

Four Facts on Inclusive Growth in India

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Abstract

This paper analyzes data from recently released household expenditure data for 2022-23 and 2023-24. Data from these surveys indicate a substantial decline in poverty levels in India. Consistent with evidence presented in [Bhalla et al. \(2022\)](#), India has eliminated extreme poverty. In addition, the household expenditure data for 2023-24 documents one of the sharpest annual declines in the poverty headcount ratio. Consistent with this result is the finding that the bottom three deciles of the consumption distribution have experienced the largest ever increase in their consumption. Contrary to popular perception, there is strong evidence that India has experienced a sharp reduction in inequality over the last twelve years, 2011-12 to 2023-24. An immediate policy implication of the low prevalence of poverty is the need for an updated official poverty line. This paper adopts a relative poverty line approach to define new poverty lines for future policy considerations. *Keywords: Poverty, Relative Poverty, Inequality*

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1 Introduction

This paper provides updated estimates of poverty for India and proposes an alternate poverty line in the absence of an official poverty line. Measurement of poverty in India has been a contentious issue starting with the Great India Poverty Debate in late 1990s and early 2000s. The release of two working papers, namely [Bhalla et al. \(2022\)](#), hereafter BBV, and [Roy & Van Der Weide \(2022\)](#) (hereafter Roy-Weide) with vastly different extreme poverty rates led to the second edition of the Great India Poverty Debate.¹ A key difference between both these estimates was the choice of recall periods as BBV used the Modified Mixed Recall Period (MMRP) while Roy-Weide (2022) relied on the Uniform Recall Period (URP) method.²

More recently, [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024a\)](#) and [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#) discussed poverty estimates using HCES 2022-23 data which incidentally is the first household survey for India since 2011-12. In a recent update to their paper, [Roy & Van Der Weide \(2025\)](#) (Appendix C) report that their MMRP estimates for 2022-23 “are in agreement with the estimates presented in [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#)”.

The recently released HCES 2022-23 and 2023-24 surveys allow us to examine four persistent beliefs about poverty and inequality in India.

1. Extreme Poverty Levels continue to remain high in India
2. Not Much decrease in Poverty over the last decade
3. Non-Comparability of new HCES surveys
4. Widening Inequality in India

One major conclusion emerges from the rejection of these persistent beliefs. It is that India’s official poverty lines are grossly inadequate for measurement of deprivation today, given the significant increase in consumption expenditures over the last decade. [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#) pointed at the need to shift to the 3.2\$PPP poverty line to adequately capture broader deprivation. We argued that a reasonable definition of the new poverty line would be one which generated a poverty rate of approximately 25% to 33% of the population. Our analysis of HCES 2023-24 data shows that poverty at the \$3.65PPP poverty line has reduced to 15.1% which indicates a need to re-examine even this poverty line.

An important policy implication from our work is the need to revisit India’s poverty lines. Existing poverty lines yield a significantly lower poverty HCR when compared to the share of population that is covered by India’s expansive welfare state. We propose two alternative poverty lines based on a relative poverty measure. The first focuses on the MPCE for the bottom 33rd percentile in rural and urban areas. The second adopts the approach followed in Europe of using the per-capita income to construct appropriate poverty lines.

¹Also see Ideas for India (2022) e-Symposium: Estimation of poverty in India.

²BBV discuss the issue of recall periods in extensive detail.

On the issue of data comparability, NSS collected the HCES 2022-23 and HCES 2023-24 data using the same method of having three separate visits. There are no comparability concerns for these two surveys. We make a broader point on data comparability issues, particularly as survey methods, around the world, are updated to reduce measurement errors. Improved accuracy in the capture of consumption expenditures is a desired goal, and the achievement of this goal may occasionally have some implications for data comparability. However, as argued in [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#), the Survey-to-National Accounts (S/NA) provides a useful variable to examine whether the increase in MPCE is due to improved measurement. S/NA ratios suggest that there are no comparability issues in the intertemporal comparisons of poverty between NSS HCES 2011-12, HCES 2022-23, and HCES 2023-24.

