# VIVEKANAND EDUCATION SOCIETY'S INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY



# **Department of Computer Engineering**

Computational Lab - I Mini Project Report on

# **AADHAR DATA ANALYSIS**

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of FOURTH Year Computer Engineering

Ву

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# AADHAR DATA ANALYSIS

# 1. Problem Definition and Scope of Project

### 1.1 Introduction

Debates around Aadhaar have tended to be polarised—yet national household data has been thin on what Aadhaar has done (and not done) for the ordinary residents of India.

In what ways has Aadhaar empowered or excluded them? To what extent do they trust and use the identification system? In which aspects is it serving them well or poorly—or not at all? Our study set out to answer some of these questions with data.

#### **TRENDS**

How many are enrolled?
Who is not yet enrolled—and why?
How many updates are needed, i.e., how common are errors?
Do errors get corrected? What is the update experience?
And how easy or difficult is the process?
How widely and how frequently is Aadhaar used?
What is the experience of using Aadhaar for key services (PDS, MGNREGS, social pensions, SIM cards, and bank accounts)?
If residents face problems with Aadhaar, how does that affect their access to services?
What benefits and challenges do people see?
How satisfied are people with Aadhaar overall?
Do they trust the system?

#### 1.2 Problem definition and scope of project

The primary purpose of our project was to give a broad cross-section of Indian residents a voice in the national discourse on Aadhaar. This study distils insights drawn from two national household surveys on Aadhaar, conducted between May and September 2019, and subsequent human-centred design research. Capturing the experiences and perspectives of over 167,000 residents, together these surveys represent the largest primary dataset on the use of Aadhaar and, more broadly, digital ID anywhere in the world. We believe the success of Aadhaar will ultimately depend on how well the program can learn from the experiences and concerns of those who use (or are unable to use) Aadhaar across a wide range of circumstances in their daily lives. Taking residents' perspectives into account can help better design and implement Aadhaar. Our aim was also to help identify which aspects of Aadhaar are working and are not working, to what extent and for whom. We hope these findings will inform the efforts of policymakers to further the objective of a universal identity across India and allow Aadhaar to live up to its stated aspirations.

#### 1.3 Dataset used

The data comes from the stateofaadhar.in website, which conducted a poll in 2019 by asking questions such as where people utilised adhar for the most fundamental information, and so on.

The dataset is made up of 35 columns and 575127 rows, and it was compiled from a survey conducted by the state of Aadhar in India in 2019.

RangeIndex: 575127 entries, 0 to 575126 Data columns (total 35 columns): # Column Non-Null Count Dtype \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ hh id 575127 non-null int64 0 575127 non-null object 1 country 575127 non-null object 2 state 3 district name 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 4 region type 5 state of origin 575127 non-null object 6 town village 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 7 gender 8 literacy 575127 non-null object 9 occupation 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 10 education 11 employment\_status 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 12 has aadhaar 13 correct name 575127 non-null object 14 correct dob 575127 non-null object 15 correct\_gender 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 16 correct address 17 correct photo 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 18 correct mobile 575127 non-null object 19 used other employment schemes 20 used scholarships 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 21 used open bank account 575127 non-null object 22 used insurance 23 used debt loan 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 24 used sim phone 25 used school college 575127 non-null object 575127 non-null object 26 used get another id 575127 non-null object 27 used job application used age proof 575127 non-null object 28 used\_land\_vehicle\_house\_marriage\_registratio 575127 non-null object 30 cal age in yrs 575127 non-null float64 575127 non-null object 31 cal age type 575127 non-null object 32 cal employment 33 cal education yrs 575127 non-null int64 34 cal correct card 575127 non-null object

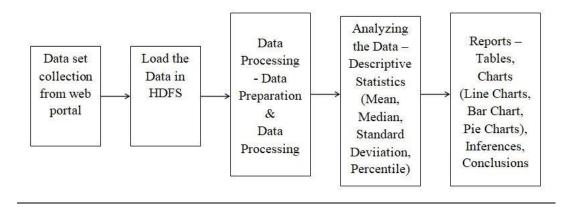
#### 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

[1] provides a systematic review of the materials/articles available through secondary sources such as newspapers, research papers and government reports on the Aadhaar project. An attempt has been made through this study to understand the planning and implementation stage of the Aadhaar Project till 2014. The study also attempts to identify potential risks.and suggest a contingency plan for this and similar government projects in future, to ensure a better success rate. This study identifies various gaps and recommends a plan of action as well as appropriate process changes to enhance project success of Aadhaar Project in future. Based on the insights from this study a model to enhance the success rate of similar projects has also been proposed.

