overlooked in identification[7] discussions (but critical from a rights perspective) is that *legal identity exists whether or not it is registered* (or whether documentation exists for such registration). A legal identity, when recognized by the state, can enhance a person's ability to enjoy the state's protection, to enforce his or her rights and to demand redress within the state by accessing courts and other law enforcement organizations (Vandenabeele as cited in Bhabha 2011).[8] But, many aspects of one's legal identity don't require registration. For example, in many jurisdictions a person who is arrested on suspicion of committing a crime has rights that attach to their identity as a criminal suspect (for example, the right to remain silent). These rights are inherent to them being a person (and a suspect) and are not contingent upon any formal registration (or documentation).

People also have *multiple legal identities*. Depending on the factual circumstances, an individual person can have the identity of 'citizen'; 'resident'; 'spouse'; 'voter'; 'driver'; 'eligible claimant

---

3   And practice, including support to civil registration and vital statistics systems, digital IDs and authentication to support improved financial access.

4   Including legal, institutional and political economy analyses.

5   The focus of this note is on personal identity.

6   Notably, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes that all people are born with rights (Article 1) and goes on to catalogue many aspects that comprise a person's legal identity.

7   When used herein, the term "identification," in contrast to the term "identity," will typically refer to the state process of discerning and officially recognizing legal identity – often, but not necessarily, by way of registration.

8   It is, in this sense, very different than system- and function-oriented uses of the term identity (e.g., "biometric identity").

for services/benefits', amongst many others. Each of these identities can be used to further different development outcomes. In supporting the development of legal identity systems the Bank and other development partners will likely be choosing to further some identities and not others and the trade-offs involved in these choices need to be carefully weighed. An understanding that legal identity exists in many forms encourages us to first ask which legal identity/ies we are seeking to further and for what developmental ends. If the most pressing development problem is lack of access to education, then one should first ask, what contributes to this? If the identification of proper students is part of the problem of education access (which may *not* be the case in all circumstances) then what type of identification would best serve the students' needs?

Registration (including "civil registration") refers to the systems and processes by which a state (or other authority) recognizes and records certain aspects of an individual or organization's identity. Registration systems may be broad-based ("foundational"), such as national ID cards in some countries, or deployed for particular purposes ("functional"), for instance taxpaying or social security.

As there are multiple legal identities, one register (and associated document) will likely not cover all dimensions, and indeed, in most countries multiple registration systems exist. This is even the case in countries that have a 'primary' legal identity (such as a national ID card). It follows that a *single registry system is not necessarily a prerequisite to development*, and some developed countries (such as the United States, United Kingdom and Australia) have made conscious choices *not* to have a national ID system.

Documentation (or certification) refers to the mobile proof of registration which traditionally has taken a physical form (a card, paper or certificate) but in some circumstances may now be electronic. This proof of registration facilitates the holder in asserting their legal identity/ies in different locations. The documentation may also be a requirement for a person to access essential services, gain employment, vote, transfer property, drive a car or open a bank account (World Bank 2014). It is important to keep conceptually distinct documentation and registration. The two may be processed differently, or be utilized differently legally or programmatically. The distinction and its implications are highlighted in global birth data: as recently as 2012, the births of 230 million children under five went un*registered*. In that same cohort, 70 million *registered* births went *undocumented* (Dunning, Gelb and Raghavan 2014).

