

Citizen Traceability: Surveillance à *la* Argentina

Dante Avaro¹

Abstract

The Argentine Republic have since the year 2011 a Federal System of Biometric Identification for Security (SIBIOS). From this fact the Mr. Julian Assange said that Argentina has an aggressive surveillance system. In this article we will show you what in reality Argentina has arrange as policy of identification that allows the State to track the behavior of its citizens from varied and multiple windows than governmental and private. We call this policy of citizen identification as traceability. Therefore SIBIOS appears as a new and complementary device that is constantly evolving and we have to wait until it evolves.

Keywords: Governance, ID Cards, *Gouvernementalité*, Surveillance, Public Policies, Identity Gap

§.1. Introduction

In Argentina since 2003 governs the same electoral alliance named *Frente para la Victoria*. This submitted the candidacy of Néstor Kirchner in 2003, who was in the Presidency of the Republic until 2007, then promoted the candidacy Cristina Elizabet Fernández de Kirchner (CFK) for the period 2007-2011, subsequently re-elected for a second term ends in December 2015. We refer in this work to the three presidential periods as "kirschnerism". The government is considered to have a left or *progresista* (as they say in the Argentine political slang). So that there is no doubt than President CFK has said that to your left is a wall.²

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² Expression used by the President on August 14 of 2014 in a speech at the Pink House on the occasion of the launch "Plan Vivir Más Cerca". The metaphor holds presidential to your left there is nothing or no one: his government "is" the left. See video [1]

Within the set of policies that the "kirschnerism" has driven in these 11 years there are two that are of extreme importance for the purposes of this article: (1) an "active" policy pro-human rights, and (2) a comprehensive set of policies of social "inclusion". These two pillars form the raw material of what political opposition called the "story K"³, *i.e.* the discursive narratives of the government on the reality and its transformation. In such a way that of the kirschnerism self-presented as the "only" government in the democratic history of Argentina this committed to human rights, care of the persons, the human diversity and the inclusion of those excluded from the different areas that produce goods and symbols valuable socially.⁴ Is by these policies and their ideological orientation that sustains them to what has called the attention of the kirschnerism will be enacted through the Decree 1,766 of 2011, the Federal System of Biometric Identification for Security (SIBIOS).⁵ This surveillance system seems to be so powerful that the Mr. Julian Assange said that Argentina has the monitoring system more aggressive within the range of countries which have it (Smink, 2013; Infobae, 2013). SIBIOS took his spot with the advertising slogan "yes we know best, we care more"⁶, there was presented to SIBIOS as an intelligent system for the integration of data that has intended to respond in real time to two questions: (i) if the person is who he claims to be, and (ii) and who is that person. SIBIOS was presented as scalable and promises to integrate in the near future the fingerprint and facial recognition with the iris eye, voice and the DNA. In such a way that all the time, citizens have to prove that they are who they claim to be, but they also need to provide information about their own condition of person, that is to say, things that are not in plain view are to that person as a person who claims to be.

It is paradoxical to say the least that a government has been earmarked for both capital and political resources to the defense of human rights, to the diversity of human life, protection of the differences, the assurance of rights, and so on. Undertake by means of a decree (and not a Law) a program of advanced biometric records on its population. Beyond the news that was widespread in all the media of the country few voices had an evaluative attitude on the subject.

³"K" for "kirschnerism" or "*kirschneristas*".

⁴ Even more committed, say the supporters of the government (hereinafter indiscriminately "*kirschneristas*") that the "peronism" of Juan Domingo Perón.

⁵ See Decree 1,766/2011, Secretaría de Comunicación Pública (2011), video [2]. Developed in collaboration with the Government of Cuba and of national production (Rivera, 2013).

⁶See video [3]

I found no statement⁷ against SIBIOS of part of the historical groupings pro human rights (such as Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo), on the other hand, the opposition did not include critically this topic in the public agenda. The Fundación Vía Libre (Rodríguez, 2012, Busaniche 2012) has maintained a critical position and they warned the general public to the dangers that SIBIOS engenders in terms of a violation of the right to privacy. The traditional left-wing parties were slow to display the item and when they did immediately linked it with imperialism, postulating a relationship without conspiratorial evidence between the Argentine Government and the US Government, linking SIBIOS with PRISM of the National Security Agency (NSA).

