

### Ettore Recchi

Fighting "Scandalous Inequalities". A Global Policy Proposal for a Humanity Identity Card and Basic Income

SCRIPTS Working Paper No. 43



# CLUSTER OF EXCELLENCE "CONTESTATIONS OF THE LIBERAL SCRIPT (SCRIPTS)"

SCRIPTS analyzes the contemporary controversies about liberal order from a historical, global, and comparative perspective. It connects academic expertise in the social sciences and area studies, collaborates with research institutions in all world regions, and maintains cooperative ties with major political, cultural, and social institutions. Operating since 2019 and funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), the SCRIPTS Cluster of Excellence unites eight major Berlin-based research institutions: Freie Universität Berlin, the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), as well as the Hertie School, the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), the Berlin branch of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), and the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO).

#### **SCRIPTS WORKING PAPER SERIES**

The SCRIPTS Working Paper Series serves to disseminate the research results of work in progress prior to publication to encourage the exchange of ideas, enrich the discussion and generate further feedback. All SCRIPTS Working Papers are available on the SCRIPTS website at www.scripts-berlin.eu and can be ordered in print via email to office@scripts-berlin.eu.

Series-Editing and Production: Dr. Anke Draude, Mia Begović, and Isabela De Sá Galvão

Please cite this issue as: Recchi, Ettore 2024: Fighting "Scandalous Inequalities". A Global Policy Proposal for a Humanity Identity Card and Basic Income, SCRIPTS Working Paper No. 43, Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)".

Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)" Freie Universität Berlin Edwin-Redslob-Straße 29 14195 Berlin Germany

+49 30 838 58502 office@scripts-berlin.eu

www.scripts-berlin.eu
Twitter: @scriptsberlin



#### **CONTENTS**

Λ.	4	۱h	_	-
А		ш	( )	т

#### Abstract

1	Introduction	3
2	Scandalous inequalities: a definition	4
3	One global policy for two global problems	5
4	Political sustainability and virtuous externalities of the HIC	8
5	Conclusion	11

#### References

#### **AUTHOR**



Ettore Recchi is professor of sociology at Sciences Po Paris, Centre for Research on Social Inequalities (CRIS). He is also part-time professor of the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence and Fellow of the Institut Convergences Migrations (Paris). He has published more than 150 journal articles, book chapters, edited volumes, and monographs. Currently, he directs the Global Mobilities Project at EUI, a research program that aims to collect and analyse global data on human transnational movements, and is a partner of Migmobs (directed by Adrian Favell), an ERC project studying the relationships between human mobility and inequality. In 2024, he was an IRC visiting fellow at the SCRIPTS Cluster of Excellence.

ettore.recchi@sciencespo.fr

### Fighting "Scandalous Inequalities"

# A Global Policy Proposal for a Humanity Identity Card and Basic Income

Ettore Recchi

#### **ABSTRACT**

Hunger and lack of legal identity stand at the lowest point of the distribution of vital and existential capabilities across humankind. These extreme situations conflict with the main tenets of the liberal script and expose "scandalous inequalities" of basic rights between the haves and have-nots. This article proposes to tackle them globally by introducing a Humanity Identity Card, associated with a basic income supplement for the most vulnerable half of the world population. This supranational scheme would accelerate the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals 16.9 and 2.1. Funding to implement the Humanity Identity Card would come from 0.66% of the gross domestic product of sovereign states, 0.66% of the market capitalisation of billionaire companies, and 0.66% of the wealth of billionaire households. Beyond the direct benefits of attributing legal identification to every living person and reducing global poverty, the Humanity Identity Card would enhance humanity's awareness of our shared responsibility when facing global threats to the human species, including climate change.

#### 1 INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Since the 1980s, the increasing influence of the liberal script in the economic sphere has been paralleled by the growth of economic inequalities worldwide (Chancel/Piketty 2021; Milanovic 2019, 2024). These inequalities – as Michael Zürn and Johannes Gerschewski (2021: 25) observe – "may go beyond any reasonable notion of deservedness

[and] undermine the equality of opportunities in the economic realm (especially if wealth can be transferred within families) and even the first-layer concept of equal moral and political worth in the societal and political realm". In this paper I expand on such an argument, focusing on what I define as the most extreme ("scandalous") forms of inequalities, which ultimately backfire against the main tenets of the liberal script.

Despite the COVID-19 pandemic and a plethora of socioeconomic and political issues unsettling the planet, humanity is at the height of its overall economic capacity as a species. The world's gross domestic product (GDP) reached an all-time record high in 2023 - over USD 105,000 billion and is likely to break that record in the years to come (IMF 2023). Never in history have we been so collectively rich, and yet the global population is still plagued by persistent tragedies affecting vast numbers of people. While the list of miseries and injustices affecting our societies is long, this paper argues that hunger and the lack of legal identity (public recognition of one's existence) are the two most morally grave public problems of our age. The paper raises a global policy proposal specifically targeting these two issues simultaneously through a supranational scheme. The final section discusses the spillover effects of such a policy and the likely predicaments of its implementation.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written during my stay in Berlin as a SCRIPTS Visiting Fellow from January to March 2024. I thank Jürgen Gerhards and Speranta Dumitru for reading and commenting constructively on the first draft.

