

THE COST OF EATING OUT: FINDINGS FROM THE MAKAN INDEX 2.0

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Executive Summary

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper presents the findings from the Makan Index 2.0 project. Specifically, it looks at the prices of 18 food and drink items or sets commonly sold in hawker centres, kopitiams and food courts, which are food establishments known for their relative affordability and easy accessibility within residential neighbourhoods. Given the culture of eating out in Singapore, many Singaporeans are likely to head to one of these food establishments to have their meals if they decide not to prepare their own meal at home. Examining data on food prices in these locations thus allow us to examine trends on price variations based on different factors and derive the estimated eating-out budget of an average Singaporean, which will further understanding on one aspect of living costs in Singapore.

In two rounds of fieldwork in September to November 2022 and January to February 2023, the team surveyed a total of 829 food establishments – consisting of 92 hawker centres, 101 food courts and 636 kopitiams – in 26 residential neighbourhoods in Singapore, based on the Master Plan drawn up by the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore.

Two points are of note: This study primarily concentrates on the survey of food and drink prices as a way to better understand one aspect of the costs of living in Singapore. Therefore, it does not provide any value judgment on pricing strategies of stalls and F&B companies. In addition, food and drink prices were collected mainly using the printed menus available at stalls. This might have led to the occasional understanding of prices, especially if menu prices are not regularly updated.

Food and drink items included in the study

Given the wide variety of food and drinks available at the food establishments mentioned above, a small subset was chosen for the study. The items selected were more commonly eaten during breakfast, lunch or dinner. More common dietary requirements (e.g. Halal, vegetarian, etc.) were also taken into account when making the selection. The food and drink items included in the study were:

- Drinks
 - Kopi O (black coffee with sugar)
 - Kopi (coffee with milk and sugar)
 - Iced Milo (iced chocolate malt drink)
 - Canned drink with ice (e.g. Coca Cola, 100 Plus, etc.)
 - Iced lime juice
- Food
 - Breakfast set (kaya toast, two soft-boiled eggs and a coffee or tea)
 - Chicken briyani (Indian-style spiced rice dish with chicken)
 - Mee rebus (Malay-style boiled noodle dish)
 - Nasi lemak (rice cooked in coconut milk and pandan leaf with sides)
 - Fishball noodles
 - Wonton noodles (egg noodles with dumplings)
 - Economic bee hoon set
 - Economic bee hoon/noodles (stir fried rice vermicelli/egg noodles)
 - Fried egg (from the same stall as economic bee hoon)
 - Chicken wing (from the same stall as economic bee hoon)
 - Vegetarian bee hoon/noodle set
 - Economic rice (two vegetables and one meat option)

- Western chicken chop
- Chicken rice (steamed or roasted chicken with rice)
- Prata (one plain and one egg)
- Sliced fish soup with rice

The drink items were the most commonly observed in the food establishments, with hawker centres housing more drinks stalls. Meanwhile, price observations for food items did not fully correspond with the number of food establishments, indicating that food items were not equally available across the different areas surveyed.

Variations in food and drink prices

Kopi O was found to be the cheapest drink (\$1.09) on average, while iced Milo was the most expensive (\$1.81) on average. For the food items, the two pratas (one plain and one egg) were the cheapest at \$2.97 on average, while the chicken chop was the most expensive at \$7.58 on average. When comparing across the food establishment types, food courts generally priced their offerings at higher prices, followed by kopitiam and then hawker centres. The food items that did not follow these trends were the breakfast set – cheapest in hawker centres, while costing the same in kopitiam and food courts – the vegetarian bee hoon set – cheapest in hawker centres, followed by food courts and kopitiam – as well as chicken rice and economic rice – cheapest in kopitiam, followed by hawker centres and then food courts.

Different trends were found when examining variations in food pricing. Prices of chicken rice, wanton noodles, fishball noodles, chicken briyani, mee rebus and prata were found to be the same for over three in ten of the stalls selling these items. When comparing prices of food across regions, drinks and chicken chop were found to be cheaper in the Central region. The breakfast set and fishball noodles were found to be cheapest in the North, while prata was found to be cheaper in the West.

Variations in meal costs

Using the price information of individual food and drink items, meal costs for breakfast, lunch and dinner were derived. These meal costs were based on assumed meal time menus comprising a drink and a main food dish, which were formulated based on convention and usual opening times of the stalls selling these food items. On average, breakfast was the cheapest meal at \$4.81, followed by lunch at \$6.01 and then dinner at \$6.20. The total average cost of three meals a day in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiam was \$16.89. Based on this number, the average cost of eating out for a month of 30 days is \$506.70. While the highest and lowest possible costs people can spend in for three meals a day at such food establishments might vary across region, meal costs on average did not vary significantly across regions.

The cheapest breakfast meal combination was found to be the breakfast set, costing \$3.25 on average, while the most expensive was Kopi with wanton noodles at an average price of \$5.32. For lunch, Kopi O and economic rice, at an average price of \$4.41, was the cheapest variation, while iced Milo and chicken chop at \$9.58 was the most expensive. There were similar findings for dinner – Kopi O and economic rice at \$4.43 was the cheapest, while iced Milo and chicken chop at \$9.58 was the most expensive.

The cheapest possible breakfast across all regions cost \$2. They were breakfast sets found in Bukit Panjang, Jurong West and Toa Payoh, as well as Kopi O and nasi lemak in Toa Payoh. The cheapest possible lunch set also cost \$2. It could be found in Toa Payoh (Kopi O and nasi lemak) and Sembawang (iced canned drink with vegetarian bee hoon). The cheapest possible dinner was Kopi O with fishball noodles in Jurong East, priced at \$2.80. The most expensive breakfast was Kopi with wanton noodles at \$9.50 in Bishan. Meanwhile, the most expensive lunch and dinner could be found for \$14.90 in Queenstown (iced Milo with chicken briyani) and Tampines (iced Milo with chicken briyani or chicken chop).

Differences in average costs for lunch and dinner were statistically significant across regions, but not so for breakfast costs. The North reported the highest average lunch (\$6.22) and dinner (\$6.40) costs, while the Central region reported the lowest lunch (\$5.88) and dinner (\$6.05) costs. However, there were no statistically significant regional differences found in the total cost for three meals a day, which ranged from \$16.61 for an individual and \$66.44 for a family of four adults in the Central region to \$17.18 for an individual and \$68.72 for a family in the East.



Chapter 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION

Food and shelter are the most essential elements for human survival. It is therefore unsurprising that the Household Expenditure Survey, conducted every five years by the Department of Statistics, showed that housing and related expenditure in Singapore constituted 28.9 per cent of a household's average expenditure while food constituted 20.3 per cent in 2017 and 2018. In total, they constituted almost half of a household's expenditure at 49.2 per cent (Department of Statistics, 2019). While data collection for the newest iteration of the Household Expenditure Survey is still ongoing, the proportion that food costs take up is likely to remain stable, given that household expenditure patterns for this aspect did not change too much across the past three surveys.

The Household Expenditure Survey also showed that about 54 per cent of households' food expenditure was spent on hawker centres, food courts and coffee shops as well as similar establishments such as canteens, kiosks and street vendors. This means that about 7.4 per cent of a household's expenditure is spent on the types of food that hawker centres, food courts and coffee shops serve. In comparison, only 6.4 per cent of expenses are spent on recreation and culture and 5.5 per cent of expenses are spent on health. Notably, despite Singapore's highly competitive education system and billion-dollar tuition industry, expenditure on educational services only comprised 5.7 per cent of the average household's expenditure (Department of Statistics, 2019).

This is testament to the prevalence of Singapore's unique hawker culture, which has enabled many Singaporeans to eat out at affordable prices. However, living costs, especially that of food, have become a common concern in many parts of the world. Recent developments from international events like Russia-Ukraine war, to regional developments such as Malaysia's now-lifted ban on chicken exports to Singapore, as well as local developments such as Singapore's GST hike have impacted the affordability of such food in Singapore.

This paper aims to provide a snapshot of food costs in Singapore's hawker industry in recent times. It surveys the prices of 20 food items in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams in 26 residential neighbourhoods in Singapore. These items were further consolidated into 18 food and drink items or sets for analysis in this report. A similar index of food prices has also been provided along with the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for Singapore by the Department of Statistics (2023b). This CPI tracks the prices of a basket of goods each month to gauge how prices change for goods and services commonly bought by consumers. The Department of Statistics has provided the average prices for seven food items that the Makan Index 2.0 also surveyed: Kopi O, Kopi, chicken rice, economic rice, fishball noodles, chicken briyani and mee rebus. The findings of the Makan Index 2.0 are similar to the findings by the Department of Statistics and are noted in the relevant sections of the food items in Chapter 3.

This first chapter explores the impetus of this paper and lays out the framework used for collecting and analysing the data. The second chapter reviews the characteristics of the neighbourhoods and regions in Singapore, providing the foundational context for a proper understanding of how prices relate to locational characteristics in Singapore. Key terms used to refer to specific classes of locations in this paper are explained in this chapter. The third chapter provides the data of how prices vary across the neighbourhoods and regions of

Singapore. The fourth chapter uses the data on food prices to calculate meal costs. This data is then used to calculate the range of prices of eating out for an entire day at such food establishments across the neighbourhoods and regions. The last chapter then concludes with remarks on the trends on the affordability of such food for consumers in Singapore.

1.1 BACKGROUND

A spate of developments in the past few years have seen prices increasing around the world and in Singapore. Beginning with COVID-19, which became a global health emergency in the first quarter of 2020, economic disruptions continued with the Russia-Ukraine war. These developments had further knock-on effects on regional developments, such as Malaysia's now-lifted ban on fresh chickens to Singapore and Indonesia's restrictions of its palm oil exports.

During the world food price crisis in 2007 and 2008, international economic factors like the "rising demand from emerging markets, [the] sliding United States dollar, higher energy prices" and "excessively loose monetary conditions" were exacerbated by knock-on effects of various countries in the region restricting food exports in response to such economic woes (Islam, 2008, p. 1–2). A similar situation is unfolding today. With Singapore's high dependence on imports, prices are understandably affected. Food prices in Singapore are particularly volatile due to Singapore's high reliance on imported food over self-produced food (Tortajada & Zhang, 2016).

Furthermore, Singapore's economic growth in 2023 has been forecasted to slow (Oh, 2023), even as the core inflation rate increased to 5.5 per cent in January 2023, the highest since November 2008 (Channel NewsAsia, 2023). The government has also raised the Goods and Services Tax (GST) from 7 per cent to 8 per cent at the start of 2023, with a further 1 per cent increase scheduled for 2024. All these developments are likely to impact food prices, which can be particularly disruptive for many Singaporeans who have lifestyles which have long depended on affordable prices in the hawker industry.

1.1.1 Measuring Costs of Living

Costs of living and inflation are typically examined through two indicators: the consumer price index (CPI) and purchasing power parity (PPP). The CPI is determined by the prices of a basket of goods and services, with the increase or decrease in the prices of that basket reflecting the changing costs of households. This allows prices to be tracked across time in the same location, usually within the same country. In contrast, the PPP compares prices for a basket of goods across different locations to determine whether goods are more expensive in one location than another, factoring in exchange rates.

Notably, the PPP is relevant even when countries share the same currency, such as those in the European Union (OECD & Eurostat, 2012, p. 15), because economic conditions often vary with location. The trend seems to apply even to Singapore with its small geographical size and singular economic system. The Straits Times has reported variations in fast food prices across locations in Singapore – a line of enquiry that appears to have been sparked by a netizen on Reddit sharing the varying prices of a Big Mac meal across McDonald's outlets in Singapore

(Goh, 2023). Using a more systematic approach in collecting data and classifying food establishments, we aim to establish whether there are systematic differences in pricing across locations.

The information we present in this paper thus aims to complement the CPI on food prices in Singapore by providing an alternative PPP approach of sorts. In fact, it is hoped that using such a large-scale approach on a more specific subject matter would be particularly productive. By analysing a smaller basket of goods in a single national economy, we hope to achieve a more comprehensive survey these goods. In any case, Singapore's hawker culture is a cherished heritage of Singapore, worthy of attention in its own right.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Data for this report was primarily derived from collection of food prices across neighbourhoods in Singapore. Data collection took place between mid-September to early-November 2022 and again from January to February 2023.

1.2.1 Neighbourhoods Surveyed

Data collection spanned 26 neighbourhoods across Singapore (see Table 1.1 below). Neighbourhood boundaries were defined according to the various planning areas in the Master Plan by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) (n.d.).

Table 1.1: List of neighbourhoods surveyed in the study

Central	East	North	North-East	West
Bishan				
Bukit Merah				Bukit Batok
Bukit Timah			Ang Mo Kio	Bukit Panjang
Geylang	Bedok	Sembawang	Hougang	Choa Chu Kang
Kallang	Pasir Ris	Woodlands	Punggol	Clementi
Marine Parade	Tampines	Yishun	Sengkang	Jurong East
Novena			Serangoon	Jurong West
Queenstown				
Toa Payoh				

These 26 neighbourhoods were selected based on the total resident population in each planning area, which was obtained from data provided by the Department of Statistics Singapore (DOS, 2022a). Neighbourhoods with more residents were selected for analysis. Marine Parade, which had the lowest total resident population out of the 26 neighbourhoods selected, had more than double the total resident population of the next most populous neighbourhood (see Appendix 1).

1.2.2 Food Establishments

Data collection was conducted for three different categories of food establishments: hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams. These food establishment types were chosen as our focus because they are fairly accessible within the neighbourhoods we surveyed and offer a diverse choice of food items at more affordable prices that we believed appeal to most Singaporeans. Thus, we assumed that – compared to restaurants or cafes – these food establishments would be the most common dining options for most Singaporeans, and food prices collected from these establishments would provide a good gauge of the eating-out budget of an average Singaporean.

For the purpose of the study, we provided a clear criterion for each type of food establishment: hawker centres were defined as open-air, standalone complexes with many food and drink stalls (e.g., Chomp Chomp Food Centre, Holland Village Market & Food Centre, etc.); food courts were defined as air-conditioned food establishments (e.g., Food Republic at Westgate, Koufu at Enterprise One, etc.); kopitiams were defined as other smaller, open-air food establishments usually found under or near Housing & Development Board (HDB) blocks (e.g., Chang Cheng Mee Wah, Happy Hawkers, etc.).

The compiled list of food establishments was created through various sources. The list of hawker centres was obtained through the National Environment Agency (NEA) website (2022). The list of food courts was obtained through the websites of different food court chains and Google Maps. The list of kopitiams was obtained through the HDB website (2022). Researchers dispatched to the different neighbourhoods visited places on this compiled list, as well as any food establishment that fit our criteria but were initially not on the list.

A total of 829 food establishments in the various residential areas were visited. Out of these food establishments, 92 were hawker centres, 101 were food courts and 636 were kopitiams.

1.2.3 Food Items

In order to gain a comprehensive perspective of food prices in Singapore neighbourhoods, the scope of the project was expanded to 20 food items, which include both drinks and main meals. Given the diversity in Singaporean cuisine, it is impossible to examine all available food items in these establishments. Therefore, we selected food items that were more commonly eaten during breakfast, lunch or dinner, while taking into account more common dietary requirements (e.g., Halal, vegetarian, etc.). The attempt was not to produce an exhaustive list of food items regularly consumed by Singaporeans. Instead, the aim was to examine a sampling of common food items that both cater to different meal times and dietary needs, and are more easily found in food establishments across the island. The food items are listed in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: List of food items of interest

Drinks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Kopi O (black coffee with sugar) ➤ Iced Milo (iced chocolate malt drink) ➤ Canned drink with ice (e.g., Coca Cola, 100 Plus, etc.) ➤ Iced lime juice ➤ Kopi (coffee with milk and sugar)
Mains	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Breakfast set (kaya toast, two soft-boiled eggs, and a coffee or tea) ➤ Chicken briyani (Indian-style spiced rice dish with chicken) ➤ Mee rebus (Malay-style boiled noodle dish) ➤ Nasi lemak (rice cooked in coconut milk and pandan leaf with sides) ➤ Fishball noodles ➤ Wonton noodles (egg noodles with dumplings) ➤ Economic bee hoon/noodles (stir-fried rice vermicelli/egg noodles) ➤ Fried egg (from the same stall as the economic bee hoon) ➤ Chicken wing (from the same stall as the economic bee hoon) ➤ Vegetarian bee hoon/noodle set ➤ Economic rice (two vegetables and one meat option) ➤ Western chicken chop ➤ Chicken rice (steamed or roasted chicken with rice) ➤ Prata (one plain and one egg) ➤ Sliced fish soup with rice

1.2.4 Data Collection

Twenty researchers were assigned to different planning areas to collect data. Researchers recorded prices of the 20 food items when visiting the various food establishments in their assigned neighbourhoods. Food prices were obtained either by observing menus available at relevant stalls, or through asking stall owners when menus were not available. Researchers also took photos of menus with food prices for data verification purposes. Prices were then verified using pictures of available menus or additional visits to the establishments. In order to retain some degree of comparability between different stalls, the prices collected were for the most basic version of each dish. This means that where there was more than one price option – for example, canned drinks of different prices, or stalls offering dishes like chicken rice for different price points – the lowest price option was recorded.

A second round of data collection took place between mid-January and early February 2023. It served as both data verification and to examine the effects – if any – of the increase of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) on food prices, given that GST rose by 1 percentage point to 8 per cent since 1 January 2023 (Goh, 2022). Due to manpower and time constraints, a small subset of food establishments was randomly selected from the 829 food establishments in residential areas. A total of 10 hawker centres, nine food courts and 31 kopitiam were revisited, amounting to about 10 per cent of hawker centres and food courts, and 5 per cent of kopitiam that were previously visited. Food prices at these food establishments were collected in the same manner over the course of three weeks.

1.2.5 Limitations of Data

While the team tried to make sure that the data collected would be as comprehensive and accurate as possible, researchers reported facing some obstacles during data collection.

Although reasonable rigour was used to obtain the prices of food items of interest, the large scale of data collection involving over 11,000 individual observations meant that collecting all the relevant food prices was not feasible. Whenever researchers encountered stalls that were closed during their initial visits, they paid a second visit to the establishments. But due to manpower and resource considerations, the second rounds of visits were usually final. If stalls were still closed during the second round of visits, they were excluded from the analysis even if they appeared to sell the relevant food items. Additionally, researchers relied on the word-of-mouth reporting by people surveyed on the ground when checking whether a closed store that seemed to sell relevant food items were permanently closed.

There was a primary dependence on menu prices, rather than the interviewing of stall owners due to time constraints and the reluctance of some owners to verbally disclose their prices. This might have led to the occasional understating of prices, especially if menu prices were not regularly updated. Some researchers were also unable to speak certain languages and were thus unable to communicate fluently with stall owners when asking for food prices. This was especially prevalent amongst drink stalls, where menus were often either not available or did not have updated prices, and stall owners predominantly spoke in Mandarin.