Beyond the possibilities of this work trying to describe the governmental purpose that was and is the Argentine Government when designing and deploying SIBIOS. This biometric system was contextualized within the set of policies aimed at ensuring the digital inclusion, guarantee the right to identify the citizens, providing more security and modernizing the State (Janices, 2011). Therefore what I wonder in this work is whether SIBIOS can be considered an instrument of intervention to solve the problems related with the theme of "identity gap" that are present in developing countries (Gelb-Clark, 2013). In this sense the hypothetical answer that can be tested here is that SIBIOS would help to improve the process of identification of persons to the extent that the country had a deficit of identity or an identity gap that ruled out the efficiency and effectiveness of public policies toward welfare. But we'll show you that is not the case. I will argue that Argentina has resolved the identity gap since the eighties and that during the nineties has modernized its information systems so robust, for giving rise to what I call, based on the existence of the National Tax and Social Security Identification System (SINTyS), a citizen subject to mechanisms of traceability on their behaviors. I will describe how a system is SIBIOS complementary and evolved that part of a consolidated public policy of personal identification (DNI⁸ and SINTyS).

⁷One of the few television programs in open chain that discussed the topic was Argentina para Armar (2013)

⁸In Argentina the ID Card is called National Identity Card (DNI for its acronym in Spanish).

This article is organized as follows in §.2. I make a brief and simplified contextualization of the democratic struggle for human rights, §.3. I describe that is SIBIOS, §.4. through the description of SINTyS I will argue how has been consolidated the policy of personal identification in Argentina and the construction of the traceability citizen. In §.5. I conclude by stating that SIBIOS is possible because Argentina had overcome the problem of identity gap.

§.2. Human Rights Policies in Context the Democratic"Factory": a Brief and Simple Description

On 10 December 2013, the Argentine Republic turned 30 years of uninterrupted operation of its contemporary democratic system. Democratic coexistence has not been easy, but more complex, has been the "production" democratic. Then the bloody military dictatorship (1976-1983) the first government of the democratic transition (Raúl Alfonsín, 1983-1989) faced 3 military uprisings⁹ and a partisan action in charge of the guerrilla¹⁰, but even so, the nascent democracy in adversity could "produce" democracy. The December 15, 5 days after assuming the presidency, Raúl Alfonsín sanctioned the Decree 158 ordering process to the "Juntas Militares" of the dictatorship at the same time that He create the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP)¹¹. While some of the civil organizations try to have international trials but there were conducted by national judges and without the existence of third watchers international people. Was an example: Of punishment in a trial also this context of appropriation of the human rights agenda for the fledgling democracy. Although the government was unable to remove the economy of the Keynesianism in the trap that was immersed before, culminating in advance its mandate with a traumatic process hyper-Inflation¹², He left two fundamental pillars for the modernization of the citizen relations: agenda of human rights and the sanction and implementation of the Act 23,515 which granted the "divorce".

⁹ The first happened on 16 April 1987, known as "Levantamiento de Semana Santa". The second in January 1988 known as the "Amotinamiento de Monte Caseros" and the third at the end of 1988.

¹⁰The *Movimiento Todos por la Patria* attacked the Regiment of Infantry III of La Tablada. Guerrilla attack known as "Copamiento de la Tablada".

¹¹Decree 3,090 dated 20 September 1984.

¹² From February to August 1989 inflation exceeded 2300%.

On 8 July 1989 assumed the Presidency of the Republic, Carlos Saúl Menem (1989-1999) who had promised during the election process to implement a package of classic Keynesian policies (market internists in the Argentine political slang) but finished implementing policies closer to the Washington Consensus, market friendly as it has been characterized in countless publications.

Carlos Menem to months of the presidency passed through four decrees¹³ the well-known "pardons" that gave reverse to the pioneering efforts to prosecute and punish the crimes against humanity committed by the Military dictatorship during 1976-1983. Even so on 3 December 1990 occurred the last military uprising. A few days the government decreed a new group of indults.¹⁴ Although was there a clear step backwards in terms of "policies" of human rights, the "military" stuck in the democratic system. The Menem government budget cut them, sold assets during the privatization process and during 1994, the "Carrasco case"¹⁵ was the policy window that is opened to repeal the Law 3,948 of the Compulsory Military Service and Call for Conscripts in force since 1901. That same year the Constitutional Convention, a product of the famous *Pacto de Olivos*, creates the Constitution of 1994 currently in force that incorporates rights of third and fourth generation. Menem delivered by the government in December 1999 President Fernando De la Rúa on half of an incipient recession, a high rate of destruction of employment and with a system of conversion (convertibility) between the Argentine peso and the US dollar that the only thing that could keep on foot was a deflation (mainly to the low wage) that later would try inconclusively by the infamous "Banelco Law" in 2000.