The differences between identity (as a rights-based concept), registration (an instrumental system for recognizing such rights), and documentation (proof as a system instrument) become more pronounced when considering how identity and registration serve cross-cutting development objectives. Legal identity is the source of an individual's standing, and their claim for inclusion and access. Registration, on the other hand, can improve a system's ability to deliver services to identified claimants, but is not always premised on inclusion. Understanding these conceptual distinctions is an essential first step in understanding how to tackle the distinct development problems they seek to address. This conceptual clarity has important programmatic and welfare consequences, but is sometimes overlooked.[9]

2. RISK ANALYSIS AND MITIGATION MEASURESS

In China, migrant workers, registered in their place of birth, are not allowed to register in their place of employment and therefore are unable to access health care and other rights.[10] Nubian children born in Kenya are less likely to have their births registered (and enjoy associated educational rights) owing to stringent requirements and discretionary implementation.[11]

Strengthening IRD systems without critically assessing and responding to the broader governance context can lead to a number of consequences that undermine development gains. Registry systems may result in exclusion when underlying systems refuse, or pose inequitable burdens on, the recognition of certain identities. Exclusion can also come from refusing rights to

---

9   In this regard, contemporary institutional definitions fall short. The formulation of proposed SDG target 16.9, as previously noted, suggests that legal identity "include[s]" birth registration. The Inter-American Development Bank's Civil Registration and Identification Glossary (2010) defines legal identity as "legal civil status obtained through birth registration and civil identification that recognizes the individual as a subject of law and protection of the state." In fact, the rights and status bound up in legal identity are not inherently conditioned on registration (and not birth registration in particular).

10   In Shenzhen and other large Chinese cities at the height of the AIDS pandemic, rural to urban migrants unable to secure urban *hukous* were treated as "biological non-citizens" (Mason 2011) and ineligible for health care, contributing to the transmission and spread of the virus both within and outside of migrant communities (Todrys and Amon 2009).

11   *See,e.g.,* NAMATI, *Implementation of Nubian Minors v. Kenya,* http://www.namati.org/tools/briefing-paper-implementation-of-nubian-minors-v-kenya/ (2014).

those who legally might be entitled but haven't surmounted the bureaucratic steps to get registered. Lastly, it may arise from information disclosure in documents and systems. In order to ensure that IRD systems serve, rather than frustrate, *all* groups' development interests, the design and implementation of systems needs to incorporate mitigation strategies, ranging from legal-regulatory reform to grievance redress systems, informed by multi-dimensional risk analysis.

2.1 EXCLUSION FROM REGISTRATION SYSTEMS AND DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF LAW

Rights and statuses comprising legal identity are to a large degree determined by underlying law, which may be exclusionary or discriminatory *prima facie*, or may translate into registry systems that produce such a result. Minimizing the risks posed by registration and documentation requires going beyond the immediate systems to understand the broader legal framework and how it operates in the existing social and political context. The promotion of IRD systems cannot be discussed without also interrogating the laws that convey or deny rights, as such systems will likely concretize underlying legal (and social) frameworks.

> In **Myanmar,** authorities view Islamic Rohingya as illegal immigrants despite many families having lived in the Buddhist-majority country for generations. Around 800,000 stateless Rohingya living in Myanmar are denied citizenship rights and face severe restrictions on marriage, employment, health care and education.
>
> In **China,** *Heihaizi* ("black" children) born in violation of the one child policy are not allowed a legal identity and are denied access to education, health and even legal standing to be heard in court.
>
> In the **Dominican Republic,** Dominicans of Haitian descent may face deportation if not able to provide proof of birth registration in support of an application for normalized status, newly required under a 2014 law. Out of an estimated 110,000 such people who would qualify for citizenship under the law's terms, just one month prior to the application deadline, only 5,345 people had applied (Amnesty International 2015).

One of the most basic rights is citizenship, which is determined by law. In some countries, as a matter of law, a child can only be registered by their father. In these countries, a woman who is not married or is married to a non-national (or if the father refuses to acknowledge paternity) may be unable to register her child as a citizen. Identification systems can concretize the underlying legal (and social) frameworks. Development partners supporting the strengthening of identification systems need to rigorously assess these underlying frameworks, or risk inadvertently undermining the development prospects of certain populations.

