

# Poverty in India: The Rangarajan Method and the 2022–23 Household Consumption Survey

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**Abstract:** This paper examines data on poverty in India from the most recent Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey, whose data were released by the Government of India, reports and studies stated that the data showed a substantial decline in poverty levels by using the method proposed by the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for the Measurement of Poverty chaired by the Government of India in 2014. Our results showed significantly higher levels of poverty in 2022–23 than previously suggested.

**Keywords:** Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey, consumption poverty, Consumer Price Index, rural poverty, urban poverty, adjustment, head-count ratio, India

## THE CONTEXT

The release of the Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2022–23 (HCES 2022–23) data by the Government of India has renewed interest in poverty in India. There has been no official estimate of consumption poverty in India for any year after 2011–12.

In 2012, the head-count ratio of poverty in India was estimated to be 21.9 per cent, by applying a method to estimate poverty proposed by the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for Estimation of Poverty chaired by Dr. Suresh Tendulkar in 2009 (hereafter Expert Group (2012)). The Expert Group (2012) used the Expenditure Survey 2011–12 ([Press Information Bureau \[PIB\] 2013](#)). When this computation of the poverty line came under criticism, the Government of India appointed an Expert Group to Review the Methodology for the Measurement of Poverty chaired by the Expert Group (2014), to “revisit” the methodology for the measurement of poverty ([Swaminathan 2010](#); [PIB 2013](#)).

In its report submitted in June 2014, the Expert Group (2014) proposed an alternative method of calculating the poverty line (discussed later in this article), and estimated that the head-count ratio of poverty in India for 2011–12, using this method, was 29.5 per cent. The Government of India did not notify its official acceptance of this estimate.

Data from Consumer Expenditure Surveys (CES) carried out by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), that formed the basis of the exercises, have not been available for over a decade. A Consumer Expenditure Survey was conducted in 2017–18, but the findings of “quality” concerns ([PIB 2019](#)).

In this interim period, in the absence of official survey data, individual researchers’ estimates of the head-count ratio of poverty have been “shots in the dark.” ([Himanshu \(2022a\)](#)), “shots in the dark.”

A “factsheet” from the HCES 2022–23 data was released by the Government of India in February 2024, two months before the release of this initial release. B. V. R. Subrahmanyam, the Chief Executive Officer of the Government of India’s central think tank, stated that the head-count ratio of poverty had come down to 5 per cent of the population ([Dhoot 2024](#)). Several others suggested that there has been a decline in poverty ([Anant 2024](#); [Natti 2024](#); [Perumal 2024](#); [Rajora 2024](#)). Their method was to use the Consumer Price Index to adjust for inflation and apply them to data from HCES 2022–23. Similarly, [Rangarajan and Dev \(2024\)](#) adjusted the Expert Group (2014) poverty line by the Consumer Price Index and made a tentative estimate that 10.8 per cent of the population was below this poverty line in 2022–23.

Other scholars have questioned these claims, mainly on the grounds that the HCES 2022–23 survey method was not comparable with previous survey rounds and that other evidence on the economy did not corroborate the assertion of a steep decline in poverty ([Anand 2024](#); [Jha 2024](#); [Ghatak and Kumar 2024](#); [Mehrotra and Kumar 2024](#)).

This paper estimates a new poverty line from the HCES 2022–23 data by using the method proposed by Expert Group (2014) and adjusts the poverty line for inflation.

Given the differences between the survey methods followed in CES 2011–12 (the last available official consumer expenditure survey) and HCES 2022–23, there are problems of comparability of data between the two, and we have not attempted an intertemporal study. Nevertheless, we calculate poverty levels and a head-count ratio of poverty using HCES 2022–23 data, if only to evaluate the recent claims that this data reflects the current state of poverty in India.

### *SURVEY DIFFERENCES AND CHOICE OF METHOD*

The question of comparability between CES 2011–12 and HCES 2022–23 has been the subject of much discussion since the two surveys aimed to capture the consumption pattern of a representative sample of the Indian population by canvassing informants to report the monetary value of expenditure for a list of items of consumption, we identified four major differences in survey method between the two. First, there are differences in terms of the items for which data were collected, though most items remain the same. The HCES 2022–23 survey collected data on different millets (ragi, jowar, bajra, among others) while it disaggregated others. Unlike CES 2011–12, the new HCES 2022–23 also includes expenditure on such items as free rice and free sugar supplied through the Public Distribution System. Secondly, the questionnaire employed by HCES 2022–23 follows a different order from CES 2011–12, and uses the computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) technique as opposed to the face-to-face interview used in CES 2011–12. The third difference is in the number of visits per household. While CES 2011–12 had investigators visit each household once to collect the data from that household, HCES 2022–23 involved three visits to each household to collect information regarding expenditure on “durables” respectively. The fourth difference, which has received the most attention, is the change in sample design. HCES 2022–23 changed its sample design in two major ways. First, a portion of the rural sample is selected from villages within a 5 km distance from the nearest town. The selection criteria for the urban sample involves the ownership of non-commercial four-wheelers. Identifying the effects of these changes on expenditure data is beyond the scope of this paper. In our analysis, we have not reconciled these differences as we do not intend to compare the two surveys.