Along with poverty, the measurement of inequality is also an important policy objective. India, to date, has never had an official survey of income distribution; hence, the discussion of inequality in India has centered around consumption inequality as measured by NSS consumption surveys. We report the Gini coefficients for consumption expenditures which yield a sharp decline from the level observed in 2011-12. India has been conducting consumption surveys since the early 1950s and a decline in real (or nominal) inequality has never before been observed in India.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section II we discuss data and methods used for arriving at poverty estimates. Section III examines the belief on extreme poverty levels in India. Section IV examines the issue of poverty using alternative poverty lines such as the Rangarajan Poverty Line. In Section V we discuss the issue of data comparability. Section VI examines the issue of inequality in India. Section VII discusses the proposal for a new poverty line. This is followed by our conclusion.

2 Data

Two important inputs are needed for poverty estimation. The first is a measure of consumption expenditures (or income) and the second is an appropriate poverty line. For the first, we use data from NSS's nationally representative Household Consumption Expenditure Surveys conducted in 2022-23 and 2023-24. HCES is typically conducted once every five years – however, the non-release of the 2017-18 HCES data due to data quality considerations prompted the NSS to launch two consecutive surveys. These surveys collect data on consumption expenditures exclusively using the Modified Mixed Recall Period (MMRP). In contrast, HCES 2011-12 collected information using both the Uniform Recall Period (URP) and the MMRP method. For intertemporal comparisons, we use data from HCES 2011-12 MMRP. We also report poverty levels for 2004/5 and 2011/12 using comparable data for the uniform recall period.

2.1 Data Comparability Considerations

Even before the HCES 2022-23 survey was completed, there was criticism and worry that the new survey would not yield meaningful estimates of poverty since the survey collection method had changed since 2011/12. A key change compared to HCES 2011-12 was to split the questionnaire into three separate interviewer visits. The 2011-12

survey questionnaire was significantly lengthy and resulted in respondent fatigue. Consequently, the NSS increased the number of visits to three to address this problem. The first visit focused on food consumption expenditures (FSQ), the second visit focused on household consumables (CSQ) and the third visit was on durable goods (DSQ). HCES 2022-23 and 2023-24 followed the same number of visits and are therefore identical.

Data comparability concerns stem from the effect of improved accuracy on consumption expenditures obtained from HCES 2022-23 which was based on three visits compared to HCES 2011-12 which was based on a single visit. Increased consumption expenditures in later years due to better measurement may result in a larger decline in poverty. [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#) explored this issue and found no data comparability issues. In particular, they used an alternative measure of consumption expenditures from the national accounts and obtained the survey consumption to national accounts consumption ratio (the S/NA ratio). This ratio shows no significant improvement in survey capture of consumption expenditures between HCES 2022-23 and HCES 2011-12. Indeed, there is a slight decline from the 2011/12 levels. Using aggregate PFCE levels from the national accounts is an over-estimate of survey consumption since it includes items not covered in the survey. We obtain the following S/NA ratios for the three years: 52.4% in 2011/12, and 46.9 and 47.9 percent in 2022/23 and 2023/24 respectively. Thus, there is no evidence of improved accuracy contributing to higher consumption estimates in HCES 2022-23 survey relative to HCES 2011-12. Consequently, MMRP estimates from HCES survey can be used for comparing poverty alleviation through the last decade.