2.2 EXCLUSION FROM SERVICES AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE ABSENCE OF REGISTRATION AND/OR DOCUMENTATION

The push for enhanced IRD systems is often accompanied by new rules mandating registration and/or documentation to access basic entitlements (including health and education). One motivation for tying services to registration is to make large-scale service delivery more manageable, and less subject to abuse; another is to incentivize people to get registered. But if entitlements are inflexibly tied to untested IRD systems there is a real risk of excluding vulnerable populations from essential services. For example, in **Kenya**, a policy was introduced requiring students to provide birth certificates in order to sit exams, as a means of increasing the number of children with documentation. The result was reports of children being prevented from accessing education.[12] Furthermore, particularly troubling is that those that can't register or obtain documents are likely to be the same people who currently have trouble accessing basic rights and essential services: the impoverished and marginalized populations that are a central focus of the World Bank's mission.

There are any number of reasons why citizens

---

[12] Plan International (2014). By contrast, in Indonesia, despite policies mandating presentation of a birth certificate for school enrolment, most schools will accept students who can submit an alternative form of identification. Research found that 74% of children who have never attended school do not have a birth certificate, but very few respondents reported the lack of a birth certificate as the reason for the child not attending school (0.8%), or having been enrolled previously but not currently (2%) (AIPJ 2014). In Bangladesh, although birth certificates are required for access to health and education, health workers are trained not to deny services to unregistered children, but instead to link them to the local registrar (UNICEF 2010).

may not possess documentation. Citizen distrust is one. Exclusion from registry systems – whether due to discrimination or otherwise – is another. Administration and informal fees can pose a prohibitive financial barrier to participation. Residents of remote rural areas may have difficulty physically accessing or contacting intake centers. Complex procedures, or inconsistent information, may also preclude participation. Mundane reasons, such as an inability to replace lost, stolen or damaged documents, contribute as well. There is also the practical question of supply: in some instances where governments and/or NGOs have advocated to increase the number of people with identity documents, under-resourced government departments have been unable to sufficiently respond to increased demand, resulting in significant backlogs (UNCIEF 2010; EU/Miller 2007). Elsewhere, poorly kept and/or inaccessible records can preclude registration, and in particular frustrate digitizing a system.

> In **Indonesia,** possession of birth certificates varies considerably with household income: 46% of children in the poorest quintile of families do not have a birth certificate, compared to 10.6% in the richest quintile (AIPJ 2014). There is no significant difference between girls and boys, but the percentage of children without certificates in rural areas is double that in urban areas, and children are less likely to have a certificate if they are disabled or if their parents and grandparents did not have a birth certificate.
>
> In **Vietnam,** parents who have children in violation of the two-child policy often will not register those children with authorities because they fear being questioned or discriminated against.

Whatever the reason, for the foreseeable future, registration and documentation systems are unlikely to achieve universal population coverage. A push for universalization focusing on registering *new* births alone will exclude children and adults who have not already had their births registered – there are currently 750 million people under sixteen years of age without birth registration (Dunning, Gelb and Raghavan 2014). Under these conditions, a push for universal birth registration for those under five years of age, when coupled with conditioning access to services on documentation, may *intensify*

exclusion from basic rights and essential services. Governments and donor partners confronting this possibility need to consider flexible protocols (alternative identification, etc.) and other strategies through which to mitigate exclusionary impacts.

> In **Vietnam,** access to social services is closely linked to civil registration. This has exposed non-registered individuals, particularly from migrant families, to "multiple institutionalised vulnerabilities and risks" (CSP 2011). 70% of spontaneous migrants who approached employers in the formal sector were rejected because they did not have hokhau (household registration) in the city, leaving the vast majority of migrant workers in precarious and temporary jobs (CSP 2011).
>
> In the **United States,** courts up to and including the Supreme Court have found that a number of state laws requiring individuals to show voter identification documents before voting had the effect of disenfranchising low-income and ethnic minority voters and contravened both the 1965 Voting Rights Act and Constitution.