Additionally, it should be noted that prices of food items were taken at face value, meaning that they have not been adjusted for the quantity and quality of the food items. The reference to traditional food items in Singapore's hawker culture has been used as a way to hedge against these differences, since not too much license can be taken with common, well-known dishes. Nonetheless, the variation in prices may still reflect variations in the quality and quantity of the food.

As the first round of data collection occurred over the course of almost two months instead of strictly adhering to time-sliced data collection, there were instances where certain stalls or even entire food establishments had undergone significant changes (e.g., renovations, transfers of ownership, closures, etc.). This has potentially led to slight incommensurability across the data collected.

Finally, as researchers were assigned specific regions for data collection, individual interpretations of the job scope of data collection could have led to skewing of an entire region's data. For example, certain food items like chicken chop were subjected to researchers' interpretations of what chicken chops were; some researchers considered various types of chicken steaks chicken chop, whereas other researchers adhered strictly to chicken chops as advertised by Western stalls.

1.2.6 Proper Interpretation of Data

It should be stressed that the main objective of this paper is to provide an understanding of how much it would cost to eat out at food courts, kopitiams and hawker centres, a common

way of life for many Singaporeans. We use this information to further understand an aspect relating to costs of living in Singapore. What this paper does not do is to make conclusions about the supply side of food prices, which would warrant a different study. Moreover, since prices may reflect many factors behind the food, such as quantity and quality, which are not accounted for in this study, the prices themselves do not lend themselves to direct estimates of how businesses in certain regions are performing. This paper also does not provide any value judgments to pricing decisions of stalls.

To address the aforementioned limitations, we carried out additional visits alongside researchers' second rounds of visits to perform another layer of checking, which helped to determine if the relevant food prices could be collected from stalls that were closed during researchers' first and second visits. These extra visits done by researchers other than those assigned to specific regions also helped to ensure that the data could be corrected if it was skewed by the original researchers' data collection methods, as well as address any language barriers encountered by previous researchers.

However, even after attempting to address the limitations of our methodology, it is inevitable for the dataset to be susceptible to human errors and biases. While these issues might be small and sparse, it is important to understand the shortcomings of the dataset. Further rounds of data collection with a stricter set of guidelines and more manpower to ensure that the data can be collected within the shortest time frame possible can be done to address the issue of time-sensitivity of potential volatile pricing.



Chapter 2

Regional and Neighbourhood Characteristics

CHAPTER 2 | REGIONAL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Despite Singapore's small size and high levels of urbanisation, there remain significant variations in the characteristics of each neighbourhood and region in Singapore. These appear to be mainly differences in the maturity of the residential zones and the socioeconomic distribution of each region.

Before proceeding to the descriptions and analyses of the areas, two clarifications are in order. Firstly, the terms "neighbourhood", "region" and "area" each have a specific meaning in this paper. "Neighbourhood" refers to a "planning area" as defined in the latest Master Plan by the Singapore Urban Redevelopment Authority (n.d.). "Region" refers to a collection of neighbourhoods which are named by their relative positions in Singapore. These have also been defined in the Master Plan, which assigns each neighbourhood to a region (Urban Redevelopment Authority, n.d.). For this paper, the regions surveyed were the West Region, North Region, Central Area, North-East Region and East Region. Finally, "area" refers to a neighbourhood or a region.

Secondly, a caveat must be added that the high density and proximity between different neighbourhoods within and between regions leads to difficulties in neatly differentiating the neighbourhoods and regions. Due to Singapore's high level of urbanisation and extensive public transport network, the travelling time of each household to a food establishment appears to be low and even. The Government projects that by 2030, eight in ten households will be within a ten-minutes' walk to a public train station (Government of Singapore, 2020). Thus, it is easy for residents to travel from one neighbourhood to another, complicating the relationships between food establishments and the characteristics of their neighbourhoods. This is complicated even further with the rise of food delivery services.

This chapter will first lay out the most salient characteristics of each area in the first section. The second section describes how well each area is served by the food establishments. Finally, the third section will describe both the number and frequency of food prices observed for each food item in each area.

2.1 REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

With the exception of geographical size, regional characteristics of the neighbourhoods and regions are based on the latest information made available by the Department of Statistics, Singapore (2022b, 2022c, 2022d), correct as of September 2022 or later. Official geographic sizes of each area are not publicly available. Thus, geographical sizes are instead based on the calculations of Brinkhoff (2021) based on the 2019 Master Plan. The official geographical size of Singapore is available from the Department of Statistics (2023a); therefore, that figure is used for the total geographical size of Singapore.

In this section, the most salient characteristics of population and socioeconomic levels are described. Auxiliary characteristics provided in the table are not narrated. This is because

these characteristics are highly correlated with the main characteristics or are added for the sake of clarity in the figures used for calculations.

We note high variation in the population of each neighbourhood. The largest neighbourhood, Bedok, has a population six times larger than the smallest neighbourhood, Marine Parade. The variation in population is not reducible to the geographical size of the planning areas – Marine Parade is 6.12 square kilometres large, but Choa Chu Kang, which is smaller at 6.11 square kilometres, has four times the population of Marine Parade, with a population of 189,990. Consequently, there is also a high variation in population density of each neighbourhood. The neighbourhood with the lowest population density is Jurong East at 4,410 persons per square kilometre, while the neighbourhood with highest population density is Choa Chu Kang at 31,000 person per square kilometre, about seven times higher than that of Jurong East (see Table 2.1 below).

In addition, the socioeconomic distribution in the various neighbourhoods have drastic differences. Socioeconomic levels here are approximated through the prevalence of each area's population living in the various types of properties. This has been classified by the Department of Statistics into one- to two-room flats, three-room flats, four-room flats, five-room and executive flats, condominiums, and landed properties. The Department of Statistics also recorded and published the number of residents living in other types of dwelling. However, they have been omitted from the analysis, having been excluded from the total number of residents. The difference that resulted from this exclusion is marginal. On average, those dwelling in other types of dwellings constitute 0.9 per cent of the residents in the neighbourhoods and comprise at most 1.8 per cent of a single neighbourhood, as in the case of Geylang.

We also observe different socioeconomic characteristics across neighbourhoods. For example, Bukit Timah reports a much higher proportion of private property residents, with just 8.6 per cent of its population living in HDB flats. In contrast, the majority (93.7 per cent) of Pasir Ris residents stay in four- to five-room flats or condominiums, with just 1.5 per cent living in one- to three-room flats and another 4.9 per cent staying in landed properties. Meanwhile, Bedok has a much more even distribution of its population across all the dwelling types (see Table 2.2 below).

In sum, the residential characteristics of neighbourhoods in Singapore vary greatly, while the transport infrastructure in the country means that people are not confined to their own neighbourhoods when having their meals. Without examining these competing factors in detail, it is difficult to make any conclusions about why prices of different food items vary which go beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, this paper aims simply to present price trends for food across different residential areas in Singapore.

Table 2.1: Regional and Neighbourhood Demographics

Region	Resident Population	Geographical Size (km ²)	Population Density (km ⁻²)
WEST	919,700	67.70	13,600
Bukit Batok	164,560	11.14	14,800
Bukit Panjang	137,020	9.02	15,200
Choa Chu Kang	189,990	6.12	31,000
Clementi	93,500	9.41	9,940
Jurong East	76,390	17.33	4,410
Jurong West	258,240	14.68	17,600
NORTH	582,990	46.76	12,500
Sembawang	108,220	12.36	8,760
Woodlands	252,190	13.57	18,600
Yishun	222,580	20.83	10,700
CENTRAL	845,390	102.22	8,270
Bishan	85,680	7.61	11,300
Bukit Merah	149,160	14.42	10,300
Bukit Timah	79,270	17.52	4,520
Geylang	109,150	9.65	11,300
Kallang	100,520	8.20	12,300
Marine Parade	45,850	6.12	7,490
Novena	50,580	8.97	5,640
Queenstown	96,730	21.55	4,490
Toa Payoh	128,450	8.18	15,700
NORTHEAST	944,440	57.80	16,300
Ang Mo Kio	161,000	13.94	11,500
Hougang	226,990	13.93	16,300

Punggol	185,810	9.23	20,100
Sengkang	252,730	10.60	23,800
Serangoon	117,910	10.10	11,700
EAST	689,600	57.48	12,000
Bedok	278,270	21.68	12,800
Pasir Ris	145,990	15.04	9,710
Tampines	265,340	20.76	12,800
Average per neighbourhood	153,158	12.77	12,800
Neighbourhood Min	45,850 (Marine Parade)	6.12 (Marine Parade)	4,410 (Jurong East)
Neighbourhood Max	278,270 (Bedok)	21.68 (Bedok)	31,000 (Choa Chu Kang)
Total for surveyed neighbourhoods	3,982,120	331.96	12,000
NATIONAL	4,073,240	734.3	5,550*

* The population density is calculated and is different from that provided by the Department of Statistics (2022b). The population density provided by the Department of Statistics includes the non-resident population and stands at 7,688 **km⁻²**.

Table 2.2: Regional Characteristics (Dwelling Types)

Region	Proportion of Population Living In Different Dwelling Types					
	1 to 2 Room Flats	3-Room Flats	4-Room Flats	5-Room and Executive Flats	Condominiums	Landed Properties
WEST	3.15%	12.81%	36.82%	32.08%	12.81%	2.32%
Bukit Batok	4.83%	17.30%	35.26%	21.89%	17.24%	3.47%
Bukit Panjang	1.95%	6.99%	39.44%	35.01%	14.27%	2.33%
Choa Chu Kang	2.73%	3.46%	40.92%	38.78%	12.81%	1.30%
Clementi	2.63%	26.86%	28.42%	13.86%	22.18%	6.04%
Jurong East	2.92%	22.04%	32.54%	33.42%	9.09%	0.00%
Jurong West	3.30%	12.17%	37.68%	38.21%	6.97%	1.67%
NORTH	5.16%	10.97%	41.28%	32.09%	8.68%	1.82%
Sembawang	7.61%	4.69%	35.87%	37.12%	10.94%	3.77%
Woodlands	4.74%	7.63%	40.51%	39.77%	7.03%	0.32%
Yishun	4.46%	17.80%	44.76%	20.96%	9.45%	2.57%
CENTRAL	7.43%	20.03%	25.26%	16.02%	22.08%	9.19%
Bishan	1.17%	5.48%	32.04%	28.71%	20.64%	11.99%
Bukit Merah	14.19%	22.89%	31.82%	19.84%	10.94%	0.33%
Bukit Timah	0.24%	1.06%	3.09%	4.21%	49.67%	41.72%
Geylang	7.34%	24.92%	28.32%	13.75%	19.85%	5.82%
Kallang	10.92%	24.65%	27.76%	14.27%	21.03%	1.37%
Marine Parade	6.93%	12.96%	9.90%	11.11%	39.17%	19.92%
Novena	2.89%	14.77%	15.48%	8.92%	42.31%	15.62%
Queenstown	7.47%	29.32%	29.60%	15.12%	14.88%	3.62%
Toa Payoh	7.50%	28.04%	28.30%	18.85%	12.99%	4.31%

NORTHEAST	4.09%	12.28%	35.35%	26.82%	13.37%	8.09%
Ang Mo Kio	6.86%	33.97%	26.72%	13.49%	9.03%	9.93%
Hougang	2.90%	11.47%	37.84%	23.43%	14.53%	9.82%
Punggol	6.07%	8.20%	40.45%	32.70%	12.38%	0.20%
Sengkang	3.30%	4.27%	39.28%	38.28%	14.26%	0.62%
Serangoon	1.17%	7.98%	25.79%	17.47%	16.69%	30.88%
EAST	2.79%	12.74%	29.89%	28.01%	18.59%	7.98%
Bedok	3.78%	19.14%	23.94%	16.10%	21.38%	15.67%
Pasir Ris	0.88%	0.58%	25.79%	41.38%	26.51%	4.86%
Tampines	2.80%	12.76%	38.36%	33.09%	11.32%	1.67%
Mean proportion (by neighbourhood)	4.65%	14.52%	31.24%	24.67%	17.52%	7.39%
Overall proportion for surveyed neighbourhoods	4.51%	13.93%	33.48%	26.74%	15.29%	6.05%
NATIONAL	4.55%	13.85%	33.00%	26.24%	16.24%	6.13%

The highest proportions are in **blue**, while the lowest proportions are in **red**.

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding in both the original dataset and the presentation of results.

2.2 FOOD ESTABLISHMENTS BY REGION

Out of the 92 hawker centres surveyed, 51 were located in the Central region, 16 were in the Northeast, 11 were in the West, nine were in the East and five were in the North. The neighbourhood with the highest number of hawker centres was Bukit Merah, with a total of 11 hawker centres. It was closely followed by Geylang and Ang Mo Kio, with 10 hawker centres in each neighbourhood. These three neighbourhoods were outliers with extremely high numbers of hawker centres relative to other neighbourhoods. Conversely, Bukit Batok, Choa Chu Kang, Punggol and Sembawang had no hawker centres in the neighbourhood.

Thirty-one out of the 101 food courts across the country that were surveyed were located in the Central region. The Northeast followed with 24 food courts, the West with 18 food courts, and the North and Central regions with 14 food courts each. The neighbourhood with the greatest number of food courts was Sengkang, with a total of 10 food courts in the neighbourhood. In comparison, Bukit Timah had zero food courts.

A total of 636 kopitiams across the country were surveyed. The Central had 187 kopitiams, the West had 142, the Northeast had 132, the North had 88 and the East had 87. The neighbourhood with the most kopitiams was Bukit Merah, which had 45 kopitiams, and was closely followed by Ang Mo Kio and Yishun with 44 kopitiams each. Bukit Timah and Marine Parade had three kopitiams each, making them the neighbourhoods with the least number of kopitiams.

In total, 829 food establishments were surveyed. The Central had 269 establishments, the Northeast had 172, the West had 171, the East had 110 and the North had the fewest number of food establishments (107). Bukit Merah was the neighbourhood with the highest number of food establishments, with a total of 64 establishments located in the neighbourhood; the neighbourhood with the least number of food establishments was Bukit Timah with five establishments (see Table 2.3 below).

Table 2.3: Number of Establishments in Each Region, by Type

Region	Hawker Centres	Food Courts	Kopitiams	Total
WEST	11	18	142	171
Bukit Batok	0	2	32	34
Bukit Panjang	1	4	11	16
Choa Chu Kang	0	4	18	22
Clementi	4	1	28	33
Jurong East	3	2	25	30
Jurong West	3	5	28	36
NORTH	5	14	88	107
Sembawang	0	4	14	18
Woodlands	3	6	30	39
Yishun	2	4	44	50
CENTRAL	51	31	187	269
Bishan	1	2	19	22
Bukit Merah	11	8	45	64
Bukit Timah	2	0	3	5
Geylang	10	3	30	43
Kallang	7	4	20	31
Marine Parade	3	2	3	8
Novena	3	4	8	15
Queenstown	8	5	20	33
Toa Payoh	6	3	39	48
NORTHEAST	16	24	132	172
Ang Mo Kio	10	1	44	55
Hougang	2	6	35	43
Punggol	0	4	16	20
Sengkang	2	10	19	31
Serangoon	2	3	18	23
EAST	9	14	87	110
Bedok	6	1	40	47
Pasir Ris	1	6	6	13
Tampines	2	7	41	50
TOTAL	92	101	636	829

2.3 PRICE OBSERVATIONS ACROSS LOCATIONS

2.3.1 Price Observations of Drinks

The highest number of price observations were found for drinks. The drink with the least observed prices, iced lime juice, had more price observations at 882 observations than the food with the most price observations, chicken rice, which had 744 observations. The drink with the largest number of price observations is Kopi at 1,083 observations, followed by Kopi O at 1,082 observations. Iced Milo and canned drinks follow closely behind at 1,062 observations and 1,036 observations respectively. The number of observations for iced lime juice then drops drastically by 180 from that of canned drinks to 856 (see Table 2.4 below).

Notably, almost all price observations for Kopi O and Kopi were found together in the same stalls. In total, 1,080 pairs of price observations were made in the same stalls, leaving five price observations that were made alone. In a Bukit Merah hawker centre, a Clementi food court, and a Tampines kopitiam, only the price for Kopi was observed. Meanwhile, a Bukit Merah kopitiam and a Jurong East kopitiam recorded just the price of Kopi O. These single observations were the result of data collection difficulties, and not because the stalls did not offer the other drink option.

There was a large range in the number of price observations across neighbourhoods. Bukit Timah had the least number of price observations for all five drinks. It only had ten observations each for Kopi O, Kopi, iced Milo and canned drink with ice, and only seven observations for iced lime juice. This is expected given that there were only five food establishments in the neighbourhood that fit our study criteria.

Hawker centres appeared to house more drinks stalls, with the neighbourhoods housing the highest numbers of hawker centres within their boundaries also reporting the most observations for drink prices. Geylang, the neighbourhood with the second-highest number of hawker centres, had the highest number of price observations for all drinks – 88 observations for iced lime juice, 99 observations for Kopi O, Kopi and iced Milo, and 88 observations for iced lime juice. Meanwhile, Bukit Merah, which houses the most hawker centres within its boundaries, and Ang Mo Kio, which has the same number of hawker centres as Geylang, recorded either the second- or third-highest number of price observations for all drinks.

Table 2.4: Number of Price Observations for Drinks

Region	Kopi O	Kopi	Kopi O & Kopi Pairs	Iced Milo	Iced Lime Juice	Canned Drink with Ice
WEST	185	185	184	173	164	164
Bukit Batok	35	35	35	35	35	35
Bukit Panjang	15	15	15	14	15	14
Choa Chu Kang	21	21	21	19	18	19
Clementi	52	53	52	52	48	53
Jurong East	25	24	24	21	16	16
Jurong West	37	37	37	32	32	27
NORTH	128	128	128	127	114	116
Sembawang	17	17	17	17	16	16
Woodlands	55	55	55	54	47	47
Yishun	56	56	56	56	51	53
CENTRAL	418	418	417	413	324	414
Bishan	21	21	21	21	21	21
Bukit Merah	91	91	90	91	65	92
Bukit Timah	10	10	10	10	7	10
Geylang	99	99	99	99	88	101
Kallang	38	38	38	37	34	36
Marine Parade	11	11	11	11	10	11
Novena	28	28	28	28	26	28
Queenstown	55	55	55	52	41	53
Toa Payoh	65	65	65	64	32	62
NORTHEAST	208	208	208	208	164	202
Ang Mo Kio	87	87	87	88	71	86
Hougang	50	50	50	48	26	45
Punggol	18	18	18	18	17	16
Sengkang	31	31	31	30	27	31
Serangoon	22	22	22	24	23	24
EAST	143	144	143	141	116	140
Bedok	78	78	78	77	61	77
Pasir Ris	15	15	15	15	14	15
Tampines	50	51	50	49	41	48
Average number of observations per neighbourhood	41.62	41.65	41.54	40.85	33.92	39.85
TOTAL	1,082	1,083	1,080	1,062	882	1,036

The highest proportions are in **blue**, while the lowest proportions are in **red**.