# 2 SCANDALOUS INEQUALITIES: A DEFINITION

In a landmark essay, Göran Therborn (2006: 6-9) built on Amartya Sen's (1992) foundational concept of capability, distinguishing three forms of social inequalities that impinge on human beings as biological organisms, persons, or social actors. He called them, respectively, "vital", "existential", and "resource" inequality.

Vital inequalities refer to the capability to survive. They include differences in exposure to health risks, but most fundamentally, they appear in terms of access to the key factor for survival: food (including water). Access to food is the most essential dimension of vital inequalities. Existential inequalities, in turn, pertain to differences in recognition of human dignity. Access to rights protection is the main capability at stake. Slavery, caste, and apartheid are among the instances in which the global distribution of this capability is at its lowest point. However, the phenomenon that takes existential inequality to its lowest low is the deprivation of one's legal identity as a person. This lack of identity is evidenced by an individual's absence from public records, making any claim to social recognition radically impossible (Lamont 2023). Finally, social inequalities are found in the differential control of resources. While such differences can trigger vital and existential threats (like in the case of zero or negative income for the indebted), they are part and parcel of the socially stratified landscape of all human society (Treiman 1977), with historical variations depending on the degree of social mobility and social welfare regime (Korpi 2000; Van Leeuwen/Maas 2010). Resource inequalities are ethically debatable, but they do not always belong in the domain of the morally intolerable, except from a position of radical (or telic) egalitarianism by which equality is a supreme goal per se, regardless of the consequences on individuals (Nielsen 1985).

Inequalities are scandalous when they overstretch the distribution of a capability in a population to the point of threatening the survival of those at one extreme of this distribution. In other words, inequality assumes a scandalous character if, at one pole of the actual distribution curve of a capability, there are cases of people endangered in their vital and existential life chances. Such inequalities are scandalous in the first place because they imply the physical death or social annihilation of the persons on the left-hand side of the distribution. Furthermore, they are scandalous because no consideration of personal merit can morally justify an inequality between human beings that reaches the brutality of barring some from access to food and personal identification - that is, the cornerstones of minimal biological and social functioning (Sen 1999).

In brief, hunger and the lack of legal recognition as a person polarise Therborn's vital and existential inequalities. In the language of John Rawls (1999: 54-56), food and legal identity champion the "natural" and the "social" form of "primary goods" which every human being is expected to want regardless of the context in which they happen to be born and live. Their denial verges on what Martha Nussbaum (2006), echoing Sen, calls the "question of fundamental entitlements". Dubbing them scandalous also recalls Peter Singer's (1972) "rescue principle", the notion that all human beings should have a moral commitment when confronted with severely degraded living conditions of other humans, no matter where these are located on the planet (on cosmopolitan responsibilities, see also Pogge 2002). Finally, the obligation to act upon such inequalities resonates with Derek Parfit's Priority View in dealing with inequalities: "benefitting people matters more the worse off these people are" (1995: 101).

Lack of food and legal identity stand out as ultimate offences to humanity in the contemporary world. They would be unacceptable no matter the size of the population concerned – be it one single person only. The reality is that the number of people suffering from hunger - to start with - is considerable and hardly diminishing, given current demographic trends. As Sen (1999: 15) poignantly stated, "famine [...] den[ies] to millions the basic freedom to survive". It thus represents the number one form of "unfreedom". Almost a quarter of a century later, in spite of a decline in the proportion of the world population affected by it, about 735 million people still face hunger; 11.3% of the world population endure "severe food insecurity", and 22.2% of children under the age of five are stunted (FAO et al. 2023: xvi; figures refer to 2022). In the absence of major policy changes, the key Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2.1 of eradicating hunger by 2030 seems virtually impossible (FAO et al. 2023: 16). Unsurprisingly, hunger largely overlaps with the prevalence of absolute poverty country-wide. In North America, severe food insecurity affects 0.7% of residents; in Middle Africa, it is found among 39.1% of the population (FAO et al. 2023: 20). Hunger magnifies the latitude of global economic inequality writ large (Milanovic 2016).

Lack of legal identity exposes global inequality in the domain of access to human rights. If you cannot prove who you are, you are deprived of access to a host of public services such as public health care, legal protection in case of abuse, and social welfare provisions. Inequalities accumulate further as many essential basic services require ID credentials: getting a phone and internet line, a bank account, a lease, or sending and receiving financial remittances (Demirgüç-Kunt et al. 2022: 38-39). The World Bank has called this "the global identification challenge" (Desai et al. 2018), launching the Identification for Development Initiative. This initiative resonates with Target 16.9 among the SDGs: "Provide legal identity to all, including birth registration". In 2017, the World Bank surveyed 128,000 adults in 123 countries for its Global Findex Database. This survey led to an estimate of approximately 850 million persons worldwide without an identity document - about half of them are children who have not been registered at birth (Metz/Clark 2019). Most relevant here is that the situation is strongly associated with extreme poverty. In the low-income countries (LIC) surveyed, 36% of the population lacked an ID (with even larger proportions in the lowest deciles of the income distribution), as opposed to 5% in lower-middle-income countries and 2% in upper-middle-income countries (Metz/ Clark 2019: 4). In most cases, the poor simply cannot afford the high fees charged by national authorities to release identity documents. Moreover, in LICs, the strongest individual-level predictors of lack of ID are poor education, living in a rural area, and gender. Women in the lowest quintile of the income distribution, in particular, suffer from a double vulnerability in this respect (Metz/Clark 2019: 7-8).