On 21 December 2001 De la Rúa leaves the government in half of its constitutional period and in a few days there will be, as indicated by the National Constitution, three presidents, until it is Eduardo Duhalde takes over in January 2002 who covered the office until the 2003 elections that build in the Presidency of the Republic to Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007). A few months of the Kirchner government, in September 2003, the Bill is promulgated 25,779 repealing the laws of Due Obedience and End Point and channeled again the "policy" of human rights to the "memory, justice and truth".

¹³ Menem passed Decrees 1002/89, 1003/89, 1004/89, 1005/89 they left on freedom to military have already been convicted, civilians and stopped the causes open during the Presidency of Alfonsín.

¹⁴ On 29 December 1990 Menem sanctioned the Decrees 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746.

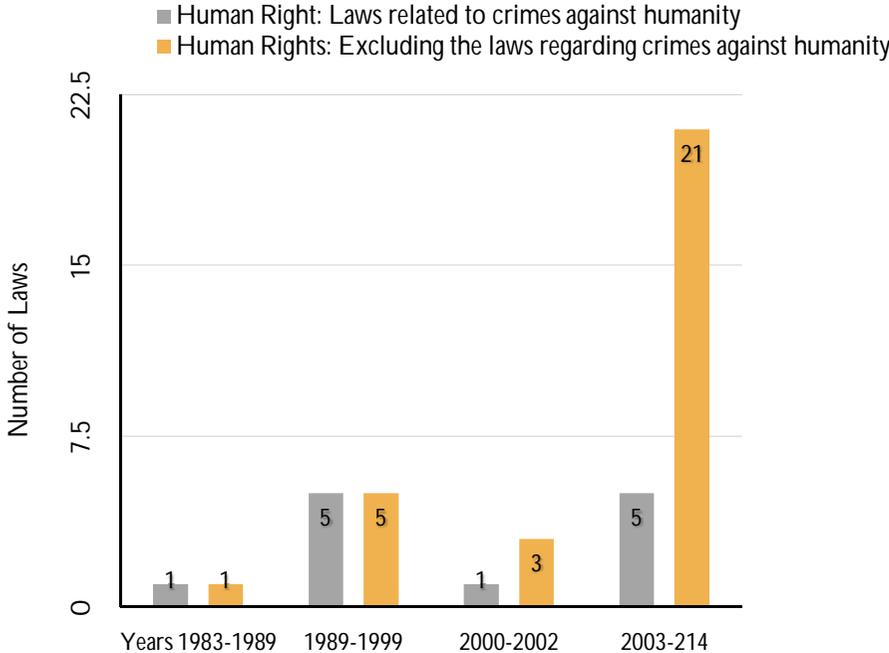
¹⁵ Murder of a conscript (soldier) while serving with the provisions of the Law 3,948 that shocked the public opinion.

Shortly after the March 24 2004, after recalling the 28 Years of the *coup d'état* of the last military dictatorship, the President gave instruction to the General Bendini, holder at the time of the Argentine Army, to proceed to pick up the portraits of the Videla and Bignone dictators of the gallery of a Military College of the Nation. This act marked a before and an after in the way of political actors and in the human rights in the contemporary Argentina.

In 30 years of democracy the Argentine citizens have been actors, witnesses and observers of steep and rapid changes. They moved from a Keynesian ECLAC's management of the economy, to a ferocious privatization process, for again anchor in a wave of expropriations and nationalizations. Hyperinflations endured, convertible pesos to American dollars and now again inflation of more than two digits. Loaded a unplayable foreign debt, a default in 2001 that continues to give headaches today. Passed through the four coins (Pesos Argentines, Australes, ConvertiblePesos and non-convertible Pesos which is the current currency). Had unmanageable fiscal deficit in the eighties, twin deficits in the nineties and surplus twins between 2003-2007. Faced a factory destruction of jobs and high levels of poverty in the nineties and a new government takeover on funds, pensions and retirement scheme that led the current social security system to be one of the largest indebted in the whole continent. Went to have one of the low tax burdens to have one of the highest in the region. They passed a massive recession to have growth rates of 7% of GDP. Argentina seems to have no direction in economic and can boast a high propensity to institutional change, however even within that set of centrifugal forces the production rules and practice on the "human rights" and on the policy of the care of the people seems to have maintained a sustained and cumulative course.

During the 11 years of the *Kirschnerista* government they have been enacted 26 laws related to human rights. In these years, in addition to prosecute those involved in crimes against humanity, to create the National Archive of the Memory, countervailing laws for the affected by the military dictatorship, progress was made in the promotion of human wealth, the equalization of rights of the human diversity and for the welfare of individuals as persons. It is legislated on the rights of patients and the terminal illnesses, childbirth humanized, gender-based violence, weddings of people of the same sex, a change of identity for reasons of gender perception, among many others. As was said above Argentina is erratic in the turbulent economic and institutional, but has shown a cumulative path in the field of human rights.