2.3.2 Price Observations of Food Items

In contrast, the number of price observations for food items did not correspond as neatly to the number of hawker centres, or even the number of food establishments (see Tables 2.5 and 2.6 below). For example, while Geylang and Bukit Merah had similar numbers of hawker centres and total number of food establishments, the numbers of recorded prices for breakfast sets and economic bee hoon sets varied greatly. There were 27 price observations for breakfast sets in Geylang, while Bukit Merah had 71, more than two and a half times more price observations. Similarly, while nine full economic bee hoon sets were found in Geylang, only one was found in Bukit Merah. The differences in the number of price observations for the individual items for the economic bee hoon set was also similar.

Nonetheless, Bukit Merah, Geylang and Ang Mo Kio still reported the highest numbers of price observations for various food items. Bukit Merah had the most price observations for breakfast sets (71 observations), fishball noodles (43 observations) and vegetarian bee hoon set (10 observations). Geylang had the most price observations for chicken rice (49 observations), sliced fish soup with rice (35 observations), chicken briyani (23 observations), mee rebus (22 observations) and nasi lemak (42 observations). The largest share of price observations for Malay or Muslim dishes in Geylang seems to reflect the prevalence of Malay and Muslim food establishments in the neighbourhood. It should also be noted that while some hawker centres in Geylang sold a lot of vegetarian food, there were very few stalls selling the vegetarian bee hoon set. Instead, they sold the vegetarian versions of a large variety of food like chicken rice, bak kut teh and wanton noodles. Finally, Ang Mo Kio had the most price observations for wanton noodles (48 observations) and sliced fish soup with rice (35 observations).

A few more neighbourhoods had the highest number of observations for various food items, sometimes sharing the highest number with each other or the trio of neighbourhoods mentioned above. The highest numbers of price observations for economic rice (36 observations) and economic bee hoon set (19 observations), along with all three ingredients for the economic bee hoon set, with 20 observations each for bee hoon and fried egg as well as 19 observations for chicken wing, were reported in Hougang. The largest number of price observations for chicken chop (33 observations) was found in Tampines. The highest number of observations for a set of a plain and an egg prata (21 observations) was found in Woodlands, Toa Payoh and Tampines, while the most chicken briyani observations (21 observations) were found in both Tampines and Geylang. Meanwhile, Bukit Batok and Bukit Merah reported the highest number of observations for vegetarian bee hoon sets (10 observations).

On the other end of the spectrum, Bukit Timah, Marine Parade, Pasir Ris and Punggol reported very few observations for several food items. Grouped together, Bukit Timah and Marine Parade had the lowest number of price observations for all food items. Bukit Timah had the lowest number of price observations for chicken rice (eight observations), wanton noodles (six observations), breakfast sets (four observations), nasi lemak (two observations), chicken chop (one observation) and mee rebus (one observation). Marine Parade had the lowest number of price observations for economic rice (four observations), fishball noodles (four observations), sliced fish soup with rice (three observations) and mee rebus (one observation). Furthermore, Bukit Timah also had no price observations for chicken briyani, a set of a plain and an egg prata, and vegetarian bee hoon, while no observations were made

in Marine Parade for all three components of the economic bee hoon set as well as vegetarian bee hoon. In addition, there were no price observations for vegetarian bee hoon in Punggol and Pasir Ris.

The low number of price observations appears to be directly related to the number of food establishments. Bukit Timah, Marine Parade, and Pasir Ris have the three lowest number of food establishments. While Punggol has more food establishments, it is one of the few neighbourhoods without a hawker centre. Overall, the availability of our 20 food items varied widely across locations. In fact, several neighbourhoods reported less than 30 price observations for each of the items on our list. Caution should thus be exercised when comparing the prices of food items between neighbourhoods where the sample sizes are low.

Table 2.5: Number of Price Observations for Food (1)

Region	Breakfast Set	Chicken Rice	Economic Rice	Wanton Noodles	Fishball Noodles	Sliced Fish Soup with Rice	Economic Bee Hoon				Vegetarian Bee Hoon Set
							Full Set	Bee Hoon	Fried Egg	Chicken Wing	
WEST	101	169	123	114	113	83	34	47	37	37	37
Bukit Batok	28	28	26	21	25	13	11	11	11	11	10
Bukit Panjang	7	17	15	11	10	9	3	6	3	3	3
Choa Chu Kang	13	21	17	15	14	13	5	9	6	6	2
Clementi	29	33	23	25	22	17	3	5	5	3	9
Jurong East	8	29	16	16	14	9	4	6	4	5	5
Jurong West	16	41	26	26	28	22	8	10	8	9	8
NORTH	121	68	81	77	60	54	15	23	16	17	8
Sembawang	17	12	14	11	10	9	2	3	2	3	2
Woodlands	51	31	33	28	24	21	9	13	10	9	3
Yishun	53	25	34	38	26	24	4	7	4	5	3
CENTRAL	241	256	170	212	191	156	53	73	61	60	43
Bishan	17	16	13	11	15	10	3	4	4	3	1
Bukit Merah	71	45	31	41	43	30	1	1	1	1	10
Bukit Timah	4	8	6	6	9	5	2	2	2	2	0
Geylang	27	49	34	33	37	35	9	15	10	12	9
Kallang	23	35	20	28	13	18	9	14	11	12	8
Marine Parade	9	11	4	9	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
Novena	13	13	11	13	7	9	2	2	2	2	2
Queenstown	32	40	16	32	27	20	10	15	12	11	5
Toa Payoh	45	39	35	39	36	26	17	20	19	17	8
NORTHEAST	145	159	125	135	130	91	53	63	58	54	25
Ang Mo Kio	48	47	35	48	40	35	11	17	13	11	9

Hougang	37	48	36	34	36	25	19	20	20	19	8
Punggol	16	19	14	13	15	7	5	5	5	5	0
Sengkang	27	28	28	22	22	15	15	15	15	15	5
Serangoon	17	17	12	18	17	9	3	6	5	4	3
EAST	94	92	72	82	63	60	16	24	21	23	10
Bedok	48	37	31	32	29	31	9	9	11	14	9
Pasir Ris	12	12	10	12	8	8	2	6	4	3	0
Tampines	34	43	31	38	26	21	5	9	6	6	1
Average number of observations per neighbourhood	27.00	28.62	21.96	23.85	21.42	17.08	6.58	8.85	7.42	7.35	4.73
TOTAL	702	744	571	620	557	444	171	230	193	191	123

The highest proportions are in **blue**, while the lowest proportions are in **red**.

Table 2.6: Number of Price Observations for Food (2)

Region	Nasi Lemak	Chicken Briyani	Mee Rebus	Prata (1 Plain and 1 Egg)	Chicken Chop
WEST	100	60	59	72	103
Bukit Batok	20	11	10	12	15
Bukit Panjang	12	7	5	8	11
Choa Chu Kang	15	8	7	12	16
Clementi	21	12	14	10	26
Jurong East	14	9	13	15	17
Jurong West	18	13	10	15	18
NORTH	26	49	37	52	74
Sembawang	3	12	6	11	15

Woodlands	12	19	17	21	32
Yishun	11	18	14	20	27
CENTRAL	151	90	86	85	127
Bishan	7	6	5	8	9
Bukit Merah	14	15	7	18	19
Bukit Timah	2	0	1	0	1
Geylang	42	23	22	13	32
Kallang	24	13	12	6	12
Marine Parade	4	1	1	3	5
Novena	10	6	7	5	8
Queenstown	24	10	12	11	18
Toa Payoh	24	16	19	21	23
NORTHEAST	84	38	46	48	112
Ang Mo Kio	29	10	14	12	31
Hougang	23	6	12	11	29
Punggol	11	11	6	12	13
Sengkang	14	10	8	11	27
Serangoon	7	1	6	2	12
EAST	64	43	48	41	74
Bedok	26	18	18	15	30
Pasir Ris	8	2	9	5	11
Tampines	30	23	21	21	33
Average number of observations per neighbourhood	16.35	10.77	10.62	11.50	18.85
TOTAL	425	280	276	299	490

The highest proportions are in **blue**, while the lowest proportions are in **red**.



Chapter 3

Food Prices

CHAPTER 3 | FOOD PRICES

3.1 FOOD AND DRINK PRICES IN 2022

The collected food prices were collated and presented in Table 3.1 below. It is unsurprising to find that Kopi O was the cheapest drink, given that there is no added milk in the drink, which would add to the cost price. Iced Milo cost the most among all the drinks surveyed, though it should be noted that the prices of more expensive canned drinks, like the ones with alcoholic content, were not included in the survey.

Among the main dishes surveyed, the prata combination consisting of one plain prata and one egg prata was the most affordable at \$2.97, followed by the vegetarian bee hoon set at \$3.18 and the breakfast set at \$3.27. However, the portion sizes of these three dishes were usually smaller given the contents. Chicken rice, economic rice, wanton noodles, fishball noodles, economic bee hoon set, nasi lemak and mee rebus all cost under \$4 on average, but cost over \$4 in food courts. Sliced fish soup with rice, chicken briyani and chicken chop were the more expensive dishes on our list, and were sold on average at \$5.54, \$6.44, and \$7.58 respectively.

When comparing across the food establishment types, food courts generally priced their offerings at higher prices, followed by kopitiams and then hawker centres. The food items that did not follow these trends were the breakfast set, chicken rice, economic rice and the vegetarian bee hoon set. The average prices of the breakfast set in kopitiams and food courts were the same, and lower in hawker centres. Chicken rice and economic rice were cheapest in kopitiams, followed by hawker centres and then food courts. Meanwhile, the vegetarian bee hoon set was cheapest in hawker centres, followed by food courts and then kopitiams.

Several food items, including chicken rice, wanton noodles, fishball noodles, chicken briyani, mee rebus and the prata combination of one plain and one egg were offered by over three in ten stalls surveyed at the same prices, indicating that the lowest and highest prices found were not regular occurrences. In contrast, there appeared to be more variation in the prices of iced Milo, the breakfast set, economic rice and the economic bee hoon set. We also note that the average prices for the food items that were also used by the Department of Statistics to compute the local Consumer Price Index did not vary too much from the published average prices Department of Statistics (2023b).

The average prices of some food items were also slightly different when compared across the island. All the drinks included in the list were cheapest in the Central region. Specifically, Kopi O and Kopi were cheaper in the Central region compared to the West, North and East; iced Milo and iced lime juice were cheaper in the Central region compared to the West and East, while canned drink with ice was cheaper in the Central region compared to the West, North and East and also cheaper in the West compared to the Northeast. Chicken chop was also cheaper in the Central when compared to the West. Meanwhile, the breakfast set and fishball noodles were cheapest in the North – the breakfast set was cheaper in the North compared to the West and the Northeast, while fishball noodles was cheaper in the North compared to the Northeast. Finally, prata was cheaper in the West compared to the Central region. No other significant differences were found for the other food items.

These trends clearly indicate that while food establishments like hawker centres, food courts, and kopitiam are viewed as more affordable options, there is still variation in the prices of food and drinks sold in these establishments, depending on the content.

Table 3.1: Average prices of food items

Food Item	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Kopi O	\$1.09	\$0.99	\$1.26	\$1.13
Kopi	\$1.21	\$1.10	\$1.40	\$1.25
Iced Milo	\$1.81	\$1.66	\$2.13	\$1.86
Iced Lime Juice	\$1.68	\$1.54	\$1.96	\$1.71
Canned Drink with Ice	\$1.54	\$1.42	\$1.64	\$1.61
Breakfast Set	\$3.27	\$3.17	\$3.30	\$3.30
Chicken Rice	\$3.80	\$3.72	\$4.64	\$3.68
Economic Rice	\$3.44	\$3.36	\$4.17	\$3.32
Wanton Noodles	\$3.92	\$3.72	\$4.90	\$3.85
Fishball Noodles	\$3.72	\$3.46	\$4.51	\$3.71
Sliced Fish Soup with Rice	\$5.54	\$5.32	\$6.14	\$5.48
Economic Bee Hoon Set	\$3.48	\$3.20	\$4.50	\$3.49
Vegetarian Bee Hoon Set	\$3.18	\$2.85	\$3.24	\$3.41
Nasi Lemak	\$3.49	\$3.29	\$4.49	\$3.50
Chicken Briyani	\$6.44	\$5.94	\$7.29	\$6.52
Mee Rebus	\$3.58	\$3.41	\$4.02	\$3.61
Prata (1 Plain and 1 Egg)	\$2.97	\$2.88	\$3.16	\$2.97
Chicken Chop	\$7.58	\$6.90	\$8.03	\$7.65

3.2 DRINK PRICES

3.2.1 Kopi O

The overall average price of Kopi O was \$1.09, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$0.50 to \$2.40. The overall average price was slightly lower than the overall average prices found by the Department of Statistics (2023b), which was reported to have remained constant at \$1.16 from September 2022 to November 2022.

Differences in prices across food establishment types were statistically significant¹. Hawker centres sold the drink the lowest average price at \$0.99, followed by kopitiam at \$1.13 then food courts at \$1.26. Interestingly, none of the hawker centre stalls sold Kopi O at \$0.50, which was the lowest price found in both food courts and kopitiam. Instead, the lowest price of Kopi O for hawker centres was \$0.60. This was in contrast to the highest prices, which varied in the expected order – hawker centres reported the lowest maximum price at \$1.50, followed by kopitiam at \$1.70 and food courts at \$2.40 (see Table 3.2 below).

Over one quarter of all observed prices for Kopi O was \$1. These appeared to be found mostly in hawker centres, given that \$1 was the price for 46.3 per cent of the Kopi O sold in this establishment type. In food courts, the most common price recorded for \$1.10 (25.7 per cent of the observations), while nearly half of the observed prices in kopitiam was \$1.20.

It must be noted that the large range in the prices for food court was increased by a single observation of \$2.40 for Kopi O in a food court in Novena. But even without this outlier, the next highest price for Kopi O was still found in food courts at \$1.90, which would still make it the highest among the food establishment types.

Table 3.2: Prices of Kopi O across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$1.09	\$0.99	\$1.26	\$1.13
Maximum price	\$2.40	\$1.50	\$2.40	\$1.70
Minimum price	\$0.50	\$0.60	\$0.50	\$0.50
Most common price	\$1.00 (25.9%)	\$1.00 (46.3%)	\$1.10 (25.7%)	\$1.20 (44.2%)

There were statistically significant differences in the average prices of Kopi O across regions². Additionally, the Central region had statistically significant lower average prices when compared with the West, North, and East regions.

The price range of Kopi O of each region appeared to have little to do the average prices. The Central region had the largest range and the highest price of \$0.60 to \$2.40. Yet, it had the lowest average price of \$1.05. In contrast, prices ranged from \$0.70 to \$1.90 in the West, yet had a higher average price of \$1.12. Similarly, the North had a range of \$0.50 to \$1.90 and

¹ $F(2,1079) = 207.19, p < .001$

² $F(4,1077) = 9.50, p < .001$

an average price of \$1.12; the Northeast had a range of \$0.50 to \$1.60 and an average price of \$1.08; the East had a range of \$0.70 to \$1.70 and an average price of \$1.12 (see Graph 3.1 and Table 3.3 below).

The highest price observed in the Central region was the single observation of \$2.40 – without this, the highest price observed in the Central region would be \$1.90, similar to that of the other regions. Additionally, the lowest price of \$0.50 was observed across the two regions of the North and Northeast, being observed in Sembawang and Woodlands (North), and Sengkang (Northeast).

Within the Western region, Clementi had the lowest average price of \$1.09 while Bukit Panjang had the highest average price of \$1.19. The North had a smaller range of average prices, with Woodlands at the lowest with \$1.10 and Yishun at the highest with \$1.14.

The Central region had the largest range in neighbourhood average prices, having both the lowest average price and the highest average price across all neighbourhoods. Queenstown had the lowest average price across all regions at \$1.01, while the highest average price in Bishan at \$1.19 matched that of Bukit Panjang (West) and Serangoon (Northeast).

In the Northeast region, Sengkang had the lowest average price of \$1.05 while Serangoon had the highest average price of \$1.19. In the Eastern region, Pasir Ris had the lowest average price of \$1.09 and the highest average price of \$1.13. Both the Northeast and Eastern regions had the lowest variation in average prices.