# 3 ONE GLOBAL POLICY FOR TWO GLOBAL PROBLEMS

A unitary solution to fight these two scandalous inequalities could consist of endowing every individual on the planet with a formal and universally recognised Humanity Identity Card (HIC). Regardless of nationality, ethnicity, geographical location, occupation, or any other personal attribute reflecting the "birthright lottery" (Shachar 2009), through this card every human being might have a universally accepted legal identity. This card could be provided with a worldwide campaign via delegated offices of the United Nations in every corner of the planet. Individuals would register personally, at no cost, providing their name, date and place of birth, fingerprint, and iris scan recognition. The sensitive part of this information would be collected and centralised by the United Nations (UN) under the proviso that it would not be released to any other organisation, including nation-states, and could only be used by UN officials for humanitarian and health reasons (for instance, vaccination or health assistance programmes).

A crucial added value of the HIC would be entitlement to a Basic Income Supplement. Ideally, this might consist of a food stamp, as this primary policy associated with the HIC would target the reduction of hunger. However, for both practical and symbolic reasons discussed next, food stamps are better replaced by money: one USD per day (converted into local currency at Purchasing Power Parity: Deaton/Dupriez: 2011), distributed by UN agencies worldwide through a centralised online HIC database.

Why distribute a cash stipend? The impact of cash transfers is a central concern in the development literature. The debate revolves around the benefits of unconditional versus conditional programmes - for instance, on children's school attendance (Baird et al. 2014). However, this is less of an issue when the objective is food insufficiency. As a literature review summarises, "cash transfers have been shown to reduce poverty and have widespread human capital development impacts - often larger than traditional forms of assistance; cash also provides recipients with dignity and autonomy over use" (Handa et al. 2018: 259). Another systematic review of 34 studies (mostly Randomised Control Trials) on unconditional cash transfer experiments in different settings records significant effects on health outcomes and food security (Pega et al. 2022). With the exception of emergency contexts where in-kind transfers are essential, the poor tend to be the most efficient agents in allocating poverty relief funds with a long-term social protection strategy. In this vein, the World Food Programme has already adopted cash-based transfers to allow people in need to choose their own food locally, under the motto "sending money to people is empowering" (Gentilini 2007). In 2022, such transfers made up 35% of the assistance provided by the organisation

(WFP 2023). Even in more elaborate anti-poverty schemes, a cash stipend is a key component of effective interventions to further socioeconomic development (Banerjee et al. 2015).

The question then arises: to whom? In principle, a basic income recognising the right to minimal collective support for every human being should be universal. However, this would escalate the costs of an intervention that goes well beyond all historical precedents of cash transfers. A major predicament of such a massive policy is its economic sustainability. The income supplement associated with the HIC has to be conceived as conditional on individual earnings to be both affordable and realistic.

Given these premises, it is now time to do the math. The planet currently hosts 8.1 billion humans, 8% of whom earn less than 2.15 USD per day. For these individuals, one extra dollar per day means at least a 46% increase in income – a crucial lifeline. One extra dollar a day would undoubtedly be vital for the additional 40% of the world population that survives on between 2.15 and 6.85 USD per day (World Bank 2022). Overall, the HIC basic income supplement should be endowed to all persons (including minors) with a yearly income lower than 2,500 USD (that is, earning less than 6.85 USD per day). At current levels, half of the world's population, 4.05 billion people, could be eligible for the income benefit of the HIC, with a raw cost (excluding administration and campaigning costs) of almost 1.5 trillion USD (4.05 billion persons x 1 USD x 365 days = USD 1,478,250,000,000).

How would this policy be financed? We can imagine three sources: sovereign states, companies with a market capitalisation of over one billion USD, and individual billionaires. The yearly tax could correspond to 0.66% of the GDP per capita for nations, 0.66% of market capitalisation for billionaire companies, and 0.66% of wealth for

billionaires (for a breakdown of contributions by states and companies, see Appendixes 1 and 2 in the Online Supplement). Note that this is less than the 0.7% of donors' national income established by the UN as a target for Official Development Assistance since 1970<sup>2</sup>. As for states, each of them should be able to decide independently on the most appropriate system to levy the tax - either through its existing state budget or through an extra ad hoc tax. Appendix 1 (see in the Online Supplement) also reports the cost of such a possible yearly tax by the average resident, ranging from USD 1590 in Monaco to USD 1.32 in Burundi. However, this is merely indicative, as governments could also split the costs between individual and corporate taxpayers. In fact, billionaire companies and households would have to pay the UN directly, receiving recognition as a "HIC Benefactor" in return.

Table 1 illustrates the total revenue generated by this global tax scheme. Note that such revenue exceeds the needed cash for redistribution of 17.6 billion USD. This is a 1.2% surplus geared to support the campaigning, management, and distribution costs of the whole HIC scheme. The amount of the tax should then be adjusted periodically as extreme poverty is likely to decrease, with a view of phasing it out in the mid-term.