3 Poverty Lines

India's poverty lines have traditionally been prepared by the Planning Commission which set up different working groups over the years to arrive at "appropriate" poverty lines. For example, [Dandekar & Rath \(1971\)](#) estimated the first poverty line on the basis of consumption of 2250 calories per day and arrived at a rupee equivalent figure of Rs 20 per capita per month (pcpm) at 1960-61 prices. In 1979, the Planning Commission of India set up a task force to measure the exact poverty line using this definition.³

Later, in 2009, a team led by the head of India's first National Statistical Commission, Suresh Tendulkar, arrived at the Tendulkar Poverty Line with separate rural and urban lines for each state. A weighted average of these lines for India came to Rs. 870 pcpm in 2011-12 prices (rural Rs. 799 and urban Rs. 1042 pcpm).

The World Bank developed its international poverty line in 2011 PPP prices as PPP \$1.90 per person per day. This was based on the national poverty line for the fifteen poorest economies in that year. In value terms the World Bank poverty line in 2011-12 for India translated to Rs. 841 pcpm (per capita per month), just 3.4 % away from the Tendulkar official line. For rural India, containing 71 % of the population in 2011-12, the two lines were very close (Tendulkar: Rs. 799 pcpm, World Bank: Rs. 789 pcpm).

³See [Bhalla \(2002\)](#) for a detailed discussion on India's domestic poverty lines and the World Bank's dollar a day poverty line.

In June 2012, another Expert Group was constituted by the Planning Commission to review the methodology for measurement of poverty in India. Dr C Rangarajan chaired the committee and submitted its report on the 30th of June 2014. The Rangarajan poverty line was estimated as a monthly per capita expenditure of Rs. 1407 in urban areas and Rs. 972 in rural areas in 2011-12 prices – or Rs. 1098 pcpm at a national level i.e. about 26 % higher in real terms than the Tendulkar line. Using MMRP data from HCES 2011-12, Rangarajan committee estimated that 30.9% of the rural population and 26.4% of the urban population was below the poverty line. The Rangarajan all-India poverty ratio was 29.5%. The committee explicitly recommended the use of consumer price indices to generate poverty lines for other years and therefore we follow the procedure outlined in the report to arrive at Rangarajan Poverty Lines for 2022-23 and 2023-24.

We had noted above the role of the Planning Commission in developing and commissioning research on poverty and poverty lines etc. Its successor, NITI Aayog despite being mandated to prepare official poverty estimates is yet to set up an expert group to revisit India's Official Poverty Line. The Cabinet Resolution dated 1st January 2015, which established NITI Aayog explicitly mentions that India's aspiration "seek elimination rather than alleviation, of poverty" and that "Poverty elimination remains one of the most important metrics by which alone we should measure our success as a nation". Despite the release of HCES 2022-23 and 2023-24 data all available estimates of poverty over the last decade – "the most important metrics" to measure India's success as a nation - have emerged from scholars outside NITI Aayog.

4 Poverty HCR in India

An interesting feature of India's poverty literature is the extensive focus and debate on the level of poverty rather than on policies that have worked (or haven't worked). Recent poverty estimates for India have ranged from low single digits to double digits. For instance, [Bhalla et al. \(2022\)](#)'s claim of elimination of extreme poverty in India was debated in an e-Symposium on poverty organized by Ideas for India. In a recent update to their paper, [Roy & Van Der Weide \(2025\)](#) discuss how their poverty estimates "are in agreement with those presented in [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024a\)](#)" closing the loop on the second edition of the Great India Poverty Debate. In Table 1 we report various international poverty lines along with two new relative poverty lines. Figure 1 captures the poverty estimates for the World Bank's 1.9\$PPP poverty lines.

In Table 2 we report the poverty HCR according to the 1.9\$PPP and the 3.2\$PPP poverty lines. In addition, we provide poverty HCR for the 2.15\$PPP and 3.65\$PPP poverty lines.⁴ Data from HCES 2022-23 and HCES 2023-24 conclusively establish poverty in India to be in low single digits (between 1 and 2 per cent). It is considerably lower than some "semi-official" estimates of 5% that were provided after the release of the *Factsheet on HCES 2022-23*. These estimates show poverty in India has declined from 12.2 per cent in 2011-12 to 2.3 per cent in 2022-23 and to 1 per cent in 2023-24. In Table 3 we report poverty HCR according to domestic poverty lines, namely the

⁴We would like to thank Dennis Mahler and Nandini Krishnan of the World Bank for providing updates on the construction of the PPP\$ 2.15 (2017 PPP) poverty line for India.