- [2] throws light on the problems faced by the people for linking their aadhaar card with public services and the possible potential solutions.
- [3] analyzes the Aadhaar card data set against different research queries for example total number of aadhaar cards approved by state, rejected by state, total number of aadhaar card applicants by gender and total number of aadhaar card applicants by age type.
- [4] focuses on the journey of Aadhaar from its history to the current condition. The paper also describes the authentication process, and the updates happened over time. It also provides an analysis of the security attacks witnessed so far as well as the possible countermeasure and its classification.
- [5] presents a brief review on Aadhaar card, and discusses the scope and advantages of linking Aadhaar card to various systems. Further, it also presents various cases in which Aadhaar cards may pose security threats. The observations of the Supreme Court of India are also presented in this paper followed by a discussion on the loopholes in the existing system.

#### 3. CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM DESIGN

#### 3.1 CSD diagram



#### 3.2 Methodology

# 3.2.1 Data gathering / Loading

The data comes from the stateofaadhar.in website, which conducted a poll in 2019 by asking questions such as where people utilised adhar for the most fundamental information, and so on.

## 3.2.2 Data preprocessing and descriptive analysis

All the data has been explored.\_The dataset is made up of 35 columns and 575127 rows, and it was compiled from a survey conducted by the state of Aadhar in India in 2019.

All not applicable no response field were replaced by mode of that particular column

```
dataset['literacy'] = dataset['literacy'].replace(['Not Applicable'],dataset['literacy'].mode())
dataset.head(25)
print(dataset['literacy'].unique())
[, A, , N, ]
dataset['employment_status'] = dataset['employment_status'].replace(['Unemployed, not willing and not looking for
dataset['employment_status'] = dataset['employment_status'].replace(['Not Applicable'],'Unemployed')
#dataset['employment_status'] = dataset['employment_status'].replace(['Unemployed, willing and looking for a job']
#dataset['employment_status'] = dataset['employment_status'].replace(['Unemployed, willing but not looking for a ;
print(dataset['employment_status'].unique())
['Unemployed' 'Employed']
dataset['correct_name'] = dataset['correct_name'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct_name'].mode())
dataset['correct_name'] = dataset['correct_name'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_name'].mode())
dataset['correct_dob'] = dataset['correct_dob'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct_dob'].mode())
dataset['correct_dob'] = dataset['correct_dob'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_dob'].mode())
dataset['correct_mobile'] = dataset['correct_mobile'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct_mobile'].mode())
dataset['correct_mobile'] = dataset['correct_mobile'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_mobile'].mode())
dataset['correct gender'] = dataset['correct gender'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct gender'].mode())
                  Os completed at 4:29 PM
                                                                                                                 ×
```

```
dataset['correct_gender'] = dataset['correct_gender'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_gender'].mode())
dataset['correct_address'] = dataset['correct_address'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct_address'].mode()]
dataset['correct_address'] = dataset['correct_address'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_address'].mode()]
dataset['correct_photo'] = dataset['correct_photo'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['correct_photo'].mode())
dataset['correct_photo'] = dataset['correct_photo'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['correct_photo'].mode())
dataset['used_scholarships'] = dataset['used_scholarships'].replace(['No Response'],dataset['used_scholarships'].r
dataset['used_scholarships'] = dataset['used_scholarships'].replace(['Don\'t Know'],dataset['used_scholarships'].r
print('\nUnique values from correct_name - ')
print(dataset["correct_name"].unique())
print('\nUnique values from correct_dob - ')
print(dataset["correct_dob"].unique())
print('\nUnique values from correct_gender - ')
print(dataset["correct_gender"].unique())
print('\nUnique values from correct_address - ')
print(dataset["correct_address"].unique())
print('\nUnique values from correct mobile - ')
print(dataset["correct_mobile"].unique())
nrint('\nUnique values from correct nhoto - ')

✓ 0s completed at 4:29 PM

print('\nUnique values from used scholarships - ')
print(dataset["used_scholarships"].unique())
Unique values from correct_name -
['No' 'Not Applicable' 'Yes']
Unique values from correct dob -
['Yes' 'No' 'Not Applicable']
Unique values from correct_gender -
['Yes' 'Not Applicable' 'No']
Unique values from correct_address -
['Yes' 'Not Applicable' 'No']
Unique values from correct_mobile -
['No' 'Not Applicable' 'Yes']
Unique values from correct_photo -
['Yes' 'Not Applicable' 'No']
Unique values from used scholarships -
['No' 'Not Applicable' 'Yes']
```