In the spirit of this scheme, the Humanity Tax should be universal and collected by a global entity emanating from the United Nations - something that we could provisionally call the UN Taxation Authority. In the constituting legal document introducing the HIC and its basic income supplement, mention should be made of international sanctions for tax-paying reluctancy or evasion. This non-compliance is a foreseeable obstacle, given the absolute value of the contributions required from each taxpayer. However, the limited number of actors involved should provide protection from shady behaviours of tax evasion. The fact that the number of taxpayers is extremely limited would make them subject to visible public scrutiny: 192 sovereign states, 5292 companies (among which 1964 are based in the US), and 2692 billionaire households (among which 813 in the US). We can surmise that states that would refuse to pay should be vetoed from international organisations and ultimately excluded from the UN Assembly; reluctant companies might be sanctioned by UN states with extra corporate taxes at the national level, as well as boycotted by consumers; billionaires evading the Humanity Tax could be sanctioned nationally and be exposed in the media, with possible repercussions on the profitability of their business.

Designing and implementing the HIC scheme is a complex endeavour that involves considerations of privacy, security, technology, international cooperation, and legal frameworks, exceeding the scope of this introductory proposal. While the UN

Table 1: Sources of funding for the Humanity Identity Card and associated basic income supplement

Contributor	Amount	Total (in USD)
States	0.66% of GDP per capita	683,647,346,295
Billionaire companies	0.66% of market value	718,512,068,718
Billionaire household	0.66% of household wealth	93,720,000,000
Total		1,495,879,415,013

Sources: GDP per capita (World Bank 2024), company market value (Companiesmarketcap 2024), billionaire households (Forbes 2024).

<sup>2</sup> For a history of the 0.7% target, see OECD (n.d.).

should play a decisive and pivotal role, a global initiative of this nature shall require extensive collaboration between international organisations, governments, and private actors (particularly the previously mentioned taxpayers). A preliminary roadmap for implementation of the project should follow these stages:

- Feasibility study: Conduct a feasibility study to assess the legal, ethical, economic, and technical aspects of implementing a humanity-wide identity card. Engage with governments, international organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and experts to gather input, address concerns, and ensure broad support. A diverse set of countries could be chosen to participate in pilot programmes to test the effectiveness of the system.
- International agreement and design: Secure an international agreement to establish the HIC, including its redistribution scheme and a governance structure. The UN should take a leading role in facilitating this agreement and ensuring its global adoption.
- 3. Training: Develop training programmes for officials and other stakeholders involved in implementing and enforcing the HIC system.
- 4. Data security and privacy protection: Implement robust data privacy and security measures to protect sensitive personal information associated with the HIC, employing advanced encryption technologies. Develop a secure and scalable technology infrastructure for the identity card system, incorporating biometric data and advanced encryption techniques. Establish clear data usage guidelines and regular audits of data management.
- 5. Issuance and registration: Set up a standardised HIC issuance and registration protocol, as well as dedicated offices worldwide (including an online registry and taxation authority). These offices should cooperate with national governments and technology providers to ensure that every individual has access

- to a secure and verifiable card and determine indicators of individual eligibility for the redistribution scheme.
- 6. Civic and economic opportunities: Leverage the HIC to facilitate civic participation and economic opportunity for all. This aspect could involve using the HIC to access information and engagement platforms, establishing digital wallets linked to the card, and enabling individuals to subscribe to financial services and online commerce through it.
- 7. Public awareness and communication strategy:
  Devise and implement a global public awareness campaign to inform individuals about the benefits, purpose, and safeguards of the HIC and eligibility for its redistribution scheme.
- 8. Monitoring and evaluation: Establish a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation framework to assess the effectiveness of the HIC and card-based redistribution scheme. Regular reviews and adjustments would ensure the scheme remains aligned with evolving needs and challenges, including the periodic revision of taxation levels.

# 4 POLITICAL SUSTAINABILITY AND VIRTUOUS EXTERNALITIES OF THE HIC

This proposal echoes pre-existing projects and widely recognised development goals: notably, SDG 16.9, "by 2030, provide legal identity for all", and SDG 2.1, "by 2030, end hunger". The novelty of the present project lies in tying these goals together through the provision of a single instrument – the Humanity Identity Card – that would additionally represent the gateway to a basic income for the poorest half of humankind. This scheme leverages the idea that universal basic income loses much of its social justice appeal once applied on a local scale, creating incentives for the opportunistic exit of net contributors and the opportunistic entry of potential beneficiaries (Van Parijs 2013: 178). This flaw possibly stands

as the major issue in existing basic income pilot projects, as they are, by default, induced to think of their "societies" as closed territories in a world that is, in fact, increasingly interconnected (Deutschmann 2022; Recchi et al. 2019; Recchi/Safi 2024). For this reason, Philippe Van Parijs' original plan is scaled at the continental level, imagining a European Union (EU)-wide application. While this is still preferable to elaborating a national or subnational scheme, it does not resolve the problem of dealing with migration in and out of the EU area. Instead, the scheme proposed here takes the logic of basic income to the global level, making the exit and entry of "opportunists" simply impossible.