We have chosen the method proposed by Expert Group (2014) to estimate poverty from HCES 2022–23 data. The current official poverty line (Expert Group (2009)), was calculated on the basis of data from CES collected with a “mixed reference period” (Tendulkar *et al.* 2009). For CES data using a “modified mixed reference period,” making the meaningful estimation of poverty using this method is unfeasible. Expenditure surveys typically ask respondents the quantity consumed and expenditure incurred for various items (such as milk, clothing, etc.) over a reference period,  $n$  days. In this case,  $n$  is the reference period, which can typically be 7 days, 30 days, or 365 days. The Expert Group (2009) used either 365 days or 30 days, with a 365-day recall period for low-frequency items such as clothing, footwear, and educational expenses, and 30 days for other items. The HCES 2022–23 data contains a mix of three recall periods (for example, the recall period for milk consumption is 30 days and it is 365 days for most medical expenses). This makes it difficult to apply the Expert Group (2009) method to HCES 2022–23 data.

The Expert Group (2014), however, proposed a method to estimate poverty that used a “modified mixed reference period” (Rangarajan *et al.* 2014). The poverty line derived by this method is higher than that derived via the method of the Expert Group (2009), it has its limitations (Rangarajan *et al.* 2014; Ramakumar 2014; Rangarajan and Dev 2015; Raveendran 2016). It has been argued (convincingly, we believe) that this method overestimates poverty.

The Expert Group (2014) method constructs a poverty line based on three components: expenditure on food, expenditure on essential non-food items, and other expenditures. The food component is based on nutritional norms. The essential non-food component is meant to be a normative estimate of expenditure as being simply the median expenditure on these items (median expenditure could, of course, still be an insufficient level of expenditure for many persons). It is also of concern that health expenses are not considered essential. The “other expenditures” component is tied to the food component, assuming that a person that has met their food requirement is *ipso facto* capable of meeting “other expenditures.” This, too, is an assumption that may not hold for many persons.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the Expert Group (2014) method can be considered the closest to an “official” method of calculating poverty. We use this method to calculate, in the following section, a poverty line and poverty estimates from the HCES 2022–23 data.

### *DATA, METHOD, AND RESULTS*

We use the Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2022–23 (HCES 2022–23), the Periodic Labour Force Survey nutrition intake norms prescribed by the Indian Council of Medical Research – National Institute of Nutrition in 2020 (ICMR poverty line using the Expert Group (2014) method. We repeat the same exercise with Consumer Expenditure Survey 2011–Unemployment Survey 2011–12 (EUS 2011–12), and older nutrition intake norms prescribed by ICMR – NIN (2010). The comparison but for assessing the deviation between our estimation and the original results of the Expert Group (2014).

The Expert Group (2014) was of the view that the consumption basket that defines the poverty line should include a food question of adequate nourishment, a component that covers essential non-food items such as education, clothing, conveyance, and to address other “behaviourally determined” non-food expenditures. The method proposed by the Expert Group (2014) can average requirements for calories, proteins, and fats are calculated based on norms established by ICMR. These requirements and activity levels for rural and urban populations to determine the normative levels of nourishment. Next, a food basket that defined by identifying the consumption levels of individuals within specific fractile classes. The average monthly per capita consumption for these classes is used to define the food component of the poverty line basket. Subsequently, the median expenditures on education, clothing, shelter, and conveyance are calculated. These values are treated as normative requirements for basic non-food by the median fractile class on these items are added to the poverty line basket. Finally, other non-food expenditures observed nutritional requirements are added. The sum of these three components is the new poverty line, expressed in terms of MPCE. The rural and urban areas. State-specific poverty lines are derived from these two lines using a relative Fisher Index, followed by the count ratios which are aggregated to arrive at the national head-count ratio for poverty (Rangarajan *et al.* 2014; Rangarajan and