## 3.2.3 Filtering

No filtering was performed on the dataset as all the data was used and analyzed both separately and collectively.

# 3.2.4 Classification / Clustering

This analysis does not involve classification and clustering data.

#### 3.2.5 Visualizations

The results of analysis were visualized using various Python libraries like matplotlib, seaborn, etc. were used to obtain charts and graphs.

# 4. TECHNOLOGY USED

In this analysis, a combination of PySpark and Python on Google Colab have been used for exploring and analysing the dataset, and visualizing data and results.

Also Hadoop and Hive has been used for analysis and visualization.

Additional libraries have been used to achieve required results, some of which are mentioned below.

- 1. SparkContext
- 2. SQLContext
- 3. Pandas
- 4. Numpy
- 5. Seaborn
- 6. Matplotlib

### 5. IMPLEMENTATION

# Library Imports -

```
!pip install pyspark

import pyspark
from pyspark import SparkContext, SQLContext
sc = pyspark.SparkContext(appName="AdharDataAnalysis")

from pyspark.sql import SparkSession
spark = SparkSession(sc)

import pandas as pd
import numpy as np
import seaborn as sns
import matplotlib.pyplot as plt
sns.set(style="darkgrid")
plt.style.use("seaborn-pastel")
```

## The Dataset is loaded and Header is removed-

```
dataset_load = sc.textFile('AdharDataset.csv')
header = dataset_load.first()
dataset = dataset_load.filter(lambda x: header not in x)
```

#### List Name of the countries with their count –

```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[3],1))

datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)

datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])

rdd = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + " - " + str(s[1])).collect()
```

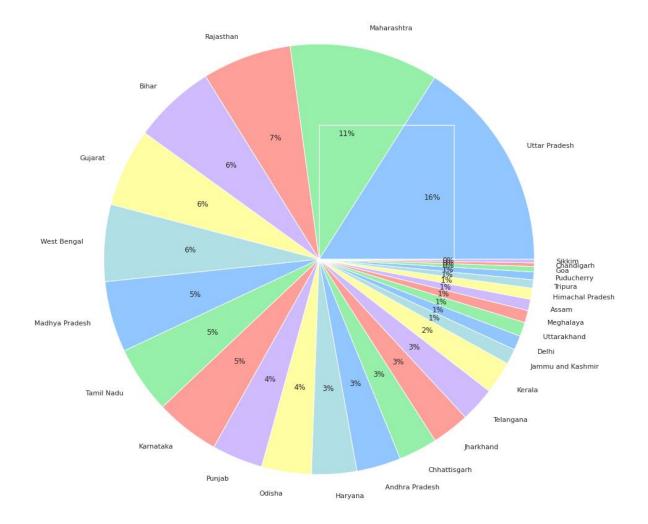
```
for state in rdd:
  print(state)
```