Tendulkar Poverty Line and the Rangarajan Poverty Line.

The elimination of extreme poverty necessitates the need to examine evolution of poverty through a higher benchmark. A natural candidate is provided by the World Bank's higher poverty line recommended for lower middle-income economies – namely the 3.2\$PPP poverty line (or the 3.65\$PPP in 2017 prices). At the World Bank's 3.2\$PPP (or the 3.65\$PPP poverty lines), poverty has declined from 52 per cent in 2011-12 to 15 per cent in 2023-24 (Table 2). The sharp increase in consumption expenditures for the bottom three deciles (Table 4) is reflected in the sharp one year decline of 6.4 % in poverty HCR at the 3.2\$PPP poverty line, 2023-24.

5 Inequality in India

An important determinant of successful transition of developing economies to developed status is sustained economic growth. Lack of persistence of high economic growth has consequential implications for poverty and development in low and middle-income economies. [Ostry et al. \(2019\)](#) show growth consequences of widening inequality. In particular, they find higher inequality to be associated with less sustained economic growth. Recent evidence therefore establishes that redistributive policies are warranted not just because of moral considerations but are in fact equally important for growth prospects, particularly in low- and middle-income economies.

Popular narrative on inequality in India has stressed on deep and widening inequalities. We compare the narrative with micro-level evidence available from HCES data. Since India does not conduct an official income survey, inequality estimates have traditionally been obtained from HCES data giving a measure of consumption inequality.

An important and “unexpected” finding from the recent HCES 2023-24 is the sharp increase in the real monthly per-capita consumption expenditures (MPCE) relative to HCES 2022-23, particularly for the bottom three deciles. This is true for all three major categories of consumption – namely food, consumables and durable goods.

Gini Coefficient (x100) shows that the decline in inequality is a recent phenomenon as consumption Gini has declined from 37.5 in 2011-12 to 29.1 in 2023-24 (see figure 2). Only two other countries better the Indian record – Bhutan and Dominican Republic, each with approximately a 10 ppt decline over twelve years. However these two countries have very small populations (0.8 and 11 million respectively). Inequality reduction for such a large and high growth economy like India, is, exceptional and unique. Other studies such as [Gupta et al. \(2021\)](#) used private sector data by CMIE and reach a similar conclusion of a decline in inequality post 2011.

It needs emphasis that the historical record of India, and most of the world, is that inequality increases with growth. For the last 60 odd years (till the 2011-12 data), nominal consumption inequality increased in India, and real inequality increased by a small amount between 1983 and 2011-12. We now observe a very large decline in both nominal and real inequality – and with maintenance of economic growth at a high

historical level of 6 to 6.5 percent annual per capita growth.

6 Towards a New Poverty Line

Conventional poverty estimates depend on poverty thresholds; those below the poverty threshold (or poverty line) are defined as poor.

There are different approaches towards arriving at poverty lines. [Ravallion \(1994\)](#) highlights the subjective nature of poverty lines given that they constitute a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. Subjective poverty measures have been used in a variety of countries to assess whether households perceive them to be poor irrespective of their income or consumption status. Similarly, there are objective poverty lines that are based on objective criteria such as consumption or income thresholds. As discussed earlier, India has historically relied on objective poverty lines based on consumption expenditures and these lines have been derived using different criteria from time to time. These include defining a consumption basket and arriving at the cost of this basic needs basket as an appropriate definition of a poverty threshold.