This proposal also builds on pre-existing ideas of global taxation. Some scholars have crafted plans for global taxes meant to mitigate excessive concentrations of financial wealth and thus redress economic inequality (Piketty 2015; Pogge 2002; Saez/Zucman 2019; Stiglitz 2015; Tobin 1978). Others have imagined a global tax as the appropriate scale to tackle planet-wide problems like climate change, such as a global carbon tax (Nordhaus 2007; more recently, Duflo 2024). The present scheme bridges these two approaches to global taxation. It is meant to reduce ethically unacceptable inequalities; however, not in the sense of penalising the rich, but rather of using global governance to solve global priorities - that is, cutting extreme (and morally "scandalous") levels of economic and civil deprivation.

As this paper serves to conceptualise the first outline of an ambitious policy, it does not address the details of the implementation of the proposal. Large infrastructural investments are certainly required to set up the collection, storage, and privacy protection of individual data of the global population. Worldwide distribution of the card and – even more demandingly – the basic income supplement pose major organisational challenges as well. Consider, for instance, issues about

ascertaining the means tests for access to the basic income supplement. This testing would require some coordination between the UN Tax Authority and national governments, whose cooperation is, in any case, necessary to have the policy approved in the first place at the UN level. Here is, in fact, where we can imagine possibly the most arduous barrier to this policy. Some of the potential beneficiaries of the HIC belong to groups who are voluntarily marginalised by governments for ethnic, religious, tribal, or other historical reasons. These same governments may oppose this proposal on the grounds of national sovereignty. However, the overarching ethical component of the plan should take centre stage. The proposal would need to be strongly bolstered by a bottom-up transnational mobilisation, which may blossom from existing anti-poverty and human rights NGOs and ad hoc movements, spread and supported through traditional and social media. Although some superpowers could drag their feet, the objective of this initial campaign should be to gain support from a majority of the UN member states. Once the proposal is adopted, even if there are some opt-outs, top-down UN campaigning can add traction to it. The objective would be a domino effect that can progressively win over governmental reluctance as the scheme is implemented worldwide.

We can now review objections that could be raised to weaken the political sustainability of the project. Taxpayers funding the HIC – particularly corporations and billionaire households – have their own vested interests in stymying the project. Thus, the authority of the UN should be invoked to minimise the possible demonisation, which could arise if the HIC were brought about by an NGO or a private foundation, for example. The legitimacy of the project should be further strengthened through endorsement by reputable figures and possible contributors. For instance, the group of wealthy individuals who call themselves the "Patriotic Millionaires" and campaign for higher

contributions for top incomes could speak out in favour of the tax, as it resonates with their pleas (BBC 2022).

We can also expect opponents of this project to evoke a libertarian argument. The HIC would generate a centralised register of the human population with the potential of Panopticon-like control of each and every person on the planet. A malevolent narrative could paint this as an unprecedented Orwellian scenario. This fear is not entirely unfounded in state-based schemes like Aadhaar (the Indian digital ID programme), where abuses have been recorded as regards minorities (Panigrahi 2022). A UN-managed programme needs to establish a protocol by which any cardholder or group representatives can solicit a supranational court against possible infringements of privacy or misuse of HIC information. Indeed, identity fraud threats are a potential risk, though this issue is not entirely new. Technically, the creation of the HIC should adopt the digital safeguards of privacy enacted whenever population databases are put in place, regardless of scope and scale. Vaccination schemes during the COVID-19 pandemic posed similar problems, which were solved in liberal societies by limiting the type of information stored and a strict regulation of access to data. For instance, the European Union introduced a supranational digital COVID certificate complying with its privacy-protection regulation (Gstrein 2021). The HIC should implement all these technical and legal safeguards. To further increase security, it should not include information related to the location of individuals, like personal addresses or phone numbers. The HIC is conceived as and must be devised as a gateway to rights, not as an instrument of governmentality or biopolitics of any sort.

Critics might voice the potential incompleteness of the HIC registration scheme due to a lack of information, interest, or suspicion on the part of the world population. Unlike national equivalents, it would not be possible to implement enforcement mechanisms for individuals who fail to or refuse to register (in most high-income countries, for instance, not registering babies at birth implies a sanction for parents (Sheldon 2009)). However, the income supplement of the HIC should function as a built-in incentive for the deprived population for whom it is primarily designed. Absence of registration is more likely among the better-off, for whom the HIC should appeal primarily as a civic duty. In an effort to strengthen the value of the card, it could also be acknowledged as proof of identity and credentials for access to commercial services (for instance, phone line subscriptions, currency exchange, transportation tickets, and hotel bookings). Such uses could make the HIC of interest to the "other half" - that is, world citizens who are not eligible for basic income supplements. Although this is far from ideal, it does not diminish the value of the scheme as it concerns the primary goal of addressing scandalous inequalities.