2.3 DOCUMENTATION ITSELF AS GROUNDS FOR EXCLUSION

Even once registered and in possession of documentation, individuals face the risk that information contained in documents (or underlying registries) may be used for discriminatory ends (WHO 2014). This is especially the case when technical criteria (such as accuracy and efficiency) are not adequately balanced against rights principles (such as privacy and necessity). Registers and accompanying documentation may designate nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, place of birth and other special statuses (Fussell 2001). Going back in time, ethnic classification on identity cards in Rwanda (first instituted by the Belgian Colonial Government) and the introduction of the "J stamp" on identity cards of Jewish Germans are some of the most notorious reminders of how documentation may expose individuals to discrimination – and worse.

Today, identity documents continue (however less insidiously) to contain information that may be used for discriminatory purposes. Identification cards highlighting non-indigenous origin may

facilitate employment discrimination, such as in the case of Ethiopian identity cards highlighting the Eritrean "previous nationality" of Ethiopian citizens (Refugees International 2008). Even more innocuous cases in which a person must provide documentation revealing his or her age to a potential employer, or service provider, can affect the person's treatment. Owing to such risks, there is a need to consider whether the collection and disclosure of personal information inherent in registration and documentation systems such as these is narrowly tailored to a clearly defined development end.

3. SECURING DATA AND PRIVACY RIGHTS

Another risk of expanding registration systems is that governments, authorized third parties or unauthorized individuals may use them for surveillance, private data harvesting or other functions (illicit and licit alike) violating individual rights. Increased collection of personal data also risks implicit or explicit "function creep," where data collected for one purpose is gradually used for others to which the individual has not consented (World Bank 2014).[13] Whereas the U.S. once assured citizens in the 1930s that social security numbers would only be used to track eligibility and contributions, these numbers are now used for a wide range of purposes by both public and private entities. Just as concerning are security breaches and unauthorized intrusions on private data. These concerns, and the potential for harm, are heightened by the so-called "aggregation effect." In combination, otherwise innocuous information may paint a portrait of personalities, activities and individual attributes, greatly increasing an individual's vulnerability to dangers such as targeted discrimination (both public and private), intrusive surveillance, identity fraud, stalking or harassment.[14] The private aggregation of a range of public and private data has been used to deny or limit the provision of health services to the most needy in private insurance-based systems. Elsewhere, police and civil liberties groups debate

the constitutionality of facial recognition programs, relying on passport and driver's license photos, used in non-consensual public video surveillance.

Particularly where trust between citizens and the state is weak, this may seriously curtail the ability of the government to promote the use of IRD systems. Citizens "opting out" – withholding information or intentionally misrepresenting information – may further undermine the ability of the IRD systems to deliver on their development promise. More broadly, citizen fears and suspicions when confronted with the unchecked expansion of such systems may undermine a country's social and governance compacts.

In designing and supporting the strengthening of such systems, steps must be taken to mitigate these risks and to safeguard personal information. Beyond committing to privacy and data security standards, due diligence is an essential process for understanding and addressing the interaction of an IRD scheme with a country's broader legal-regulatory framework. Can police resort to biometric registry data in lieu of observing due process in criminal investigations? Might registration unintentionally entrench and/or amplify discriminatory effects of previously-unconsidered statutes, regulation or jurisprudence? While basic principles such as those contained in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Fair Information Practice Principles and UNOHCHR's position paper on the *Right to Privacy in the Digital Age*[15] are an important starting point, their effective interpretation and application rests on understanding of a country's underlying laws, institutions, politics and socio-economic dynamics.

4. DEEPENING THE IRD EVIDENCE BASE FOR BETTER DEVELOPMENT RESULTS

IRD systems can be costly in the financial sense (with some budgets in the hundreds of millions of dollars), but also in terms of foregone investments and, as discussed above, can pose many risks. These opportunity costs stress the importance of understanding, for balancing purposes, the nature and likelihood of realizing IRD's benefits. In order to balance these competing considerations and fortify the case for investing in high-cost systems, donors and stakeholders should work together to develop a more robust evidence base for IRD systems.