We deviate from the Expert Group (2014) method in three main ways. First, we rely on ICMR – NIN 2020 norms for nutritional 2010 norms. Secondly, we use PLFS 2022–23 to estimate normative nutrition intake requirements, in place of a combination of used by the Expert Group (2014). This is because official age-wise population projections for rural and urban areas are not available carried out after 2011. Thirdly, we divided occupational groups into three activity levels – heavy, moderate, and sedentary – 1, following Alagh *et al.* (1979), as the exact method used by Expert Group (2014) for such a classification was not available.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1** Occupational groups, by levels of intensity of activity

| Activity Level | Occupational Sectors  |
|----------------|---|
| Heavy          | Cultivation, Agricultural labour, Mining and quarrying, Construction  |
| Moderate       | Livestock rearing, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantations and allied activities, Manufacturing and repairing |
| Sedentary      | Trade and commerce, Transport, Storage, Communication and other allied services                               |

*Note:* Non-workers are assigned the same nutritional requirements as those engaged in sedentary activity.

*Source:* Alagh *et al.* (1979, p. 6).

In order to estimate nutrient content in food items, we have used the nutrition chart prepared for CES 2011–12 by the *Nutrition (NSSO 2014)*.<sup>2</sup> There are differences in food items collected in 2011–12 and 2022–23 as discussed earlier. We account for this by between items from the two periods.

The Indian Council of Medical Research prescribes normative requirements of calorie, protein, and fat for different age-sex-act (NIN 2020). This is given in Table 2. First, we estimated the proportion of population in these categories using PLFS 2022–23 (Table 3) per capita nutrition requirements. We arrived at 2,120 kcal per day, 42 gm of protein per day, and 22 gm of fat per day for rural and urban areas are 1,963 kcal, 45 gm of protein, and 21gm of fat per day (Table 4). Next, we divided the estimated distribution into 20 fractile classes of MPCE, separately for rural and urban areas. We then calculated the average consumption of nutrition was captured by HCES 2022–23, for each fractile class. These values have been provided in Table 5. We aimed to find the fractile estimated nutrition levels are met, allowing for a 10 per cent leeway in line with Expert Group (2014) that argues such a level adequacy.

**Table 2** ICMR Nutritional norms for different age groups, by sex and activity levels, India, 2022–23

| Categories  |        |                | Nutritional Norms |                  |
|-------------|--------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Age         | Sex    | Activity level | Energy (kcal/day) | Protein (gm/day) |
| Less than 1 |        |                | 610               | 9.3              |
| 1–3         |        |                | 1010              | 11.3             |
| 4–6         |        |                | 1360              | 15.9             |
| 7–9         |        |                | 1700              | 23.3             |
| 10–12       |        |                | 2140              | 32.3             |
| 13–14       | Female |                | 2400              | 43.2             |
| 13–14       | Male   |                | 2860              | 44.9             |
| Adult       | Female | Heavy          | 2720              | 45.7             |
| Adult       | Female | Moderate       | 2130              | 45.7             |
| Adult       | Female | Sedentary      | 1660              | 45.7             |
| Adult       | Female | Non-Worker     | 1660              | 45.7             |
| Adult       | Male   | Heavy          | 3470              | 54               |
| Adult       | Male   | Moderate       | 2710              | 54               |
| Adult       | Male   | Sedentary      | 2110              | 54               |
| Adult       | Male   | Non-Worker     | 2110              | 54               |
| Elderly     | Female |                | 1660              | 45.7             |
| Elderly     | Male   |                | 2110              | 54               |

Source: [Indian Council for Medical Research – National Institute of Nutrition \(2020\)](#).

**Table 3** *Share of different age groups in the total population, by sex and activity levels, India, 2022–23 in per cent*

| Categories  |        |                | Share of the age group in the pop |
|-------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Age         | Sex    | Activity level | Rural                             |
| Less than 1 |        |                | 1.09                              |
| 1–3         |        |                | 4.85                              |
| 4–6         |        |                | 7.14                              |
| 7–9         |        |                | 5.65                              |
| 10–12       |        |                | 6.31                              |
| 13–14       | Female |                | 1.81                              |
| 13–14       | Male   |                | 1.96                              |
| Adult       | Female | Heavy          | 5.91                              |
| Adult       | Female | Moderate       | 2.63                              |
| Adult       | Female | Sedentary      | 1.39                              |
| Adult       | Female | Non-Worker     | 20.3                              |
| Adult       | Male   | Heavy          | 14.45                             |
| Adult       | Male   | Moderate       | 3.92                              |

| Categories |        |                | Share of the age group in the pop |
|------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Age        | Sex    | Activity level | Rural                             |
| Adult      | Male   | Sedentary      | 5.98                              |
| Adult      | Male   | Non-Worker     | 6.35                              |
| Elderly    | Female |                | 4.88                              |
| Elderly    | Male   |                | 4.88                              |

Source: Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2023\)](#).