The war on hunger remains high on the agenda of international organisations. By the end of 2023, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN (FAO) issued an ambitious new programme to achieve food security in the context of climate-friendly actions (FAO 2023). The envisaged roadmap targeted the end of global chronic hunger by 2030 through synergies between lower greenhouse gas emissions and higher factor productivity in food production - for instance, promoting sustainable aquaculture or farming practices that reduce methane emissions. However, the whole approach does not mention any supranational intervention, placing an emphasis on nation-specific changes in agrifood systems and relying on state-level actions. In contrast, this project assumes that global problems need global solutions. It, therefore, entails a virtuous externality: cosmopolitan awareness. Human beings are confronted with enormous challenges that concern their own survival as a species, not only

as members of social groups or political entities. While devising local solutions can certainly alleviate much suffering, it also lends itself to divisive thinking - particularly along national, ethno-racial, religious, and class cleavages. Such solutions blind humankind to its pending "tragedies of the commons" - the lack of widespread, supranational awareness to combat centrifugal and ultimately lethal forces in the face of collective problems. One positive side-effect of adopting a global policy like the HIC is its spillover in terms of general recognition of human commonality. This universal policy would directly touch each and every person. Holding the same basic identity recognition would enhance global recognition of our shared fate at all latitudes and the need to tackle global problems such as climate change as one - that is, on a planetary scale. The HIC can help spread this sense of global unity as we increasingly face all-encompassing species-wide challenges.

over into an enhanced awareness across humanity of the commonality of the radical risks ahead, particularly climate change, which are likely to create new scandalous inequalities of the possibilities of survival in the future.

#### 5 CONCLUSION

Hunger and lack of legal identity are the lowest points of the distribution of vital and existential capabilities. These extreme situations are ethically unbearable - that is, they reveal scandalous inequalities. These inequalities can be tackled globally with a Humanity Identity Card and an associated basic income supplement for the most vulnerable half of the world population. This scheme would speed up the achievement of SDGs 16.9 and 2.1 by bringing the solution to a supranational level through an upgrade of UN capacities. Such a project may sound like utopian thinking, but it is not technically unfeasible once we adopt global taxation of states, the largest corporations and billionaire households - something that in April 2024 the Brazilian government as President of G20, the Director of the International Monetary Fund, and the French Ministry of Finance put forward as a concrete global policy (Reuters 2024). On top of its direct benefits, the HIC would spill

#### **REFERENCES**

- Baird, Sarah / Ferreira, Francisco H.G./ Özler, Berk / Woolcock, Michael 2014: Conditional, Unconditional and Everything In Between. A Systematic Review of the Effects of Cash Transfer Programmes on Schooling Outcomes, Journal of Development Effectiveness 6(1): 1–43.
- Banerjee, Abhijit / Duflo, Esther / Goldberg,
  Nathanael / Karlan, Dean / Osei, Robert
  / Parienté, William / Shapiro, Jeremy /
  Thuysbaert, Bram / Udry, Christopher 2015:
  A Multifaceted Program Causes Lasting
  Progress for The Very Poor. Evidence from
  Six Countries, Science 348(6236): 1260799.
- BBC 2022: Millionaires ask to Pay More Taxes, British Broadcasting Corporation, 22 January 2024, https://www.bbc.com/news/ business-60053919 (accessed 22 December 2023).
- Chancel, Lucas / Piketty, Thomas 2021: Global Income Inequality, 1820–2020. The Persistence and Mutation of Extreme Inequality, Journal of the European Economic Association 19(6): 3025–3062.
- Companiesmarketcap 2024: Largest Companies by Market Capitalization, https:// companiesmarketcap.com (accessed 17 July 2024).
- Deaton, Angus, / Olivier Dupriez 2011: Purchasing Power Parity Exchange Rates for the Global Poor, American Economic Journal. Applied Economics: 3(2): 137–166.
- Demirgüç-Kunt, Asli / Klapper, Leora / Singer, Dorothe / Ansar, Saniya 2022: Global Findex Database 2021. Financial Inclusion, Digital Payments, and Resilience in the Age of Covid-19, Washington: World Bank.
- Desai, Vyjayanti T. / Metz, Anna / Lu, Jing 2018: The Global Identification Challenge. Who Are the 1 Billion People Without Proof of Identity?, Washington: World Bank Blog, https://blogs.worldbank.org/voices/

- global-identification-challenge-who-are-1-billion-people-without-proof-identity (accessed 22 December 2023).
- Deutschmann, Emanuel 2022: Mapping the Transnational World. How We Move and Communicate across Borders, And Why It Matters, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Duflo, Esther 2024: Il faut offrir une compensation aux citoyens les plus pauvres du monde et les adapter au changement climatique, Le Monde, 17 April 2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/04/17/esther-duflo-prix-nobel-d-economie-il-faut-offrir-une-compensation-aux-citoyens-les-plus-pauvres-du-monde-et-les-aider-a-s-adapter-au-changement-climatique\_6228381\_3232.html (accessed 29 April 2024).
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2021: Achieving SDG2 without Breaching the 1.5C Threshold. A Global Roadmap, https://www.fao.org/interactive/sdg2-roadmap/en/ (accessed 22 December 2023).
- FAO / IFAD / UNICEF / WFP / WHO 2023: The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023, Rome: FAO, https://doi.org/10.4060/cc3017en (accessed 22 December 2023).
- Forbes 2024: Forbes Worlds Billionaires List. The Richest in 2024, https://www.forbes.com/billionaires. (accessed 18 July 2024).
- Gentilini, Ugo 2007: Cash and Food Transfers. A Primer, Rome: World Food Programme.
- Gstrein, Oskar J. 2021: The EU Digital COVID Certificate. A Preliminary Data Protection Impact Assessment, European Journal of Risk Regulation 12(2): 370-381.
- Handa, Silvio Daidone / Peterman, Amber / Davis,
  Benjamin / Pereira, Audrey / Palermo, Tia
  / Yablonski, Jennifer 2018: Myth-Busting?
  Confronting Six Common Perceptions about
  Unconditional Cash Transfers as a Poverty
  Reduction Strategy in Africa, The World Bank
  Research Observer 33(2): 259–298.