An alternative approach is to use a relative poverty line. The relative poverty line defines poverty threshold based on the average standard of living (usually income). By definition, the relative poverty line changes with changes in the level and distribution of income. Europe defines income poverty as households that have an income lower than 60% of the median income. We estimate the same for India. In addition we also provide estimate for a poverty line equal to 50 % of mean incomes. For both we use the estimates from the PRICE ICE360 income distribution survey . ⁵

An alternative relative poverty line could be defined as being equivalent to the average MPCE for the 33rd percentile of consumption expenditures as yielded by the 2022-23 HCES survey. This has its origins with the US poverty line which was defined by [Orshansky \(1965\)](#), as the income corresponding to the threshold where food expenditures were a third of after-tax income. For a fast growing emerging economy, it is prudent to also anticipate changes in the poverty line. It is suggested that a poverty line – once identified – would be changed once the headcount ratio falls below 15 per cent.⁶ Once the relative poverty line yields an HCR below the consumption level of the 33rd percentile, the poverty line should be reset according to the latest data. Such an approach would ensure an automatic resetting of poverty lines as per-capita consumption or incomes increase and without the need for an intervention from a government agency.

One cautionary note – the choice of 33rd percentile is not arbitrary as we chose this in order to ensure that we identify the consumption expenditures of bottom one-third of the population. The same approach can be applied at any other percentile – say for example 25th percentile (to identify bottom one-fourth) of the population.

⁵We are grateful to Dr. Rajesh Shukla for providing us with the data.

⁶It is assumed that for a developing economy moving along an income growth curve, 15% is too low an estimate of the relative poor just as 40% would be too high.

The relative poverty lines are national poverty lines, and we convert them to equivalent regional state poverty lines. We report the national poverty HCR for these lines in Table 5.⁷ The poverty line derived from the consumption expenditure of the 33rd percentile from HCES 2022-23 yields a higher poverty line (33rdPL) relative to the European method of defining poverty as equivalent to 60% of median income.

The results are as follows (see Table 5)

1. It is time to put the Great Poverty Debate to rest. No matter what the definition, the highest poverty estimate is for when the poverty line is chosen to be 50 % of mean income in 2022-23. This yields a poverty estimate of 31.6 % in 2022-23, which falls by 7 percentage points to 24.7 % in 2023-24.
2. Lowest poverty estimate is for the Tendulkar-World Bank extreme poverty lines PPP\$1.9 and PPP\$2.15. All three yield a poverty estimate less than or equal to 1 % in 2023-24. The 26% higher Rangarajan poverty line yields an estimate of poverty of just 3.6 % in 2023-24.
3. Relative poverty (Europe definition of 60 % of median income) yields a poverty level of just 16.5 % in 2023-24, almost identical to that yielded by the PPP\$3.65 line.

The debate about what has happened to poverty in India had “forced” us to explore various definitions in play. All yield a sharp decline in poverty between 2011-12 and 2023-24. The identification of potential drivers of this decline is particularly crucial for several low-income countries with a relatively higher prevalence of poverty.

Using very different approaches, both India and the US came up with a definition of poverty at almost the same time in the early 1960s. With the elimination of extreme poverty in two of the world’s most populous countries, there is a need to redefine the global minimum acceptable standard of living. A discussion is warranted not just on the definition but also the semantics of poverty. For starters, it is time we started a serious discussion around the middle class, which is the most important grouping of citizens in all countries, developed and developing.⁸

⁷Detailed subnational poverty estimates and poverty lines are available on request and will be subsequently made available on living-standards.org/hces-2023. The per-capita income for 2022-23 was Rs 72,739 and the median income was Rs 54,000 - PRICE ICE 360 survey.

⁸See [Bhalla \(2002\)](#) and [Bhalla \(2007\)](#) for a detailed discussion.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, we use data from recent household surveys in India to examine *four beliefs* surrounding inclusive growth in India. Consistent with our previous work on the subject, we find a substantial decline in poverty to less than 15% at the lower middle income \$PPP 3.2 poverty line. In addition, data from two successive household surveys conclusively establish the fact that India has managed to successfully eliminate extreme poverty.