**Table 4** *Estimated per capita nutritional norms, India, 2022–23*

| Nutritional Norm                             |
|--|
| Energy requirement (kcal/day)                |
| Protein requirement (gm/day)                 |
| Fat requirement (gm/day)                     |
| 90 per cent of energy requirement (kcal/day) |
| 90 per cent of protein requirement (gm/day)  |
| 90 per cent of fat requirement (gm/day)      |

Note: Expert Group (2014) argued that a deviation of 10 per cent will not affect nutrition adequacy and identified the section that met the lower bound

Source: [Tables 2](#) and [3](#).

**Table 5** *Estimated per capita consumption of specific nutrients, by fractile groups of monthly per capita expenditure, India, 2022*

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Energy (kcal/day) |       | Protein (gm/day) |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
|                                      | Rural             | Urban | Rural            | Urban |
| 0–5                                  | 1558              | 1601  | 41               | 44    |
| 5–10                                 | 1756              | 1761  | 47               | 49    |
| 10–15                                | 1849              | 1854  | 50               | 51    |
| 15–20                                | 1907              | 1907  | 52               | 53    |
| 20–25                                | 1976              | 1961  | 53               | 54    |
| 25–30                                | 2024              | 1999  | 55               | 55    |
| 30–35                                | 2054              | 2024  | 56               | 56    |
| 35–40                                | 2109              | 2079  | 58               | 58    |
| 40–45                                | 2134              | 2120  | 58               | 59    |
| 45–50                                | 2180              | 2163  | 60               | 60    |
| 50–55                                | 2218              | 2188  | 61               | 61    |
| 55–60                                | 2247              | 2246  | 62               | 62    |
| 60–65                                | 2311              | 2267  | 64               | 63    |
| 65–70                                | 2330              | 2349  | 64               | 65    |
| 70–75                                | 2386              | 2384  | 66               | 66    |
| 75–80                                | 2444              | 2450  | 68               | 68    |

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Energy (kcal/day) |       | Protein (gm/day) |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
|                                      | Rural             | Urban | Rural            | Urban |
| 80–85                                | 2491              | 2541  | 69               | 70    |
| 85–90                                | 2568              | 2675  | 71               | 74    |
| 90–95                                | 2726              | 2828  | 76               | 78    |
| 95–100                               | 3095              | 3488  | 86               | 93    |

*Note:* MPCE stands for Monthly Per Capita Expenditure.

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2024\)](#).

We then estimated the average per capita expenditure on food items, essential non-food items (namely education, clothing, shelter, and conveyance) for each fractile class. This is shown in [Table 6](#). The Expert Group (2014) method defines the poverty line as the expenditure on food items of the median (45–50th) fractile, the expenditure on food items by the fractile that meets the nutrition norms, and the expenditure on non-food items by the same fractile that meets the nutrition norms. This line is calculated separately for rural and urban areas.

**Table 6** *Estimated per capita expenditure on consumption categories, by fractile groups of monthly per capita expenditure, 2022*

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Food        |             | Essential Non-Food |             |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
|                                      | Rural       | Urban       | Rural              | Urban       |
| 0–5                                  | 744         | 1023        | 178                | 300         |
| 5–10                                 | 956         | 1288        | 241                | 431         |
| 10–15                                | 1073        | <b>1450</b> | 280                | 520         |
| 15–20                                | 1166        | 1589        | 311                | 621         |
| 20–25                                | <b>1248</b> | 1698        | 338                | 686         |
| 25–30                                | 1330        | 1799        | 364                | 773         |
| 30–35                                | 1404        | 1905        | 391                | 852         |
| 35–40                                | 1466        | 2015        | 422                | 949         |
| 40–45                                | 1534        | 2130        | 458                | 1050        |
| 45–50                                | 1610        | 2235        | <b>480</b>         | <b>1167</b> |
| 50–55                                | 1675        | 2334        | 519                | 1284        |
| 55–60                                | 1751        | 2458        | 565                | 1394        |
| 60–65                                | 1847        | 2559        | 603                | 1559        |
| 65–70                                | 1917        | 2726        | 667                | 1747        |
| 70–75                                | 2026        | 2876        | 723                | 1947        |
| 75–80                                | 2143        | 3078        | 802                | 2176        |
| 80–85                                | 2276        | 3310        | 906                | 2552        |
| 85–90                                | 2459        | 3686        | 1044               | 2925        |
| 90–95                                | 2757        | 4211        | 1277               | 3675        |
| 95–100                               | 3617        | 6226        | 2166               | 6430        |

*Note:* Essential non-food comprises education, clothing, shelter, and conveyance expenses.