- International Monetary Fund 2023: World Economic Outlook Database, https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/weo-database/2023/October/download-entire-database (accessed 22 December 2023).
- Korpi, Walter 2000: Faces Of Inequality. Gender, Class, and Patterns of Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States, Social Politics 7(2): 127–191.
- Lamont, Michèle 2023: Seeing Others. How Recognition Works—and How It Can Heal a Divided World, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Metz, Anna / Clark, Julia 2019: Global ID Coverage, Barriers, and Use by the Numbers. An In-Depth Look at the 2017 ID4D-Findex Survey (English), Washington: World Bank.
- Milanovic, Branko 2016: Global Inequality. A New Approach for the Age of Globalization, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Milanovic, Branko 2019: Capitalism, Alone. The Future of the System that Rules the World, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Milanovic, Branko 2024: The Three Eras of Global Inequality. 1820–2020 With the Focus on the Past Thirty Years, World Development 177: 106516.
- Nielsen, Kai 1985: Equality and liberty. A defense of radical egalitarianism, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nordhaus, William D. 2007: A Review of the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, Journal of Economic Literature 45(3): 686– 702.
- Nussbaum, Martha 2006. Poverty and Human Functioning. Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements, in: Grusky, David B. / Kanbur, Ravi (eds.): Poverty and Inequality, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 47–75.
- OECD no date: The 0.7% ODA/GNI Target.

  A History, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/

- development-finance-standards/ the07odagnitarget-ahistory.htm (accessed 30 April 2024).
- Panigrahi, Subhashish 2022: Marginalized Aadhaar. India's Aadhaar Biometric ID and Mass Surveillance, *Interactions* 29(2): 16–19.
- Parfit, Derek 1995: Equality or Priority?, Kansas: University of Kansas.
- Pega, Frank / Pabayo, Roman / Benny, Claire / Lee, Eun-Young / Lhachimi, Stefan K. / Liu, Sze Y. 2022: Unconditional Cash Transfers for Reducing Poverty and Vulnerabilities. Effect on Use of Health Services and Health Outcomes in Low-And Middle-Income Countries, Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews 3.
- Piketty, Thomas 2015. Capital and Wealth Taxation in the 21st Century, *National Tax Journal* 68(2), 449–458.
- Pogge, Thomas 2002: World Poverty and Human Rights, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rawls, John 1999: A Theory of Justice (revised edition), Cambridge: Belknap Press.
- Recchi, Ettore / Deutschmann, Emanuel / Vespe, Michele 2019: Estimating Transnational Human Mobility on a Global Scale, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. 30, Fiesole: European University Institute.
- Recchi, Ettore / Safi, Mirna 2024: Introduction. Human Mobility as Hallmark of Our Age, in: Recchi Ettore / Safi, Mirna (eds.): Handbook of Human Mobility and Migration, Cheltenham: Elgar, xii–xxvi.
- Ayres, Marcela / Shalal, Andrea 2024: Brazil Sees Proposal to Tax Super-Rich Gaining Momentum, Will Seek G20 Declaration in July, Washington: Reuters, https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazil-sees-proposal-tax-super-rich-gaining-momentum-will-seek-g20-declaration-2024-04-17/ (accessed 23 April 2024).
- Saez, Emmanuel / Zucman, Gabriel 2019: The Triumph of Injustice. How the Rich Dodge

- Taxes and How to Make Them Pay, New York: Norton.
- Shachar, Ayelet 2009: The Birthright Lottery. Citizenship and Global Inequality, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sen, Amartya. 1995: Inequality Reexamined, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sen, Amartya 1999: Development as Freedom, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sheldon, Sally 2009: From "Absent Objects of Blame" to "Fathers Who Want to Take Responsibility". Reforming Birth Registration Law, Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law, 31(4): 373–389.
- Singer, Peter 1972: Famine, Affluence, and Morality, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1(3): 229–243.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2015: The Great Divide. Unequal Societies and What We Can Do About Them, New York: Norton.
- Therborn, Goran 2006: Meaning, Mechanisms, Patterns and Forces. An Introduction, in: Therborn, Goran (ed.): Inequalities of the World, London: Verso, 1–60.
- Tobin, James 1978: A Proposal for International Monetary Reform, *Eastern Economic Journal* 4(3–4): 153–159.
- Treiman, Donald J. 1977: Occupational Prestige in Comparative Perspective, Cambridge: Academic Press.
- Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. / Maas, Ineke 2010: Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification, Annual Review of Sociology 36(1): 429–451.
- Van Parijs, Philippe 2013: The Universal Basic Income. Why Utopian Thinking Matters, and How Sociologists Can Contribute to It, *Politics and Society* 41(2): 171–182.
- World Food Programme 2023: World Food Programme. Cash Transfers, https://www.wfp.org/cash-transfers (accessed 22 December 2023).
- World Bank 2022: Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2022. Correcting Course, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

- World Bank 2024: World Development Indicators, Washington D.C.: World Bank, https://datatopics.worldbank.org/worlddevelopment-indicators (accessed 17 July 2024).
- Zürn, Michael / Gerschewski, Johannes 2021: Sketching the Liberal Script. A Target of Contestations, SCRIPTS Working Paper No. 10, Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)".