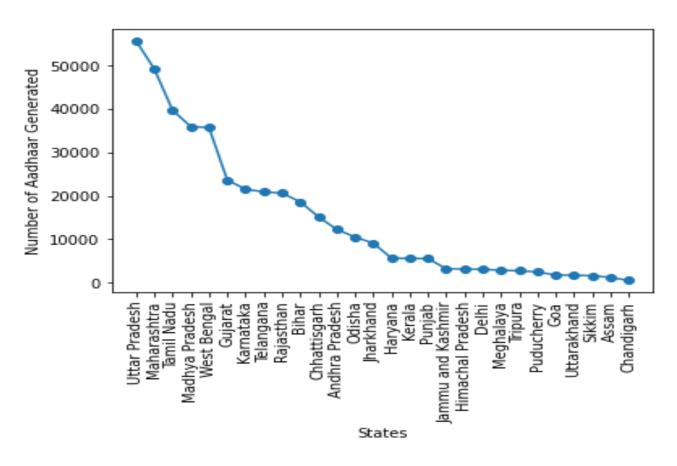
```
Uttar Pradesh - 91929
Maharashtra - 64245
Rajasthan - 38471
Bihar - 35532
Gujarat - 33815
West Bengal - 33192
Madhya Pradesh - 30611
Tamil Nadu - 29034
Karnataka - 27780
Punjab - 22018
Odisha - 21472
Haryana - 19479
Andhra Pradesh - 19154
Chhattisgarh - 16750
Jharkhand - 16245
Telangana - 15048
Kerala - 14060
Jammu and Kashmir - 6652
Delhi - 6189
Uttarakhand - 6122
Meghalaya - 5292
Assam - 4870
Himachal Pradesh - 4806
Tripura - 3579
Puducherry - 3372
Goa - 2356
Chandigarh - 1529
Sikkim - 1525
```

#### Visualization -

```
| state=[]
val=[]
for datas in rdd:
    a,b = datas.split(' - ')
    state.append(a)
    val.append(int(b))

| plt.figure(20.8)
    plt.pie(val, labels = state, autopct='%.0f%%',radius=1.6, frame=True)
```





# Count the people having Adhar Occupationwise -

```
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + " - " + str(s[1])).collect()
for occupation in rdd:
 print(occupation)
Home Maker - 158695
Student - 149469
Retired/Aged - 37358
Wage Labourer - 33862
Self Employed Entrepreneur - 31319
Small Farmer - 17031
Businessman - 15428
Organised Farmer - 13179
White-Collar Professional Employees and Other Employees - 12563
Industrial Workers - 11737
Support Staff - 11297
Agricultural Labourer - 9956
Non-Industrial Technical Employee - 8019
White Collar Clerical Employees - 8010
NonSchooling Child - 7477
Unoccupied - 6529
Small Trader/Hawker/ Businessman without Fixed Premises - 4740
Home-based Worker - 1900
Qualified Self Employed Professionals - 1019
Manager - 450
Legislator/Social Worker/ Activists - 104
White collar worker - 1
```

# Visualizing -

```
occ=[]
val=[]
for datas in rdd:
   a,b = datas.split(',')
   occ.append(a)
   val.append(int(b))
values = pd.DataFrame(val)
plt.figure(figsize=(15,6))
sns.barplot(x=val,y=occ,orient="h")
plt.show()
                                    Home Maker
                                        Student
                                    Retired/Aged
                                  Wage Labourer
                        Self Employed Entrepreneur
                                    Small Farmer
                                   Businessman
                                Organised Farmer
White-Collar Professional Employees and Other Employees
                               Industrial Workers
                                    Support Staff
                             Agricultural Labourer
                   Non-Industrial Technical Employee
                    White Collar Clerical Employees
                              NonSchooling Child
                                    Unoccupied
Small Trader/Hawker/ Businessman without Fixed Premises
                              Home-based Worker
                Qualified Self Employed Professionals
                                       Manager
                   Legislator/Social Worker/ Activists
                              White collar worker
                                                           20000
                                                                          40000
                                                                                        60000
                                                                                                      80000
                                                                                                                    100000
                                                                                                                                  120000
                                                                                                                                                 140000
                                                                                                                                                               160000
```

#### Count number of literate people who lost their adhar card -

```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[9],1) if s.split(",")[13]=="I Lost it" else (s.split(",")[9],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + " - " + str(s[1])).collect()

for cnt in rdd:
    print(cnt)

Y - 2675
N - 50
```