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2024\)](#).

## Results

Our first result is the construction of two new poverty lines for 2022–23: Rs 2,515 per capita per month for rural areas and Rs 3,639 per capita per month for urban areas. The bounds of nutrition norms were met by the fifth fractile class in rural areas and the third fractile class in urban areas.

Next, State-specific poverty lines were derived based on a relative Fisher Index for each State. We have used the method for calculation by Expert Group (2009), which was also the method adopted by the Expert Group (2014). Based on the Fisher Index for each State, we adjusted to define State-specific poverty lines. The set of State-specific poverty lines for 2022–23 is shown in Appendix Table 1.

Finally, we estimate the all-India head-count ratio of poverty as the weighted sum of State-specific head-count ratios based on the estimates done separately for rural and urban areas. We estimate a rural head-count ratio of 27.4 per cent, an urban head-count ratio of 30.9 per cent, and an overall head-count ratio of 26.4 per cent.

We repeated the same exercise using the Consumer Expenditure Survey 2011–12, Employment Unemployment Survey 2011–12 to assess the deviation between our approach and that of the Expert Group (2014). The average per capita nutritional requirements were slightly different from those of the Expert Group (2014).<sup>4</sup> The expenditures for the three components for each fractile class align exactly with those of the Expert Group (2014), allowing us to derive the same poverty line if we used the fractile classes that they identified. However, there were differences in nutritional intakes for the fractile classes. While we were able to match our figures with those provided in the NSSO report for 2011–12, based on the same data, these values deviated from the calculations made by the Expert Group (2014). This suggests that the nutritional intake employed by the Expert Group (2014) deviates from the method employed by NSSO. As a result, our estimates of nutritional norms are met by a higher fractile class than what was identified by the Expert Group (2014). This resulted in a higher head-count ratio of poverty in 2011–12 as well. The corresponding tables have been provided as Appendix Tables 2 to 4. The discussion in this section has been presented in Table 7 along with the inflation adjusted poverty lines and corresponding head-count ratios.

**Table 7** Poverty lines and corresponding head-count ratios from various estimations based on the Expert Group (2014) method in 2011–12 and per cent

| Source of Estimation                  | Poverty Line |       |         |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------|---------|
|                                       | Rural        | Urban | Overall |
| Expert Group estimates, 2011–12       | 972          | 1407  | 30.9    |
| Authors' estimates, 2011–12           | 972          | 1502  | 31.3    |
| Inflation-adjusted estimates, 2022–23 | 1837         | 2603  | 12.3    |
| Authors' estimates, 2022–23           | 2515         | 3639  | 27.4    |

Source: Expert Group (2014) and inflation-adjusted estimates from Rangarajan and Dev (2024).

Although our method largely followed the original method of the Expert Group (2014), we computed a head-count ratio of 31.3 per cent for 2011–12, which is slightly higher than the 29.5 per cent estimated by the Expert Group (2014).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper applies the method proposed by the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for the Measurement of Poverty, chaired by the Expert Group (2014), to data from Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2022–23 (HCES 22–23) in order to estimate a poverty line and head-count ratio of poverty from these data.

Our results indicate that more than a quarter of all households in India have a monthly per capita expenditure that is below the poverty line. The head-count ratio of rural poverty (27.4 per cent) is higher than the head-count ratio of urban poverty (23.7 per cent).

Further enquiry into the reasons for high poverty levels in 2022–23 is the subject of our current research and will be dealt with in a separate paper. In the present, we note that the per capita energy consumption across quartiles of monthly per capita expenditure stagnated between 6 and 7 kg of coal equivalent per capita per month.



and, in fact, declined by 2.6 per cent for the poorest quartile in rural India.<sup>5</sup>

The method of adjusting a prior poverty line using Consumer Price Index is inaccurate for at least two major reasons. First, it is calculated using outdated base weights for items in the consumption baskets. In the absence of new consumption expenditure data, the weights are updated for more than a decade. The weights assigned to items in the basket represent the estimated consumption pattern, which is for a long period of time (Ramakumar 2014). A second and more important reason is that the Consumer Price Index, as apparent here, is not designed to track poverty. The consumption pattern and prices experienced by the people below the poverty line differ from the consumption pattern experienced by the people above the poverty line.