Defining deprivation has been a challenging endeavor throughout history. Societies have different understanding of poverty naturally due to different circumstances. For instance, certain advanced economies have what is known as a subjective measure of poverty. These measures differ from standard income or consumption poverty measures as they ask the respondent whether they feel that they are poor irrespective of their income or consumption status. The definitions of poverty are neither static as society's development contributes to an aggregate improvement in living standards and therefore necessitates an increase in the poverty line.

The practice of updating India's poverty line had been a routine exercise conducted by the erstwhile Planning Commission. Its successor is yet to revisit India's poverty line. In a departure from the past, most research on poverty in India has happened outside the Planning Commission (NITI Aayog) over the last decade. Our work has shown that the domestic poverty lines, namely the Tendulkar and Rangarajan poverty lines, are inadequate to capture deprivation in India in 2023-24. In particular, the result of elimination of extreme poverty necessitates a shift to a higher poverty line. In the absence of a new official poverty line, we propose two relative poverty lines. An advantage of relative poverty line is that as an economy develops, so does the poverty threshold. We find a considerable drop in poverty for these relative poverty lines. A strong conclusion emerges from our examination of these data: irrespective of the choice of poverty line, there is considerable decrease in poverty over the last decade.

On the related issue of inequality, popular perception suggests widening and deepening of structural inequalities of India over the last decade. Lack of an official income distribution survey has meant that traditional inequality estimates for India are often obtained from consumption expenditures. The new data shows a sharp decline in consumption inequality over the last decade. We interpret these findings as indicative of India experiencing a significant period of inclusive growth. Further research should examine the drivers of India's recent success at eliminating extreme poverty and achieving a sharp reduction in consumption inequality.

A Tables

Table 1: Different Poverty Lines, in monthly per capita consumption, current prices.

Year					
International Poverty Lines	1.9\$PPP	3.2\$PPP	2.15\$PPP	3.65\$PPP	
2004	464	781	467	793	
2011	845	1423	851	1445	
2022	1590	2678	1604	2723	
2023	1674	2820	1689	2868	
Domestic Poverty Lines	Tendulkar	Rangarajan	Europe - 60 % median income	50 % of mean income	33rd percentile
2004	481	610	801	899	874
2011	877	1116	1459	1637	1593
2022	1641	2097	2741	3077	2993
2023	1728	2209	2886	3240	3151

Notes: 1) All poverty lines are on a per capita per month basis in current prices

2) Median and mean income estimates are from the 2022-23 PRICE ICE 360 survey.

Table 2: Poverty in India, 2004-05 to 2023-24, in % of population.

	1.9\$PPP	3.2\$PPP	2.15\$PPP	3.65\$PPP
URP				
2004-05	39.6	76.0	39.8	76.8
2011-12	22.7	62.0	22.9	63.0
MMRP				
2011-12	12.2	51.9	13.6	52.8
2022-23	2.3	21.2	2.3	22.0
2023-24	1.0	14.9	1.0	15.6

Notes: 1) These estimates differ slightly from [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#) for 2022-23 due to differences in urbanization rates.

2) URP stands for Uniform Recall Period of measurement; and MMRP stands for Modified Mixed Reference Recall Period of measurement

Source: Authors Computation using data from HCES 2023-24 & 2022-23.

Table 3: Tendulkar and Rangarajan, Extreme poverty (in %)

	Tendulkar Poverty Line	Rangarajan Poverty Line
URP		
2004-05	41.3	60.3
2011-12	23.0	41.7
MMRP		
2011-12	13.2	28.9
2022-23	2.2	7.1
2023-24	0.9	3.6

Notes: 1) These estimates differ slightly from [Bhalla & Bhasin \(2024b\)](#) for 2022-23 due to differences in urbanization rates.