Graph 3.1: Prices of Kopi O across neighbourhoods

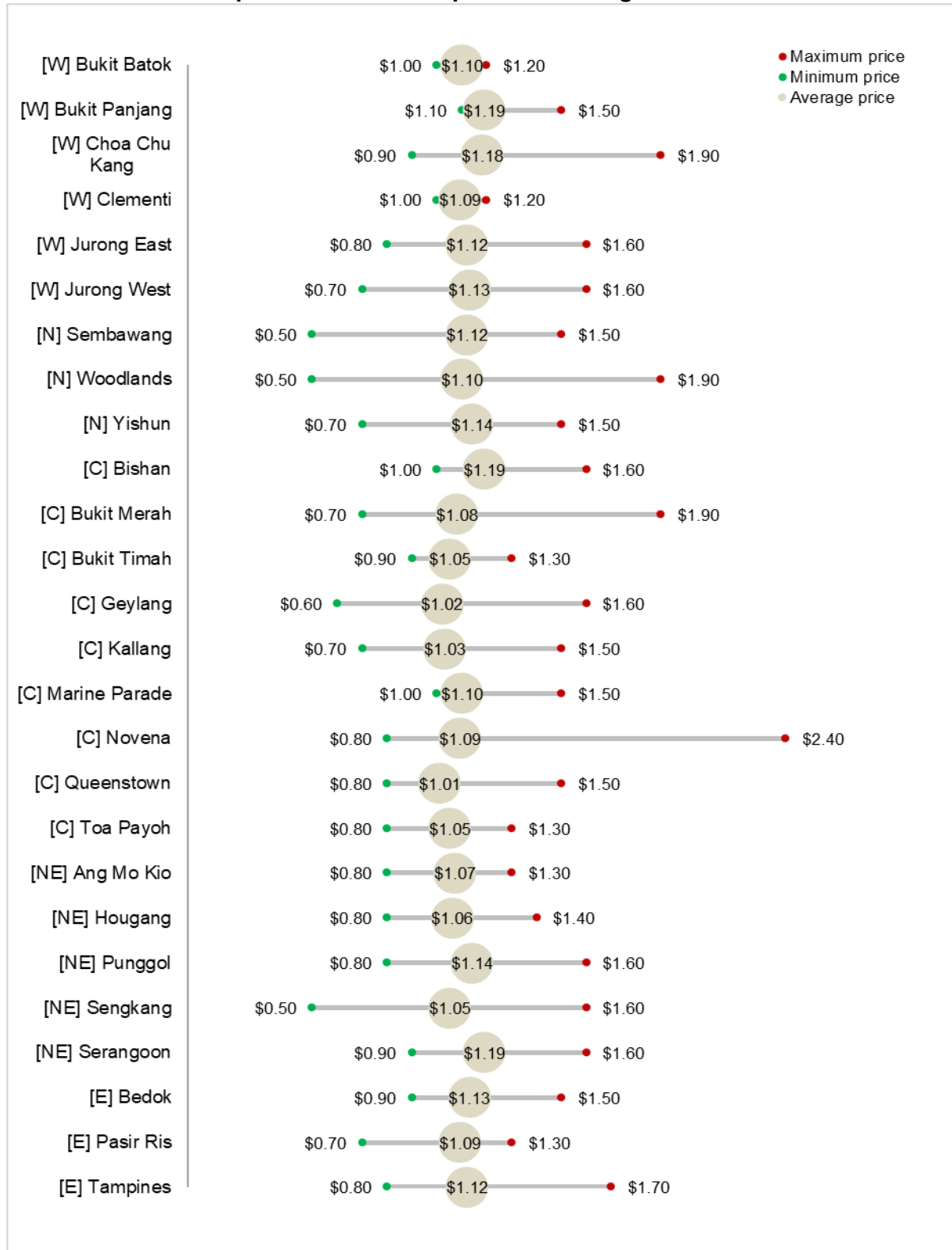


Table 3.3: Prices of Kopi O across neighbourhoods

Region	Kopi O			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$1.12	\$1.90	\$0.70	185
Bukit Batok	\$1.10	\$1.20	\$1.00	35
Bukit Panjang	\$1.19	\$1.50	\$1.10	15
Choa Chu Kang	\$1.18	\$1.90	\$0.90	21
Clementi	\$1.09	\$1.20	\$1.00	52
Jurong East	\$1.12	\$1.60	\$0.80	25
Jurong West	\$1.13	\$1.60	\$0.70	37
NORTH	\$1.12	\$1.90	\$0.50	128
Sembawang	\$1.12	\$1.50	\$0.50	17
Woodlands	\$1.10	\$1.90	\$0.50	55
Yishun	\$1.14	\$1.50	\$0.70	56
CENTRAL	\$1.05	\$2.40	\$0.60	418
Bishan	\$1.19	\$1.60	\$1.00	21
Bukit Merah	\$1.08	\$1.90	\$0.70	91
Bukit Timah	\$1.05	\$1.30	\$0.90	10
Geylang	\$1.02	\$1.60	\$0.60	99
Kallang	\$1.03	\$1.50	\$0.70	38
Marine Parade	\$1.10	\$1.50	\$1.00	11
Novena	\$1.09	\$2.40	\$0.80	28
Queenstown	\$1.01	\$1.50	\$0.80	55
Toa Payoh	\$1.05	\$1.30	\$0.80	65
NORTHEAST	\$1.08	\$1.60	\$0.50	208
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.07	\$1.30	\$0.80	87
Hougang	\$1.06	\$1.40	\$0.80	50
Punggol	\$1.14	\$1.60	\$0.80	18
Sengkang	\$1.05	\$1.60	\$0.50	31
Serangoon	\$1.19	\$1.60	\$0.90	22
EAST	\$1.12	\$1.70	\$0.70	143
Bedok	\$1.13	\$1.50	\$0.90	78
Pasir Ris	\$1.09	\$1.30	\$0.70	15
Tampines	\$1.12	\$1.70	\$0.80	50

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

For all regions, the average prices varied across establishments in the same way. Hawker centres sold the drink at the lowest average price, followed by kopitiam then food courts. Additionally, for the West, North and Northeast regions, the variation in price also increased in the same order: hawker centres had the lowest range of prices, followed by kopitiam then food courts. Meanwhile, hawker centres and kopitiam reported the same range in prices,

while food courts had a higher range. In contrast, for the Eastern region, the range of prices offered in food courts was the smallest, followed by hawker centres then kopitiam (see Table 3.4 below).

The prices for Kopi O in the West appeared to be on the higher end among the regions across all establishments. It had the second-highest average price for hawker centres at \$0.99, the highest average price for food courts \$1.32 and shared the highest average price with the North and East at \$1.14. Moreover, it had the highest average price for food courts in a neighbourhood, with Jurong East at \$1.55. It also had the highest average price for kopitiam in a neighbourhood, with Jurong West at \$1.21. Meanwhile, Clementi bucked the general trend by reporting higher prices for kopitiam than for food courts. However, this was likely due to the low number of observations of prices for food courts, since only one price was recorded in Clementi food courts, as opposed to 28 observations in kopitiam.

In the North, Kopi O was sold on average for \$0.97 at hawker centres, \$1.25 at food courts and \$1.14 at kopitiam. It shared the lowest average price for food courts with the Central and Northeast regions, and the highest average price for kopitiam with the West and the East.

In the Central region, Kopi O was sold for an average of \$0.97 in hawker centres, \$1.30 in food courts and \$1.12 in kopitiam. In the Queenstown neighbourhood, Kopi O was found to be more expensive in kopitiam (\$1.13) compared to food courts (\$1.06), likely because just five observations were made in food courts.

The Northeast appeared to have had the lowest prices across all regions on average across all establishments. Just like the North and Central regions, it recorded the lowest average price for hawker centres at \$0.97. It also had the lowest average price for food courts at \$1.20 and the lowest average price for kopitiam at \$1.11. Moreover, the Northeast had the two neighbourhoods with the lowest average prices for kopitiam, with both Hougang and Sengkang at \$1.04. While the average price for kopitiam was higher than that for food courts in Ang Mo Kio, it must be noted that there was only one observation for kopitiam in the neighbourhood.

The East had an average price of \$1.06 for hawker centres, \$1.21 for food courts and \$1.14 for kopitiam. It had both the lowest (Pasir Ris at \$0.77) and highest (Bedok at \$1.12) average price for hawker centres across all surveyed neighbourhoods. In addition, Bedok also reported the lowest average price of \$1 across all neighbourhoods.

Table 3.4: Prices of Kopi O across neighbourhoods

Region	Kopi O					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$0.99	\$0.70 - \$1.10	\$1.32	\$0.90 - \$1.90	\$1.14	\$0.90 - \$1.60
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10^	\$1.10	\$1.00 - \$1.20
Bukit Panjang	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10*	\$1.33	\$1.10 - \$1.50	\$1.14	\$1.10 - \$1.20
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$1.34	\$0.90 - \$1.90	\$1.13	\$0.90 - \$1.30
Clementi	\$1.03	\$1.00 - \$1.10	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10*	\$1.14	\$1.00 - \$1.20
Jurong East	\$0.95	\$0.80 - \$1.10	\$1.55	\$1.50 - \$1.60	\$1.16	\$1.00 - \$1.30
Jurong West	\$0.93	\$0.70 - \$1.10	\$1.32	\$1.10 - \$1.60	\$1.21	\$0.90 - \$1.60
NORTH	\$0.97	\$0.60 - \$1.10	\$1.25	\$0.70 - \$1.90	\$1.14	\$0.50 - \$1.30
Sembawang	-	-	\$1.20	\$1.00 - \$1.50	\$1.10	\$0.50 - \$1.20
Woodlands	\$0.96	\$0.60 - \$1.00	\$1.31	\$1.10 - \$1.90	\$1.13	\$0.50 - \$1.20
Yishun	\$1.01	\$0.90 - \$1.10	\$1.18	\$0.70 - \$1.50	\$1.16	\$0.90 - \$1.30
CENTRAL	\$0.97	\$0.60 - \$1.30	\$1.30	\$0.80 - \$2.40	\$1.12	\$0.80 - \$1.50
Bishan	\$1.05	\$1.00 - \$1.10	\$1.40	\$1.20 - \$1.60	\$1.18	\$1.10 - \$1.30
Bukit Merah	\$0.99	\$0.70 - \$1.30	\$1.37	\$0.90 - \$1.90	\$1.14	\$0.90 - \$1.40
Bukit Timah	\$0.99	\$0.90 - \$1.10	-	-	\$1.20	\$1.10 - \$1.30
Geylang	\$0.96	\$0.60 - \$1.10	\$1.40	\$1.10 - \$1.60	\$1.13	\$0.90 - \$1.20
Kallang	\$0.93	\$0.70 - \$1.10	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.50	\$1.09	\$1.00 - \$1.20
Marine Parade	\$1.03	\$1.00 - \$1.10	\$1.30	\$1.10 - \$1.50	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10^
Novena	\$0.99	\$0.80 - \$1.10	\$1.48	\$0.90 - \$2.40	\$1.09	\$0.90 - \$1.30
Queenstown	\$0.95	\$0.80 - \$1.20	\$1.06	\$0.80 - \$1.20	\$1.13	\$0.90 - \$1.50
Toa Payoh	\$1.01	\$0.80 - \$1.10	\$1.13	\$1.10 - \$1.20	\$1.07	\$0.80 - \$1.30
NORTHEAST	\$0.97	\$0.80 - \$1.10	\$1.20	\$0.50 - \$1.60	\$1.11	\$0.80 - \$1.30
Ang Mo Kio	\$0.96	\$0.80 - \$1.10	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10*	\$1.18	\$1.00 - \$1.30
Hougang	\$1.01	\$0.90 - \$1.10	\$1.20	\$1.00 - \$1.40	\$1.04	\$0.80 - \$1.30
Punggol	-	-	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.11	\$0.80 - \$1.20
Sengkang	\$1.03	\$1.00 - \$1.10	\$1.10	\$0.50 - \$1.60	\$1.04	\$0.90 - \$1.30
Serangoon	\$0.97	\$0.90 - \$1.00	\$1.40	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.18	\$1.10 - \$1.30
EAST	\$1.06	\$0.70 - \$1.50	\$1.21	\$0.90 - \$1.60	\$1.14	\$0.80 - \$1.70
Bedok	\$1.12	\$0.90 - \$1.50	\$1.00	\$1.00 - \$1.00*	\$1.14	\$1.00 - \$1.30
Pasir Ris	\$0.77	\$0.70 - \$0.80	\$1.17	\$1.00 - \$1.30	\$1.17	\$0.90 - \$1.30
Tampines	\$0.91	\$0.80 - \$1.00	\$1.27	\$0.90 - \$1.60	\$1.14	\$0.80 - \$1.70

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.2.2 Kopi

The overall average price of Kopi was \$1.21, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$0.70 to \$2.80. The overall average price was slightly lower than the overall average prices found by the Department of Statistics (2023b), which was reported to have remained the same at \$1.27 in September to November 2022.

Average prices varied in the expected order, with hawker centres having the lowest average price at \$1.10, followed by kopitiam at \$1.25 then food courts at \$1.40. The differences in mean prices across the three food establishment types were statistically significant³. In line with average prices, minimum prices also varied similarly. The lowest price for hawker centres was the lowest across all establishments at \$0.70, while food courts and kopitiam shared the same lowest price at \$1. This contrasted with the highest prices – kopitiam reported the lowest maximum price at \$1.80, followed by hawker centres at \$1.90 and finally food courts at \$2.80 (see Table 3.5 below).

Over one quarter of the observed prices for Kopi was \$1.30. This was also the most common price for the drink in kopitiam. Meanwhile, over one-third of the hawker centre stalls sold Kopi at \$1.10, while slightly over one in five food court stalls sold it at \$1.20. It must be noted that the large range in the prices for food court was increased by a single observation of \$2.80 for Kopi in a food court in Bukit Merah. However, the maximum price of Kopi in food courts would still be the highest among the establishments even without this observation, as the next highest observation was \$2.60 at the same food court in Bukit Merah, with another priced at \$2.50 in a food court in Novena.

Table 3.5: Prices of Kopi across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$1.21	\$1.10	\$1.40	\$1.25
Maximum price	\$2.80	\$1.90	\$2.80	\$1.80
Minimum price	\$0.70	\$0.70	\$1.00	\$1.00
Most common price	\$1.30 (27.5%)	\$1.10 (39.3%)	\$1.20 (21.7%)	\$1.30 (46.2%)

There were statistically significant differences in the average prices of Kopi across regions⁴. Additionally, the Central region had statistically significant lower average prices when compared with the West, North and East regions.

As with Kopi O, the price range of Kopi for each region appeared to have little to do the average prices. The Central region had the largest range and the highest price of \$0.70 to \$2.80, but reported the lowest average price of \$1.18. In contrast, while prices in the West ranged from \$0.80 to \$2, the reported average price of \$1.24 was higher. Similarly, the North had a range of \$0.70 to \$2 and an average price of \$1.24; the Northeast had a range of \$1 to \$1.70 and an average price of \$1.21; and the East had a range of \$0.80 to \$1.70 and an average price

³ $F(2,1080) = 199.92, p < .001$

⁴ $F(4,1078) = 5.36, p < .001$

of \$1.23 (see Graph 3.2 and Table 3.6 below). These trends, particularly for the Central region, was likely because the three highest prices observed – \$2.80, \$2.60 and \$2.50 – were much higher than the next highest price of \$1.90, which was lower than that of other regions.

Within the Western region, Bukit Batok had the lowest average price of \$1.20 while Choa Chu Kang had the highest average price of \$1.30. Both Choa Chu Kang and the Northeast's Serangoon reported the highest average price of all neighbourhoods, while Bukit Panjang, together with Bishan in the Central region, reported the third highest average price.

The North had a smaller range of average prices, with Woodlands at the lowest with \$1.22 and Sembawang at the highest with \$1.26. The North also shared the lowest minimum price of \$0.70 with the Central region.

Similar to Kopi O, the Central region had the largest range in neighbourhood average prices, having both the lowest average price and the third-highest average price across all neighbourhoods. Queenstown and Geylang reported the lowest average price across all neighbourhoods at \$1.13, while Bishan reported the highest average price for the region at \$1.29.

The Northeast region had the lowest variation in the average price. Ang Mo Kio had the lowest average price of \$1.18 while Serangoon had the highest average price of \$1.30. As mentioned, Serangoon reported the highest neighbourhood average price together with Choa Chu Kang. In the Eastern region, Pasir Ris had the lowest average price of \$1.19 and Tampines had the highest average price of \$1.24.

Graph 3.2: Prices of Kopi across neighbourhoods

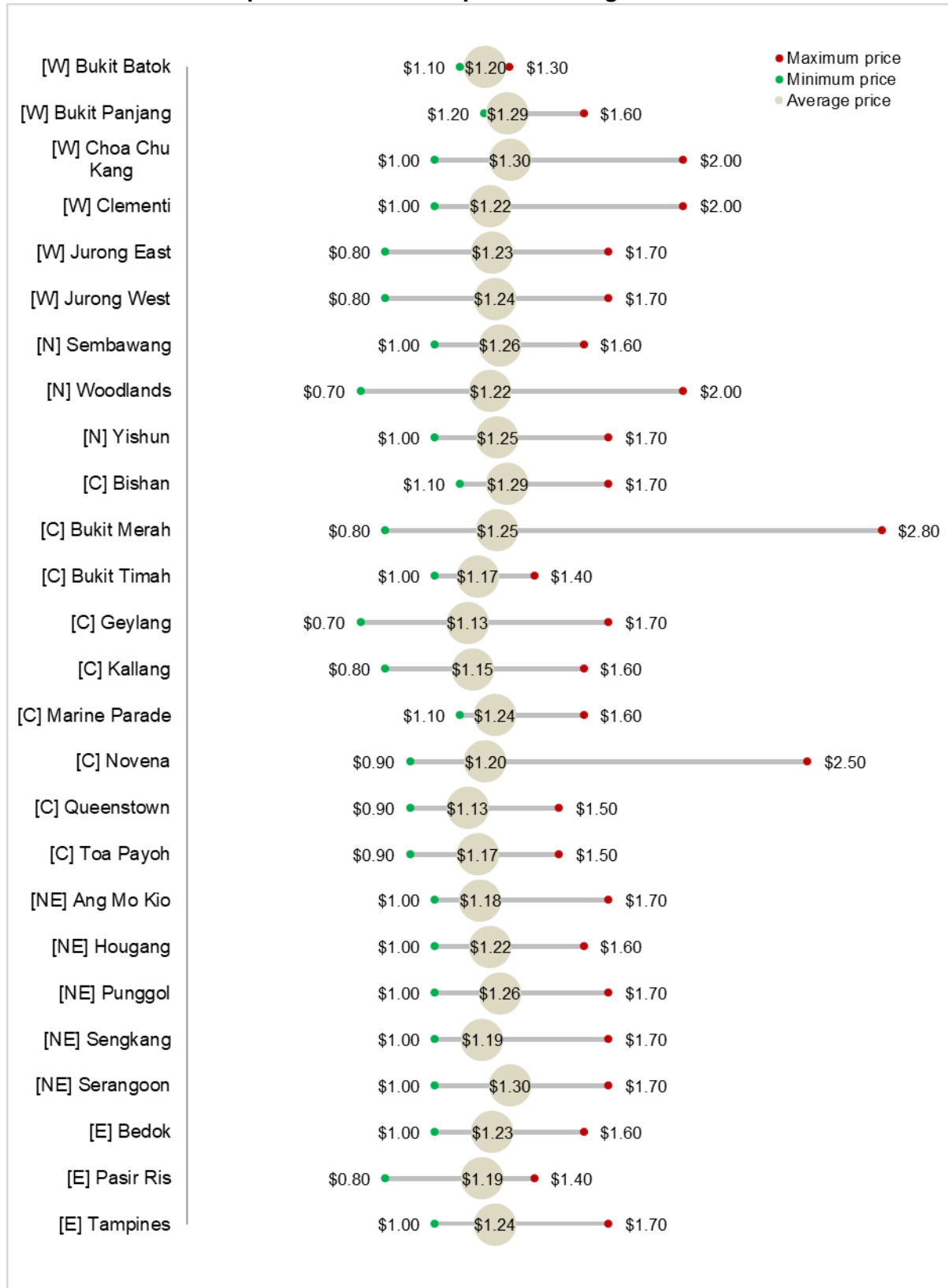


Table 3.6: Prices of Kopi across neighbourhoods

Region	Kopi			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$1.24	\$2.00	\$0.80	185
Bukit Batok	\$1.20	\$1.30	\$1.10	35
Bukit Panjang	\$1.29	\$1.60	\$1.20	15
Choa Chu Kang	\$1.30	\$2.00	\$1.00	21
Clementi	\$1.22	\$2.00	\$1.00	53
Jurong East	\$1.23	\$1.70	\$0.80	24
Jurong West	\$1.24	\$1.70	\$0.80	37
NORTH	\$1.24	\$2.00	\$0.70	128
Sembawang	\$1.26	\$1.60	\$1.00	17
Woodlands	\$1.22	\$2.00	\$0.70	55
Yishun	\$1.25	\$1.70	\$1.00	56
CENTRAL	\$1.18	\$2.80	\$0.70	418
Bishan	\$1.29	\$1.70	\$1.10	21
Bukit Merah	\$1.25	\$2.80	\$0.80	91
Bukit Timah	\$1.17	\$1.40	\$1.00	10
Geylang	\$1.13	\$1.70	\$0.70	99
Kallang	\$1.15	\$1.60	\$0.80	38
Marine Parade	\$1.24	\$1.60	\$1.10	11
Novena	\$1.20	\$2.50	\$0.90	28
Queenstown	\$1.13	\$1.50	\$0.90	55
Toa Payoh	\$1.17	\$1.50	\$0.90	65
NORTHEAST	\$1.21	\$1.70	\$1.00	208
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.18	\$1.70	\$1.00	87
Hougang	\$1.22	\$1.60	\$1.00	50
Punggol	\$1.26	\$1.70	\$1.00	18
Sengkang	\$1.19	\$1.70	\$1.00	31
Serangoon	\$1.30	\$1.70	\$1.00	22
EAST	\$1.23	\$1.70	\$0.80	144
Bedok	\$1.23	\$1.60	\$1.00	78
Pasir Ris	\$1.19	\$1.40	\$0.80	15
Tampines	\$1.24	\$1.70	\$1.00	51

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

For all regions, the average prices varied across establishments in the same way. Hawker centres had the lowest average price, followed by kopitiam then food courts. However, unlike prices for Kopi O, the lowest and highest average prices for Kopi were scattered across the regions. For hawker centres, the North reported the lowest average price at \$1.08, while the highest average price was in the East at \$1.17. For food courts, the lowest average price was

shared by the Northeast and East at \$1.32, while the highest average price was in the West at \$1.46. For kopitiam, there was little variation in the average prices, with the Central region offering the lowest average price at \$1.24 and the North region offering the highest average price at \$1.27 (see Table 3.7 below).