---

13   During interviews, respondents from government and the broader population spoke of how civil registration is used by the government to manage and control the population, sometimes in restrictive ways (Plan International 2014).

14   To the extent that online digital data may be easier to manipulate, or is stored in cloud platform data centers outside of the reach of legal enforcement, digitization may create additional vulnerabilities.

---

15   *At http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/DigitalAge/Pages/ DigitalAgeIndex.aspx*

Proponents of IRD systems often ascribe two main instrumental benefits:

Registration as a means of targeting public and private sector benefits. This is a core argument underpinning many IRD activities: that registration enhances access by (i) allowing governments to expand the reach and efficiency of their programs and (ii) providing documentary proof of the validity of a claimant for an entitlement or service. Registration, for example, enables the Pakistani Government to institute a cash-for-recovery transfer system in response to flooding and provides eligible citizens with proof of right to their payment, overcoming the myriad factors that would otherwise hinder their ability to collect.

The benefits of identification systems are perhaps most clearly established in the realm of anti-poverty cash-transfers. For instance, a large-scale randomized control trial on the use of "smartcards" in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh found that smartcards delivered faster, more predictable and less corrupt payment processes for beneficiaries without adversely affecting program access (Muralidharan et al 2014). Outside of social protection programming, the evidence is more limited and even proponents of identification systems acknowledge the need for more rigorous empirical evaluation (e.g. Gelb and Clark 2013). Several pieces of research present a more mixed perspective about registration and documentation's overall effect. Research undertaken in Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Nepal (Asian Development Bank 2007) examined the impact of documentation programs by comparing the quality of life of people with formal identity documents to others in similar circumstances without them. The research found that the impact of increasing the number of people with legal identity documents was often speculative and remote. Further research in India, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Vietnam (Plan International, 2014) also found that the relationship between birth registration and access to services was complex and context specific.

Augmenting and enhancing statistical data for policy and planning purposes. Civil registration can generate valuable demographic statistics to inform policy, planning and delivery processes (Asian Development Bank 2007). These systems can provide information on anything from where people live to important health and vital statistics, but the benefit of such data is linked to the completeness and functionality of the underlying registration system.

Birth registration is the most common process through which states record (key aspects of people's) legal identity, yet only 54% of countries report complete coverage for births and 52% for deaths for the period 1995-2004 (Wallman and Evinger 2006). Current data highlights the coverage gap further. The total population of the 152 countries using mandatory birth and civil registration systems is 5.9 billion people, yet almost 1.5 billion people (about 25% of the population) are unregistered (World Bank, forthcoming).[16] It is fair to say that in most developing countries, registration has not yet reached a level of universality, accuracy and reliability to be used for planning purposes (Plan International 2014).[17] As registration among certain populations such as minority ethnic groups, the rural poor and the LGBT community can be significantly lower than national averages (Ladner et al 2014), *using registration data for development planning may lead to incorrect information that does not reflect the needs of already vulnerable groups.*

Proponents also raise non-instrumental arguments related to **empowerment**, which warrant mention, but also raise their own evidentiary challenges. Perception surveys highlight the **intrinsic value of having one's legal identity recognized** and affirmed by tangible documentation, especially in those populations historically marginalized by the state (Commission on Legal Empowerment 2008). This is complemented by the **value of empowering individuals to assert and protect their rights**. Measuring these impacts, though, is challenging: it is difficult, for example, to untangle the countervailing effects of presenting documentation to protect rights versus effective implementation and enforcement of applicable law versus the risks of individual rights being deprived on the basis of one's failure to present documentation (Plan International 2014).