Graph 1. Human Rights in Argentina 1983-2014



Source: Avaro (2014)

Therefore, what is the relationship can be established between SIBIOS and policy for human welfare that directs the human rights in Argentina? Does This SIBIOS in line with the promotion and defense of human rights and the Care of the Human Person in contexts of diversity? The *Kirschnerista* government can argue that if, since the agenda "progressive" on social inclusion, the expansion of rights and the equality that it carries out this administration also requires an agenda on "digital inclusion" (Janices, 2011) and this relates to the new technology of biometrics (Thill, 2011). This is a faithful interpretation to the advertising slogan of SIBIOS that he prayed, as we said before, that in order to better care there is to know each other more. If it is the case?

§.3. What is SIBIOS?

In 2007 the President CFK called to the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights as Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Rights.

In 2009 by the Decree 1,501 the government of CFK began the modernization of the DNI since that was the digitization of the process identification and authentication of the registration of persons. A year later, on 10 December 2010, the President CFK said the Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Rights in two: on the one hand, Ministry of Security and by another Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. In 2011 the Presidency of the Republic announced by Decree 1,766 the creation of SIBIOS a biometric identification system of high-technology under the auspices of the Ministry of Security and in close relationship with National Office of Information Technologies (ONTI) dependent on the Heads of Ministries (Secretaría de Comunicación Pública, 2011; Ministerio de Seguridad, 2011). On 27 June 2014 the Minister of the Interior and Transportation, responsible for the National Registry of Persons (RENAPER), reported that in 2015 it will launch a new version of the DNI that now contain a "smart chip" that will allow you to interact with public and private services (Secretaría de Comunicación Pública, 2014; Infobae, 2014, La Nación, 2014).

SIBIOS is an identification system that is in the orbit of the Ministry of Security and that feeds your database using a file of 8 million fingerprint identifications and facial from the Argentine Federal Police when this was responsible for issuing passports argentines (that is to say, until 2009 that became a attribution of the RENAPER). At the same time feeds on the basis of data of the RENAPER that contains the date a total of 37 million fingerprints and facial recognition, including all the newborns from the year 2012. For the 1 January 2015 it will be mandatory for the remaining 3 million renew their DNI thus covering the whole of the Argentine population and resident aliens in the digitized database. The database that feeds SIBIOS is running through the Decree 1,501 of 2009 amending in regard to the digitization of the historic Law 17,671 force since 1968 called "Act of Identification, Registration and Classification of the Human Potential".

Argentina has a long and efficient policy of elimination of identity gap. In the annals of criminology is in La Plata (capital of the province of Buenos Aires) where the police solves the first criminal case through the fingerprinting.

The Francisca Rojas of Caraballo is considered as the first person in the world who was convicted on the basis of the evidence provided by their own fingerprints (Alvarez 1892). Since the filicide of Ms. Rojas perpetrated in the town of Necochea (Province of Buenos Aires) in June 1892 the argentines they have travelled in the twentieth century in a natural way the relationship between the ID card and fingerprints.

Although in the year 1948 is created the National Registry of Persons (Law 13,482) coexisted in Argentina several documents of identity: enlistment book for boys, civic book for the women and identity card issued by the Argentine Federal Police.¹⁶ The first was related to the men and the Law 3,948 of Compulsory Military Service and Call for Conscripts in force since 1901, the second document was distributed with the arrival of the female vote (Law 13,030 of the year 1947) and the third most linked to the large urban centers in particular to the Federal Capital, today Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, seat of the National Government and the Federal Police. In 1968 the military government of Juan Carlos Onganía sets the Law 17,671 called "Act of Identification, Registration and Classification of the Human Potential" that had intended to consolidate the processes of identification and elimination of the identity gap. It is therefore the Law 17,671 that eradicates the identity gap in Argentina and is the Decree 1,501 of 2009 to allow the scan biometrics (fingerprints and facial recognition in a principle) ensures that the Argentine State has access and available in real-time flows of biometric data of citizens and resident aliens in Argentine territory.

The novelty of SIBIOS is access to the biometric data of the RENAPER (who has the responsibility to validate and authenticate the relationship between person and biometric data) and to link them with databases of security institutions are under the area of competence of the Ministry of Security (the Federal Police, the National Gendarmerie, Naval Prefecture of Argentina, Migration, Security Police Aero-port) and with the rest of the security forces dependent on the 24 provinces that initialed agreements of collaboration with the Nation. What you can do is relate SIBIOS biometric data captured by security cameras scattered throughout the country with the biometric data "mother" that sucks the RENAPER.