Thus, our estimates are higher than the provisional head-count ratio of 10.8 for 2022–23 reported by Rangarajan and Dev (2024). Our 12 per cent poverty line of the Expert Group (2014) using the Consumer Price Index is also higher than estimates of poverty head-count ratios (Perumal 2024; Natti 2024; Rajora 2024). These were also obtained by adjusting the official poverty line (taken from the report chaired by Dr. Suresh Tendulkar) to current data.

Our results are also to be read in the context of evidence from research on rural wages, incomes of agricultural households, and that there has not been a substantial growth in incomes for the rural poor. Data from the Situation Assessment Surveys of Agriculture and 2018–19 suggest that the average monthly incomes for agricultural households grew at 2.44 per cent per annum between 2002–03 and 2018–19 at constant prices (Bakshi 2021). Analysing data from two sources of wage rates from the Government of India – the 10th and 11th Periodic Labour Force Surveys – Das and Usami (2023) find that real wage rates in India stagnated between 2014–15 and 2022–23. The new Annual Survey of Unincorporated Sector Enterprises indicates a struggling informal sector with declining number of enterprises (and Drèze 2024; Mohanan and Kundu 2024). Additionally, wages in the lower rung of the formal economy, such as daily earnings, as observed by Singh (2024) to have grown only by 0.6 per cent per annum between 2002–03 and 2021–22 at constant prices, based on the Survey of Industries.

Our calculations show that more than a quarter of India's population falls below the poverty line constructed using the method. We note that the method that we use is one that is likely to underestimate poverty rather than overestimate it (Ramakumar 2014). This is an urgent and important problem in India.

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## NOTES

1 This has also been observed by Raveendran (2016).▲

2 This chart is prepared based on Indian Food Consumption Tables published by the Indian Council of Medical Research – National Institute of Nutrition. These tables have been used in India; these were published in 1937, 1951, 1971, 1989, and 2017 respectively. The data in the chart we use are based on the 1989 table, the only one available.▲

3 Shelter includes house rent and bedding expenses.▲

4 The Expert Group (2014) used a combination of Census 2011 and EUS 2011–12 data for this. We have used only EUS 2011–12 to make it consistent.▲

5 Appendix Tables 7, 8, and 9 provide some preliminary information. The per capita energy consumption across quartiles of monthly per capita expenditure in 2011–12 and 2022–23. Appendix Tables 8 and 9 show consumption disparities between lower and upper quartiles.▲

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## APPENDIX

**Appendix Table 1** *State-wise poverty lines, 2022–23 in rupees per month*

| State/Union Territory                    |
|--|
| All India                                |
| Andaman and Nicobar Islands (U. T.)      |
| Andhra Pradesh                           |
| Arunachal Pradesh                        |
| Assam                                    |
| Bihar                                    |
| Chandigarh (U. T.)                       |
| Chhattisgarh                             |
| Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu |
| Delhi                                    |
| Goa                                      |
| Gujarat                                  |
| Haryana                                  |
| Himachal Pradesh                         |
| Jammu and Kashmir                        |
| Jharkhand                                |
| Karnataka                                |
| Kerala                                   |
| Ladakh (U. T.)                           |
| Lakshadweep (U. T.)                      |
| Madhya Pradesh                           |

| State/Union Territory |
|-----------------------|
| Maharashtra           |
| Manipur               |
| Meghalaya             |
| Mizoram               |
| Nagaland              |
| Odisha                |
| Puducherry (U. T.)    |
| Punjab                |
| Rajasthan             |
| Sikkim                |
| Tamil Nadu            |
| Telangana             |
| Tripura               |
| Uttar Pradesh         |
| Uttarakhand           |
| West Bengal           |

Source: Authors’ calculations from [NSSO \(2024\)](#).

**Appendix Table 2** *ICMR nutritional norms for sections of the population and their estimated share in the popul*

| Categories  |        |                | Estimated Population Share |       | ICMR Nutritional Norms |                 |
|-------------|--------|----------------|----------------------------|-------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Age         | Sex    | Activity level | Rural                      | Urban | Energy (kcal/day)      | Protein (g/day) |
| Less than 1 |        |                | 1.3                        | 1.1   | 585                    | 11              |
| 1–3         |        |                | 5.49                       | 4.59  | 1060                   | 11              |
| 4–6         |        |                | 6.57                       | 5.02  | 1350                   | 22              |
| 7–9         |        |                | 6.29                       | 5.19  | 1690                   | 22              |
| 10–12       |        |                | 7.52                       | 6.22  | 2100                   | 22              |
| 13–14       | Female |                | 1.97                       | 1.78  | 2330                   | 55              |
| 13–14       | Male   |                | 2.31                       | 2.07  | 2750                   | 55              |
| Adult       | Female | Heavy          | 5.7                        | 0.6   | 2850                   | 55              |
| Adult       | Female | Moderate       | 1.31                       | 1.68  | 2230                   | 55              |
| Adult       | Female | Sedentary      | 22.06                      | 26.08 | 1900                   | 55              |
| Adult       | Female | Non-Worker     | 0.84                       | 3.43  | 1900                   | 55              |
| Adult       | Male   | Heavy          | 16.77                      | 4.08  | 3490                   | 66              |
| Adult       | Male   | Moderate       | 2.97                       | 6.5   | 2730                   | 66              |
| Adult       | Male   | Sedentary      | 5.83                       | 7.58  | 2320                   | 66              |
| Adult       | Male   | Non-Worker     | 4.85                       | 16.03 | 2320                   | 66              |