---

16 The data is particularly striking in low income countries: in Ethiopia and Somalia, birth registration systems capture only 6.6% and 3% of births, respectively.
17 The World Bank and WHO have developed a Global Civil Registration and Vital Statistics Scaling Up Investment Plan with the goal of universal civil registration of births, deaths, marriages, and other vital events, including reporting cause of death, and access to legal proof of registration for all individuals by 2030. The cost of bridging the gap in the 73 low and middle income countries plan countries is estimated at US$2.3bn (2014). This is an important initiative, but until it is more fully realized, pragmatism is in order in tempering expectations as to the value of registry-generated data. In the absence of reliable registry data, alternative data sources including household/population surveys have proven effective tools for monitoring certain demographic indicators and trends (including birth registration, UNICEF 2005), without the additional costs attendant to instituting comprehensive civil registries.

In sum, the existing evidence interrogating the link between registration, documentation and inclusive development reveals both complexity and uncertainty. While new evidence is emerging, there is an overarching need to invest in filling continuing evidentiary gaps.

CONCLUSION: MAXIMIZING DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS FROM IDENTIFICATION

Whilst IRD systems can be an important contributor to development, they can also risk increasing or entrenching exclusion for certain populations, especially those already most vulnerable and marginalized. These concerns highlight the need for greater diligence in assessing the benefits and costs of IRD alternatives in a given context, and mitigating design and implementation risks. The functionality and impact of IRD systems rest on the functioning of a series of other institutions – law, implementing and oversight agencies, and grievance redress channels, just to name a few. Investing in a more thorough understanding of the interplay between these institutions can yield as much if not more than spending on cutting-edge technology. This is especially true in fragile and low-income states where tech literacy is low and access to power and internet connectivity are unreliable.

Beyond this need for initial diligence, the analysis suggests several other principles to enhance the development impacts of IRD programs:

• Be clear about the particular development outcomes that an enhanced IRD system seeks to address – and ensure that impact evaluations are undertaken to understand whether such benefits accrue (as well as any perverse outcomes).

• Beginning with a political analysis of the legal framework and its application, forecast the likely impacts of enhanced IRD systems on the poorest and most marginalized – and establish measures to include those most likely to be left out, as well as left worse off.

• Seriously weigh the risks of exclusion if considering mandatory requirements for registration and documentation to access essential services (such as health and education).

• Ensure that grievance redress systems (and legal advice for using such systems) are in place to challenge cases when registration is improperly denied, lack of registration/

documentation is used egregiously to deny or limit basic services, or registration data is used inappropriately.

• Supplement registration data with population/ household data to ensure that planning and policy doesn't "doubly exclude" by overlooking the needs of those who haven't been able to get registered.

• Invest in communication strategies to explain intake and lifecycle management processes and feedback loops for dynamic program adaptation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amnesty International. 2015. "Urgent Action: Mass Statelessness Crisis Continues." http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AMR27/003/2015/en/84009b16-1ea3-4d6b-96f1-4444a4de647d/amr270032015en.pdf

Asian Development Bank. 2007. "Legal Identity for Inclusive Development." *Law and Policy Reform at the Asian Development Bank*, Asian Development Bank.

Australian Indonesia Partnership for Justice (AIPJ). 2014. "AIPJ Baseline Study on Legal Identity: Indonesia's Missing Millions." http://www.aipj.or.id/uploads/reports_publication/8_f_20140227-011003_FA_baseline_report_english.pdf.

Bhabha, J., ed. 2011. *Children Without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Bhabha, J. 2011. "From Citizen to Migrant: The Scope of Child Statelessness in the Twenty-First Century." In *Children Without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge*.

Centre for Women and Gender Studies (CWGS). 2011. "Assessing justice and global migration: Indonesian women domestic migrant workers in the United Arab Emirates." University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Cody, C. 2009. "Count Every Child: the right to birth registration." Woking, Plan Ltd.

Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor and UNDP. 2008. "Making the Law Work for Everyone (Volume 1: Report of the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor." New York.