The West had an average price of \$1.10 for hawker centres, \$1.46 for food courts and \$1.25 for kopitiam. Jurong West reported the highest average price for kopitiam across all neighbourhoods at \$1.31. In Bukit Batok, the average price for food courts was the same as the average price for kopitiam at \$1.20. However, it must be noted that only one observation was made for food courts in that neighbourhood.

The North had an average price of \$1.08 for hawker centres, \$1.36 for food courts and \$1.27 for kopitiam. Meanwhile, the Central region had an average price of \$1.10 for hawker centres, \$1.47 for food courts and \$1.24 for kopitiam. However, Bukit Merah in the Central region reported the highest average price for food courts at \$1.70. The Northeast had an average price of \$1.09 for hawker centres, \$1.32 for food courts and \$1.25 for kopitiam. Sengkang reported the lowest average price for kopitiam at \$1.16.

For the East, Kopi cost on average \$1.17 in hawker centres, \$1.32 in food courts and \$1.25 in kopitiam. Pasir Ris hawker centres sold Kopi at \$0.90, the lowest average cost across all neighbourhoods. In contrast, Bedok food courts were the most expensive compared to other neighbourhoods, selling the drink at \$1.22.

Table 3.7: Prices of Kopi across neighbourhoods

Region	Kopi					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$1.10	\$0.80 - \$1.50	\$1.46	\$1.10 - \$2.00	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.70
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$1.20	\$1.20 - \$1.20*	\$1.20	\$1.10 - \$1.30
Bukit Panjang	\$1.20	\$1.20 - \$1.20*	\$1.45	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$1.24	\$1.20 - \$1.30
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$1.46	\$1.10 - \$2.00	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.50
Clementi	\$1.15	\$1.00 - \$1.50	\$1.65	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$1.24	\$1.10 - \$1.40
Jurong East	\$1.04	\$0.80 - \$1.20	\$1.65	\$1.60 - \$1.70	\$1.28	\$1.20 - \$1.40
Jurong West	\$1.04	\$0.80 - \$1.20	\$1.42	\$1.20 - \$1.70	\$1.31	\$1.00 - \$1.70
NORTH	\$1.08	\$0.70 - \$1.30	\$1.36	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$1.27	\$1.00 - \$1.70
Sembawang	-	-	\$1.30	\$1.10 - \$1.60	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.30
Woodlands	\$1.06	\$0.70 - \$1.20	\$1.41	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.27	\$1.10 - \$1.30
Yishun	\$1.11	\$1.00 - \$1.30	\$1.30	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.28	\$1.00 - \$1.70
CENTRAL	\$1.10	\$0.70 - \$1.90	\$1.47	\$1.00 - \$2.80	\$1.24	\$1.00 - \$1.80
Bishan	\$1.15	\$1.10 - \$1.20	\$1.50	\$1.30 - \$1.70	\$1.28	\$1.20 - \$1.40
Bukit Merah	\$1.16	\$0.80 - \$1.90	\$1.70	\$1.00 - \$2.80	\$1.27	\$1.00 - \$1.80
Bukit Timah	\$1.11	\$1.00 - \$1.20	-	-	\$1.30	\$1.20 - \$1.40
Geylang	\$1.06	\$0.70 - \$1.20	\$1.50	\$1.20 - \$1.70	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.40
Kallang	\$1.05	\$0.80 - \$1.30	\$1.38	\$1.10 - \$1.60	\$1.21	\$1.10 - \$1.30
Marine Parade	\$1.17	\$1.10 - \$1.20	\$1.45	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$1.23	\$1.20 - \$1.30
Novena	\$1.11	\$0.90 - \$1.30	\$1.58	\$1.00 - \$2.50	\$1.19	\$1.00 - \$1.40
Queenstown	\$1.06	\$0.90 - \$1.30	\$1.18	\$1.00 - \$1.30	\$1.24	\$1.00 - \$1.50
Toa Payoh	\$1.11	\$0.90 - \$1.20	\$1.23	\$1.20 - \$1.30	\$1.21	\$1.00 - \$1.50
NORTHEAST	\$1.09	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.32	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.70
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.06	\$1.00 - \$1.20	\$1.20	\$1.20 - \$1.20*	\$1.30	\$1.10 - \$1.70
Hougang	\$1.15	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.30	\$1.10 - \$1.50	\$1.22	\$1.00 - \$1.50
Punggol	-	-	\$1.35	\$1.10 - \$1.70	\$1.24	\$1.00 - \$1.30
Sengkang	\$1.20	\$1.10 - \$1.30	\$1.26	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$1.16	\$1.00 - \$1.40
Serangoon	\$1.10	\$1.00 - \$1.20	\$1.50	\$1.10 - \$1.70	\$1.28	\$1.20 - \$1.40
EAST	\$1.17	\$0.80 - \$1.60	\$1.32	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.70
Bedok	\$1.22	\$1.00 - \$1.60	\$1.10	\$1.10 - \$1.10*	\$1.24	\$1.10 - \$1.40
Pasir Ris	\$0.90	\$0.80 - \$1.00	\$1.27	\$1.10 - \$1.40	\$1.27	\$1.00 - \$1.40
Tampines	\$1.03	\$1.00 - \$1.10	\$1.40	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.70

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.2.3 Iced Milo

From the collected data, the average cost of iced Milo was \$1.81. The maximum price was \$3.50, while the minimum price was \$1. The average cost of iced Milo was the lowest in hawker centres (\$1.66) and the highest in food courts (\$2.13). These differences were statistically significant⁵. The least costly iced Milo could be found at hawker centres for \$1, while the highest price of iced Milo (\$3.50) was found at kopitiam. The highest cost of iced Milo at hawker centres and food courts was \$3. The lowest cost of iced Milo at food courts was \$1.10 and \$1.20 at kopitiam (see Table 3.8 below).

Iced Milo mainly cost \$2.50 and below, with only 28 out of the 1062 stalls (2.6 per cent) that sold iced Milo selling the beverage for more than \$2.50. The remaining prices appeared to be quite spread out, given that the commonly observed prices in each food establishment type occurred in under one quarter of the stalls. The most common price overall was \$1.80, found in 15.9 per cent of the total number of stalls. In hawker centres, 20.5 per cent of the stalls sold the drink at \$1.50, while 22.8 per cent of kopitiam stalls sold it at \$1.80. There were two common prices found in food courts, with 11 per cent of stalls selling it at \$1.90 and another 11 per cent selling it at \$2.40.

Table 3.8: Prices of iced Milo across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$1.81	\$1.66	\$2.13	\$1.86
Maximum price	\$3.50	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.50
Minimum price	\$1.00	\$1.00	\$1.10	\$1.20
Most common price	\$1.80 (15.9%)	\$1.50 (20.5%)	\$1.90 (11.0%) \$2.40 (11.0%)	\$1.80 (22.8%)

The average price of iced Milo was statistically different across the five different regions surveyed⁶. In particular, it was statistically cheaper in the Central region compared to both the East and the West. The West had the largest difference in prices, with the lowest cost of iced Milo being \$1 and the highest cost of iced Milo being \$3.50 in Jurong West. The North had the smallest price difference between the most and least costly iced Milo found in the region, with the most affordable iced Milo being \$1.20 and the most expensive being \$2.90. The highest priced iced Milo in the Central, Northeast, and East was \$3, while the least expensive iced Milo cost \$1 in the Central region, \$1.10 in the East and \$1.20 in the Northeast (see Graph 3.3 and Table 3.9 below).

In the West, Jurong West had the highest average price of iced Milo (\$2.06) and was the only neighbourhood surveyed to have an average price above \$2. Clementi had the lowest average iced Milo cost in the West (\$1.76), followed by \$1.87 in Jurong East, \$1.94 in Bukit Panjang, \$1.95 in Bukit Batok and \$1.97 in Choa Chu Kang.

⁵ $F(2,1059) = 10.09, p < .001$

⁶ $F(4,1057) = 10.27, p < .001$.

In the North, the average price of iced Milo in both Woodlands and Yishun was \$1.78, and \$1.94 in Sembawang. The cost of iced Milo varied the least in Sembawang, with the most expensive iced Milo being \$2.40 and the least expensive being \$1.40. The cost of iced Milo ranged between \$1.20 and \$2.50 in Yishun, and \$1.20 and \$2.90 in Woodlands.

In the Central region, Bukit Timah had the lowest average cost of iced Milo (\$1.58), which was also the lowest average cost of iced Milo in all neighbourhoods surveyed across the country. However, it was also the neighbourhood with the least price observations. It was followed by Toa Payoh (\$1.67), Bukit Merah and Queenstown (\$1.69), Kallang (\$1.73), Novena (\$1.78), Geylang (\$1.82), Bishan (\$1.85) and Marine Parade (\$1.94). Excluding Bukit Timah given the small number of observations, Bishan reported the narrowest range in prices (\$1.50 to \$2.30). In contrast, Novena had the widest range of iced Milo prices, with the most expensive iced Milo priced at \$3 and the least expensive at \$1.10.

In the Northeast, the average cost of iced Milo was the lowest in Ang Mo Kio (\$1.74), followed by \$1.79 in Hougang, \$1.83 in Sengkang, \$1.98 in Serangoon and \$1.99 in Punggol. Hougang had the smallest variation in prices, with the lowest cost of iced Milo being \$1.40 and the highest cost \$2.40. Serangoon had the largest variation in prices, with the cost of iced Milo ranging from \$1.40 to \$3.

In the East, the average cost of iced Milo did not vary much between the neighbourhoods. The average cost of iced Milo was the lowest in Pasir Ris (\$1.87) and the highest in Bedok (\$1.90). Pasir Ris had the smallest range in prices of iced Milo (from \$1.30 to \$2.60) while Tampines had the largest range (from \$1.10 to \$3).

Graph 3.3: Prices of iced Milo across neighbourhoods

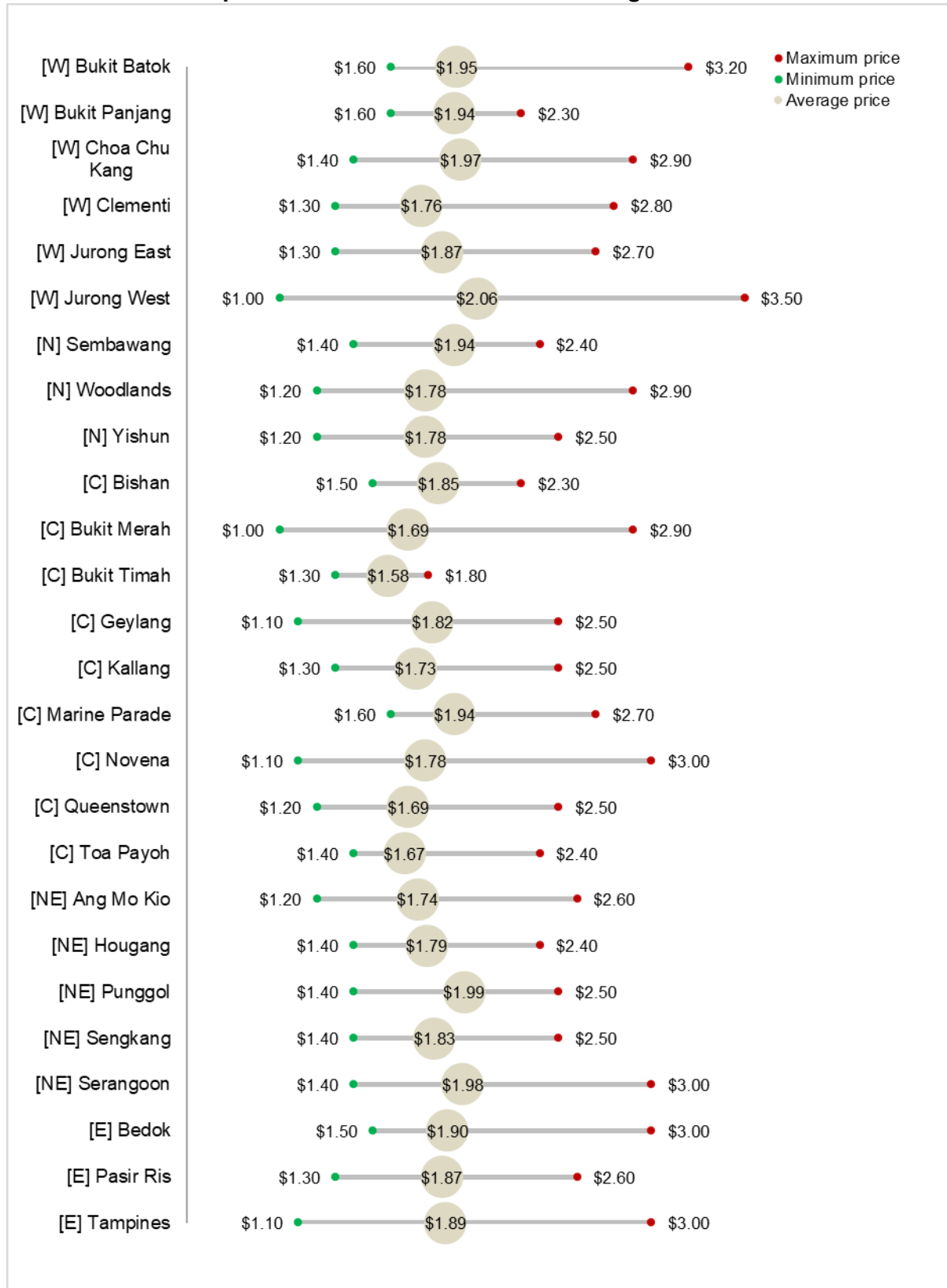


Table 3.9: Prices of iced Milo across neighbourhoods

Region	Iced Milo			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$1.91	\$3.50	\$1.00	173
Bukit Batok	\$1.95	\$3.20	\$1.60	35
Bukit Panjang	\$1.94	\$2.30	\$1.60	14
Choa Chu Kang	\$1.97	\$2.90	\$1.40	19
Clementi	\$1.76	\$2.80	\$1.30	52
Jurong East	\$1.87	\$2.70	\$1.30	21
Jurong West	\$2.06	\$3.50	\$1.00	32
NORTH	\$1.80	\$2.90	\$1.20	127
Sembawang	\$1.94	\$2.40	\$1.40	17
Woodlands	\$1.78	\$2.90	\$1.20	54
Yishun	\$1.78	\$2.50	\$1.20	56
CENTRAL	\$1.74	\$3.00	\$1.00	413
Bishan	\$1.85	\$2.30	\$1.50	21
Bukit Merah	\$1.69	\$2.90	\$1.00	91
Bukit Timah	\$1.58	\$1.80	\$1.30	10
Geylang	\$1.82	\$2.50	\$1.10	99
Kallang	\$1.73	\$2.50	\$1.30	37
Marine Parade	\$1.94	\$2.70	\$1.60	11
Novena	\$1.78	\$3.00	\$1.10	28
Queenstown	\$1.69	\$2.50	\$1.20	52
Toa Payoh	\$1.67	\$2.40	\$1.40	64
NORTHEAST	\$1.81	\$3.00	\$1.20	208
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.74	\$2.60	\$1.20	88
Hougang	\$1.79	\$2.40	\$1.40	48
Punggol	\$1.99	\$2.50	\$1.40	18
Sengkang	\$1.83	\$2.50	\$1.40	30
Serangoon	\$1.98	\$3.00	\$1.40	24
EAST	\$1.89	\$3.00	\$1.10	141
Bedok	\$1.90	\$3.00	\$1.50	77
Pasir Ris	\$1.87	\$2.60	\$1.30	15
Tampines	\$1.89	\$3.00	\$1.10	49

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In all regions except the East, average prices of iced Milo were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiam and then food courts. In contrast, the average price of iced Milo in the East was the same in both hawker centres and kopitiam, and the average price was higher in food courts (see Table 3.10 below).

The average price of iced Milo in hawker centres in the West was the lowest out of all the regions at \$1.54. The average prices of iced Milo in hawker centres in the West hovered between \$1.40 and \$1.60 (\$1.42 in Jurong West, \$1.56 in Clementi and \$1.57 in Jurong East), with the exception of the Bukit Panjang hawker centre (\$1.80), in which only one stall sold iced Milo. The range of prices found in hawker centres in this region was also quite small, with a minimum price of \$1 and a maximum price of \$2. The most expensive iced Milo sold in food courts in the West cost \$2.90, while the most affordable was sold at \$1.70. Both were found in Choa Chu Kang food courts. The average price of iced Milo in kopitiams in the West was the highest in Jurong West (\$2.27) and the lowest in Bukit Panjang (\$1.88). The range of price of iced Milo in kopitiams in the West was quite big, with the cheapest iced Milo found in Choa Chu Kang (\$1.40) and the most expensive in Jurong West (\$3.50).

The average price of iced Milo in hawker centres in the North was \$1.64. While the most expensive iced Milo found in kopitiams in the North (\$2.40) cost less than that of the most expensive iced Milo found in hawker centres (\$2.50), the average price of iced Milo in kopitiams in the North was \$1.79, higher than the average price found in hawker centres. Food courts in the North had the largest variation in iced Milo prices (\$1.50 to \$2.90) amongst the three types of food establishments.

The average price of iced Milo at hawker centres in the Central region was \$1.65, with the lowest average cost being recorded in Bukit Timah (\$1.53) and the highest average cost in Marine Parade (\$1.88). While hawker centres in the Central region had a relatively larger variation in average prices, average prices of iced Milo in kopitiams in the Central ranged between \$1.70 and \$1.90. Geylang kopitiams had the highest average price of iced Milo (\$1.89), while kopitiams in Bukit Timah and Novena had the lowest (\$1.70). The average price of iced Milo in food courts in all Central neighbourhoods excluding Queenstown was above \$2. Meanwhile, the average price of iced Milo in Queenstown food courts was \$1.80.