2) URP stands for Uniform Recall Period of measurement; and MMRP stands for Modified Mixed Reference Recall Period of measurement

Source: Authors Computation using data from HCES 2023-24 & 2022-23.

Table 4: Changing contours of consumption distribution

	<i>Food</i>	<i>Consumables</i>	<i>Durables</i>	<i>All Items</i>
HCES 2022-23 - Monthly per capita expenditures				
Deciles 1-3	651	450	139	1240
deciles 4-10	1300	1394	407	3100
All	1105	1111	327	2542
HCES 2023-24 - Monthly per capita expenditures				
Deciles 1-3	720	494	173	1387
deciles 4-10	1361	1424	414	3200
All	1169	1145	342	2656
Percent change: 2022-23 to 2023-24				
Deciles 1-3	10.7	9.9	24.2	11.9
deciles 4-10	4.7	2.2	1.9	3.2
All	5.7	3.1	4.7	4.5

Notes: Food, Consumables and Durables are the consumption items for which information was gathered on each visit to the household.

Table 5: Non-Traditional Definitions of Poverty in India - 2004-5 to 2023-24

	33rd percentile of consumption (in %)	50 % of mean income (in %)	Europe Poverty - 60 % of median income (in %)
URP			
2004-05	81.0	82.1	77.1
2011-12	69.0	70.5	63.5
MMRP			
2011-12	60.3	62.2	53.7
2022-23	29.4	31.5	22.9
2023-24	22.6	24.7	16.5

Notes: 1) URP stands for Uniform Recall Period of measurement; and MMRP stands for Modified Mixed Reference Recall Period of measurement

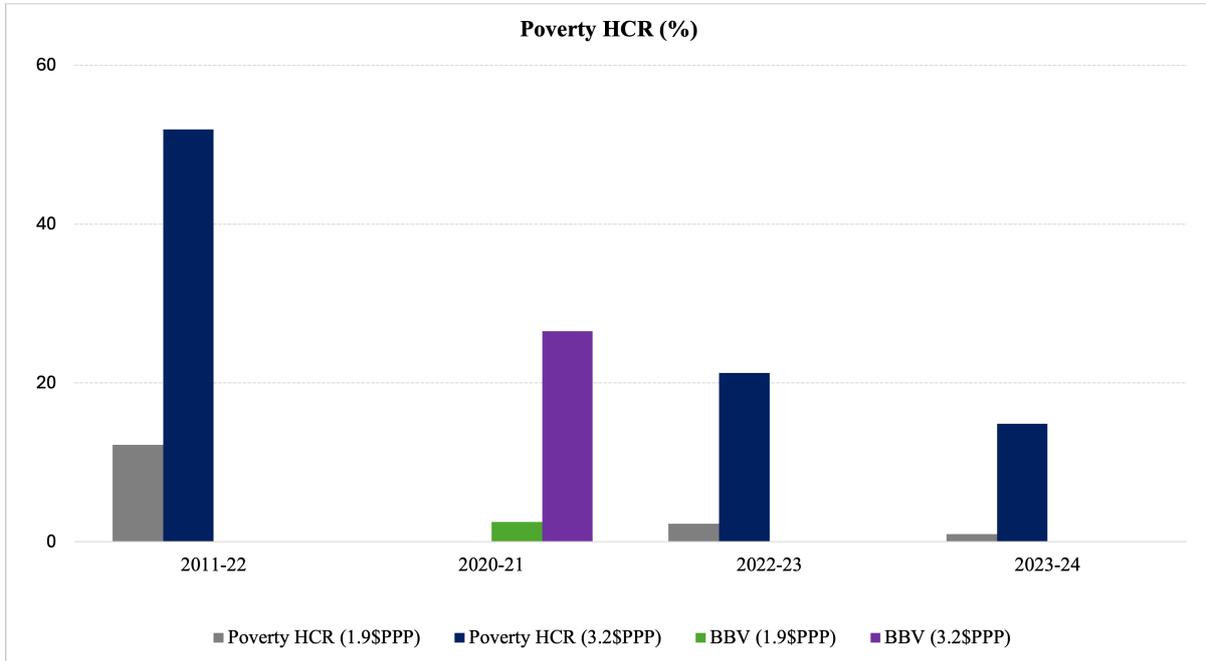
2) 33rd percentile: Poverty Line defined as the mean MPCE at the 33rd percentile of consumption expenditures, HCES 2022-23.