¹⁶ Legally referred to in Argentina as: "Libreta de Enrolamiento", "Libreta Cívica" and "Cédula de Identidad".

In other words, you can relate the SIBIOS already extensive and growing network of surveillance video from the nodes of surveillance public and quasi-public with the biometric data, which by law we are obliged to deliver to make sure our identity in the RENAPER. It has been promoted its usefulness. Cameras that recorded a aggression in a remote small square can be used to identify after the aggressor. Mutilated bodies product of a natural disaster or an accident can be identified thanks to SIBIOS.

The list is long: violence in football-soccer stadiums, trafficking in persons, prostitution, gender-based violence, etc., in short: what an intelligent interface that connects the data of the RENAPER with biometric data obtained by the nodes of surveillance that different institutions have security in the national territory. Therefore, SIBIOS not only interacts with the techniques of video-surveillance but that connects in real time (potentially it is presumed) with databases of biometric type stock available in the RENAPER (Puntogov, 2012; Sanchez, 2013; Tomoyose, 2013).

The centers or nodes of video-surveillance are regulated by Resolution 283 of the Ministry of Security of the Argentine Republic of 2012 which establishes a "Protocol of General Operation of camcorders in public spaces". In turn the jurisdictions Provincial have been punished, in some cases prior to the aforementioned National Resolution, their own regulatory frameworks in the field of video-surveillance in public spaces (Ombudsman of the People of the City of Buenos Aires, 2011). The national regulatory framework in the field of video surveillance set to the literal 14 that must be satisfied with the provisions of Law 25,326 known as Law Habeas Data (Ministry of Security, 2012). This law regulates on the one hand the obligations to be met by entities (public and private) that collect, store and use data referring to the people; and on the other hand, granted rights and guarantees to the people, among them the right to privacy. The National Directorate for the Protection of Personal Data under the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights has a search engine to locate public enterprises, organizations or institutions (private and public) that have registered their databases in this dependence to citizens to recognize which type of data they have these entities on them and those who are responsible for their access.¹⁷

¹⁷ The public search is done through "Exercise of Rights of access" and placed the name of the organization or institution in the box "responsible". See: <http://goo.gl/yPMxtE> Results the search has three fields: (a) major purpose of the database; (b) responsible for access to the database; (c) home in the database. Querying can be seen that for many public institutions paragraph (a) lack of information.

Even when the nodes and centers of video-surveillance of the security forces under the Ministry of Security and the provincial entities that have signed agreement with it are regulated by the "Protocol General Operation of video cameras in public spaces" and this in turn is driven by the Law of Habeas Data there are those who think that they are violating the right to privacy (García Fanlo, 2014; Foundation Track Free¹⁸; Association Civil Rights¹⁹).

In general what this shows is that Argentina is no stranger to the international discussion on the status of tacit consent or expressed that is required for filming in public spaces and the uses that can be done to the *recce faciales* (Lyon, 2003, 2006, 2009; Mattelart, 2007; Wajcman, 2010, Bauman-Lyon, 2013).²⁰ One of the most striking episodes of this nascent debate consisted in the famous "agreed" to the National Electoral Court in March 2013 (Cámara Nacional Electoral, 2013) adopted a new design of electoral roll that contains the photo of the citizens (Centro de Información Judicial, 2013; *Ámbito Financiero*, 2013). Toward the end of the year there was a breach of security of the web site of the Electoral Register uncovered and wanders through the network photos of electors (*La Nación*, 2013), which revived the debate on the protection of personal data, the protection of privacy and the use potentially incorrect you can give to the same.

During 2007, much before the Decree 1,501 2009 that lets you scan the biometric data of the DNI, seems to have existed, as unveil the Wikileaks US Embassy in Buenos Aires, a dialog between the US Attorney General Alberto Gonzales with Argentine Interior Minister Aníbal Fernández referred expecting little resistance to biometrics measures within Argentina. The US Attorney General seems to have told the Argentine Interior Minister that American citizens are opposed to biometrics ID cards. To what Aníbal Fernández seems to have replicated "that He faced 'no such public concern' in Argentina" (Yunker, 2012). The observation of the US Attorney General and the reply of the Argentine Interior Minister confirms the relationship maintained that naturalized Argentine citizens between identification and biometric data.

¹⁸ See several entries on "SIBIOS" tag at institutional web site: <http://goo.gl/mw3IG6>

¹⁹ See several notes in the institutional page: <http://goo.gl/tlyvv9>

²⁰ The impacts on the everyday life technologies that use the facial recognition are still little studied. For example how they will change our lives with the ads in the smart roads (Griffin-Scott, 2010) or in the transport of mass communication (Mick, 2010). Or the possibility every day closest to photograph human faces from outer space (Padilla Dalmau, 2014).