Ang Mo Kio had the lowest average price of iced Milo at hawker centres in the Northeastern region (\$1.58) while Serangoon had the highest (\$2.08). The food courts in Serangoon also had the highest average price in the Northeast (\$2.38). Sengkang had the lowest average price of iced Milo at kopitiams in the Northeast (\$1.78) while Punggol had the highest (\$1.94).

As mentioned previously, the average price of iced Milo was the same in hawker centres and kopitiams in the East (\$1.87), while the average price in food courts was \$2.05. The neighbourhood with the highest average cost of iced Milo at hawker centres in the East was Bedok (\$1.97), while Pasir Ris had the lowest (\$1.47). Conversely, the average price of iced Milo at food courts in Pasir Ris was the highest in the East (\$2.07), while food courts in Bedok had the lowest average price (\$2). Kopitiams in Bedok also had the lowest average price in the East at \$1.84, while Tampines kopitiams had the highest average price at \$1.92.

Table 3.10: Prices of iced Milo across neighbourhoods

Region	Iced Milo					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$1.54	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$2.28	\$1.70 - \$2.90	\$1.98	\$1.40 - \$3.50
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$2.20	\$2.20 - \$2.20^	\$1.94	\$1.60 - \$3.20
Bukit Panjang	\$1.80	\$1.80 - \$1.80*	\$2.17	\$1.90 - \$2.30	\$1.88	\$1.60 - \$2.30
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$2.28	\$1.70 - \$2.90	\$1.89	\$1.40 - \$2.30
Clementi	\$1.56	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$1.90	\$1.90 - \$1.90*	\$1.91	\$1.60 - \$2.80
Jurong East	\$1.57	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$2.35	\$2.20 - \$2.50	\$1.97	\$1.50 - \$2.70
Jurong West	\$1.42	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$2.44	\$2.40 - \$2.50	\$2.27	\$1.40 - \$3.50
NORTH	\$1.64	\$1.20 - \$2.50	\$2.08	\$1.50 - \$2.90	\$1.79	\$1.20 - \$2.40
Sembawang	-	-	\$2.08	\$1.90 - \$2.30	\$1.89	\$1.40 - \$2.40
Woodlands	\$1.61	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$2.19	\$1.60 - \$2.90	\$1.76	\$1.20 - \$2.20
Yishun	\$1.73	\$1.40 - \$2.50	\$1.88	\$1.50 - \$2.10	\$1.78	\$1.20 - \$2.40
CENTRAL	\$1.65	\$1.00 - \$2.30	\$2.12	\$1.10 - \$3.00	\$1.80	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Bishan	\$1.70	\$1.60 - \$1.80	\$2.25	\$2.20 - \$2.30	\$1.82	\$1.50 - \$2.30
Bukit Merah	\$1.56	\$1.00 - \$2.20	\$2.16	\$1.40 - \$2.90	\$1.76	\$1.40 - \$2.20
Bukit Timah	\$1.53	\$1.30 - \$1.70	-	-	\$1.70	\$1.60 - \$1.80
Geylang	\$1.78	\$1.10 - \$2.30	\$2.20	\$2.00 - \$2.50	\$1.89	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Kallang	\$1.56	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$2.03	\$1.50 - \$2.20	\$1.85	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Marine Parade	\$1.88	\$1.60 - \$2.10	\$2.30	\$1.90 - \$2.70	\$1.80	\$1.70 - \$1.90
Novena	\$1.72	\$1.40 - \$2.00	\$2.15	\$1.10 - \$3.00	\$1.70	\$1.60 - \$1.80
Queenstown	\$1.59	\$1.20 - \$2.20	\$1.80	\$1.30 - \$2.10	\$1.84	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Toa Payoh	\$1.51	\$1.40 - \$1.70	\$2.17	\$2.00 - \$2.40	\$1.74	\$1.40 - \$2.30
NORTHEAST	\$1.63	\$1.20 - \$3.00	\$2.09	\$1.50 - \$2.70	\$1.86	\$1.40 - \$2.60
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.58	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$2.00	\$2.00 - \$2.00*	\$1.90	\$1.50 - \$2.60
Hougang	\$1.63	\$1.40 - \$1.90	\$1.98	\$1.50 - \$2.40	\$1.81	\$1.40 - \$2.30
Punggol	-	-	\$2.20	\$1.90 - \$2.50	\$1.94	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Sengkang	\$1.70	\$1.60 - \$1.80	\$1.99	\$1.70 - \$2.50	\$1.78	\$1.40 - \$2.00
Serangoon	\$2.08	\$1.40 - \$3.00	\$2.38	\$1.80 - \$2.70	\$1.85	\$1.60 - \$2.30
EAST	\$1.87	\$1.30 - \$3.00	\$2.05	\$1.10 - \$2.60	\$1.87	\$1.40 - \$3.00
Bedok	\$1.97	\$1.50 - \$3.00	\$2.00	\$2.00 - \$2.00*	\$1.84	\$1.60 - \$2.50
Pasir Ris	\$1.47	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$2.07	\$1.70 - \$2.60	\$1.87	\$1.40 - \$2.30
Tampines	\$1.61	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$2.04	\$1.10 - \$2.60	\$1.92	\$1.40 - \$3.00

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.2.4 Iced Lime Juice

According to the data from the establishments that were surveyed, the average cost of iced lime juice was \$1.68. The average cost of iced lime juice was the lowest in hawker centres (\$1.54) and the highest in food courts (\$1.96). These differences are statistically significant⁷. The least costly iced lime juice could be found at hawker centres for \$0.80, while the highest price of iced lime juice was found at kopitiam (\$3.50). The highest cost of iced lime juice at was \$2.50 in hawker centres and \$2.90 in food courts, while the lowest cost of iced lime juice was \$1.30 in food courts and \$1 in kopitiam (see Table 3.11 below).

Iced lime juice mostly cost \$2.50 and below, with only nine out of 882 stalls that sold iced lime juice pricing their iced lime juice above \$2.50 (1 per cent). Nearly one quarter of all the recorded observations priced iced lime juice at \$1.60. This was also the most common price found in kopitiam (30.7 per cent). Meanwhile, the drink was more commonly sold at \$1.50 in hawker centres (37.1 per cent of the observations) and \$2 in food courts (22.4 per cent of the observations).

Table 3.11: Prices of iced lime juice across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$1.68	\$1.54	\$1.96	\$1.71
Maximum price	\$3.50	\$2.50	\$2.90	\$3.50
Minimum price	\$0.80	\$0.80	\$1.30	\$1.00
Most common price	\$1.60 (22.4%)	\$1.50 (37.1%)	\$2.00 (22.4%)	\$1.60 (30.7%)

The average price of iced lime juice was statistically different across the five different regions surveyed⁸. In particular, the price of iced lime juice was statistically lower in the Central region compared to both the East and West. The Central region had the largest difference in prices, with the lowest cost of iced lime juice being \$0.80 — found in Geylang — and the highest cost of iced lime juice being \$3.50 — sold in Bukit Merah. Both the North and East had the smallest price difference between the most and least costly iced lime juice found in the regions, with the most affordable iced lime juice being \$1.30 and the most expensive being \$2.50. The lowest price of iced lime juice in the Northeast and West was \$1. The highest priced iced lime juice in the Northeast was \$2.50 while it was \$3 in the West (see Graph 3.4 and Table 3.12 below).

In the West, Jurong East had the highest average price of iced lime juice (\$1.85). It was also the neighbourhood with the highest average price of iced lime juice throughout the country. Clementi had the lowest average iced lime juice cost in the West (\$1.68), followed by \$1.72 in Choa Chu Kang, \$1.77 in Bukit Batok and Jurong West, and \$1.78 in Bukit Panjang. In the North, the average price of iced lime juice was \$1.64 in Woodlands, \$1.74 in Yishun and \$1.84 in Sembawang. All three neighbourhoods in the North had the same lowest and highest prices of iced lime juice – the lowest price was \$1.30 and the highest price was \$2.50.

⁷ $F(2,879) = 98.07, p < .001$

⁸ $F(4,877) = 9.55, p < .001$.

In the Central, iced lime juice was priced lowest on average in Geylang at \$1.55, also the lowest average cost of iced lime juice in all surveyed neighbourhoods. Bukit Timah had the second-lowest average price of iced lime juice in the Central (\$1.56), followed by Kallang (\$1.57), Queenstown (\$1.58), Bukit Merah (\$1.62), Toa Payoh (\$1.67), Bishan (\$1.71), Marine Parade (\$1.72) and Novena (\$1.73). Bukit Timah also had the smallest range of cost of iced lime juice, with the most expensive iced lime juice being \$1.70 and the least expensive being \$1.40. However, it should also be noted that the number of observations in Bukit Timah was much lower than other neighbourhoods, and which likely explains the lack of variation in prices. Bukit Merah had the widest range of iced lime juice prices in the Central region, with the highest price of \$3.50 – which was the highest price of iced lime juice throughout all the food establishments surveyed – and the lowest price of \$1.

In the Northeast, the average cost of iced lime juice was the lowest in Ang Mo Kio (\$1.59), followed by \$1.70 in Hougang, \$1.72 in Punggol, \$1.75 in Sengkang and \$1.81 in Serangoon. Punggol had the smallest variation in prices, with the lowest cost of iced lime juice being \$1.50 and the highest cost \$2.20. Serangoon had the largest variation in prices, with the cost of iced lime juice ranging from \$1 to \$2.50. In the East, the average cost of iced lime juice was the lowest at Bedok (\$1.70) and the highest at Tampines (\$1.81). Similar to the North, all three neighbourhoods in the East had the same lowest and highest prices of iced lime juice – the lowest price was \$1.30, and the highest price was \$2.50.

Graph 3.4: Prices of iced lime juice across neighbourhoods

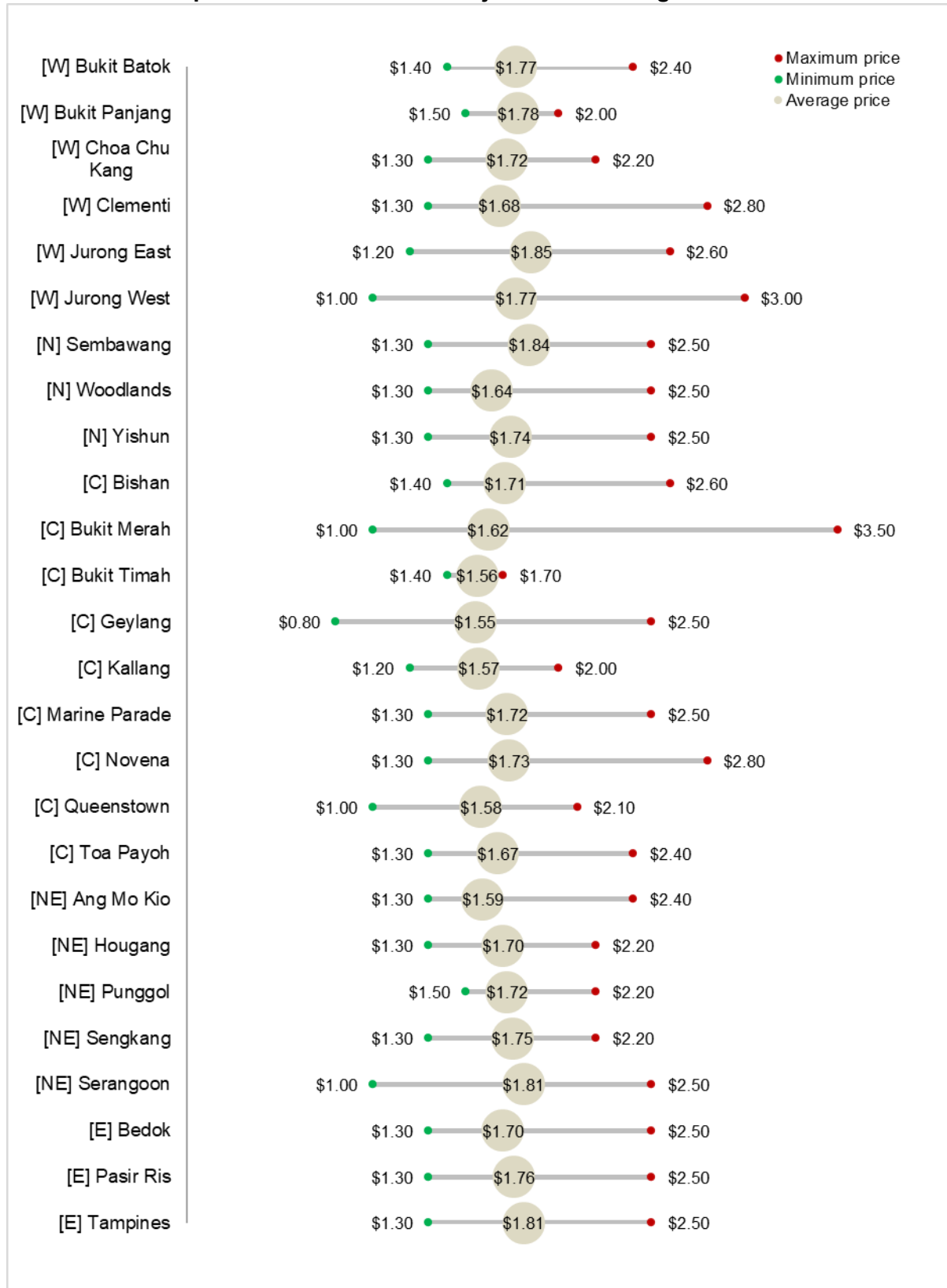


Table 3.12: Prices of iced lime juice across neighbourhoods

Region	Iced Lime Juice			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$1.75	\$3.00	\$1.00	164
Bukit Batok	\$1.77	\$2.40	\$1.40	35
Bukit Panjang	\$1.78	\$2.00	\$1.50	15
Choa Chu Kang	\$1.72	\$2.20	\$1.30	18
Clementi	\$1.68	\$2.80	\$1.30	48
Jurong East	\$1.85	\$2.60	\$1.20	16
Jurong West	\$1.77	\$3.00	\$1.00	32
NORTH	\$1.71	\$2.50	\$1.30	114
Sembawang	\$1.84	\$2.50	\$1.30	16
Woodlands	\$1.64	\$2.50	\$1.30	47
Yishun	\$1.74	\$2.50	\$1.30	51
CENTRAL	\$1.61	\$3.50	\$0.80	324
Bishan	\$1.71	\$2.60	\$1.40	21
Bukit Merah	\$1.62	\$3.50	\$1.00	65
Bukit Timah	\$1.56	\$1.70	\$1.40	7
Geylang	\$1.55	\$2.50	\$0.80	88
Kallang	\$1.57	\$2.00	\$1.20	34
Marine Parade	\$1.72	\$2.50	\$1.30	10
Novena	\$1.73	\$2.80	\$1.30	26
Queenstown	\$1.58	\$2.10	\$1.00	41
Toa Payoh	\$1.67	\$2.40	\$1.30	32
NORTHEAST	\$1.68	\$2.50	\$1.00	164
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.59	\$2.40	\$1.30	71
Hougang	\$1.70	\$2.20	\$1.30	26
Punggol	\$1.72	\$2.20	\$1.50	17
Sengkang	\$1.75	\$2.20	\$1.30	27
Serangoon	\$1.81	\$2.50	\$1.00	23
EAST	\$1.75	\$2.50	\$1.30	116
Bedok	\$1.70	\$2.50	\$1.30	61
Pasir Ris	\$1.76	\$2.50	\$1.30	14
Tampines	\$1.81	\$2.50	\$1.30	41

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In all the regions except the East, average prices of iced lime juice were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and then food courts. In contrast, the average price of iced lime juice in the East was higher in hawker centres than in kopitiams, while food courts remained as the food establishment type with the highest average prices (see Table 3.13 below).

The average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres in the West was \$1.53 while actual prices ranged between \$1.45 and \$1.60. Actual prices of iced lime juice at hawker centres in the West ranged between \$1 (Jurong West) and \$2 (Clementi, Jurong East and Jurong West). The most expensive iced lime juice sold at food courts in the West was sold at Clementi for \$2.80, while the most affordable was sold at Choa Chu Kang for \$1.50. The average price of iced lime juice at kopitiam in the West was the highest in Jurong East (\$1.97) and the lowest in Choa Chu Kang (\$1.66). The range of price of iced lime juice at kopitiam in the West was quite big, with the cheapest iced lime juice found in Choa Chu Kang (\$1.30) and the most expensive in Jurong West (\$3).

The average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres in the North was \$1.53, while actual prices ranged between \$1.30 and \$2. The average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres was higher in Yishun (\$1.75) than Woodlands (\$1.45), while there were no observations in Sembawang for this establishment type. The average cost of iced lime juice at food courts in the North was \$1.91. Sembawang food courts had the highest average cost (\$2), while Woodlands had the lowest (\$1.84). Kopitiam in the North sold iced lime juice for an average of \$1.73, with neighbourhoods reporting fairly similar average prices — Woodlands, Yishun, and Sembawang kopitiam sold iced lime juice for an average of \$1.71, \$1.72 and \$1.78 respectively.

The average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres in the Central region was \$1.49. Bukit Merah had the lowest average cost of iced lime juice in hawker centres at \$1.42, which was also the lowest average cost throughout the hawker centres across the food establishments surveyed. In contrast, Novena had the highest average cost of iced lime juice at hawker centres (\$1.69). Kopitiam in the Central had a fairly broad spread of prices of iced lime juice, ranging from \$1.30 to \$3.50. The average price of iced lime juice at kopitiam was \$1.65 in Bukit Timah, Marine Parade and Queenstown; \$1.67 in Geylang and Novena; \$1.69 in Bishan, Bukit Merah and Toa Payoh; and \$1.71 in Kallang. The average price of iced lime juice in food courts in the Central region was \$2.01.

Ang Mo Kio sold iced lime juice at the lowest average price of \$1.60 at hawker centres in the North-Eastern region (\$1.60), while Serangoon priced it highest (\$2.16). The prices of iced lime juice at hawker centres in Serangoon varied the most compared to the other neighbourhoods, ranging from \$1.50 to \$2.50. The food courts in Serangoon also reported the highest average price in the Northeast (\$2.15), while the kopitiam in Serangoon had the lowest average price of iced lime juice at kopitiam in the Northeast (\$1.59).

Unlike other regions, the average price of iced lime juice was higher at hawker centres than in kopitiam in the East. The average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres in this region was \$1.75, \$0.03 more than the average price of iced lime juice at kopitiam (\$1.72). Kopitiam in Bedok had the lowest average price of \$1.67 compared to the other neighbourhoods in the region, while Tampines kopitiam reported the highest average price of \$1.77. Pasir Ris reported the lowest average price of iced lime juice at hawker centres in the East (\$1.47), followed by Bedok (\$1.75) and Tampines (\$1.92). Bedok had the lowest average price of iced lime juice at food courts (\$1.90), while the average prices at food courts in Pasir Ris and Tampines were both \$1.93.