| Categories |        |                | Estimated Population Share |       | ICMR Nutritional Norm |                  |
|------------|--------|----------------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Age        | Sex    | Activity level | Rural                      | Urban | Energy (kcal/day)     | Protein (gm/day) |
| Elderly    | Female |                | 4.12                       | 4.12  | 1900                  | 48               |
| Elderly    | Male   |                | 4.11                       | 3.93  | 2320                  | 60               |

Source: Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2023\)](#).

### Appendix Table 3 *Estimated per capita nutritional norms, 2011–12*

| Nutritional Norm                             |
|--|
| Energy requirement (kcal/day)                |
| Protein requirement (gm/day)                 |
| Fat requirement (gm/day)                     |
| 90 per cent of energy requirement (kcal/day) |
| 90 per cent of protein requirement (gm/day)  |
| 90 per cent of fat requirement (gm/day)      |

Note: Expert Group (2014) argued that a deviation of 10 per cent will not affect nutrition adequacy and identified the section that met the lower bound.  
Source: Appendix Table 2a.

### Appendix Table 4 *Estimated consumption of specific nutrients by fractile groups of monthly per capita expenditure*

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Energy (kcal/day) |       | Protein (gm/day) |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
|                                      | Rural             | Urban | Rural            | Urban |
| 0–5                                  | 1634              | 1638  | 43               | 44    |
| 5–10                                 | 1815              | 1756  | 48               | 48    |
| 10–15                                | 1904              | 1838  | 51               | 50    |
| 15–20                                | 1964              | 1872  | 52               | 51    |
| 20–25                                | 1979              | 1915  | 53               | 53    |
| 25–30                                | 2039              | 1969  | 55               | 54    |
| 30–35                                | 2080              | 2033  | 56               | 55    |
| 35–40                                | 2087              | 2050  | 56               | 57    |
| 40–45                                | 2147              | 2104  | 58               | 57    |
| 45–50                                | 2168              | 2130  | 59               | 58    |
| 50–55                                | 2220              | 2167  | 60               | 59    |
| 55–60                                | 2236              | 2231  | 61               | 61    |
| 60–65                                | 2268              | 2244  | 62               | 62    |
| 65–70                                | 2313              | 2286  | 63               | 63    |
| 70–75                                | 2362              | 2389  | 64               | 65    |
| 75–80                                | 2436              | 2431  | 67               | 67    |
| 80–85                                | 2526              | 2491  | 70               | 68    |
| 85–90                                | 2554              | 2586  | 71               | 71    |

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Energy (kcal/day) |       | Protein (gm/day) |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
|                                      | Rural             | Urban | Rural            | Urban |
| 90–95                                | 2667              | 2805  | 74               | 77    |
| 95–100                               | 3263              | 3190  | 91               | 86    |

Source: Authors' calculations based on NSSO (2013b).

**Appendix Table 5** *Estimated expenditure on consumption categories by fractile groups of monthly per capita expenditure in rupees per month*

| Fractile Group of MPCE (in per cent) | Food  |       | Essential Non-Food |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|
|                                      | Rural | Urban | Rural              | Urban |
| 0–5                                  | 316   | 415   | 54                 | 83    |
| 5–10                                 | 401   | 533   | 71                 | 112   |
| 10–15                                | 452   | 600   | 80                 | 144   |
| 15–20                                | 493   | 656   | 88                 | 181   |
| 20–25                                | 516   | 713   | 99                 | 204   |
| 25–30                                | 554   | 769   | 102                | 242   |
| 30–35                                | 586   | 822   | 111                | 271   |
| 35–40                                | 612   | 889   | 120                | 310   |
| 40–45                                | 640   | 919   | 132                | 364   |
| 45–50                                | 678   | 977   | 141                | 407   |
| 50–55                                | 710   | 1019  | 149                | 447   |
| 55–60                                | 733   | 1096  | 166                | 507   |
| 60–65                                | 775   | 1156  | 182                | 549   |
| 65–70                                | 814   | 1210  | 195                | 634   |
| 70–75                                | 861   | 1302  | 218                | 726   |
| 75–80                                | 922   | 1384  | 241                | 831   |
| 80–85                                | 1002  | 1504  | 279                | 968   |
| 85–90                                | 1077  | 1650  | 340                | 1161  |
| 90–95                                | 1216  | 1946  | 442                | 1592  |
| 95–100                               | 1771  | 2859  | 834                | 3434  |

Source: Authors' calculations based on NSSO (2013b).

**Appendix Table 6** *State-wise poverty lines, 2011–12 in rupees per month*

| State/Union Territory               | Rural |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| All India                           | 972   |
| Andaman and Nicobar Islands (U. T.) | 1225  |
| Andhra Pradesh                      | 1036  |
| Arunachal Pradesh                   | 1132  |

| State/Union Territory  | Rura |
|------------------------|------|
| Assam                  | 1025 |
| Bihar                  | 976  |
| Chandigarh (U. T.)     | 1209 |
| Chhattisgarh           | 897  |
| Dadra and Nagar Haveli | 1005 |
| Daman and Diu          | 1206 |
| Delhi                  | 1355 |
| Goa                    | 1166 |
| Gujarat                | 1134 |
| Haryana                | 1137 |
| Himachal Pradesh       | 985  |
| Jammu and Kashmir      | 982  |
| Jharkhand              | 940  |
| Karnataka              | 921  |
| Kerala                 | 1031 |
| Lakshadweep (U. T.)    | 1166 |
| Madhya Pradesh         | 946  |
| Maharashtra            | 1084 |
| Manipur                | 1285 |
| Meghalaya              | 1124 |
| Mizoram                | 1155 |
| Nagaland               | 1275 |
| Odisha                 | 878  |
| Puducherry (U. T.)     | 1076 |
| Punjab                 | 1148 |
| Rajasthan              | 1055 |
| Sikkim                 | 1096 |
| Tamil Nadu             | 989  |
| Tripura                | 912  |
| Uttar Pradesh          | 918  |
| Uttarakhand            | 984  |
| West Bengal            | 971  |

Source: Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2013b\)](#).

### **Appendix Table 7** *Consumption of energy per capita by quartiles of monthly per capita expenditure, 2011–12 a.*

| Quartiles of MPCE (in per cent) | Rural |
|---------------------------------|-------|
|---------------------------------|-------|

|        | 2011–12 | 2022–23 | % Change | 2011–12 |
|--------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| 0–25   | 1859    | 1811    | –2.6%    | 1804    |
| 25–50  | 2104    | 2105    | 0.0%     | 2057    |
| 50–75  | 2279    | 2305    | 1.1%     | 2264    |
| 75–100 | 2690    | 2676    | –0.5%    | 2701    |

*Note:* MPCE stands for Monthly Per Capita Expenditure.

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2024\)](#) and [NSSO \(2013b\)](#).

### **Appendix Table 8** *Per capita expenditure on non-food items by quartiles of monthly per capita expenditure, 2011–12*

| Quartiles of MPCE (in per cent) | Rural   |         |          | 2011–12 |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
|                                 | 2011–12 | 2022–23 | % Change |         |
| 0–25                            | 290     | 913     | 214%     | 446     |
| 25–50                           | 434     | 1383    | 219%     | 815     |
| 50–75                           | 614     | 1951    | 218%     | 1317    |
| 75–100                          | 1355    | 3846    | 184%     | 3458    |

*Note:* MPCE stands for Monthly Per Capita Expenditure.

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2024\)](#) and [NSSO \(2013b\)](#).

### **Appendix Table 9** *Per capita consumption of fats per calorie by quartiles of monthly per capita expenditure, 2011–12*

| Quartiles of MPCE (in per cent) | Rural   |         |          | 2011–12 |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
|                                 | 2011–12 | 2022–23 | % Change |         |
| 0–25                            | 0.015   | 0.022   | 45.5%    | 0.020   |
| 25–50                           | 0.019   | 0.025   | 32.7%    | 0.025   |
| 50–75                           | 0.021   | 0.027   | 24.2%    | 0.028   |
| 75–100                          | 0.025   | 0.029   | 15.5%    | 0.030   |

*Note:* MPCE stands for Monthly Per Capita Expenditure.

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on [NSSO \(2024\)](#) and [NSSO \(2013b\)](#).