The "New DNI" and SIBIOS are not new policies mean technology incorporation to a long experience in public policies for the identification and collection of biometric data. The rhetorical question that posed Kai Rannenberg, professor at Goethe University of Frankfurt, "Why does the Argentine government so mistrusted domain its people" (Yunker, 2012) is relevant democratically, but impossible for a society such as the Argentina is raised after a long process of acceptance on the collection of biometric data. May appear fears, moments of mistrust and voices of alert to events such as the one who will take state international public in where the President.

Maduro appears to intimidate the 900 thousand voters who didn't vote for the party in the government (NTN24, 2013), and the Argentine citizens are wondering: does this could happen here? (Crettaz, 2013, La Nación 2014, Pérez Esquivel, 2014). But beyond these sporadic events of public warning collection and storage of biometric data of the Argentine population has, as we have seen, a long, consistent, lasting and pioneer history. The incorporation of technology (new DNI and SIBIOS) to change the territory access to the data, accelerates the flow of information, multiplies the accesses, alters the query times, speeds of authentication, monitoring, generates new borders between the included/excluded from digitally, but does not change but that deepens in Argentina the public policy in relation to the identification of the people. The new biometric techniques consolidate the pioneering act of identification of the "human potential" of 1968, but have not joined new institutional designs for that democratic institutions monitor, audit and control the collection, storage and use of such data. As far as we know does not exist in Argentina public reports of competent bodies that provide information on the operation of the RENAPER and SIBIOS. Have not been objects of presentations in the presidential reports, or the Head of Cabinet of Ministers before the National Congress. Therefore, in terms of controls and audits democracy Argentina has many outstanding issues. For that reason is that the operation of SIBIOS is subject to speculation, to diffuse descriptions, and is relatively unknown among the citizens. In the field of controls and audits the policy of biometric identification does not escape the entire system of controls and audits of the contemporary democracy Argentina. Given the importance of the politics of identification of the human potential is relevant inclusion in the agenda of the quality of democracy.

§.4. A Dataset Network Centrated on DNI.

In July 1998 by the Decree 812 the then President Menem created the National Tax and Social Security Identification System (SINTyS). With the Decree of the same year 1,574 approving the agreement of cooperation with the Government of Japan as a donor for the preparation "The Technical Assistance Project" to be dispatched to the IADB. In May of 1999, the government of Menem approves through Decree 528 the "Loan Agreement by 10 million US dollars for the implementation of SINTyS". At that time begins²¹ the modern history of the traceability citizen in Argentina.

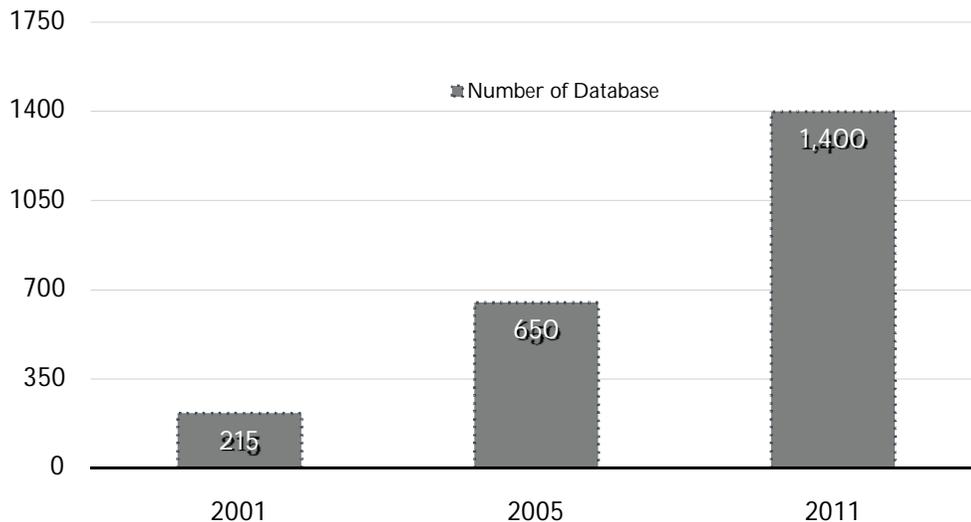
With a policy of identification of the human potential relatively reliable and secure you start to use ID as the DNI to bind multiple legal relations, economic and social of the citizens among themselves and with the State through various bureaucratic offices. Born in Argentina, means of the ICT, a new form of relationship between the citizens, the windows governmental and public services. In the year 2000 by Law 25,345 SINTyS was ratified and in article 35 are set forth, but not conclusively, the public agencies that should be incorporated into the database. A year later by Law 25,400 all provincial jurisdictions adhere to SINTyS, which meant that a federal country as Argentina a crucial step to ensure the integrity of the database. In the year 2002 by Decree 357 is transferred to the Council project SINTyS National Coordination of Social Policies of the Presidency of the Nation. By Decree 78 of 2007 is raised to the rank of National Directorate under the jurisdiction of the National Council for the Coordination of Social Policies in the orbit of the Presidency of the Republic.