# How People are using Adhar -

**Used Aadhar For Employement Schemes** 

#### **Used Social Security And Pension**

#### **Used to Open Bank Accounts**

```
used_school_college = sqlContext.sql("""Select count(used_school_college) as Total_Entries,
count(used_school_college)*100/(Select count(*) from AadharTable) as Percent from AadharTable where used_school_college='Yes'""");
used_school_college.show()
|Total_Entries|
                       Percent
       93680 16.288576262286416
used_insurance = sqlContext.sql("""Select count(used_insurance) as Total_Entries,
count(used_insurance)*100/(Select count(*) from AadharTable) as Percent from AadharTable where used_insurance='Yes'""");
used_insurance.show()
|Total_Entries|
                       Percent
       119039 20.697863254550732
used_sim_phone = sqlContext.sql("""Select count(used_sim_phone) as Total_Entries,
count(used_sim_phone)*100/(Select count(*) from AadharTable) as Percent from AadharTable where used_sim_phone='Yes'""");
used_sim_phone.show()
|Total Entries|
                     Percent
       307751 | 53.5100942922172 |
```

We can observe from the above questions that most people utilise their adhar card to buy new SIM cards and open bank accounts. As well as being age-proof.

#### Incorrect Adhar data Analysis -

```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[14],1) if s.split(",")[14]=="No" else (s.split(",")[14],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd1 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd1)
['No,84447', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[15],1) if s.split(",")[15]=="No" else (s.split(",")[15],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd2 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd2)
['No,14393', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[16],1) if s.split(",")[16]=="No" else (s.split(",")[16],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd3 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd3)
['No,2008', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[17],1) if s.split(",")[17]=="No" else (s.split(",")[17],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd4 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd4)
['No,3131', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']
```

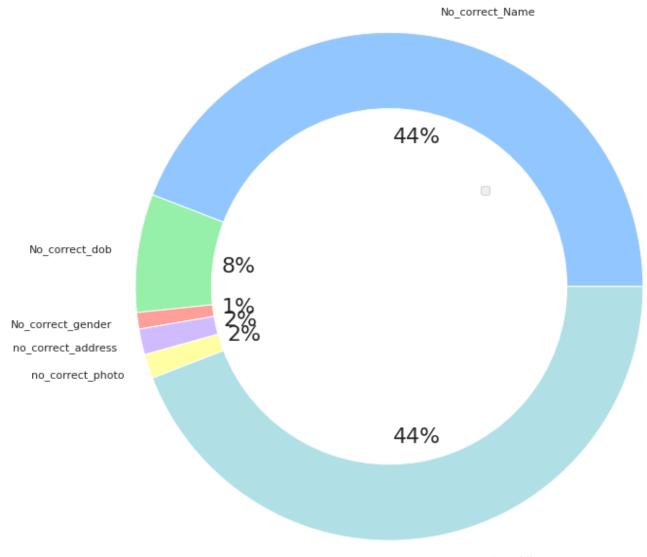
```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[18],1) if s.split(",")[18]=="No" else (s.split(",")[18],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap_reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd5 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd5)

['No,2975', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']

datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[19],1) if s.split(",")[19]=="No" else (s.split(",")[19],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap_reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd6 = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()
print(rdd6)

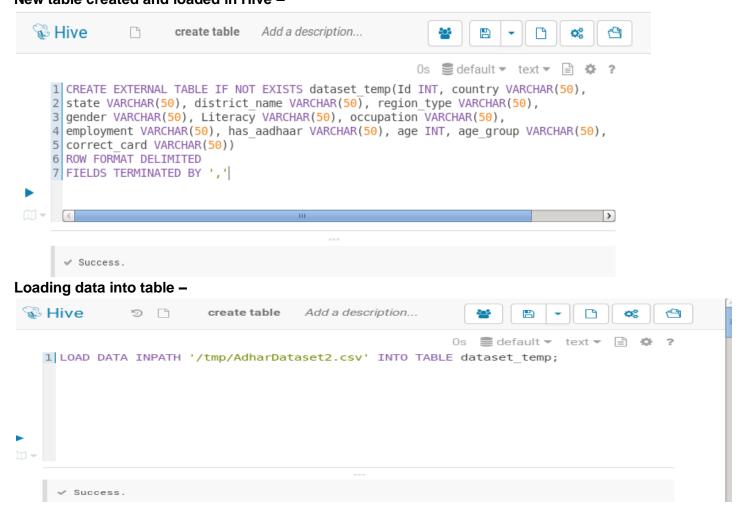
['No,84447', 'Yes,0', 'Not Applicable,0']
```

```
col = ["No_correct_Name","No_correct_dob","No_correct_gender","no_correct_address","no_correct_photo","no_correct_mobile"]
plt.legend("Adhar details are not correct")
plt.pie(val, labels = col, autopct='%.0f%%',radius=5)
```