Corbacho, A., Brito, S. and Osorio-Rivas, R. 2012. "Birth Registration and the Impact on Educational Attainment." Inter-American Development Bank, Washington.

Corbacho, A. and Osario-Rivas, R. 2012. "Travelling the Distance: A GPS-Based study of the Access to Birth Registration Services Latin America and the Caribbean." Inter-American Development Bank, Washington.

Department of Homeland Security (DHS). 2011. "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2011." *Population Estimates*, March 2012. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/ois_ill_pe_2011.pdf.

Dunning, C., Gelb, A. and Raghavan, S. 2014. "Birth Registration, Legal Identity and the Post-2015 Agenda." *Center for Global Development Policy Paper.*http://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/birth-registration-legal-identity.pdf.

Duong, L., Linh, T. and Thao, N. 2011. "Social Protection for Rural-Urban Migrants in Vietnam: Current situation, Challenges and Opportunities." *CSP Research Report* 08. http://www.ids.ac.uk/publication/social-protection-for-rural-urban-migrants-in-vietnam-current-situation-challenges-and-opportunities.

The Economist. 2014. "Fighting for Identity." May 17 2014, Beijing. http://www.economist.com/news/china/21602257-people-born-outside-family-planning-regulations-are-fighting-obtain-legal-documents-prove.

The Economist. 2014. "Nowhere to call home; statelessness." May 17 2014, London.

Fussell, J. 2001. "Group Classification on National ID Cards as a Factor in Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing." http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/AboutGen_Group_Classification_on_National_ID_Cards.pdf.

Gelb, A. and Clark, J. 2013. "Identification for Development: The Biometrics Revolution." *Center for Global Development Working Paper*, Washington DC.

Haki Network. 2012. "Promoting Development through Legal Identity." White Paper May 2012. http://www.hakinetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Haki-Legal-Identity-and-Development-White-Paper.pdf.

Harbitz, M. and del Carmen Tamargo, M. 2009. "The Significance of Legal Identity in Situations of Poverty and Social Exclusion: The Link between Gender, Ethnicity, and Legal Identity." *Inter-American Development Bank Technical Note*, Washington DC.

Harbitz, M. and Boekle, B. 2009. "Democratic Governance, Citizenship, and Legal Identity: Linking Theoretical Discussion and Operational Reality." *Inter-American Development Bank Working Paper*, Washington DC.

Khera, R. Feb. 26, 2011. "The UID Project and Welfare Schemes." *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol XLVI No 9, pp 38-43.

Ladner, D., Jensen E., and Saunders, S. 2014. "A Critical Assessment of Legal Identity: What it Promises and What it Delivers." *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 6, pp 47-74.

Marshall, T. 1950. "Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays." Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mason, K. 2011. "Mobile Migrants, Mobile Germs: Migration, Contagion and Boundary-Building in Shenzhen, China after SARS." *Medical Anthropology: Cross-Cultural Studies in Health and Illness*, Vol. 31 No. 2 2011.

McMaster, D. 2003. "Asylum Seekers and the Politics of Citizenship." *Borderlands* Volume 2 Number 1, 2003.

Miller, J. 2007. "Birth Registration and the Rights of the Child." European Parliament Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union Policy Department, Brussels.

Muralidharan, K., Niehaus, P. and Sukhtankar, S. 2014. "Building State capacity: Evidence from Biometric Smartcards in India." http://www.povertyactionlab.org/publication/building-state-capacity-evidence-biometric-smartcards-india.

Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI). 2006. "Human Rights and Legal Identity: Approaches to Combating Statelessness and Arbitrary Deprivation of Nationality." Thematic Conference Paper, May 2006. http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/articles_publications/publications/identity_20060501.

Orenstein, J. 2008. "The Difficulties Faced by Aboriginal Victorians in Obtaining Identification." Indigenous Law Bulletin. http://www.orenstein.com.au/IBL%20Article.pdf.