SINTyS was born as a management tool to the challenges imposed by the trends to the targeting and efficiency of public spending in the context of the structural reforms of the nineties. The IADB considers SINTyS as an Integrated System of Social Information (SIIS) (Azevedo-Bouillon-Irarrazaval, 2011) and within the experiences analyzed and financed by the bank (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and Mexico) the Argentine case is unique in pose an information system based on the principle of "exchange of databases".

²¹In addition has received financing from the World Bank. World Bank Project #P101171. See: <http://goo.gl/wZCmPV>

In 2003, still in its implementation phase and demonstration SINTyS makes a first demonstration of its potential. SINTyS analyzes 9 social programs that represent 95.4 per cent in terms of allocated budget. In such an opportunity for controlled so "regular" a total of 47,994 million identifying crossings (Fenochietto-Pessino, 2011: 11). SINTyS was designed to recognize three large groups of socio-economic dimensions: income (wages, capital profit, income, other professional income, pensions, etc.), assets (real estate, properties, actions, motor vehicles, bank accounts, bonds, etc.) and personal consumption (creditcard, loans, payment plans, etc.) (Fenochietto-Pessino, 2011: 20; Decree 812; Law 25,345). SINTyS is flexible and scalable and interacts with public and private databases allowing you to be updated a low cost and traces the citizen behavior across multiple areas. Already in 2005, almost 5 years before the decree modernizer of the DNI digital biometric, had a record of 33 million people validated (Fenochietto-Pessino, 2011: 20). The evolution of databases to which SINTyS accesses have grown considerably.

The integration with the provincial records has been a major task for the comprehensiveness of the database. Fenochietto-Pessino (2011: 47) show that in 2005 SINTyS had 89 public agencies with proven capabilities to identify persons (natural or legal) and property, and although not I find a more up-to-date data is presumed that this number has increased (I believe that saves a relationship with the growth in the number of databases, see Graph 2 below). Therefore, Argentine citizens to move through the different public office, when performing different commercial transactions, financial, work, marry, have children, send their children to school, buy clothes, cars, furniture, etc. are leaving a trail in the database. You can classify SINTyS aggregates and can establish movements of the added. You can view dynamic of the different audiences that make up a category added, but you can see how one agency is moving between different public added. This ability of the State to know the movements of the agencies here is what we call citizenship drawn.



Graph 2: SINTAyS Database Evolution

Source: Fenochietto-Pessino (2011: 23) for year 2005. SINTAyS Institutional Web Site for years 2001 and 2011.

This ability of the State to know the movements of the agencies is what I call here citizen´s traceability policies

§.5. Final Remarks

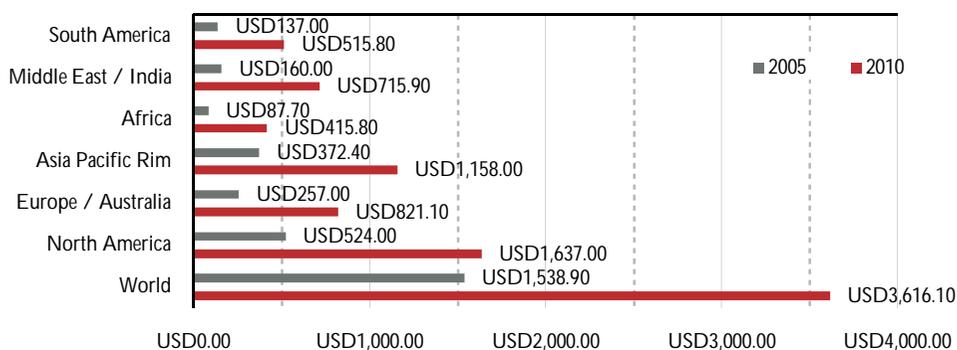
1. The policy of personal identification in Argentina (waste disposal of identity gap) evolves independently on the political orientation of the governments. Here we show you how SINTyS was born in a government market friendly but is consolidated through digitization Biometric of the DNI driven by a government with policy guidelines clearly of the left. As we saw the RENAPER consolidates, with its new biometric database digitized, the identification process, eliminates the waste of identity gap and opens up a whole new field of application for biometrics applied to the public safety, transportation, health, banking, telecommunications services, among others. According to authors such as Giorgio Agamben (2014), among others, it is tempting to postulate is the existence of a sovereign power that creates the nascent and lucrative business in the economy of the surveillance.