3) Poverty defined as 50 % of mean income; PRICE survey 2022-23

4) Europe Poverty definition - 60 % of median income; PRICE survey 2022-23

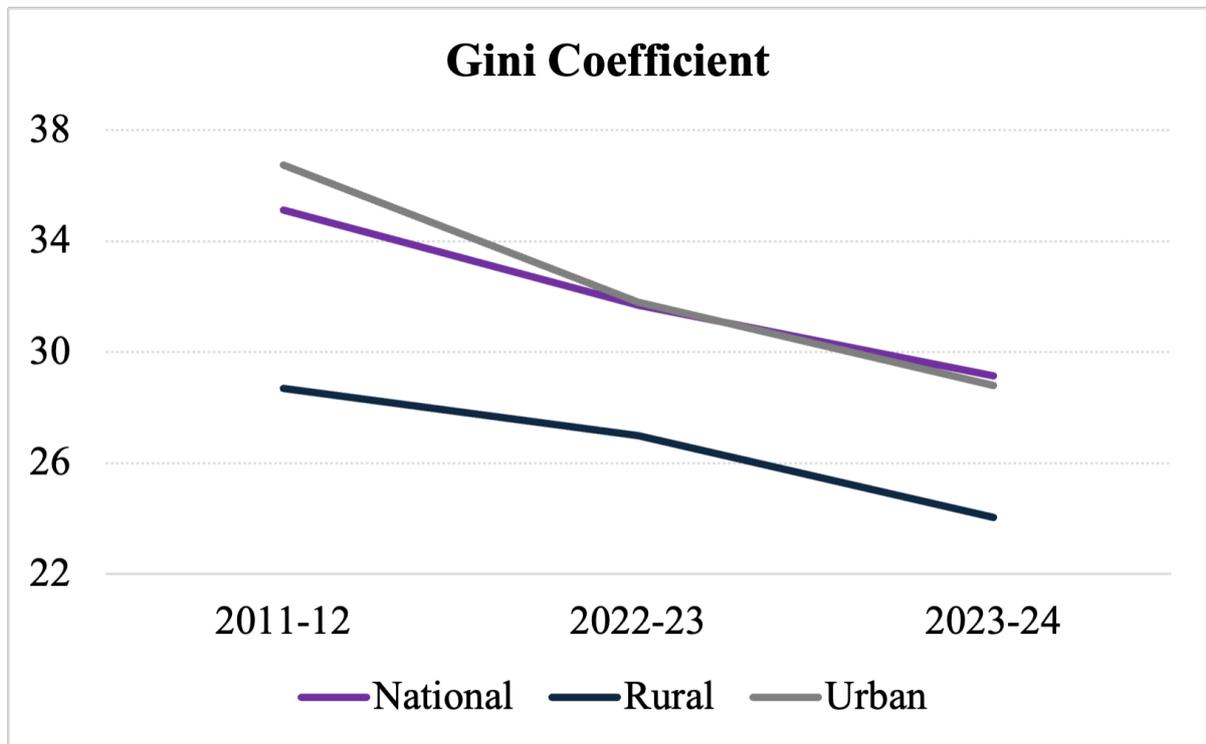
B Figures

Figure 1: Poverty HCR (in %) for 1.9\$PPP and 3.2\$ PPP Poverty Line



Note that BBV estimates for both the poverty lines are near identical to HCES 2022-23 estimates

Figure 2: Gini coefficient



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