Table 3.13: Prices of iced lime juice across neighbourhoods

Region	Iced Lime Juice					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$1.53	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$2.04	\$1.50 - \$2.80	\$1.76	\$1.30 - \$3.00
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$2.20	\$2.20 - \$2.20^	\$1.75	\$1.40 - \$2.40
Bukit Panjang	\$1.60	\$1.60 - \$1.60*	\$2.00	\$2.00 - \$2.00^	\$1.71	\$1.50 - \$2.00
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$1.93	\$1.50 - \$2.20	\$1.66	\$1.30 - \$1.80
Clementi	\$1.58	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$2.20	\$1.60 - \$2.80	\$1.71	\$1.40 - \$2.20
Jurong East	\$1.48	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$2.00	\$2.00 - \$2.00^	\$1.97	\$1.30 - \$2.60
Jurong West	\$1.45	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$2.06	\$1.60 - \$2.30	\$1.87	\$1.30 - \$3.00
NORTH	\$1.53	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$1.91	\$1.50 - \$2.50	\$1.73	\$1.30 - \$2.50
Sembawang	-	-	\$2.00	\$1.70 - \$2.50	\$1.78	\$1.30 - \$2.20
Woodlands	\$1.45	\$1.30 - \$1.80	\$1.84	\$1.60 - \$2.50	\$1.71	\$1.40 - \$2.00
Yishun	\$1.75	\$1.50 - \$2.00	\$1.93	\$1.50 - \$2.20	\$1.72	\$1.30 - \$2.50
CENTRAL	\$1.49	\$0.80 - \$2.20	\$2.01	\$1.30 - \$2.90	\$1.68	\$1.30 - \$3.50
Bishan	\$1.50	\$1.50 - \$1.50^	\$2.05	\$2.00 - \$2.10	\$1.69	\$1.40 - \$2.60
Bukit Merah	\$1.42	\$1.00 - \$2.20	\$2.10	\$1.50 - \$2.90	\$1.69	\$1.40 - \$3.50
Bukit Timah	\$1.52	\$1.40 - \$1.60	-	-	\$1.65	\$1.60 - \$1.70
Geylang	\$1.48	\$0.80 - \$2.00	\$2.03	\$1.90 - \$2.20	\$1.67	\$1.30 - \$2.50
Kallang	\$1.47	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.83	\$1.60 - \$2.00	\$1.71	\$1.60 - \$1.80
Marine Parade	\$1.63	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$2.05	\$1.60 - \$2.50	\$1.65	\$1.60 - \$1.70
Novena	\$1.69	\$1.40 - \$2.00	\$1.98	\$1.30 - \$2.80	\$1.67	\$1.50 - \$2.20
Queenstown	\$1.46	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$1.88	\$1.60 - \$2.10	\$1.65	\$1.30 - \$2.00
Toa Payoh	\$1.53	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$2.13	\$1.80 - \$2.40	\$1.69	\$1.30 - \$2.10
NORTHEAST	\$1.60	\$1.30 - \$2.50	\$1.88	\$1.50 - \$2.50	\$1.68	\$1.00 - \$2.40
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.50	\$1.30 - \$1.70	\$1.50	\$1.50 - \$1.50*	\$1.67	\$1.30 - \$2.40
Hougang	\$1.55	\$1.30 - \$2.00	\$1.88	\$1.50 - \$2.10	\$1.70	\$1.30 - \$2.20
Punggol	-	-	\$1.83	\$1.50 - \$2.20	\$1.69	\$1.50 - \$2.00
Sengkang	\$1.78	\$1.50 - \$1.90	\$1.81	\$1.50 - \$2.20	\$1.71	\$1.30 - \$1.90
Serangoon	\$2.16	\$1.50 - \$2.50	\$2.15	\$1.70 - \$2.50	\$1.59	\$1.00 - \$1.70
EAST	\$1.75	\$1.30 - \$2.50	\$1.93	\$1.60 - \$2.50	\$1.72	\$1.30 - \$2.40
Bedok	\$1.75	\$1.30 - \$2.50	\$1.90	\$1.90 - \$1.90*	\$1.67	\$1.50 - \$2.20
Pasir Ris	\$1.47	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$1.93	\$1.60 - \$2.50	\$1.74	\$1.30 - \$2.20
Tampines	\$1.92	\$1.50 - \$2.50	\$1.93	\$1.60 - \$2.40	\$1.77	\$1.30 - \$2.40

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.2.5 Canned Drink with Ice

The overall average price of canned drinks with ice was \$1.54, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$1.00 to \$2.80. Price differences across food establishment types were statistically significant⁹. Hawker centres reported the lowest average price at \$1.42, followed by kopitiam at \$1.61 then food courts at \$1.64 (see Table 3.14 below). All establishment types shared the same minimum price, possibly due to the homogeneity of the cost of common canned drinks.

Further statistical tests showed that while hawker centre prices were significantly lower than those recorded in kopitiam and food courts, the prices in kopitiam and food courts were not statistically different from each other. However, these differences were not apparent if one looks at the maximum prices reported for each food establishment type. The maximum price was \$2.30 in hawker centres, \$2 in food courts and \$2.80 in kopitiam. It is also worth noting that the prices did not vary in the same way in different establishment types. In kopitiam and food courts, the maximum prices reported – \$2.80 and \$2 respectively – were part of the continuum of prices, while the highest price for hawker centres was more of an outlier.

Around a quarter of all observed stalls sold canned drink with ice for \$1.60. This was also the most common price found in food courts (26.3 per cent of the observations) and kopitiam (35.7 per cent of the observations). In hawker centres, the most common price was slightly lower at \$1.50 (27.4 per cent of the observations).

Table 3.14: Prices of canned drink with ice across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$1.54	\$1.42	\$1.64	\$1.61
Maximum price	\$2.80	\$2.30	\$2.00	\$2.80
Minimum price	\$1.00	\$1.00	\$1.00	\$1.00
Most common price	\$1.60 (25.4%)	\$1.50 (27.4%)	\$1.60 (26.3%)	\$1.60 (35.7%)

The variation in prices across regions was found to be statistically significant¹⁰. In addition, the Central region was found to have statistically significant lower average prices when compared with the West, North and East regions, while the West reported a statistically significant lower average price compared to the Northeast.

As with Kopi O and Kopi, the price range of canned drinks with ice for each region appears to have little to do the average prices. The Central region had the largest range of \$0.70 to \$2.80. However, it had the lowest average price of \$1.50, most likely because there was only one observation each for the two highest price points of \$2.80 and \$2.50. Without them, the highest price observed in the Central region would be \$2, which was lower than that of other regions. In contrast, prices ranged from \$1 to \$2.50 in the West, yet had a higher average price of \$1.62. Similarly, the North had a range of \$1 to \$2.60 and an average price of \$1.59; the

⁹ $F(2,1033) = 181.55, p < .001$

¹⁰ $F(4,1031) = 15.80, p < .001$

Northeast had a range of \$1 to \$2 and an average price of \$1.54; the East had a range of \$1.20 to \$1.90 and an average price of \$1.56. It is also notable that the East region is the only region with a minimum price higher than \$1 (see Graph 3.5 and Table 3.15 below).

The Western region had the largest range in neighbourhood average prices. Clementi had the lowest average price of \$1.52 while Jurong West had the highest average price of \$1.84. Jurong West also had the highest average price across all neighbourhoods.

The North had the narrowest range of average prices, with Woodlands at the lowest with \$1.59, while Sembawang and Yishun both reported the same price of \$1.60. For the Central region, Marine Parade and Queenstown shared the lowest average at \$1.41 while Bishan had the highest average at \$1.59. Marine Parade and Queenstown also had the lowest average price across all neighbourhoods.

For the Northeast region, Ang Mo Kio had the lowest average price of \$1.51 while Punggol had the highest at \$1.64. For the East, Bedok had the lowest average price of \$1.55 and Pasir Ris had the highest average price of \$1.59.

Graph 3.5: Prices of canned drink with ice across neighbourhoods

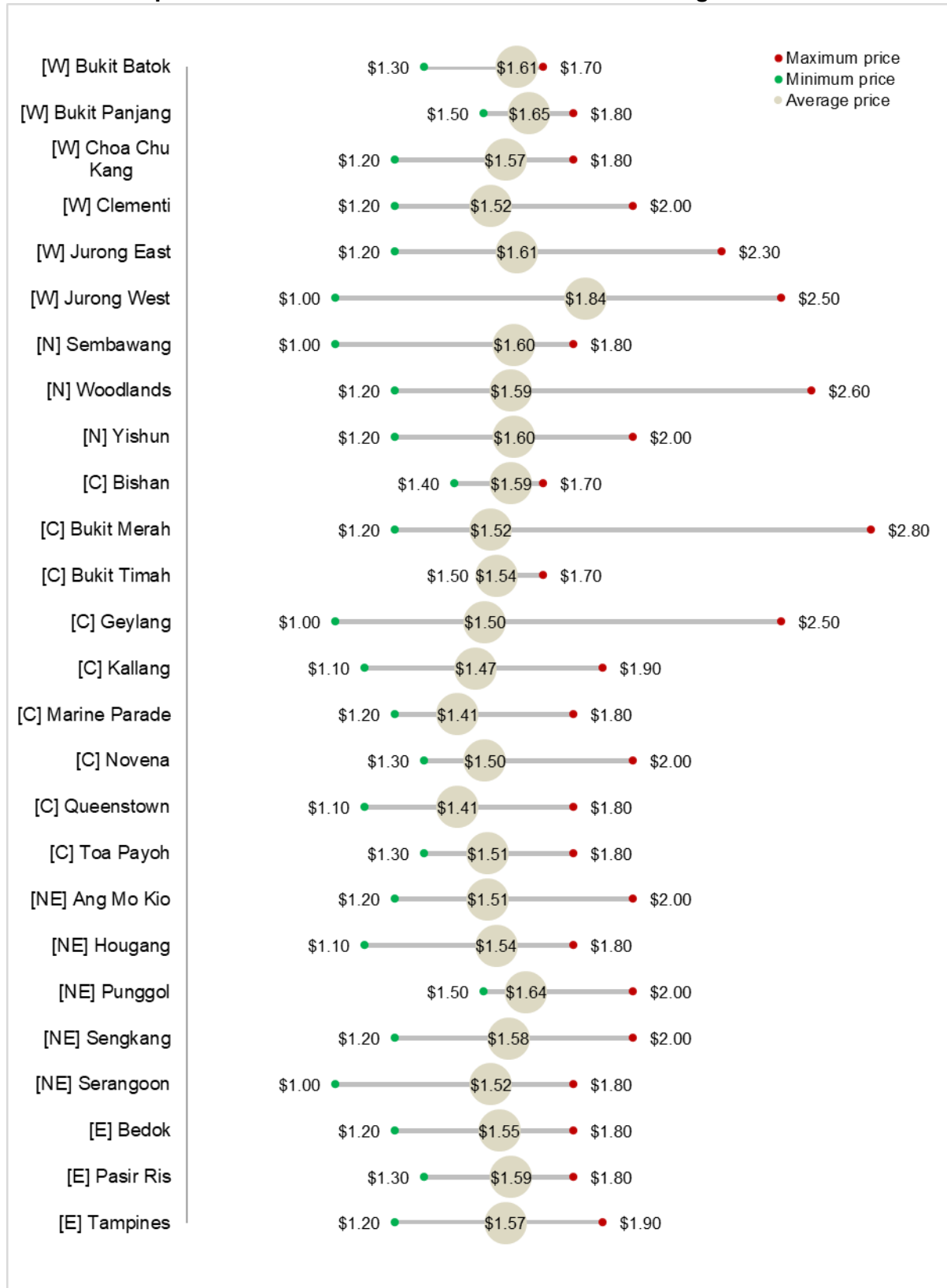


Table 3.15: Prices of canned drink with ice across neighbourhoods

Region	Canned Drink with Ice			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$1.62	\$2.50	\$1.00	164
Bukit Batok	\$1.61	\$1.70	\$1.30	35
Bukit Panjang	\$1.65	\$1.80	\$1.50	14
Choa Chu Kang	\$1.57	\$1.80	\$1.20	19
Clementi	\$1.52	\$2.00	\$1.20	53
Jurong East	\$1.61	\$2.30	\$1.20	16
Jurong West	\$1.84	\$2.50	\$1.00	27
NORTH	\$1.59	\$2.60	\$1.00	116
Sembawang	\$1.60	\$1.80	\$1.00	16
Woodlands	\$1.59	\$2.60	\$1.20	47
Yishun	\$1.60	\$2.00	\$1.20	53
CENTRAL	\$1.50	\$2.80	\$1.00	414
Bishan	\$1.59	\$1.70	\$1.40	21
Bukit Merah	\$1.52	\$2.80	\$1.20	92
Bukit Timah	\$1.54	\$1.70	\$1.50	10
Geylang	\$1.50	\$2.50	\$1.00	101
Kallang	\$1.47	\$1.90	\$1.10	36
Marine Parade	\$1.41	\$1.80	\$1.20	11
Novena	\$1.50	\$2.00	\$1.30	28
Queenstown	\$1.41	\$1.80	\$1.10	53
Toa Payoh	\$1.51	\$1.80	\$1.30	62
NORTHEAST	\$1.54	\$2.00	\$1.00	202
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.51	\$2.00	\$1.20	86
Hougang	\$1.54	\$1.80	\$1.10	45
Punggol	\$1.64	\$2.00	\$1.50	16
Sengkang	\$1.58	\$2.00	\$1.20	31
Serangoon	\$1.52	\$1.80	\$1.00	24
EAST	\$1.56	\$1.90	\$1.20	140
Bedok	\$1.55	\$1.80	\$1.20	77
Pasir Ris	\$1.59	\$1.80	\$1.30	15
Tampines	\$1.57	\$1.90	\$1.20	48

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

For all regions except the North, the average prices varied across establishments in the same way. Hawker centres had the lowest average price, followed by kopitiams, then food courts. For the North, the average price for kopitiams was higher than that of food courts, though food courts still have a higher average price than kopitiams. However, the drink cost less in food courts compared to kopitiams in 10 out of the 26 neighbourhoods. In fact, the average price

in Jurong East food courts was also lower than that of hawker centres in that region, while the average prices in Bedok food courts and hawker centres were the same (see Table 3.16 below).

The lowest and highest average prices for canned drinks with ice were scattered across the regions. For hawker centres, the lowest average price was \$1.35 in the North, while the highest average price was \$1.47 in the East. For food courts, the lowest average price was \$1.32 in the North while the highest average price was \$1.76 in the West. For kopitiams, the Central region had the lowest average price at \$1.58 and the North region had the highest average price at \$1.65.

The West had an average price of \$1.46 for hawker centres, \$1.74 for food courts and \$1.65 for kopitiams. It was also the region with the neighbourhoods that reported the highest average prices for hawker centres (\$1.70 in Bukit Panjang), food courts (\$1.92 in Jurong West) and kopitiams (\$2.01 in Jurong West). This fit with the findings that the West had a statistically significant higher average price than the Central and Northeast regions.

The North had an average price of \$1.35 for hawker centres, \$1.55 for food courts and \$1.65 for kopitiams. Sembawang was also reported the lowest average price for food courts at \$1.50, together with Marine Parade in the Central region and Bedok in the East. For the Central region, there was an average price of \$1.41 for hawker centres, \$1.66 for food courts and \$1.59 for kopitiams. The region also reported the lowest average prices for food courts (\$1.50 in Marine Parade) and kopitiams (\$1.43 in Marine Parade).

The Northeast had an average price of \$1.41 for hawker centres, \$1.61 for food courts and \$1.58 for kopitiams. It had the neighbourhood with the lowest average price of \$1.30 for kopitiams in Sengkang. For the East, there was an average price of \$1.47 for hawker centres, \$1.65 for food courts and \$1.60 for kopitiams. The lowest average price for food courts was also reported in Bedok at \$1.50, together with Sembawang in the North and Marine Parade in the Central region.

Table 3.16: Prices of canned drink with ice across neighbourhoods

Region	Canned Drink with Ice					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$1.46	\$1.00 - \$2.30	\$1.74	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.65	\$1.30 - \$2.50
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$1.70	\$1.70 - \$1.70^	\$1.60	\$1.30 - \$1.70
Bukit Panjang	\$1.70	\$1.70 - \$1.70*	\$1.77	\$1.70 - \$1.80	\$1.61	\$1.50 - \$1.70
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$1.53	\$1.20 - \$1.80	\$1.58	\$1.30 - \$1.70
Clementi	\$1.38	\$1.20 - \$1.50	\$1.90	\$1.80 - \$2.00	\$1.61	\$1.30 - \$1.80
Jurong East	\$1.59	\$1.20 - \$2.30	\$1.55	\$1.20 - \$1.90	\$1.64	\$1.40 - \$2.00
Jurong West	\$1.54	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$1.92	\$1.70 - \$2.00	\$2.01	\$1.50 - \$2.50
NORTH	\$1.35	\$1.20 - \$1.50	\$1.55	\$1.00 - \$2.00	\$1.65	\$1.20 - \$2.60
Sembawang	-	-	\$1.50	\$1.00 - \$1.80	\$1.63	\$1.50 - \$1.80
Woodlands	\$1.35	\$1.20 - \$1.50	\$1.54	\$1.20 - \$1.60	\$1.69	\$1.50 - \$2.60
Yishun	\$1.35	\$1.20 - \$1.50	\$1.60	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.63	\$1.20 - \$1.80
CENTRAL	\$1.41	\$1.00 - \$1.80	\$1.66	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.59	\$1.30 - \$2.80
Bishan	\$1.45	\$1.40 - \$1.50	\$1.65	\$1.60 - \$1.70	\$1.60	\$1.40 - \$1.70
Bukit Merah	\$1.43	\$1.20 - \$1.80	\$1.63	\$1.40 - \$1.80	\$1.61	\$1.30 - \$2.80
Bukit Timah	\$1.51	\$1.50 - \$1.60	-	-	\$1.60	\$1.50 - \$1.70
Geylang	\$1.44	\$1.00 - \$1.70	\$1.70	\$1.60 - \$1.80	\$1.66	\$1.40 - \$2.50
Kallang	\$1.36	\$1.10 - \$1.50	\$1.75	\$1.50 - \$1.90	\$1.53	\$1.40 - \$1.70
Marine Parade	\$1.37	\$1.30 - \$1.40	\$1.50	\$1.20 - \$1.80	\$1.43	\$1.30 - \$1.60
Novena	\$1.39	\$1.30 - \$1.50	\$1.83	\$1.60 - \$2.00	\$1.55	\$1.40 - \$1.60
Queenstown	\$1.31	\$1.10 - \$1.50	\$1.55	\$1.30 - \$1.70	\$1.61	\$1.50 - \$1.80
Toa Payoh	\$1.45	\$1.30 - \$1.60	\$1.67	\$1.60 - \$1.80	\$1.55	\$1.30 - \$1.80
NORTH EAST	\$1.41	\$1.00 - \$1.80	\$1.61	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.58	\$1.00 - \$2.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$1.43	\$1.20 - \$1.80	\$1.60	\$1.60 - \$1.60*	\$1.59	\$1.40 - \$2.00
Hougang	\$1.38	\$1.10 - \$1.60	\$1.63	\$1.50 - \$1.80	\$1.57	\$1.40 - \$1.80
Punggol	-	-	\$1.73	\$1.50 - \$2.00	\$1.62	\$1.50 - \$1.70
Sengkang	\$1.53	\$1.40 - \$1.60	\$1.57	\$1.20 - \$2.00	\$1.59	\$1.30 - \$1.80
Serangoon	\$1.30	\$1.00 - \$1.50	\$1.58	\$1.20 - \$1.80	\$1.57	\$1.00 - \$1.70
EAST	\$1.47	\$1.20 - \$1.60	\$1.65	\$1.40 - \$1.90	\$1.60	\$1.30 - \$1.80
Bedok	\$1.50	\$1.20 - \$1.60	\$1.50	\$1.50 - \$1.50*	\$1.59	\$1.30 - \$1.80
Pasir Ris	\$1.43	\$1.30 - \$1.50	\$1.67	\$1.60 - \$1.80	\$1.60	\$1.30 - \$1.70
Tampines	\$1.34	\$1.20 - \$1.50	\$1.65	\$1.40 - \$1.90	\$1.62	\$1.50 - \$1.80

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3 FOOD PRICES

3.3.1 Breakfast Set

According to the data collected, the average cost of breakfast set was \$3.27. The average cost of breakfast set was the lowest in hawker centres (\$3.17), while the average prices at both food courts and kopitiam were \$3.30. The differences were statistically significant¹¹. The least costly breakfast set could be found at kopitiam for \$2, while the highest price of breakfast set was found at food courts (\$7). The price of the breakfast set ranged between \$2.20 and \$4.30 at hawker centres (see Table 3.17 below).