#### **RECENT SCRIPTS WORKING PAPERS**

#### No. 19 2022 Albert Cullell Cano

The Chinese Peacebuilding Script: A Pragmatic Contestation of the Liberal International Order

#### No. 20 2022 Silviya Lechner

The Responsibility of Global Governance Institutions: Towards a Kantian Conception of the Current Liberal Order

#### No. 21 2022 Sébastien Tremblay

Homosynchronism and the Temporal-Memory Border: Framing Racialized Bodies, Time, and Mobility in German Queer Printed Media

### No. 22 2022 Jürgen Gerhards, Lukas Antoine, and Rasmus Ollroge

The Liberal Script on Military Humanitarian Intervention and How Citizens around the World Support It. Results from a Comparative Survey in 24 Countries

#### No. 23 2023 Anne Menzel

Situating Liberal Rationality. Unacknowledged Commitments in Progressive Knowledge Production and Policymaking

#### No. 24 2023 Georg Simmerl

Liberalism and Critique. Why it Is Unviable to Analytically Position a Liberal Script in Opposition to its Contestations

#### No. 25 2023 Bastiaan Bouwman

Postwar Displacement, Liberalism, and the Genesis of the International Refugee Regime

#### No. 26 2023 Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse

The Liberal Script between Individual and Collective Self-Determination

#### No. 27 2023 Agnes Blome and Miriam Hartlapp

Contesting Unequal Group Representation. Can Deliberative Participatory Fora Cure Representation Gaps in the Legislature

## No. 28 2023 Jürgen Gerhards, Lukas Antoine, and Rasmus Ollroge

The Liberal Script on State Sovereignty and the Admission of Immigrants. Do Citizens Distinguish between Voluntary and Forced Immigrants?

#### No. 29 2023 Jessica Kim, Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, Hector Cebolla Boado, and Laura Schimmöller

Inhibiting or Contributing? How Global Liberal Forces Impact Climate Change Scepticism

#### No. 30 2023 Daniel Wajner

Delegitimizing International Institutions. How Global Populism Challenges the Liberal International Order

#### No. 31 2023 Steven Livingston

The Nature of Beliefs. An Exploration of Cognitive Science and Sociological Approaches to the Crisis of Democracy

#### No. 32 2023 Jiwei Ci

States, Scripts, and Democratisation

# **No. 33 2023** Heiko Giebler, Lukas Antoine, Rasmus Ollroge, Jürgen Gerhards, Michael Zürn, Johannes Giesecke, and Macartan Humphreys

The "Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script" (PALS) Survey. Conceptual Framework, Implementation, and Data

### No. 34 2023 Tanja A. Börzel, Valentin Krüsmann, Julia Langbein, and Lunting Wu

Colliding Scripts in Asia? Comparing China's Belt and Road Initiative and the EU Global Gateway Strategy

#### No. 35 2024 Alexander Kalgin

How Economics and Sociology Contest the Meaning of "Social Inequality". The Russian Case

#### No. 36 2024 Arie M. Kacowicz

Before and After the Liberal International Order. Overlapping and Diverging Trajectories of the International Society and the Liberal Order

### No. 37 2024 Cristiane de Andrade Lucena Carneiro and Mariane Monteiro da Costa

Institutions of the Inter-American Human Rights System and Their Role in Shaping the Liberal International Order

#### No. 38 2024 Adriana Cuppuleri

20 Years of LIO Contestation(s). A Computational Text Analysis of Russia's Foreign Policy Discourse (2003–2023)

#### No. 39 2024 Jessica Gienow-Hecht and Steffen Just

Music and Human Rights Since World War II

#### No. 40 2024 Xinyuan Dai and Lucie Lu

Beyond Liberal Narratives. China and the International Human Rights Order

#### No. 41 2024 Roberta Astolfi

Between Populism and Technocracy. The Impoverishment of the Individual's Political Role and the Vulnerability of Liberal Democracy

#### No. 42 2024 Mattias Kumm

Academic Freedom in Liberal Constitutional Democracies. Justifications, Limits, Tensions, and Contestations

#### No. 43 2024 Ettore Recchi

Fighting "Scandalous Inequalities". A Global Policy Proposal for a Humanity Identity Card and Basic Income



All SCRIPTS Working Papers are available on the SCRIPTS website at www.scripts-berlin.eu and can be ordered in print via email to office@scripts-berlin.eu



#### Hosted by:





#### In Cooperation with:















The Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)" is funded by:

