Poverty by Social, Religious & Economic Groups in India and Its Largest States 1993-94 to 2011-12

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Abstract

Taking advantage of the household expenditure data from the 68th round of the National

Sample Survey, conducted in 2011-12, we offer a comprehensive and up-to-date

evaluation of the pattern of poverty alleviation across social, religious and economic

groups in rural and urban India both nationally and at the level of the state. Poverty

estimates at the Tendulkar line show that no mater what criterion we choose to slice the

data (social, religious or economic groups), poverty has declined sharply between 1993-

94 and 2011-12 with a significant acceleration during the faster-growth period of 2004-05

to 2011-12. Poverty rates among the Scheduled Castes have declined particularly sharply

with the gap between these rates and those associated with the general population

narrowing considerably. Poverty among the Scheduled Tribes has also declined with

acceleration in the decline between 2004-05 and 2011-12 but the level remains high with

significant scope and need for targeted action. Surprisingly, in as many as seven out of

the sixteen states for which we can credibly estimate poverty rates for both Hindus and

Muslims, the poverty rate for the latter has dropped below the corresponding rate for the

former. Nationally, the poverty rate among Muslims in rural areas is now within one

percent of the rate for the Hindus. The gap remains nearly ten percentage points,

however, in urban areas. The paper also suggests how the variation in poverty rates

across groups could be used to develop criteria for the identification of the poor for

purposes of targeting in social programs.

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The release of the 68th round of the National Sample Survey (NSS 68th round), conducted in 2011-12, offers an opportunity for fresh evaluation of the pattern of poverty alleviation across social, religious and economic groups in rural and urban India both nationally and at the level of the state. The official Planning Commission poverty estimates show that at 15.3 percentage points, the decline in poverty at the national level during the seven-year period between 2004-05 and 2011-12 has been by far the sharpest in the known history of the nation. But the Planning Commission estimates do not distinguish among various social, religious and economic groups, which are often central to the discussion of the impact of economic reforms.

A key issue all poverty estimates must confront, however, is the level at which the poverty line is set. Politicians on all sides, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and media persons have criticized the Planning Commission estimates and the progress against poverty they represent at the aggregate level on the ground that they are based on the overly low Tendulkar poverty line. Panagariya (2013) has argued and Panagariya and Mukim (2013) have elaborated, however, that if the objective behind the poverty line is to track progress in combating destitution, the Tendulkar line is just about right. The latter note that according to the NSS 60th round expenditure survey, conducted in 2004-05, families of five living on the poverty-line income in urban areas each month bought 51 kilogram cereals, 3.5 kilogram pulses, 16.2 kilogram milk, 2.7 kilogram oil, 6.2

kilogram eggs, 1.7 kilogram meat, 23.9 kilogram vegetables, 4.7 kilogram fresh fruits,

3.7 kilogram sugar, 2.2 kilogram salt and spices and are still left with more than half of

their budget expenditure still left for rent, clothing, footwear, health and education. The

authors suggest that if there is political compulsion to focus on the progress being made

in giving families comfortable existence, instead of abandoning the Tendulkar line, a

second poverty line consistent with this objective be introduced.

Additionally, in a companion paper, Panagariya and More (2013), we show that

while the poverty level is naturally higher at higher poverty lines, the decline in it and the

acceleration in the decline between 2004-05 and 2011-12 over earlier periods exhibited at

the Tendulkar line continue to obtain. For example, even after we push the poverty line

to twice the level of the Tendulkar line, which pushes 85 percent of the entire nation's

population in 2004-05 into poverty, we continue to obtain 9.4 percentage points reduction

in poverty between 2004-05 and 2011-12. The decline in poverty and acceleration in it

during the recent high-growth period are essentially preserved at the higher poverty lines.

In view of these considerations and the fact that the Tendulkar line currently

remains the only official poverty line, it is of interest to evaluate how poverty at the

Tendulkar line has evolved for various social, religious and economic groups over time.

Panagariya and Mukim (2013) have recently provided a comprehensive analysis of the

evolution of poverty across social and religious groups in rural and urban areas in the

seventeen largest states of India up to the NSS 66th round, conducted in the year 2009-

10.[1] Excluding the 55th round, conducted in 1999-2000, which is non-comparable due to

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[1] Other contributions on poverty by social, religious and/or economic groups include Dubey, and
Gangopadhyay (1998), Meenakshi and Gupta (2000), Sundaram and Tendulkar (2003), Shukla, Jain and
Kakkar (2010), Mukim and Panagariya (2012) and Thorat and Deubey (2012). A broad discussion of
poverty in India can be found in Panagariya (2008).

a different sample design, these authors provide estimates for all quinquennial rounds beginning with the 38th and ending with the 66th (1983 to 2009-10) at the Lakdawala line and for 50th to 66th (1993-94 to 2009-10) rounds at the Tendulkar line for different social and religious groups in rural and urban areas of the seventeen states and nationally.

In this paper, we extend the work in Panagariya and Mukim (2013) in three directions. First, we update and analyze the national-level poverty estimates by social and religious groups in rural and urban areas at the Tendulkar line up to the NSS 68th round. This extension is important because the 68th round shows a significantly larger decline in poverty than the 66th round raising the question how this larger decline is distributed over various social and religious groups.

Second, whereas Panagariya and Mukim (2013) confined themselves to social and religious groups, the NSS surveys allow us to divide the population according to a variety of other criteria such as occupation, household size, level of education of the head of the household and the number of members in the household. In the present paper, we study poverty levels based on these distinctions as well. We argue that poverty estimate according to these various criteria can offer helpful clues to identifying the poor for purposes of targeted social programs.

Finally, we extend poverty estimates for social and religious groups at the level of the state to include the 68th round. Apart from yielding an up-to-date picture of poverty among social and religious groups at the level of the state, this exercise also allows us to address certain anomalies produced by the 66th round. For instance, the 66th round had shown that poverty had declined just one percentage point in Bihar and two percentage points in urban Gujarat between 2004-05 and 2009-10 despite double-digit growth in

these states. Associated with these small decreases were further anomalies with respect to specific social and religious groups. While in theory tiny reductions or even increases in poverty alongside double-digit growth are not ruled out, they are highly implausible in states such as Bihar and Gujarat where inequalities are low. By extending the work in Panagariya and Mukim (2013) to the 68th round, we are able to address and substantially resolve these anomalies.

Before we turn to the detailed discussion of the estimates, we find it useful to offer a few highlights. First, the SC have seen a larger percentage points decline in poverty than the general population between 1993-94 and 2004-05 as well as 2004-05 and 2011-12. The result has been a substantial narrowing down of poverty rates between the SC and the general population. The ST have also seen a significantly larger percentage points reduction in poverty than the general population during the second of these periods though not the first. Both SC and ST have, of course, seen a far more rapid decline in poverty during the second period than the first.

Second, poverty rates among Jains and Sikhs are significantly lower in rural and urban areas than in the general population. Christians also exhibit very low poverty rates in urban areas though their lead in the rural areas over the general population is small. Between Hindus and Muslims, the latter have higher poverty rates but the difference is much smaller than that between the SC and ST on the one hand and non-scheduled castes on the other. In the rural areas, the difference has been negligible since at least 1993-94 and dropped to less than one percentage point in 2011-12. The common impression that the Muslims suffer from much greater poverty than the Hindus is largely derived from

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observations from urban areas where the gap in the poverty rates between the two communities remained ten percentage points even in 2011-12.

Third, in as many as seven out of the sixteen states for which we can credibly estimate poverty rates for both communities, the poverty rates for the Muslims have dropped below those for the Hindus. The seven states are: Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu. In four of these seven states, Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the poverty ratio for the Muslims is below ten percent. In the fifth, Gujarat, at 11.4 percent, it is only marginally above the ten percent mark.

Finally, despite substantial reduction, the ST poverty rates in many states remain extremely high even at the Tendulkar line. In 2011-12, the latest year for which we have the estimates, Maharashtra and Orissa exhibited rural ST poverty rates exceeding 60 percent while Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal suffered from rates exceeding 50 percent. The ST constitute one single well-identified group for which targeted anti-poverty actions can yield very high returns.

Poverty by Social Groups at the National Level

We begin by presenting the estimates of the percent of population below the Tendulkar line in rural and urban regions and in the two regions combined by the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Castes (OBC) and Forward Castes (FC) for years 1993-94, 2004-05, 2009-10 and 2011-12. While the surveys allow us to identify only the SC and ST in the first of these years, they allow us to additionally identify the OBC and FC in the last three years.

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Our estimates in Table 1 lead to four main conclusions.[2] First, at the national

level, the poverty ratio for each social group in rural as well as urban areas in 2011-12 is

lower than in 2009-10. There is, however, a large difference in the declines between

these two years for the SC and ST with the latter experiencing only a small decline.

Second, the percentage point reduction in poverty has been larger for each social group in

the second period (2004-05 to 2011-12) than the first (1993-94 to 2004-05). Once again,

this is consistent with the expectation that rapid growth is good for the poor. It also

illustrates that growth acceleration has translated in broad-based benefits. Third,

percentage point reduction in the SC poverty in both rural and urban areas and during

both periods has been larger than for the population as a whole. For the ST, the decline is

larger in both rural and urban areas in the second period but not the first. Finally, being

physically embedded within the mainstream of the economy, the SC have experienced

larger percentage point reduction in poverty than the ST who predominantly live in the

remote rural areas. While more targeted action to assist the ST is required, it bears noting

that contrary to the popular claims, the ST have seen significant improvements in their

fortunes during the high-growth phase.

Table 1: Poverty by Social Groups, 1993-94 to 2011-12

Social groups	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
		Rural					

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[2] At the aggregate level, taking all social groups together, our estimates are within 0.5 percentage points of the Planning Commission estimates. Most researchers have found the small discrepancies between their estimates and those of the Planning Commission to be a common phenomenon. This also applies to the state-level estimates reported later in the paper.

ST	11.1	65.9	62.3	47.4	45.3	3.7	16.9
SC	20.8	62.4	53.5	42.3	31.5	8.9	22.0
OBC	45.0	44.0	39.8	31.9	22.7	9.0*	17.1
FC	23.0		27.1	21.0	15.5		11.6
All	100.0	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4	8.5	16.4
Urban							
ST	3.5	41.1	35.5	30.4	24.1	5.6	11.4
SC	14.6	51.7	40.6	34.1	21.7	11.1	18.8
OBC	41.6	28.2	30.6	24.3	15.4	5.8*	15.2
FC	40.3		16.1	12.4	8.1		8.0
All	100.0	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7	6.2	12.0
Rural + Urban							
ST	8.9	63.7	60.0	45.6	43.0	3.7	17.0
SC	19.0	60.5	50.9	40.6	29.4	9.6	21.5
OBC	44.1	39.5	37.8	30.0	20.7	8.1*	17.1
FC	28.0		23.0	17.6	12.5		10.5
All	100.0	45.7	37.7	29.9	22.0	8.0	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

* Estimated using comparable estimates of poverty among the OBC and FC combined in 2004-05, which came down to 35% (Rural), 22.5% (Urban) and 31.4% (Rural + Urban) in 2004-05.

Poverty by Religious Groups at the National level

Next, we turn to a consideration of poverty ratios for different religious groups. Here, data allow us to estimate poverty for five distinct religious groups: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Jains. Due to small sample size, the estimates for Zoroastrians as a separate group cannot be reliably estimated and are not reported. Table 2 reports the estimates in rural, urban and all regions at the Tendulkar line for the same four years as in Table 1.

Table 2: Poverty by Religious Groups

Religion	Share in the population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point reduction in poverty	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
				Rural			
Christianity	2.0	44.9	28.7	23.8	22.2	16.1	6.5
Hinduism	83.2	50.5	42.1	33.5	25.6	8.4	16.5
Islam	12.4	53.6	44.5	36.2	26.9	9.1	17.6
Jainism	0.1	24.3	10.6	0.0	0.7	13.7	10.0
Sikhism	1.7	19.8	21.7	11.9	6.2	-1.9	15.5
Total	100.0	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4	8.5	16.4
				Urban			
Christianity	2.7	22.9	14.1	12.9	5.5	8.9	8.6
Hinduism	77.3	29.7	23.1	18.7	12.1	6.6	10.9
Islam	16.8	46.6	41.8	33.9	22.7	4.7	19.1
Jainism	0.7	6.0	2.7	1.7	3.9	3.3	-1.2
Sikhism	1.4	18.6	9.5	14.5	5.0	9.1	4.5
Total	100.0	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7	6.2	12.0
				Rural + Urban			
Christianity	2.2	38.5	24.5	20.5	16.4	14.0	8.1
Hinduism	81.5	45.6	37.5	29.7	21.9	8.1	15.6
Islam	13.6	51.2	43.6	35.4	25.4	7.6	18.2
Jainism	0.3	10.5	4.6	1.5	3.3	5.9	1.4
Sikhism	1.6	19.6	18.9	12.5	5.9	0.6	13.1
Total	100.0	45.7	37.7	29.9	22.0	8.0	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

Four observations may be gleaned from Table 2. First, Jains and Sikhs, both very small religious groups, have significantly lower poverty rates than the general population in both rural and urban areas. Christians also enjoy very low poverty rates in urban areas though their lead in the rural areas is small. Between Hindus and Muslims, as expected, the latter have higher poverty rates but the difference is far smaller than that between the SC and ST on the one hand and non-scheduled castes on the other.

Second, setting aside the year 2009-10, poverty rates for each religious group in rural as well as urban areas have steadily declined. When we include 2009-10, Jains turn out to be the only exception whose poverty rates in both rural and urban areas rose between 2009-10 and 2011-12. We do not have an explanation of why this is the case since the sample size of Jains at the national level is not an issue.

Third, both Hindus and Muslims have experienced significantly larger poverty reduction in both rural and urban areas in the second, high-growth period than in the first. For Jains the reverse is true but this is because the poverty rates for them had dropped to extremely low levels by 2004-05. The record is mixed for Christians and Sikhs: the former saw larger percentage points decline in the first period in urban areas while the latter did the same in rural areas.

Finally, the differences in poverty rates between Hindus and Muslims have been negligible in the rural areas. Therefore, the common impression that poverty rates are significantly higher among Muslims than Hindus is largely based on observations from the urban areas. Even here the good news is that the percentage point poverty reduction during the high-growth phase for Muslims at 19.1 percentage points is almost twice that for Hindus. Except in the case of the ST, growth has delivered disproportionately larger gains in poverty reduction among groups suffering high levels of poverty.

Poverty by Groups Classified According to Other Criteria

We next present poverty estimates based on a variety of economic and related criteria. The first such criterion is household type or occupation.[3] The NSS expenditure

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[3] The NSS identifies household type or occupation based on the main source of income for the household during the 365 days preceding the survey. For this purpose, only the household's income (net income and not gross income) from economic activities is considered. For instance, income of servants and paying guests are not taken into account.

surveys identify different categories of occupations for rural and urban areas. In rural

areas, these categories are: non-agricultural self-employed, agricultural self-employed,

agricultural labor, other labor and a catchall category called other rural. Beginning in

2011-12, wage or salaried workers that were earlier part of the catchall category, have

been separately identified. In urban areas, the categories include self-employed, wage or

salaried, casual and a catchall category called other urban. Table 3 reports our poverty

estimates.

Table 3: Poverty by Occupational Categories

Occupational category	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Rural							
Self-emp, non-agri	12.2	44.1	36.3	28.0	18.6	7.8	17.7
Agri labor	14.1	70.4	63.1	49.4	39.8	7.3	23.3
Other labor	9.5	57.1	48.6	39.6	32.7	8.5	15.8
Self-emp, agri	27.1	41.9	33.2	26.2	22.2	8.7	11.0
Wage/salaried*	6.1				11.1		
Other rural	2.4	26.6	21.8	14.4	17.8	4.8	8.8**
Total	100.0	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4	8.5	16.4
Urban							
Self-emp	11.6	34.3	27.4	22.0	14.8	6.9	12.7
Wage/salaried	11.3	20.6	15.3	11.1	6.9	5.4	8.3
Casual labor	3.8	64.5	58.7	47.2	32.9	5.8	25.8
Other urban	1.8	24.1	15.9	12.6	8.2	8.2	7.7
Total	100.0	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7	6.2	12.0

Source: Authors' calculations

* This category was separated from "Other, rural" in 2011-12.

** This decline in poverty is based on poverty estimate of "Other, rural" and

"Wage/salaried" combined for the year 2011-12 which stood at 13%.

The trend observed across social and religious groups over time remains valid for the occupational categories. Poverty declines steadily in every category. Except in the category "other urban," which only accounts for 1.8 percent of the total population, poverty decline is uniformly larger in the second period. In the urban areas, casual workers, accounting for 3.8 percent of all households, suffer from by far the highest poverty rate. If they can be identified, within urban areas, they should clearly be the targets of anti-poverty programs. Additionally, self-employed urban workers also suffer from above-average urban poverty. In the rural areas, agricultural labor, self-employed agricultural labor and other labor, which together account for 50.7 percent of the households, are subject to the highest poverty rates.

Next, we consider the evolution of poverty by the level of education of the head of the household. The relevant estimates are shown in Table 4. Three observations follow from the table. First, unsurprisingly, no matter which year or region we consider, the higher the level of education of the head of the household, the lower the poverty ratio. Even in rural areas, rising level of education of the head of the household is associated with sharply declining poverty rates. For households headed by individuals with secondary or higher secondary education in rural areas, the poverty rate drops below the average poverty rate in urban areas. Second, what is less well recognized and appreciated, however, is that growth has been effective in bringing poverty down even independently of the education level of the head of the household. At every level of education, poverty can be seen to decline in both rural and urban areas. In addition, at every level of education of the head of the household, decline in poverty has accelerated in percentage point terms. Finally, for any given level of education, poverty level is higher in rural than

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urban areas. This would seem to reflect better opportunities on average in the urban

areas.

Table 4: Poverty by Education Level of the Head of Household

Education level of household head	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Rural							
Illiterate	39.4	60.8	53.9	44.5	33.9	6.9	20
Primary or less	26.9	44.9	40	31.4	26.1	4.9	13.9
Middle	15.1	36.5	30.3	24.6	20	6.2	10.4
Secondary or Higher Sec.	14.7	24.2	21	19.1	12.2	3.2	8.8
Higher Education	3.9	13.5	11	7	5.4	2.5	5.6
Total	100.0	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4	8.5	16.4
Urban							
Illiterate	17.9	57.8	53	44.8	31.6	4.7	21.4
Primary or less	19.9	40	37.2	31.8	19.2	2.8	18
Middle	14.8	28.7	22.5	20.7	14	6.2	8.5
Secondary or Higher Sec.	27.0	14	11.3	10.4	6.8	2.6	4.5
Higher Education	20.3	3.6	2.6	2.2	1.5	1	1.1
Total	100.0	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7	6.2	12
Rural + Urban							
Illiterate	33.2	60.4	53.8	44.5	33.5	6.7	20.2
Primary or less	24.9	43.8	39.4	31.5	24.5	4.4	14.9
Middle	15	33.9	28	23.5	18.3	5.9	9.7
Secondary or Higher Sec.	18.2	19.1	16.9	15.6	9.9	2.2	7
Higher Education	8.6	6.6	5.6	3.7	2.8	1	2.8
Total	100	45.7	37.7	29.9	22	8	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

We next consider poverty according to the size of the household. This is done in

Table 5, where we divide the households into four categories: those with two or fewer

members, with 3 to 5 members, 6 to 9 members and 10 or more members. The now

familiar pattern repeats itself. Poverty declines steadily for each household size and it

declines faster in the second than the first period. Poverty levels are higher in the larger households. Households with two or less members are subject to low poverty levels in both rural and urban areas. Finally, percentage point decline in poverty is generally higher in the larger households, which are also subject to higher poverty ratios.

Table 5: Poverty by Household Size

Household size	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Rural							
2 or less	5.7	25.1	18.6	12.0	9.5	6.5	9.1
3 to 5	49.5	44.2	33.7	25.2	18.5	10.5	15.2
6 to 9	37.5	57.9	51.1	43.6	35.0	6.8	16.1
10 or more	7.2	56.3	50.6	46.9	35.5	5.7	15.1
All	100.0	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4	8.5	16.4
Urban							
2 or less	8.5	12.4	7.6	5.8	3.0	4.8	4.6
3 to 5	55.9	23.4	17.2	13.7	8.1	6.3	9.1
6 to 9	29.2	42.0	37.0	33.9	24.0	5.0	13.1
10 or more	6.5	48.8	49.4	39.1	29.6	-0.6	19.8
All	100.0	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7	6.2	12.0
Rural + Urban							
2 or less	6.5	21.4	15.2	9.9	7.1	6.2	8.1
3 to 5	51.3	38.6	28.9	21.7	15.2	9.7	13.7
6 to 9	35.2	54.2	48.0	41.4	32.4	6.2	15.7
10 or more	7.0	54.8	50.3	45.1	34.0	4.4	16.4
All	100.0	45.7	37.7	29.9	22.0	8.0	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

The next variable along which we consider poverty is the type of fuel used in cooking. For brevity, we do not present the separate estimates for rural and urban areas in this and the next case. Instead, we report the estimates for rural and urban areas combined in Table 6. As of 2011-12, the bulk of the population relies on three sources of

energy for cooking: firewood or chips, liquid petroleum gas (LPG) and dung cake. In

each of these categories, poverty can be seen to decline steadily (with the exception of

LPG between 1993-94 and 2004-05) and the decline accelerating in the second period.[4]

The level of poverty is much lower among households with access to LPG than hose

relying on either firewood or dung cake.

Table 6: Poverty by Type of Fuel used for Cooking, Rural plus Urban

Cooking fuel	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Coke/Coal	1.5	37.1	35.8	37.9	30.5	1.3	5.3
Firewood/Chips	53.0	53.0	46.5	38.8	30.4	6.5	16.1
LPG	30.1	6.6	8.1	7.6	5.5	-1.4	2.6
Dung gas	0.1	8.7	5.3	16.0	2.1	3.4	3.2
Dung cake	9.1	47.9	43.9	37.1	26.2	4.0	17.7
Charcoal	0.0	20.8	10.5	27.9	17.2	10.3	-6.7
Kerosene	1.7	26.0	30.9	23.4	15.0	-4.8	15.9
Electricity	0.1	0.0	13.3	21.1	17.7	-13.3	-4.5
Other	3.6	56.0	57.7	40.1	30.7	-1.7	26.9
None	0.7	22.2	23.0	8.5	7.0	-0.8	16.1
Total	100.0	45.7	37.7	29.9	22.0	8.0	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

The final classification we consider is based on the source of energy for lighting.

Table 7 shows the evolution of poverty in rural and urban areas combined with

households distinguished by this criterion. The bulk of the population in this case is

divided between users of kerosene and electricity. The accelerating decline in poverty

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[4] The increase in poverty among households using LPG for cooking between 1993-94 and 2004-05 is
perhaps due to jump in adoption of LPG as a preferred fuel during the period from 9.5% to 21%, reducing
the concentration of households with higher income in the category. More importantly, the substitution in
favor of better fuel also leads us to underestimate the poverty reduction among household that originally
used inferior sources of fuel such as firewood and dung cakes.

observed in all previous cases carries over to these two categories. While the poverty rate remains significantly higher for households relying on kerosene, it is substantial for households using electricity as well.

Table 7: Poverty by Type of Fuel used for Lighting, Rural plus Urban

Lighting fuel	Share in population	Percent population below the Tendulkar line				Percentage point poverty reduction	
	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Kerosene	20.9	60.9	56.3	50.9	41.5	4.6	14.8
Other Oil	0.0	48.3	60.3	12.3	19.1	-12.0	41.2
Gas	0.1	23.9	20.3	15.5	14.3	3.6	5.9
Candle	0.2	56.1	48.4	33.7	26.9	7.7	21.4
Electricity	78.4	30.4	27.2	22.0	16.8	3.2	10.4
None	0.1	55.2	45.5	51.8	32.0	9.7	13.6
Other	0.2	52.7	44.5	34.3	32.4	8.2	12.1
Total	100.0	45.7	37.7	29.9	22.0	8.0	15.7

Source: Authors' calculations

The expenditure surveys also allow us to classify households according to the sex, age and marital status of the head of the household. But these classifications do not yield vastly different poverty rates. In the vast majority of the categories according to each of these criteria, the overall poverty rate hovers around the national average of 22 percent in 2011-12. Therefore, we do not present the estimates for these classifications in the paper.

Implications for Targeting

The estimates in Tables 1-7 provide some guidance for the inclusion as well as exclusion criteria for targeting social programs at the poor. Taking the results in Table 1 first, high poverty rates associated with the SC and ST make them good candidates for inclusion while low poverty rates associated with the FC make them good candidates for

exclusion. A random selection out of the SC and ST gives significantly higher chances of picking the poor than a similar selection out of the FC. Of course, since the chances of picking non-poor out of the SC and ST and poor from the FC are non-negligible, additional criteria must be applied. The next candidate, religion, provides only limited guidance. Here the groups with low poverty rates are Jains, Sikhs and Christians but they together account for less than five percent of the population. If we push the matter, Hindus other than the SC and ST in urban areas could be excluded. But this is as far as one can go on the basis of this criterion.

Turning to other criteria for classification, among rural occupational categories, agricultural and other labor are good candidates for inclusion. Wage and salaried workers in both rural and urban areas are subject to low poverty rates and therefore good candidates for exclusion. Casual labor in urban areas is a good candidate for inclusion. Households with heads with secondary or higher education are good candidates for exclusion in both rural and urban areas. In terms of household size, those with two or fewer members in rural areas and those with five or fewer members are good candidates for exclusion. Finally, in terms of energy source, households using LPG for cooking are good candidates for exclusion and those using kerosene for lighting are good candidates for inclusion.

It is important to explicitly note here that these criteria must be combined with other criteria such as a threshold level of land ownership and the ownership of a motorbike or automobile for exclusion and employment for a threshold number of days in the national rural employment guarantee scheme and the lack of access to modern toilet for inclusion. An advantage of the criteria based on Tables 1-7 is that we have some idea

of the poverty rates in the identified groups and therefore have some idea of the

probability of picking or missing the poor from a given category.

Poverty in the States by Social Groups

So far, we have focused on poverty at the national level. We now turn to the

estimates for different social groups for the 21 largest states, counting Delhi as a state.

To minimize clutter, we relegate the detailed estimates to Tables A1-A3 for rural, urban

and all regions combined, respectively, in the appendix. In the text, we rely mainly on

charts to highlight the trends in poverty reduction. Before doing so, however, we point

out an important qualification to some of the estimates in the appendix tables.

When we divide the sample across states and social groups, in some cases, we are

left with two few observations to estimate the poverty ratio with precision. This turns out

to be particularly true with respect to the Scheduled Tribes. Thus, for example, in the

NSS 66th round, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Punjab, Tamil

Nadu, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh each had less than 100 ST households in the

sample in rural areas as well as in rural and urban areas combined.[5] In the NSS 66th

round, only seven states—Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh,

Maharashtra and Orissa—had approximately 100 or more ST households in the urban

areas in the sample. This is issue is of far less significance in the case of the Scheduled

Castes. In rural and urban areas combined, the 66th round generated 100 or more SC

households in all 21 states. In the rural areas, the survey produced a significantly smaller

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[5] The ST population in each of Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Kerala, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh is
less than two percent. In the remaining two states, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttarakhand, the proportions
are 3.1 and 4.1 percent, respectively, but the total populations in these states are approximately 10 million
or less.

number of households than 100 only in Delhi. In the urban areas, the worst case was of Himachal Pradesh where the survey picked 80 SC households. However, we exclude Himachal as well as Chhattisgarh and Jammu & Kashmir due to much smaller sample sizes in earlier years.

Keeping in mind that significantly less than 100 households for any group may be too few to allow reliable estimation of the poverty ratio, we confine ourselves to states and regions in which the group under consideration had close to 100 or more households in the sample in the NSS 66th round.[6] However, we exclude states where the sample size is very low for other years. We begin with the consideration of poverty among the Scheduled Tribes.

The Scheduled Tribes

In Figure 1, we present poverty rates for the Scheduled Tribes at the level of the state in the rural areas, restricting to larger states with substantial ST population. Several observations follow.

Figure 1: Poverty among ST in rural areas, states with significant ST presence

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[6] In general, the pattern observed in the 66th round approximately holds for the other rounds as well.
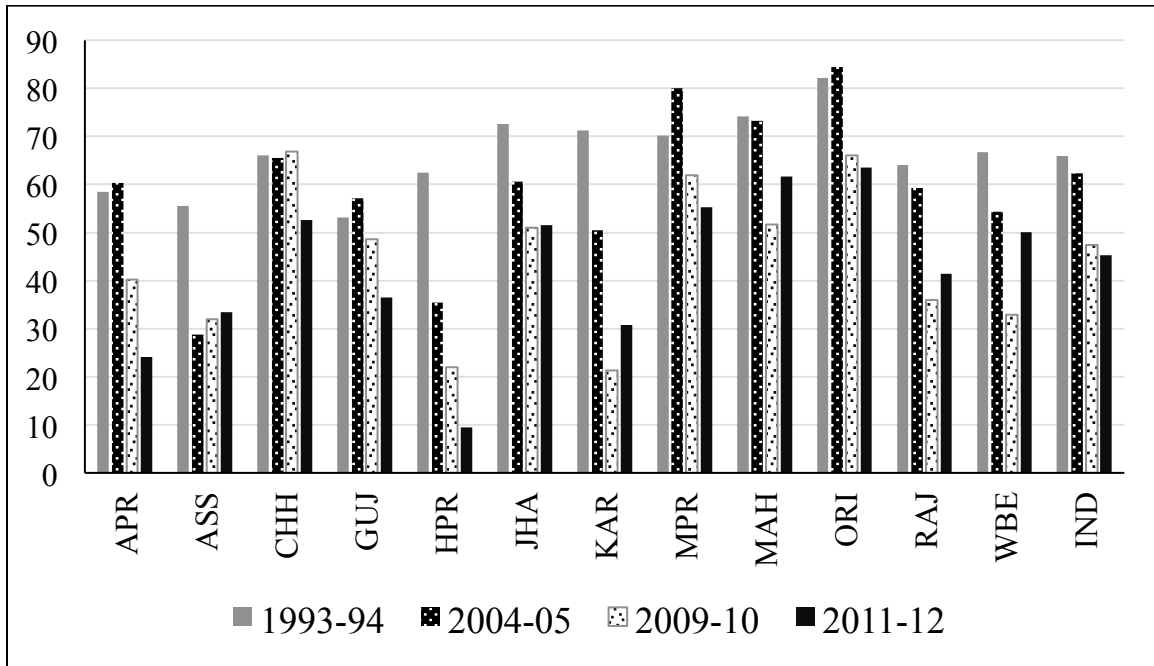
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A1

First, the level of the ST poverty rates remains extremely high. At the national level, 45.3 percent of the ST population in the rural areas remained below the Tendulkar line compared with 25.4 percent for all groups taken together in 2011-12. Two states, Maharashtra and Orissa, exhibit ST poverty rates exceeding 60 percent that year, whereas another four states—Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal—have poverty levels higher than 50 percent.

Second, comparing the ST poverty rates between 1993-94 and 2004-05, the change is uniformly small, with the poverty rate rising in four out of the twelve states. The latter included such large states as Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Among the states experiencing a decline in the ST poverty of ten percentage points or more during this period were Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Jharkhand and West Bengal.

Third, this pattern sharply contrasts with that between 2004-05 and 2011-12. Despite being shorter by four years, it uniformly shows a sharp decline in poverty. India-wide decline was a gigantic 17 percentage points compared with only 3.6 percentage points between 1993-94 and 2004-05. The poverty ratio fell in eleven of the twelve states with Assam as the only exception. The latter is explained partially by the fact that it had seen an unusually high decline in poverty in the prior period. Ten of the twelve states experienced a decline of nine percentage points or more with West Bengal being the only exception. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Himachal Pradesh are the three most impressive states during this period, the former one for its gigantic 36.2 percentage point reduction during 2004-05 to 2011-12 and the latter two for large reductions during this period on the heels of similarly large reductions in the previous period. The ST poverty rate in rural Andhra is now below the Indian average across all groups and that in Himachal Pradesh is well below it. The rate in Karnataka remains higher because it was among the highest in 1993-94. Other states with gains exceeding twenty percentage points between 2004-05 and 2011-12 are Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Orissa.

Finally, it is important to comment on the relative poverty rates between 2009-10 and 2011-12. In some large states such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and West Bengal, ST poverty has risen between these two years. This is off the general trend, which is characterized by sharp reduction between 2009-10 and 2011-12. In part, the anomalous behavior is explained by the unusually large (and off trend) decline in poverty rates for the ST in these states in 2009-10 over those in 2004-05. But these anomalous trends also raise some concerns about the reliability of the NSS 66th round in these states.

Next, we turn to the ST poverty in urban areas. As previously noted, in view of the very small proportions of the ST population living in urban areas, the ST poverty in the urban areas can be reliably estimated in only seven states. We depict the poverty trends in these states in Figure 2. With one exception, Chhattisgarh, poverty declined between 1993-94 and 2004-05 as well as between 2004-05 and 2011-12 in all states. Going by the survey data, Chhattisgarh is a clear exception. Even if we take the view that the estimate in 1993-94 is a grossly underestimated, presumably due a very small sample for that year and ignore it, the rise in the poverty rate between 2004-05 and 2011-12 indicates worsening fortunes of the ST in this state. This is particularly puzzling in view of the huge success that is claimed for the public distribution system in it.

Figure 2: Poverty among ST in urban areas, states with significant ST presence
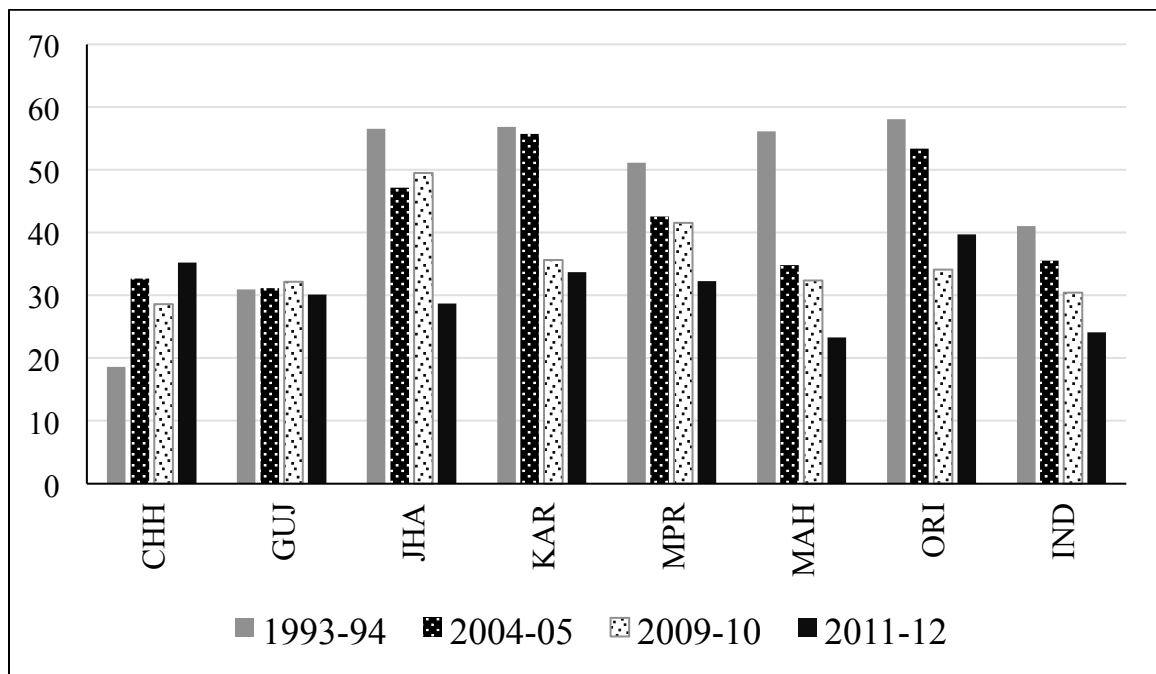
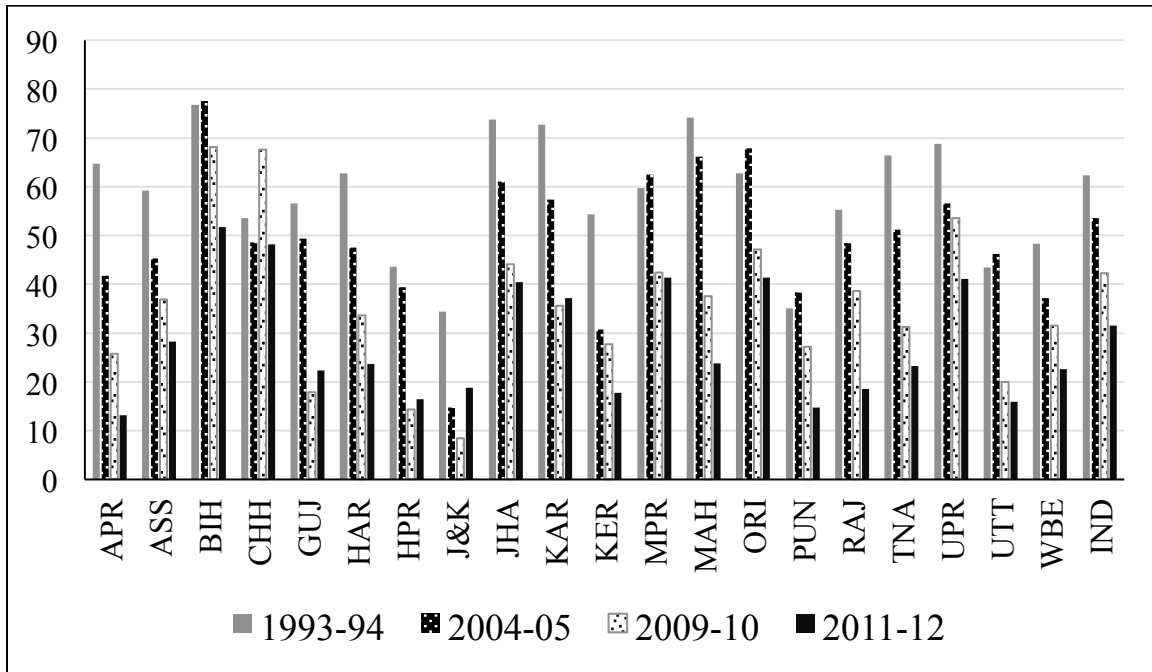Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A2.

Finally, we may make brief comments on the ST poverty in in rural and urban areas combined. Recalling that the ST predominantly reside in the rural areas, the levels and trends in poverty among them in rural areas closely track those in rural and urban areas combined. Where differences exist, they are explained by the trends in the urban areas.

The Scheduled Castes

Progress in poverty reduction among the Scheduled Castes at the Tendulkar line has been truly impressive. Our numerical estimates already appear in Tables A1-A3. In the text, we rely on charts to discuss the salient features. Trends in rural poverty among the Scheduled Castes are shown in Figure 3.

The first and foremost point to make is that the level of the SC poverty in 2011-12 has shown a strong tendency to converge toward the poverty rate prevailing across all groups. At India-wide level, the rural poverty rate for the SC at 31.5 percent in 2011-12 is now less than six percentage points away from the poverty rate of 25.4 percent for all groups. The percentage point gap in 2004-05 was twice of this gap. An astonishing twelve out of twenty states (excluding Delhi due to too few rural SC households in it) exhibit lower rural SC poverty rate than the national average across all groups. States that continue to have higher rural SC poverty rates than the national rural poverty rate for all groups are predominantly those at the bottom of the income distribution: Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The only exception is Karnataka largely because of its high initial level of the rural SC poverty rate.

Figure 3: Poverty among SC in rural areas, states with significant SC presence

Source: Authors' construction using the estimates in Table A1

Second, at 22 percentage points, the nation-wide reduction in the SC poverty between 2004-05 and 2011-12 was much larger than the corresponding reduction of 16.5 percentage points for all groups in rural India. Eight states experienced the reduction of more than 25 percentage points. It is these large reductions that account for the SC poverty ratio inching towards the poverty ratio for all groups at the national level.

Finally, we may note some anomalies in the surveys. Maharashtra exhibits a decline of 42.3 percentage points between 2004-05 and 2011-12. This is too large to a decline within seven years to be plausible. Similarly, the decline in the poverty ratio in Gujarat from 49.3 percent in 2004-05 to 17.9 percent just five years later in 2009-10 was larger than what can be expected reasonably. As such, the rise in the poverty ratio back to 22.3 percent bringing the net change over the seven-year period down to 27 percentage points would seem more plausible. A similar point applies to Himachal Pradesh, which

experienced a moderate rise in the poverty ratio in 2011-12 after a very sharp decline in 2009-10.

Trends in urban poverty in the states among the Scheduled Castes are shown in Figure 4. India-wide urban SC poverty ratio in 2011-12 is now well below the urban poverty ratio for all groups in 2004-05 though still substantially above the 2011-12 ratio. In five states—Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand—the ratio has dropped below the national urban poverty rate for all groups taken together.

Figure 4: Poverty among SC in urban areas, states with significant SC presence
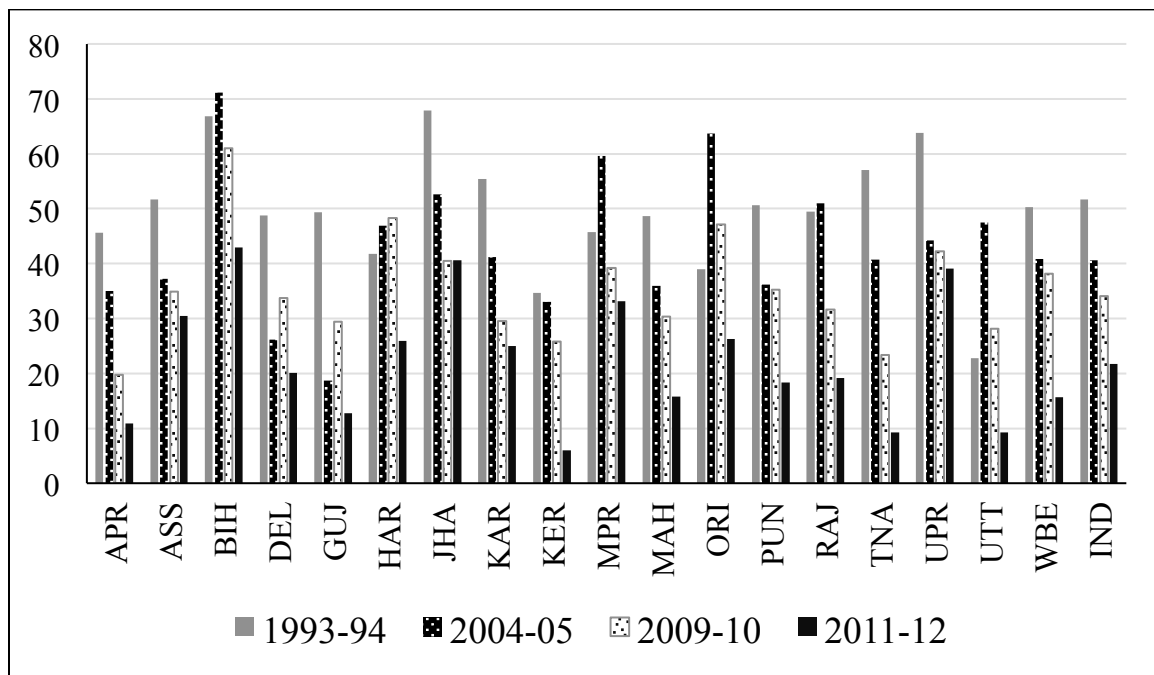

Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A2

It may be noted that the 2009-10 survey had anomalously produced an increase in urban SC poverty over that in 2004-05 in Delhi, Gujarat and Haryana. The 2011-12 survey reverses this anomaly wholly in each of these cases.

The levels and trends in the SC poverty by states for rural and urban population taken together can be found in Table A3. By 2011-12, twelve states had achieved the SC

poverty ratios below the national average for all groups taken together. These states are:

Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala,

Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttarakhand and West Bengal.

Poverty in the States by Religious Groups

We next turn to poverty by religious groups at the level of the states. Here we are

confined to just Hindus and Muslims since the number of households from other

minorities picked by the surveys at the level of the state is small leading to large errors in

the estimates based on them. Even in the case of Muslims, Chhattisgarh, Haryana,

Himachal Pradesh and Punjab have too few observations in rural and urban regions taken

individually as well as combined. Additionally, Delhi, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand

have insufficient Muslim households in the sample in rural areas and Orissa in the urban

areas. In Tables A4-A6, we present the estimates for all 21 states in rural and urban areas

and both areas combined, respectively. But in the text we rely on charts, concentrating

only on the states and regions with sufficient households in the sample to yield reliable

poverty estimates.

We first provide a graphical comparison of the poverty ratios for Hindus and

Muslims by states in 2011-12 at the Tendulkar line. Figure 5 shows this comparison for

rural and urban areas combined. Perhaps the single most striking feature of this figure is

that the poverty ratio for Muslims has fallen below that for Hindus in as many as seven

out of the sixteen states for which we are credibly able to estimate the poverty ratio for

both communities. The eight states are: Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir,

Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu. In four of these eight states,

Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the poverty ratio for the Muslims is below ten percent. In the fifth, Gujarat, at 11.4 percent, it is only marginally above the ten percent mark. Among the ten largest states by population that exhibit higher poverty ratios for Muslims than Hindus are Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

Figure 5: Poverty among Hindus and Muslims in 2011-12, State-wise, rural and urban areas combined
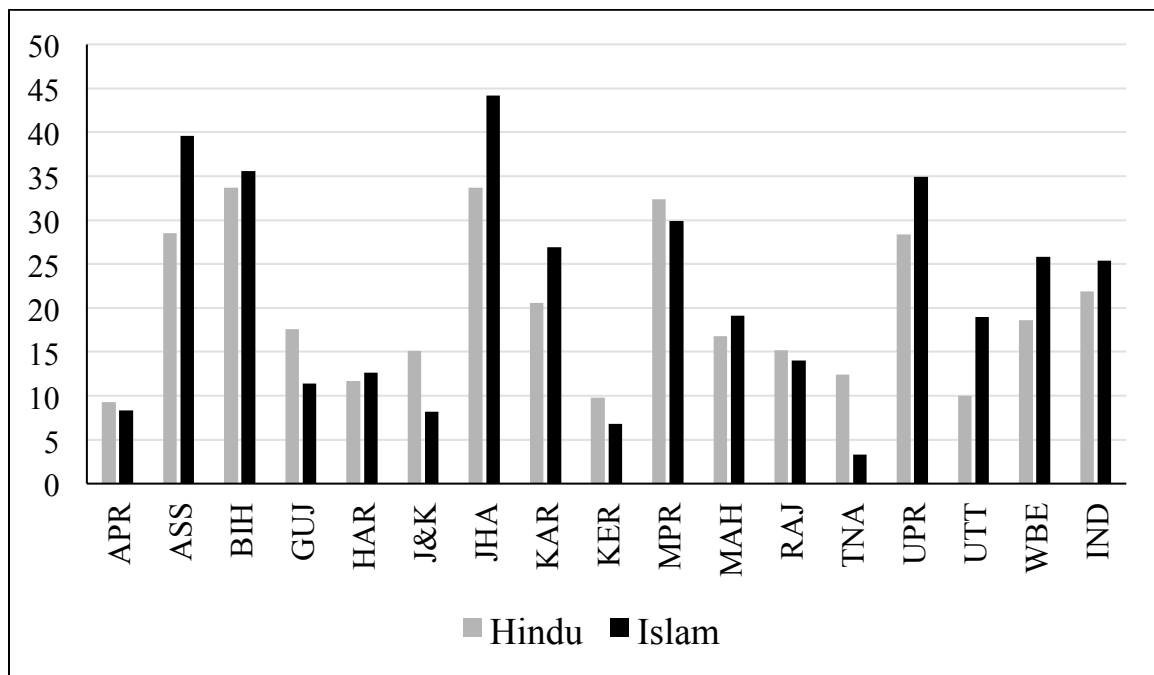
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A6

Figures 6 and 7 show the poverty ratios in rural and urban areas, respectively, in 2011-12 for the Hindus and Muslims. The number of states for which we are able to estimate the ratio with reasonable precision is thirteen in the rural areas and fifteen in urban areas. In the rural areas, Gujarat leads with the lowest poverty ratio of 7.7 percent for the Muslims. Other states with lower poverty ratio for the Muslims than Hindus are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

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Figure 6: Poverty among Hindus and Muslims in 2011-12, State-wise, rural areas
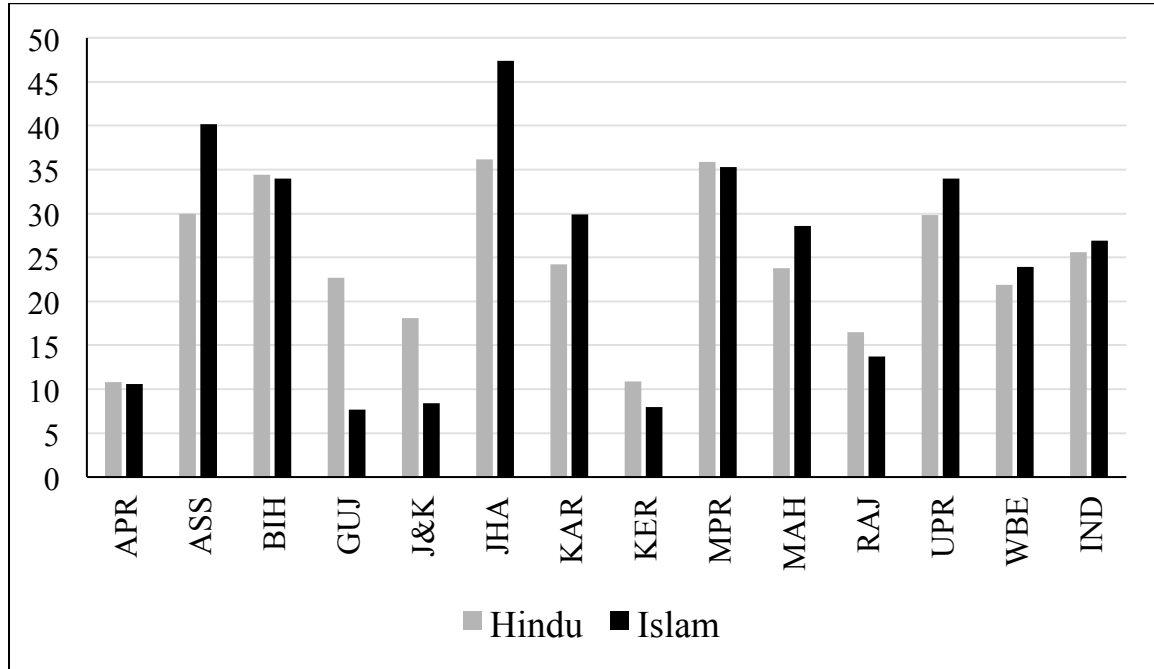
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A4

The relative poverty ratios are unfavorable for the Muslims in larger number of the states in urban areas. We now have only three states showing lower poverty ratios for them: Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Jharkhand. In Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, which exhibit lower poverty for the Muslims than Hindus in the rural areas and rural and urban areas combined, the ranking is reversed in the urban areas. The percentage point gap between the poverty ratios between the Muslims and Hindus is small, however, in each of these states. Additionally, with the exception of Madhya Pradesh, the absolute value of the ratio in them is on average smaller than across the remaining states with higher poverty ratio for the Muslims than Hindus.

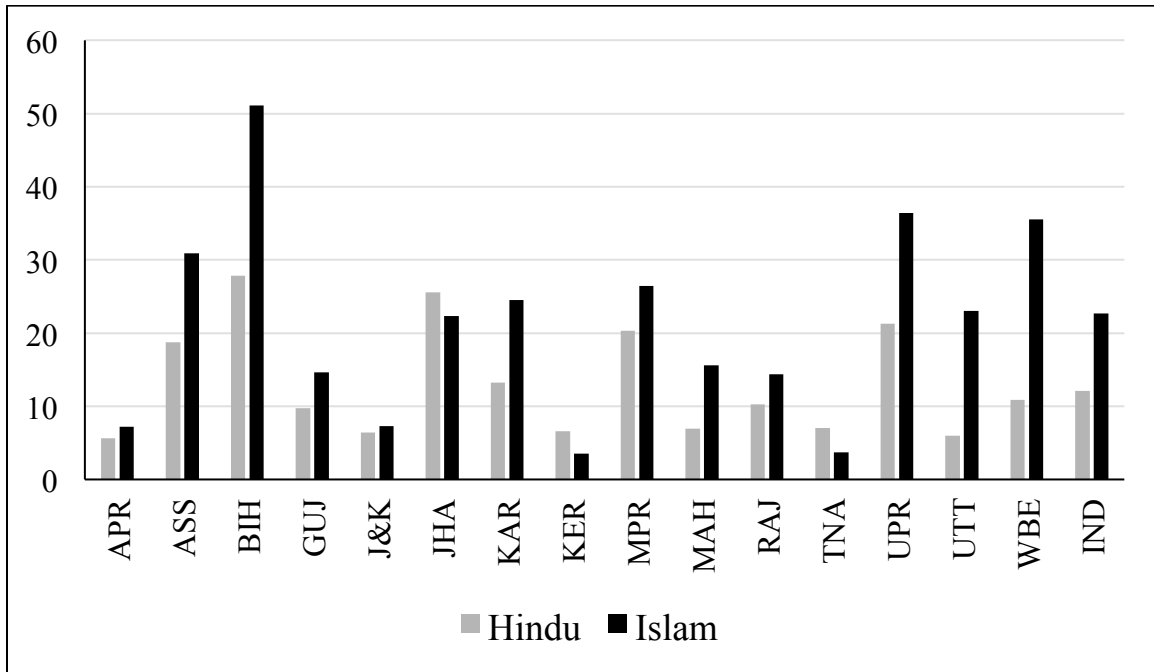**Figure 7: Poverty among Hindus and Muslims in 2011-12, State-wise, urban areas**

Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A5

We conclude this section with a brief discussion of the trends in the poverty ratios for the Hindus and Muslims in rural and urban areas. Figures 8 and 9 show the poverty ratios for Hindus and Muslims, respectively, in the rural areas in years 1993-94, 2004-05, 2009-10 and 2011-12. The general trend of declining poverty rates during 1993-94 to 2004-05 and during 2004-05 to 2011-12 in ten out of the thirteen states shown with Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh as exceptions. Assam and Jammu and Kashmir saw poverty rise in the second period while Madhya Pradesh saw it rise in the first period. The pattern of accelerating decline in poverty is also seen in the vast majority of the states: eight of the thirteen shown.

Some of the anomalies we have seen in the data before show up when considering the poverty ratios for Hindus separately as well. Bihar saw its poverty ratios rise in 2009-10 over that in 2004-05 despite double-digit growth. This unexpected change was reversed in 20011-12 with a large net decline between 2004-05 and 2011-12.

Figure 8: Poverty among Hindus, State-wise, rural areas
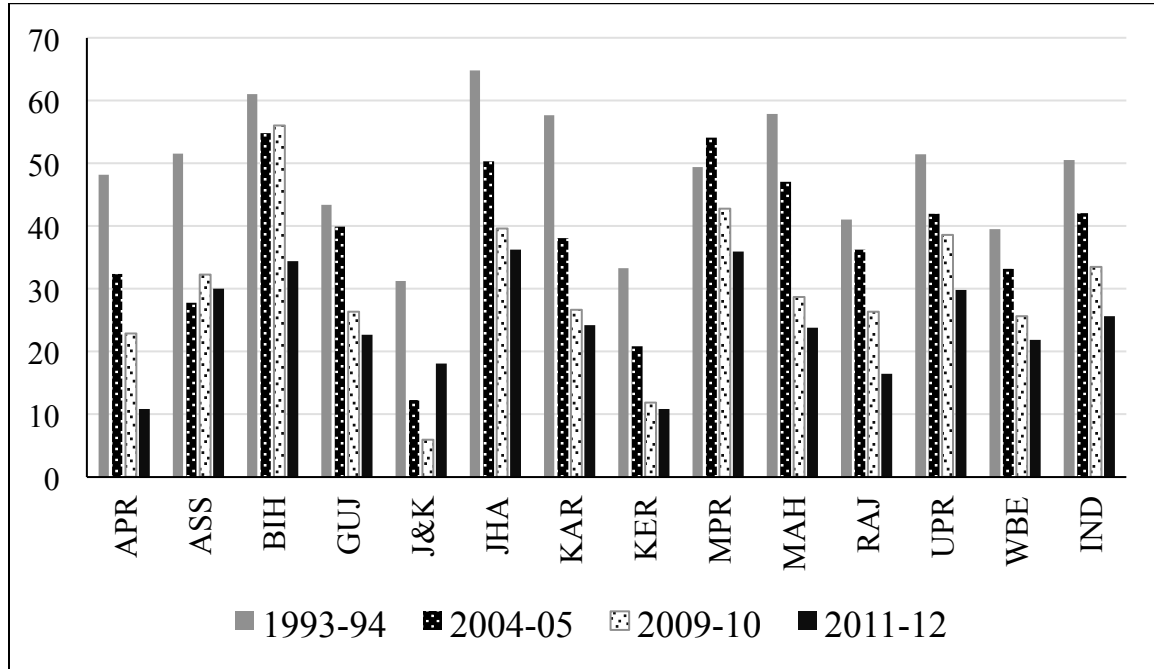
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A4

The pattern in rural areas for the Muslims broadly exhibited a similar trend but perhaps with slightly larger number of anomalous results. Bihar, Gujarat and Rajasthan saw the poverty ratio rise in 2009-10 over those in 2004-05. But in each of these states, here was a large decline in 2011-12 with the net change between 2004-05 and 2011-12 being a large decline in each of the three states.

Figure 9: Poverty among Muslims, State-wise, rural areas
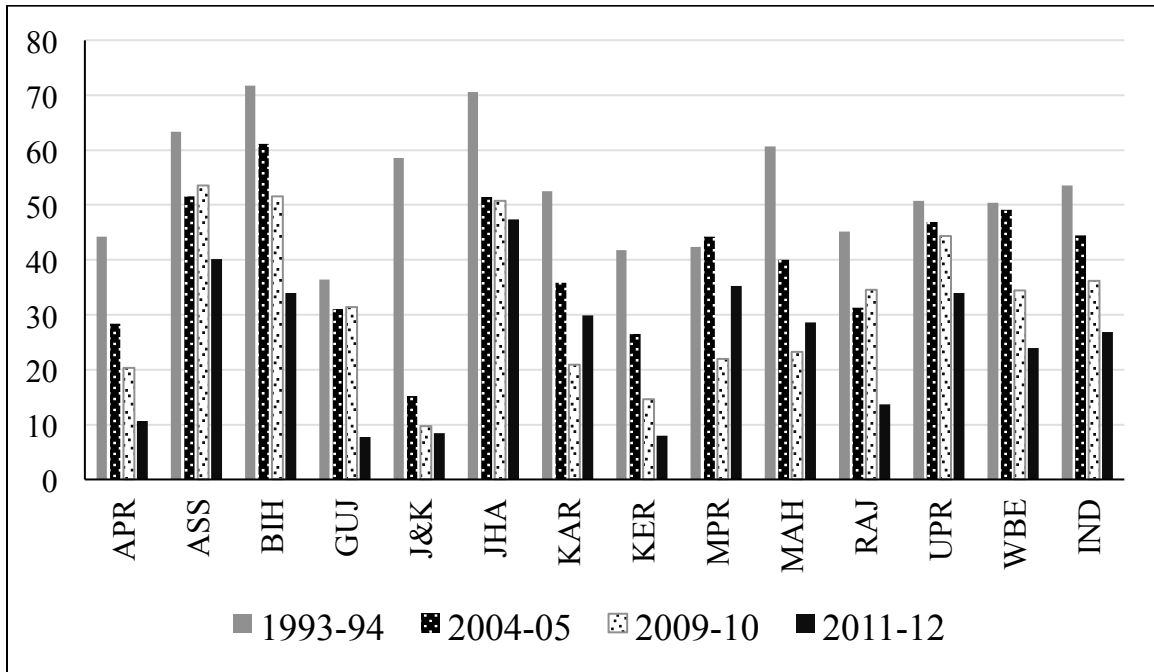
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A4

Finally, Figures 10 and 11 present the poverty ratios for the Hindus and Muslims, respectively, in the urban areas in 1993-93, 2004-05, 2010-11 and 2011-12. The declining trend with acceleration between 2004-05 and 2011-12 broadly continues to hold with some exceptions. The anomaly of a small decline in urban poverty despite double-digit growth in Gujarat between 2004-05 and 2009-10, mentioned earlier, manifests itself in a small decline in poverty among the Hindus and no change in it among the Muslims. But the estimates for 2011-12 turn these changes into very large reductions in poverty among both Hindus and Muslims with the rates settling at 9.7 percent for the former and 14.6 percent for the latter.

Figure 10: Poverty among Hindus, State-wise, urban areas
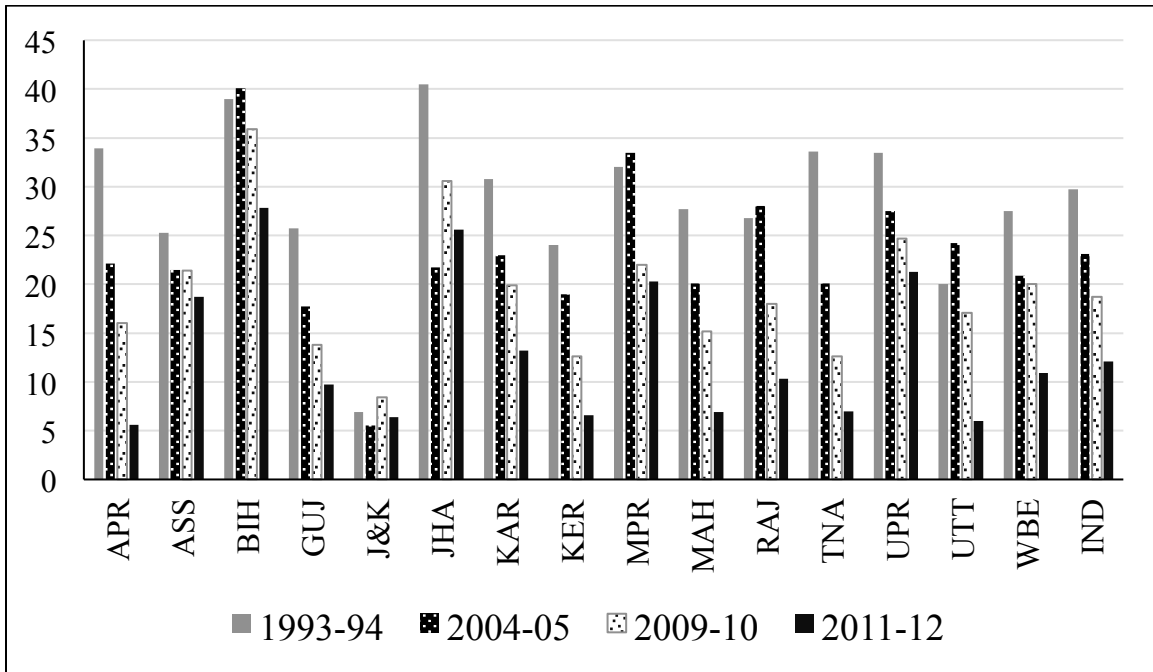
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A5

Figure 11: Poverty among Muslims, State-wise, urban areas
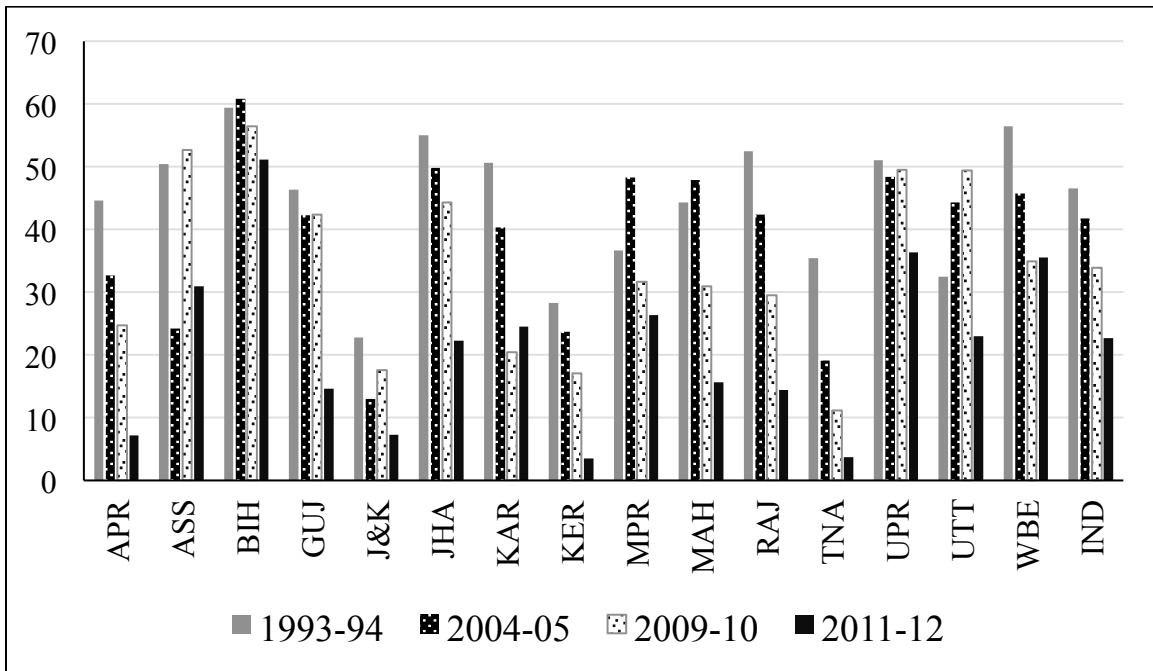
Source: Authors' construction using estimates in Table A5

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have provided the poverty estimates at the Tendulkar line at the national level in rural and urban areas and the two areas combined by social, religious and economic groups for years 1993-94, 2004-05, 2009-10 and 2011-12. In addition, we have provided the estimates by social and religious groups by states for the same four years in rural and urban areas and the two areas combined.

The strongest conclusion from the estimates is that no matter how we slice the data—by social, religious or economic groups or by rural and urban areas or by states— we observe a large decline in the poverty ratios during the eighteen-year period. Moreover, when we divide the eighteen years into an eleven-year period from 1993-94 to 2004-05 and a seven-year period from 2004-05 to 2011-12, we see a significantly sharper decline in poverty across all groups at the national level during the latter period. This acceleration is the result of two key factors. First, with per-capita incomes in 2004-05 being significantly higher than in 1993-94, it is likely that the Tendulkar line was within reach of a larger proportion of the population. Second, growth during the second period was much faster than in the first period.

It is tempting to also argue that the myriad redistribution programs that the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) introduced were a major contributor to the decline in poverty. This hypothesis is at least partially counteracted by the fact that the income distribution either did not move or is marginally worsened during the second period. As such, the only way to argue that redistribution was a large part of the story is to argue that absent the government programs, the income distribution would have turned much worse. While this must naturally be investigated, two factors work against this hypothesis. First,

much of the income equalizing redistribution was in the rural areas. But poverty has declined far more sharply in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Second, with all the inefficiencies, leakages and corruption, it is entirely possible that the overall effect of redistribution was to worsen rather than improve the income distribution. Some subsidies such as fertilizer, petroleum, electricity and water are known to be regressive.

Turning to poverty by social groups, the most important development is the much larger decline in the SC and ST poverty during 2004-05 to 2011-12 with the gap in the poverty ratios between these groups and the non-scheduled castes finally declining. In twelve out of the twenty-one states we have considered, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttarakhand and West Bengal, the SC poverty rates in rural and urban areas combined have now fallen below the national poverty rate for all groups taken together. It is mainly in the poorest states including Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa that the SC poverty rates remain high. Among richer states, only Karnataka and Haryana have SC poverty rates exceeding the national average for all groups.

A similar trend is also under way with respect to poverty among the Muslims. Nationally, taking rural and urban areas together, the poverty rate among the Muslims at 25.4 percent is only 3.5 percentage points higher than 21.9 percent rate among the Hindus. Moreover, in as many as seven states out of the sixteen states for which poverty rates for the Muslims can be credibly estimated, the rates are now below those among the Hindus. Taking the poverty rates in the rural and urban areas together, these states

include Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu.

The overall conclusion of this paper is that India is at last winning the war on abject poverty along virtually all fronts and growth is the most important factor behind this progress. If future efforts are to be focused, the analysis in this paper points to the ST communities. It is with respect to this community that the progress has been slower and therefore the payoff to anti-poverty programs is the greatest.

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Table A1: Poverty by social groups in rural areas in the largest 21 states

State		Scheduled Tribes (ST)				Scheduled Castes (SC)				All Groups			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	58.4	60.3	40.2	24.1	64.7	41.8	25.7	13.1	48.3	32.3	22.7	11.0
Assam	ASS	55.6	28.8	32.0	33.4	59.2	45.3	36.9	28.2	55.3	36.4	39.9	33.9
Bihar	BIH	73.3	59.3	64.4	59.3	76.8	77.6	68.1	51.7	62.5	55.7	55.3	34.4
Chhattisgarh	CHH	66.1	65.5	66.8	52.6	53.6	48.6	67.6	48.2	56.0	55.1	56.1	44.6
Delhi	DEL	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.2	15.6	7.6	12.9
Gujarat	GUJ	53.2	57.1	48.6	36.5	56.6	49.3	17.9	22.3	43.3	39.1	26.6	21.5
Haryana	HAR	69.7	0.0	49.6	3.3	62.7	47.5	33.6	23.6	40.2	24.8	18.6	11.6
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	62.4	35.4	22.0	9.5	43.6	39.4	14.4	16.5	36.9	25.0	9.1	8.5
Jammu & Kashmir	J&K	74.5	26.5	3.1	16.3	34.4	14.7	8.5	18.8	32.6	14.1	8.1	11.5
Jharkhand	JHA	72.6	60.6	51.0	51.6	73.7	61.0	44.1	40.4	65.9	51.6	41.4	40.8
Karnataka	KAR	71.2	50.5	21.3	30.8	72.7	57.4	35.6	37.1	56.8	37.5	26.1	24.5
Kerala	KER	40.9	56.9	24.4	41.0	54.4	30.8	27.7	17.8	34.0	20.2	12.0	9.2
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	70.2	80.0	61.9	55.3	59.7	62.5	42.4	41.3	49.1	53.6	42.0	35.7
Maharashtra	MAH	74.2	73.2	51.7	61.6	74.1	66.1	37.6	23.8	59.3	47.9	29.5	24.2
Orissa	ORI	82.2	84.4	66.0	63.5	62.8	67.9	47.1	41.4	63.2	60.8	39.2	35.7
Punjab	PUN	35.9	30.7	16.1	0.0	35.1	38.4	27.2	14.7	20.4	22.1	14.6	7.7
Rajasthan	RAJ	64.1	59.3	35.9	41.4	55.3	48.5	38.6	18.6	40.9	35.8	26.4	16.1
Tamil Nadu	TNA	57.0	47.3	11.5	36.8	66.4	51.2	31.2	23.3	51.2	37.5	21.2	15.8
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	49.6	42.0	49.8	27.0	68.8	56.6	53.6	41.1	51.0	42.7	39.3	30.4
Uttarakhand	UTT	54.9	32.4	20.0	11.9	43.5	46.2	20.0	15.9	37.0	35.1	13.7	11.7
West Bengal	WBE	66.7	54.3	32.9	50.1	48.3	37.1	31.5	22.6	42.6	38.2	28.8	22.5
India	**IND**	**65.9**	**62.3**	**47.4**	**45.3**	**62.4**	**53.5**	**42.3**	**31.5**	**50.3**	**41.8**	**33.3**	**25.4**

Source: Authors' calculations

Table A2: Poverty by social groups in urban areas in the largest 21 states

State		Scheduled Tribes (ST)				Scheduled Castes (SC)				All Groups			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	43.9	50.1	21.2	12.1	45.6	35.0	19.8	10.9	35.3	23.4	17.7	5.8
Assam	ASS	17.0	29.8	29.2	15.6	51.7	37.2	34.9	30.5	27.8	21.8	25.9	20.6
Bihar	BIH	43.1	57.2	16.5	10.3	66.9	71.2	61.0	43.0	44.8	43.7	39.3	31.2
Chhattisgarh	CHH	18.6	32.7	28.6	35.2	48.5	44.6	29.7	39.5	28.4	28.4	23.6	23.9
Delhi	DEL	9.1	0.0	67.9	0.0	48.8	26.2	33.7	20.1	15.7	12.9	14.3	9.8
Gujarat	GUJ	31.0	31.2	32.2	30.1	49.3	18.7	29.4	12.7	28.2	20.1	17.7	10.2
Haryana	HAR	0.0	22.2	85.0	14.2	41.8	46.9	48.3	25.9	24.2	22.4	23.0	10.3
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	0.0	2.4	19.6	4.0	26.9	9.2	20.4	9.9	13.6	4.6	12.5	4.3
Jammu & Kashmir	J&K	0.0	0.0	15.0	3.0	19.5	13.8	19.1	18.0	6.9	10.4	12.7	7.2
Jharkhand	JHA	56.6	47.2	49.5	28.7	67.9	52.6	40.5	40.6	41.8	23.8	31.0	24.8
Karnataka	KAR	56.9	55.7	35.6	33.7	55.4	41.2	29.5	25.0	34.3	25.9	19.5	15.3
Kerala	KER	15.7	21.8	5.0	13.6	34.7	33.0	25.8	6.0	24.3	18.4	12.1	5.0
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	51.2	42.6	41.6	32.3	45.8	59.6	39.2	33.2	32.2	35.1	22.9	21.0
Maharashtra	MAH	56.1	34.8	32.4	23.3	48.6	36.0	30.4	15.8	30.5	25.6	18.3	9.1
Orissa	ORI	58.1	53.4	34.1	39.7	39.0	63.7	47.1	26.3	34.8	37.6	25.9	17.3
Punjab	PUN	42.1	2.4	15.0	7.2	50.6	36.2	35.3	18.3	27.4	18.7	18.0	9.2
Rajasthan	RAJ	12.6	26.8	28.9	21.7	49.5	51.0	31.6	19.2	30.0	29.7	19.9	10.7
Tamil Nadu	TNA	25.4	34.7	17.6	2.8	57.1	40.7	23.4	9.3	33.8	19.7	12.8	6.6
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	27.9	40.3	20.2	16.3	63.8	44.2	42.2	39.1	38.4	34.1	31.7	26.2
Uttaranchal	UTT	0.0	39.0	0.0	25.7	22.8	47.5	28.1	9.3	20.0	26.2	25.0	10.5
West Bengal	WBE	28.1	48.0	20.6	44.5	50.3	40.9	38.2	15.7	31.3	24.4	21.9	14.7
India	**IND**	**41.1**	**35.5**	**30.4**	**24.1**	**51.7**	**40.6**	**34.1**	**21.7**	**31.9**	**25.7**	**20.9**	**13.7**

Source: Authors' calculations

Table A3: Poverty by social groups in the 21 largest states, rural plus urban areas combined

State		Scheduled Tribes (ST)				Scheduled Castes (SC)				All Groups			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	57.0	59.3	37.6	23.1	62.2	40.4	24.5	12.7	44.9	30.0	21.3	9.3
Assam	ASS	54.4	28.8	31.9	32.4	58.7	44.3	36.6	28.6	52.5	35.0	38.4	32.5
Bihar	BIH	72.1	59.1	62.0	55.6	76.4	77.3	67.7	51.0	60.8	54.6	53.7	34.1
Chhattisgarh	CHH	64.2	62.9	65.0	51.1	52.8	48.0	60.1	46.7	51.2	51.0	50.3	40.2
Delhi	DEL	8.1	0.0	66.1	0.0	46.9	25.1	30.1	19.0	15.8	13.1	14.0	10.1
Gujarat	GUJ	51.3	54.7	47.6	35.9	54.4	40.1	21.8	18.4	38.4	32.5	23.2	17.0
Haryana	HAR	65.7	6.7	57.4	9.0	58.8	47.4	37.8	24.1	36.0	24.2	19.9	11.2
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	59.8	33.7	22.0	9.2	42.4	37.4	14.9	15.9	35.0	23.0	9.4	8.0
Jammu and Kashmir	J&K	61.5	19.8	3.9	15.3	32.8	14.6	10.7	18.7	26.7	13.2	9.2	10.6
Jharkhand	JHA	71.2	59.8	50.9	49.7	72.5	59.7	43.5	40.4	61.2	47.2	39.3	37.5
Karnataka	KAR	69.3	51.2	24.2	31.5	69.3	53.8	34.4	33.2	50.3	33.9	23.8	21.2
Kerala	KER	37.4	54.4	21.2	39.4	51.2	31.2	27.4	16.0	31.6	19.8	12.0	8.1
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	68.7	77.5	60.9	53.4	56.1	62.0	41.7	39.6	44.8	49.2	37.3	32.0
Maharashtra	MAH	71.5	68.1	48.5	54.4	65.4	52.9	34.7	19.7	48.6	38.9	24.8	17.3
Orissa	ORI	80.6	82.8	62.7	62.5	60.6	67.4	47.1	39.0	59.5	57.6	37.3	32.9
Punjab	PUN	36.8	18.7	15.5	6.2	38.2	37.9	29.2	15.6	22.4	21.0	15.8	8.2
Rajasthan	RAJ	62.5	57.9	35.4	40.3	54.1	49.0	37.1	18.7	38.4	34.5	24.8	14.8
Tamil Nadu	TNA	47.4	41.9	14.1	25.8	64.3	48.6	28.8	19.0	45.0	30.7	17.4	11.7
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	45.7	41.7	40.1	25.6	68.2	55.2	52.3	40.9	48.6	41.0	37.8	29.5
Uttaranchal	UTT	54.9	32.8	18.5	13.5	42.3	46.5	21.5	14.9	33.8	33.0	16.6	11.4
West Bengal	WBE	64.4	54.0	31.6	49.4	48.5	37.8	32.7	21.5	40.0	34.9	27.1	20.4
India	**IND**	**63.7**	**60.0**	**45.6**	**43.0**	**60.5**	**50.9**	**40.6**	**29.4**	**45.7**	**37.7**	**29.9**	**22.0**

Source: Authors' calculations

Table A4: Poverty by religious groups in the 21 largest states in the rural areas

State		Hinduism				Islam			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	48.2	32.4	22.9	10.8	44.2	28.4	20.3	10.6
Assam	ASS	51.6	27.8	32.3	30.0	63.3	51.6	53.6	40.2
Bihar	BIH	61.0	54.8	56.0	34.4	71.7	61.1	51.6	34.0
Chhattisgarh	CHH	57.1	55.4	56.5	45.0	0.0	41.8	49.3	32.5
Delhi	DEL	17.7	16.3	7.6	16.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gujarat	GUJ	43.4	39.9	26.4	22.7	36.4	31.0	31.4	7.7
Haryana	HAR	38.3	24.7	18.1	12.4	63.6	44.2	29.7	11.6
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	36.8	24.8	9.1	8.8	46.6	34.3	15.7	0.0
Jammu & Kashmir	J&K	31.3	12.3	6.0	18.1	58.6	15.2	9.7	8.4
Jharkhand	JHA	64.8	50.3	39.6	36.2	70.6	51.5	50.7	47.4
Karnataka	KAR	57.7	38.1	26.7	24.2	52.5	35.8	20.9	29.9
Kerala	KER	33.3	20.8	11.9	10.9	41.8	26.5	14.6	8.0
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	49.4	54.1	42.8	35.9	42.4	44.2	22.0	35.3
Maharashtra	MAH	57.9	47.1	28.7	23.8	60.7	40.0	23.3	28.6
Orissa	ORI	62.9	60.4	38.4	35.7	52.5	27.9	45.1	28.4
Punjab	PUN	20.1	23.2	19.0	9.3	36.9	23.0	3.5	2.4
Rajasthan	RAJ	41.0	36.3	26.4	16.5	45.2	31.3	34.6	13.7
Tamil Nadu	TNA	51.3	38.0	21.8	16.2	37.3	18.0	15.8	1.6
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	51.4	42.0	38.6	29.8	50.7	46.9	44.4	34.0
Uttarakhand	UTT	38.1	34.3	14.7	11.2	51.5	43.5	8.2	16.4
West Bengal	WBE	39.5	33.2	25.6	21.9	50.4	49.1	34.4	23.9
India	**IND**	**50.5**	**42.1**	**33.5**	**25.6**	**53.6**	**44.5**	**36.2**	**26.9**

Source: Authors' calculations

Table A5: Poverty by religious groups in the 21 largest states in the urban areas

State		Hinduism				Islam			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	33.9	22.1	16.0	5.6	44.6	32.7	24.7	7.2
Assam	ASS	25.3	21.5	21.4	18.7	50.4	24.2	52.7	30.9
Bihar	BIH	39.0	40.1	35.9	27.8	59.4	60.8	56.5	51.1
Chhattisgarh	CHH	30.6	28.1	25.2	25.3	16.7	54.4	10.4	15.0
Delhi	DEL	15.2	12.8	14.9	7.0	33.1	21.7	14.1	33.5
Gujarat	GUJ	25.7	17.7	13.8	9.7	46.3	42.3	42.4	14.6
Haryana	HAR	23.3	22.5	22.2	10.2	51.7	46.5	42.4	18.5
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	13.7	5.2	11.7	3.8	0.0	1.7	51.4	12.2
Jammu & Kashmir	J&K	6.9	5.5	8.4	6.4	22.8	13.0	17.6	7.3
Jharkhand	JHA	40.5	21.7	30.6	25.6	55.0	49.8	44.3	22.3
Karnataka	KAR	30.8	23.0	19.9	13.2	50.6	40.3	20.4	24.5
Kerala	KER	24.0	19.0	12.6	6.6	28.3	23.7	17.1	3.5
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	32.0	33.5	22.0	20.3	36.7	48.3	31.7	26.4
Maharashtra	MAH	27.7	20.1	15.2	6.9	44.3	47.9	30.9	15.6
Orissa	ORI	34.0	36.4	26.3	17.6	52.8	44.2	27.6	8.9
Punjab	PUN	27.6	20.5	17.3	11.5	50.8	40.5	23.7	17.6
Rajasthan	RAJ	26.8	28.0	18.0	10.3	52.5	42.4	29.5	14.4
Tamil Nadu	TNA	33.6	20.1	12.6	7.0	35.4	19.1	11.2	3.7
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	33.5	27.5	24.7	21.3	51.0	48.4	49.5	36.4
Uttarakhand	UTT	20.0	24.2	17.1	6.0	32.5	44.3	49.4	23.0
West Bengal	WBE	27.5	20.9	20.0	10.9	56.4	45.7	34.9	35.5
India	**IND**	**29.7**	**23.1**	**18.7**	**12.1**	**46.6**	**41.8**	**33.9**	**22.7**

Source: Authors' calculations

Table A6: Poverty by religious groups in the 21 largest states, rural and urban areas combined

State		Hinduism				Islam			
		1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	APR	44.8	30.0	21.2	9.3	44.4	30.3	22.6	8.3
Assam	ASS	48.3	27.0	30.8	28.5	62.8	50.3	53.6	39.6
Bihar	BIH	59.2	53.5	54.0	33.7	69.6	61.0	52.2	35.6
Chhattisgarh	CHH	52.9	51.4	51.3	41.0	11.5	48.6	15.7	23.2
Delhi	DEL	15.5	13.0	14.5	7.7	31.3	21.3	14.1	31.6
Gujarat	GUJ	38.2	32.7	21.9	17.6	42.7	36.5	37.6	11.4
Haryana	HAR	34.3	24.1	19.4	11.7	62.3	44.6	33.8	12.6
Himachal Pradesh	HPR	34.9	23.2	9.3	8.2	41.5	25.2	28.8	2.0
Jammu & Kashmir	J&K	25.6	10.8	6.6	15.1	55.0	14.6	11.4	8.2
Jharkhand	JHA	59.9	45.0	37.8	33.7	68.3	51.4	49.0	44.2
Karnataka	KAR	51.0	34.1	24.6	20.6	51.5	38.3	20.6	26.9
Kerala	KER	30.9	20.4	12.1	9.8	39.0	25.9	15.2	6.8
Madhya Pradesh	MPR	45.4	50.0	38.2	32.4	39.0	46.7	27.6	29.9
Maharashtra	MAH	47.8	37.4	23.7	16.8	50.0	45.6	28.5	19.1
Orissa	ORI	59.4	57.5	36.8	33.1	52.6	38.6	38.0	18.9
Punjab	PUN	23.7	21.6	18.1	10.6	40.4	32.3	11.6	9.5
Rajasthan	RAJ	38.0	34.7	24.6	15.2	48.1	36.9	31.6	14.0
Tamil Nadu	TNA	45.5	31.5	17.8	12.4	36.1	18.8	12.7	3.3
Uttar Pradesh	UPR	48.5	39.7	36.2	28.4	50.8	47.4	46.1	34.9
Uttarakhand	UTT	34.7	32.1	15.3	10.0	46.3	43.8	28.0	19.0
West Bengal	WBE	36.4	29.7	24.0	18.6	51.2	48.7	34.4	25.8
India	**IND**	**45.6**	**37.5**	**29.7**	**21.9**	**51.2**	**43.6**	**35.4**	**25.4**

Source: Authors' calculations

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