Orenstein, J. 2009. "Being Nobody - The Difficulties Faced by Aboriginal Victorians in Obtaining Identification." Conference Paper, NACLC Conference Perth, 18 September 2009.

Passel, J and Cohn, D. 2009. "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States." Pew Research Center, Washington. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/04/14/a-portrait-of-unauthorized-immigrants-in-the-united-states/.

Plan International. 2012. "Mother to Child. How Discrimination Prevents Women Registering the Birth of their Child." Plan International, United Kingdom. https://plan-international.org/files/global/publications/campaigns/mother-to-child-how-discrimination-english.

Plan International. 2014. "Birth Registration and Children's Rights: A Complex Story." Plan International, United Kingdom. http://plan-international.org/about-plan/resources/publications/campaigns/birth-registration-research.

Refugees International. 2008. "Ethiopia-Eritrea: Stalemate Takes Toll on Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean Origin." http://www.refugeesinternational.org/sites/default/files/Ethiopia_stateless0530.pdf.

Refugees International. 2009. "Nationality Rights for All: A Progress Report and Global Survey on Statelessness." 11 March 2009. http://www.refworld.org/docid/49be193f2.html [accessed 9 September 2014].

Setel, P. 2007. "A Scandal of Invisibility: Making Everyone Count by Counting Everyone," The Lancet, Volume 370, Issue 9598 (November 3, 2007).

Todrys, K.W. and Amon, J. "Within but Without: Human Rights and Access to HIV Prevention and Treatment for Internal Migrants." *Globalization and Health*, Vol. 5 Issues 17 (Nov. 19, 2009).

UIDAI Technology Center. 2014. "Aadhaar Technology Strategy: Ecosystem, Technology and Governance."

Uphadhya, R. 2013. "Identity Cards Adding Value for Development." World Bank Blog, April 11, 2013. https://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/national-identity-cards-adding-value-development.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2002. "Birth Registration: Right from the Start." Innocenti Digest No. 9. UNICEF, New York. http://www.childinfo.org/files/birthregistration_Digestenglish.pdf.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2005. "The 'Rights' Start to Life: A Statistical Analysis of Birth Registration." United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2010. "UNICEF Good Practices in Integrating Birth Registration into Health Systems (2000-2009)." United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2010. "Birth Registration in Bangladesh." United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2013a. "Every Child's Birth Right: Inequities and trends in birth registration." UNICEF, New York. http://data.unicef.org/child-protection/birth-registration#sthash.1ax7Ihk4.rIDlec31.dpuf.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2013b. "A passport to protection: a guide to birth registration programming." UNICEF, New York.

UN General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948, http://www.unhcr.org.

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Convention on the Rights of the Child," Article 7(1). http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx.

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "The Right to Privacy in the Digital Age." http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/DigitalAge/Pages/DigitalAgeIndex.aspx

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) et al. 2010. "Good Practices: Addressing Statelessness in South East Asia." Report of the Regional Expert Roundtable on Good Practices for the Identification, Prevention and Reduction of Statelessness and the Protection of Stateless Persons in South East Asia, Bangkok, 28 to 29 October 2010. http://www.unhcr.org/4d7de47f9.html.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2013. "Birth registration, child protection." Issue brief [online] Geneva, August 2013.

Vandenabeele, C. and Lao, C. 2007. "Legal Identity for Inclusive Development." Asian Development Bank, Philippines.

Wallman, K. and Evinger, S. 2006. "International Standards for Compilation of Statistics: The Gap between Standards Adoption and Standards Implementation."

World Bank. 2014. "By Counting Every Life, Every Life Counts." World Bank Blog June 23 2014. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2014/06/23/by-counting-every-life-every-life-counts.

World Bank. 2014. "Global Civil Registration and Vital Statistics Scaling up Investment Plan 2015–2024."

World Bank. 2015. "Identification for Development (ID4D) Global Indicators: Data Collection and Analysis (February 2015)." *Forthcoming.*