no\_correct\_mobile

# Loading data into Hive – New table created and loaded in Hive –



# Removing header – Actual table creation –



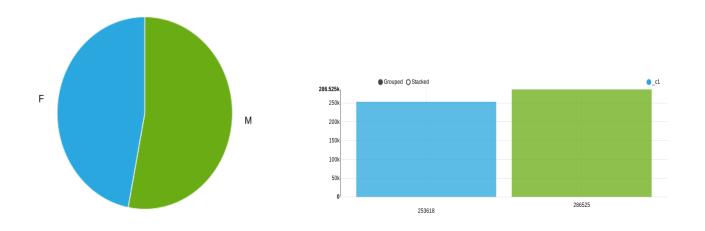
# Inserting into actual table from temp table -



# Gender wise Analysis - Having Adhar card



#### Visualization -



## Not Having Adhar card -

```
48.32s ■ default ▼ 1
1 SELECT gender,count(*) FROM dataset
2 GROUP BY gender, has aadhaar HAVING has aadhaar = "No";
  Query History Q 🛱
                        Saved Queries Q 2
                                               Results (2) Q 27
          gender
                                                     _c1
16576
      2
                                                     18299
          М
£
     18.299k
         16k
         14k
         12k
         10k
          8k
```

F

# Adhar details having gender = male

6k 4k 2k 0

```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[13],1) if s.split(",")[8]=="M"
datasetMap_type = datasetMap.reduceByKey(lambda s, t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()

print(rdd)

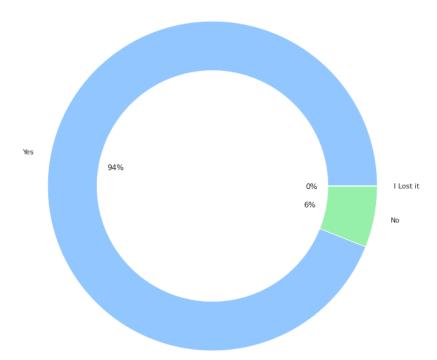
['Yes,286525', 'No,18299', 'I Lost it,50']

col = []
val = []
for datas in rdd:
    a,b = datas.split(',')
    col.append(a)
    val.append(int(b))

plt.pie(val, labels = col, autopct='%.0f%%',radius=3, wedgeprops=dict(width=0.9))
```

м

#### Visualization -



# Adhar details having gender = female

val.append(int(b))

```
datasetMap = dataset.map(lambda s : (s.split(",")[13],1) if s.split(",")[8]=="F" else (s.split(",")[13],0))
datasetMap_type = datasetMap_reduceByKey(lambda s,t : s+t)
datasetMap_typeSorted = datasetMap_type.takeOrdered(datasetMap_type.count(),lambda s:-s[1])
rdd = sc.parallelize(datasetMap_typeSorted).map(lambda s : s[0] + "," + str(s[1])).collect()

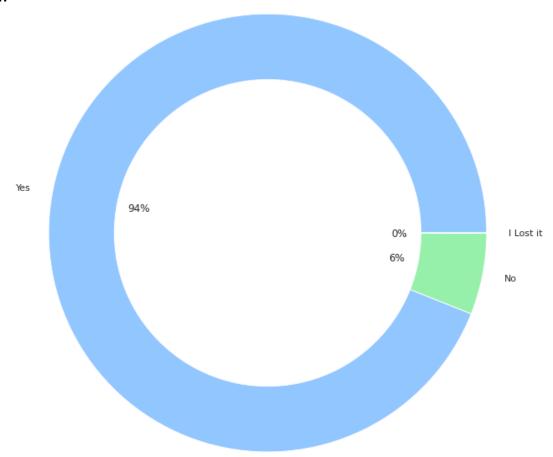
print(rdd)

['Yes,253618', 'No,16576', 'I Lost it,59']

col = []
val = []
for datas in rdd:
    a,b = datas.split(',')
    col.append(a)
```