2. But a premise opposite it is also evocative: is a growing international market for biometric, that as window of opportunity, creates a need for *aggiornada* sovereignty in the society of surveillance. Here we have described how government needs to fulfill the tax collection, incentives to the modernization of certain areas of government, shortening of the times of government responses in the field of social demands; they have acted as areas of opportunity for the supply of biometric technologies in Argentina. That to find a policy for consolidated identity formed a market that is built around the DNI, facilitating processes of organizational and institutional integration. They were giving them greater efficiency the government at the same time who built a market growing on the monitoring techniques. This process is what called traceability citizen. One of the basic features of the consolidation of public policy on identity (elimination of identity gap) of the people in Argentina is that surveillance is a byproduct of such consolidation and not the other way around. It is not because the Argentine government wants to watch out for the citizens who decide to eliminate the identity gap, but because it has eliminated the identity gap that emerges from a growing relationship between biometrics, security, surveillance. What is central in Argentina, by now, is the traceability citizen and not the emerging surveillance society.

3. SIBIOS could be planned, implemented and executed because Argentina has a consolidated policy of personal identification. And that is why, perhaps, that has attracted more attention to analyze international expertise in the subjects. The DNI and SINTyS does not draw attention because they are policies accepted and naturalized, but they are the heart of the system of traceability citizen that has at its disposal the Argentine Government to track, map, and regular, public policies, the behavior of the citizens. To the public policy of traceability is annexed citizen now a growing market for the video surveillance. According to the RNCOS consultancy specializing in its Biometric Market Forecast to 2014, the market for biometrics world expected a expansion of a growth rate of compound annual growth rate (CAGR) close to 21% between 2012-2014. Biometric technologies grow and diversify continuously. The classical fingerprints, face prints and iris scans, he had recently added voice prints, retinal scans, vein patterns, tongue prints, lip movements, ear patterns, gait, dynamic signature, DNA, electroencephalography (brain waves) still at an experimental stage.²² The growth of the biometry there must be added to the case of Latin

²²For example. Results of search in US Patent Collection database for ABST / "dynamic signature" appear 14 patents, for "vein patterns" 16 patents.

America the growth in the use and production of drones by a space devoid of regulation and appealing to this type of technological products. Biometrics, video surveillance, drones (Landi, 2014) are a new growth market space for both private and government for Argentina.



Graph 3: Biometrics Industry by Region: Estimated Sales

Source: Gelb-Clark (2013: 66)

- The biometric data collected by the DNI is what allows you to operate the traceability citizen. The DNI generates the equivalent of a unique code that allows you to follow for different times, spaces, trajectories to the agents. Not only SINTyS you may follow to beneficiaries of social programs, you can identify potential beneficiaries for alternative public policies. The traceability citizen²³ can guide them, open and close doors²⁴. Accompany them, offer special opportunities. Monitor the crossings between the socio-economic variables of income, property and consumption not only is of vital importance for the collection of taxes, it is also a way to get to know the choices and behavior of the citizens. Allowing the State to target public and eventually customize the relationship between government and citizens. This is, sort them to re-classify them, move them from one space to another, from one object to another, the movement is what ensures that the classification becomes inexhaustible.

²³Fenochietto-Pessino (2011: 46. Table 8) show that in 2001 224,000 SINTyS identified new beneficiaries.

²⁴ An emblematic case system is the single e-ticket (SUBE Card, for its acronym in Spanish) to travel on the transport of subsidized urban and intercity travel. Where it is registered the travel of point by point what users do. In addition to Argentina for the long-distance trips the bus companies have an obligation to register electronically the DNI of the traveller.

Records can establish relationships between the clinical history, the purchase of goods check, bank accounts, income, payment of maintenance payments in the event of divorce, etc. can be set many controls between the variables, but also new data for the design of new public policies. The traceability citizen not only has an area of responsibility linked to the control, but to the governance, *i.e.* to novel mechanisms of government that are translated into new public policies. It is less and at the same more than monitoring. The State can know in his follow up "matters" that for the agents themselves imply a large transaction cost: systematize information and standardize behavior. The traceability citizen systematizes and integrates behaviors on the Argentine population. The DNI integrates what the same action of the individual all the time becomes un-centered.

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