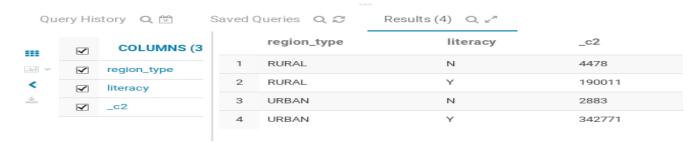
```
plt.pie(val, labels = col, autopct='%.0f%%',radius=3, wedgeprops=dict(width=0.9))
```

#### Visualization -



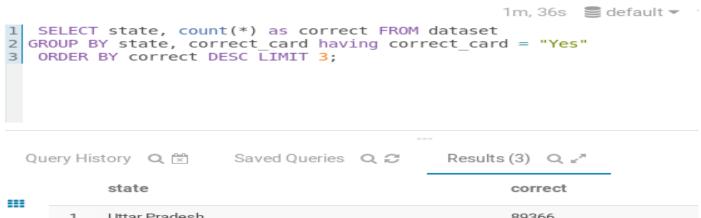
# Data Analysis region type and literacy wise - (Having Adhar card)

SELECT region\_type,literacy,count(\*) FROM dataset
GROUP BY region\_type, literacy, has\_aadhaar HAVING has\_aadhaar = "Yes";



#### (Not having Adhar card) -58.83s **S** default ▼ text ▼ 🖹 🌣 1 1 SELECT region type, literacy, count(\*) FROM dataset 2 GROUP BY region\_type, literacy, has\_aadhaar HAVING has\_aadhaar = "No"; Query History Q 🛱 Saved Queries Q 2 Results (4) Q 27 region\_type literacy \_c2 388 RURAL Ν 2 RURAL 16428 ± URBAN 3 N 268 URBAN 17791 4

Top 3 states having Highest correct adhar cards



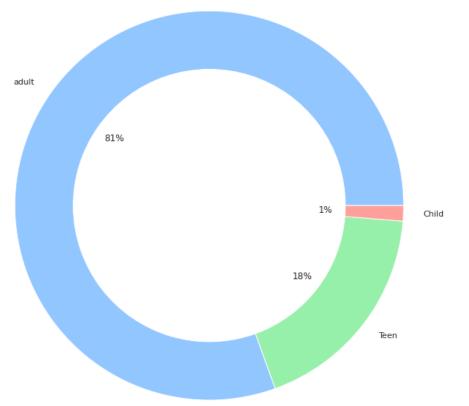
		state	correct
.hi -	1	Uttar Pradesh	89366
	2	Maharashtra	63156
*	3	Rajasthan	35843

### Top 3 states having Lowest correct adhar cards

```
1m, 58s ■ default v text v 🖹 🌣 ?
1 SELECT state, count(*) as correct FROM dataset
2 GROUP BY state, correct_card having correct_card = "Yes"
  ORDER BY correct LIMIT 3;
  Query History Q 🛱
                       Saved Queries Q 2
                                             Results (3) Q 2
          state
                                                 correct
Tripura
                                                 1402
      2
          Chandigarh
                                                 1466
±
          Sikkim
                                                 1499
```

# Adhar data analysis according to age -





## 6. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

We hope our efforts build a shared understanding of the facts. The State of Aadhaar 2019 report highlights the most significant findings and themes across the study as well as an overview of the methodology and its limitations.

Residents expressed satisfaction with Aadhaar and trust in the system, despite ongoing difficulties, but emerging concerns need to be addressed.

Individuals who do not have Aadhaar or who face difficulties in using it are often those most in need of government support.

Making Aadhaar mandatory can lead to exclusion from welfare and other services—and place an additional burden on residents. Such mandates should therefore be carefully considered.

Variations in how states implement Aadhaar represent an opportunity to innovate and learn from each other's successful practices.

Our ultimate aspiration is that policymakers, researchers, service providers, and others use the data and findings from the study to inform decisions about the future of Aadhaar and, more broadly, digital identity.

#### Limitations

Given the limitations of survey methodologies, we focused only on questions that residents were able to answer credibly through a survey format. There are many valuable questions, related to the experience of both people and providers that our study cannot answer—among them, the following:

To what extent can perceived benefits and challenges be attributed to Aadhaar?

What are residents' worries about privacy and surveillance with respect to Aadhaar?

To what extent has Aadhaar benefitted the government?

To what extent has Aadhaar benefitted private-sector actors?

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