The sets mostly cost \$4 and below, with just 36 out of 702 stalls (5 per cent) that sold breakfast set pricing their breakfast set above \$4. Meanwhile, the most commonly observed price across all observations was \$3. But given that this price occurred in just 15.4 per cent of all observations, this meant that there was some variation in actual pricing across stalls. The breakfast set was sold most commonly for \$3 in both hawker centres (22.5 per cent of the observations) and kopitiam (14.6 per cent of the observations), while the most common price was slightly lower in food courts at \$2.50 (16.5 per cent of the observations).

Table 3.17: Prices of breakfast set across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.27	\$3.17	\$3.30	\$3.30
Maximum price	\$7.00	\$4.30	\$7.00	\$5.00
Minimum price	\$2.00	\$2.20	\$2.20	\$2.00
Most common price	\$3.00 (15.4%)	\$3.00 (22.5%)	\$2.50 (16.5%)	\$3.00 (14.6%)

The average price of breakfast set was statistically different across the five regions surveyed¹². In particular, the price of breakfast set was statistically higher in the North compared to both the West and the Northeast.

The Central region reported the largest difference in prices, with the lowest cost of breakfast set being \$2 (in Toa Payoh) and the highest cost of breakfast set being \$7 (in Bukit Merah). The Northeast had the smallest price difference between the most and least costly breakfast set, with the most affordable breakfast set being \$2.20 and the most expensive being \$4.80. The lowest price of breakfast set in the West and Central was \$2, and \$2.20 in the North and East. The highest priced breakfast set in the East was \$5 while it was \$5.90 in the West and the North (see Graph 3.6 and Table 3.18 below).

In the West, Jurong East had the highest average price of breakfast set (\$3.35). Bukit Panjang had the lowest average breakfast set cost in the West (\$2.87), which was also the lowest average breakfast set price throughout all regions in Singapore. The average price of the breakfast set was \$2.94 in Jurong East, \$3.09 in Choa Chu Kang, \$3.16 in Bukit Batok and

¹¹ $F(2,699) = 4.12, p = .017$

¹² $F(4,697) = 5.14, p < .001$.

\$3.31 in Jurong West. The price of the breakfast set varied the least in Jurong West (\$2 to \$3.50) and varied the most in Choa Chu Kang (\$2.20 to \$5.90).

The average price of the breakfast set in the North was \$3.42. The average price of breakfast set was \$3.31 in Sembawang, \$3.43 in Woodlands and \$3.44 in Yishun. All three neighbourhoods in the North had the same lowest prices of breakfast set (\$2.20). Meanwhile, the highest price of breakfast set was \$4 in Sembawang, \$4.90 in Yishun and \$5.90 in Woodlands.

In the Central region, Kallang priced the breakfast set lowest on average (\$3.12), while Marine Parade had the highest average prices for breakfast set (\$3.47). Marine Parade also had the highest average price of breakfast set in all the regions surveyed, and the smallest range in prices (\$3.20 to \$4). Bukit Merah had the widest range of breakfast set prices in the Central region, with the highest price of \$7 – which was the highest price of breakfast set amongst all the food establishments surveyed – and the lowest price of \$2.30.

In the Northeast, the average cost of breakfast set was the lowest in Sengkang (\$2.90), followed by \$3.03 in Punggol, \$3.19 in Hougang, \$3.27 in Ang Mo Kio and \$3.46 in Serangoon. The price range of the breakfast set was fairly similar amongst neighbourhoods. Excluding Serangoon, where the lowest price of the breakfast set was \$2.50, the lowest prices of the breakfast set in all the other neighbourhoods in the Northeast was \$2.20. Meanwhile, the highest price of the breakfast set was \$4 in Punggol, \$4.10 in Hougang, \$4.20 in Ang Mo Kio, \$4.50 in Sengkang and \$4.80 in Serangoon.

In the East, the average cost of breakfast set was the lowest at Bedok (\$3.10) and the highest at Tampines (\$3.39). Pasir Ris and Tampines had the same lowest prices of the breakfast set (\$2.20), while the lowest price of the breakfast set was \$2.50 in Bedok. The highest prices of the breakfast set in Pasir Ris, Bedok and Tampines were \$4, \$4.10 and \$5 respectively.

Graph 3.6: Prices of breakfast set across neighbourhoods

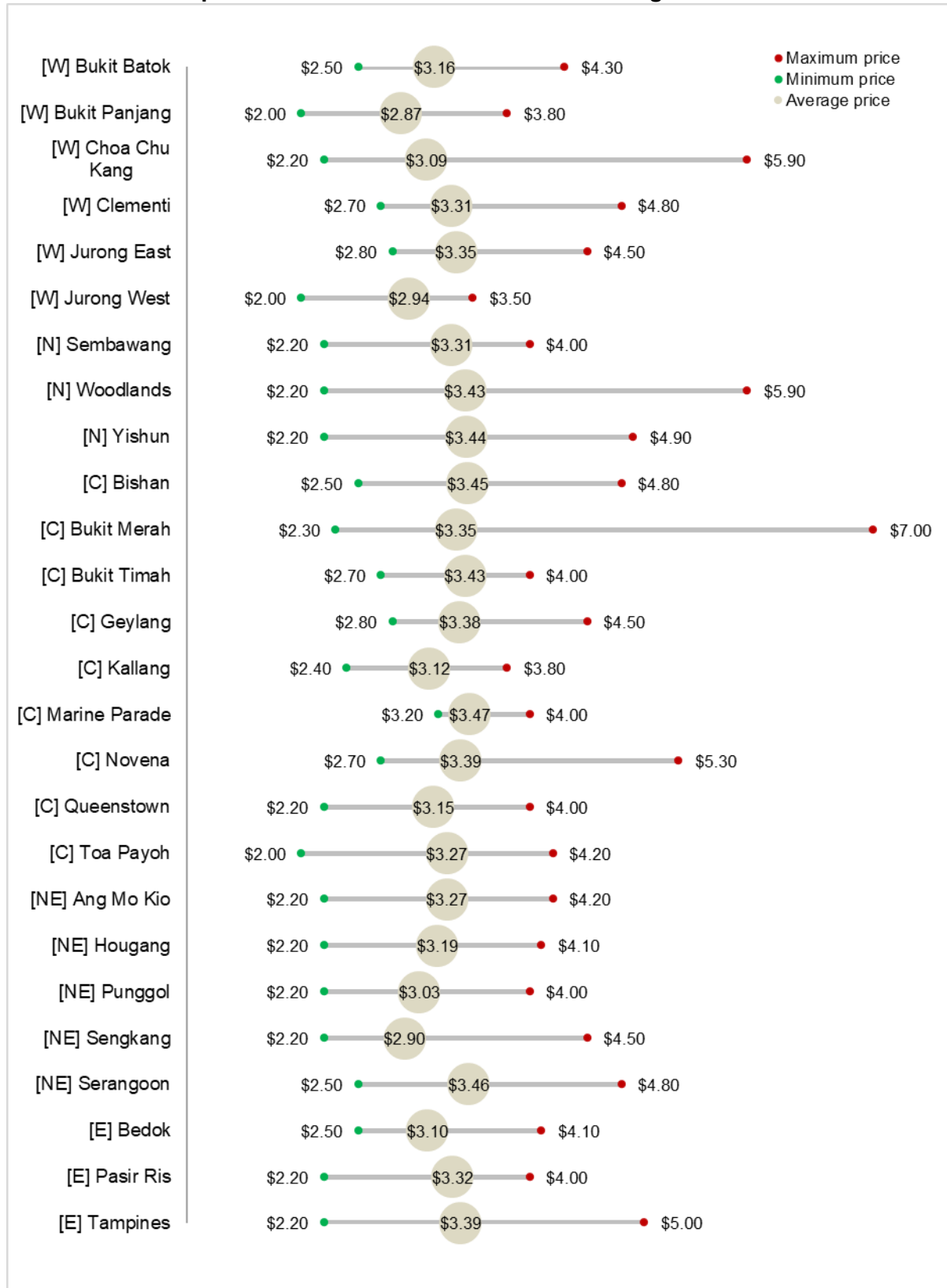


Table 3.18: Prices of breakfast set across neighbourhoods

Region	Breakfast Set			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.16	\$5.90	\$2.00	101
Bukit Batok	\$3.16	\$4.30	\$2.50	28
Bukit Panjang	\$2.87	\$3.80	\$2.00	7
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.09	\$5.90	\$2.20	13
Clementi	\$3.31	\$4.80	\$2.70	29
Jurong East	\$3.35	\$4.50	\$2.80	8
Jurong West	\$2.94	\$3.50	\$2.00	16
NORTH	\$3.42	\$5.90	\$2.20	121
Sembawang	\$3.31	\$4.00	\$2.20	17
Woodlands	\$3.43	\$5.90	\$2.20	51
Yishun	\$3.44	\$4.90	\$2.20	53
CENTRAL	\$3.30	\$7.00	\$2.00	241
Bishan	\$3.45	\$4.80	\$2.50	17
Bukit Merah	\$3.35	\$7.00	\$2.30	71
Bukit Timah	\$3.43	\$4.00	\$2.70	4
Geylang	\$3.38	\$4.50	\$2.80	27
Kallang	\$3.12	\$3.80	\$2.40	23
Marine Parade	\$3.47	\$4.00	\$3.20	9
Novena	\$3.39	\$5.30	\$2.70	13
Queenstown	\$3.15	\$4.00	\$2.20	32
Toa Payoh	\$3.27	\$4.20	\$2.00	45
NORTHEAST	\$3.18	\$4.80	\$2.20	145
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.27	\$4.20	\$2.20	48
Hougang	\$3.19	\$4.10	\$2.20	37
Punggol	\$3.03	\$4.00	\$2.20	16
Sengkang	\$2.90	\$4.50	\$2.20	27
Serangoon	\$3.46	\$4.80	\$2.50	17
EAST	\$3.23	\$5.00	\$2.20	94
Bedok	\$3.10	\$4.10	\$2.50	48
Pasir Ris	\$3.32	\$4.00	\$2.20	12
Tampines	\$3.39	\$5.00	\$2.20	34

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In the West and the Central, average prices of breakfast set were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and then food courts. In the East, average prices of breakfast set were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by food courts and then kopitiams. In the North and Northeast, average prices of breakfast set were the lowest in food courts, followed by hawker centres and then kopitiams (see Table 3.19 below).

The average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in the West was \$3.07, with prices ranging between \$2.30 and \$3.50. Only one stall in Jurong East hawker centres sold the breakfast set, where it was priced at \$2.80. Both the most and least expensive breakfast sets were sold at food courts in the West was sold at Choa Chu Kang for \$5.90 and \$2.20 respectively. The average price of breakfast set at kopitiam in the West was the highest in Jurong East (\$3.54) and the lowest in Bukit Panjang (\$2).

The average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in the North was \$3.21, and actual prices ranged between \$2.20 and \$3.80. Although Woodlands had a wider range of prices, the average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in Woodlands (\$3.15) was lower than that of hawker centres in Yishun (\$3.38). The average cost of breakfast set at food courts in the North was \$3.10. Woodlands food courts had the highest average price (\$3.51), while those in Yishun reported the lowest (\$2.63). Kopitiam in the North sold breakfast set for an average of \$3.52, with neighbourhoods having fairly similar average prices – Sembawang, Yishun and Woodlands kopitiam sold breakfast set for an average of \$3.45, \$3.52 and \$3.56 respectively.

The average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in the Central region was \$3.19. Bishan had the lowest average cost of breakfast set in hawker centres at \$2.90. In contrast, Geylang had the highest average cost of breakfast set at hawker centres (\$3.53). Food courts in the Central had a fairly broad spread of prices of breakfast set, ranging between \$2.50 and \$7. The \$7 breakfast set found in Bukit Merah was the highest price of breakfast set throughout all the establishments that were surveyed. The average price of breakfast set at food courts in the Central region was the lowest at Queenstown food courts (\$3.08) and the highest at Bishan food courts (\$4.05). The average price of breakfast set in kopitiam in the Central was \$3.32, with the highest average price in Central kopitiam found in Bukit Timah (\$3.75) and the lowest in Queenstown (\$3.09).

At hawker centres in the Northeast, the average price of the breakfast set was \$3.18. Sengkang had the lowest average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in the North-Eastern region of Singapore (\$2.50), while Ang Mo Kio had the highest (\$3.28). Both the food courts and kopitiam in Serangoon had the highest average prices of breakfast set in the Northeast (\$3.97 and \$3.36 respectively).

The average price of breakfast set at hawker centres in the East was \$3.03, while the average prices of breakfast set at food courts and kopitiam was \$3.28 and \$3.31 respectively. Bedok had the lowest average prices of breakfast set at food courts and kopitiam in the East (\$3.10 and \$3.14 respectively), while Pasir Ris had the lowest price at hawker centres in the East (\$2.20, single stall surveyed). Tampines had the highest average prices of breakfast set at hawker centres and food courts in the East (\$3.18 and \$3.31 respectively), while Pasir Ris had the highest average price at \$3.60.

Table 3.19: Prices of breakfast set across neighbourhoods

Region	Breakfast Set					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.07	\$2.30 - \$3.50	\$3.29	\$2.20 - \$5.90	\$3.13	\$2.00 - \$4.50
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$3.05	\$3.00 - \$3.10	\$3.17	\$2.50 - \$4.30
Bukit Panjang	-	-	\$3.00	\$2.50 - \$3.40	\$2.78	\$2.00 - \$3.80
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$3.50	\$2.20 - \$5.90	\$2.91	\$2.20 - \$3.50
Clementi	-	-	\$4.80	\$4.80 - \$4.80*	\$3.25	\$2.70 - \$4.30
Jurong East	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	\$3.15	\$3.10 - \$3.20	\$3.54	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Jurong West	\$3.12	\$2.30 - \$3.50	\$3.14	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$2.63	\$2.00 - \$3.00
NORTH	\$3.21	\$2.20 - \$3.80	\$3.10	\$2.20 - \$5.90	\$3.52	\$2.20 - \$4.90
Sembawang	-	-	\$2.85	\$2.20 - \$3.50	\$3.45	\$2.60 - \$4.00
Woodlands	\$3.15	\$2.20 - \$3.80	\$3.51	\$2.90 - \$5.90	\$3.56	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Yishun	\$3.38	\$3.00 - \$3.60	\$2.63	\$2.20 - \$3.00	\$3.52	\$2.20 - \$4.90
CENTRAL	\$3.19	\$2.30 - \$4.30	\$3.56	\$2.50 - \$7.00	\$3.32	\$2.00 - \$4.90
Bishan	\$2.90	\$2.50 - \$3.30	\$4.05	\$3.30 - \$4.80	\$3.44	\$2.90 - \$4.00
Bukit Merah	\$3.10	\$2.30 - \$4.00	\$3.84	\$2.50 - \$7.00	\$3.48	\$2.80 - \$4.90
Bukit Timah	\$3.10	\$2.70 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Geylang	\$3.53	\$3.00 - \$4.30	\$3.67	\$3.10 - \$4.50	\$3.27	\$2.80 - \$4.10
Kallang	\$3.01	\$2.50 - \$3.40	\$3.13	\$2.50 - \$3.80	\$3.23	\$2.40 - \$3.50
Marine Parade	\$3.52	\$3.20 - \$4.00	\$3.80	\$3.80 - \$3.80*	\$3.27	\$3.20 - \$3.40
Novena	\$3.37	\$3.00 - \$3.60	\$3.58	\$2.70 - \$5.30	\$3.28	\$2.80 - \$3.80
Queenstown	\$3.24	\$2.40 - \$4.00	\$3.08	\$2.50 - \$3.50	\$3.09	\$2.20 - \$3.70
Toa Payoh	\$3.24	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$3.40	\$3.10 - \$3.80	\$3.27	\$2.00 - \$4.20
NORTHEAST	\$3.18	\$2.50 - \$3.80	\$3.09	\$2.20 - \$4.80	\$3.19	\$2.20 - \$4.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.28	\$2.80 - \$3.80	\$2.20	\$2.20 - \$2.20*	\$3.30	\$2.80 - \$4.20
Hougang	\$3.04	\$2.70 - \$3.40	\$3.12	\$2.50 - \$3.40	\$3.24	\$2.20 - \$4.10
Punggol	-	-	\$3.13	\$2.50 - \$3.50	\$3.00	\$2.20 - \$4.00
Sengkang	\$2.50	\$2.50 - \$2.50^	\$2.84	\$2.50 - \$3.40	\$2.98	\$2.20 - \$4.50
Serangoon	\$3.20	\$3.20 - \$3.20*	\$3.97	\$2.50 - \$4.80	\$3.36	\$2.50 - \$4.10
EAST	\$3.03	\$2.20 - \$3.50	\$3.28	\$2.50 - \$4.80	\$3.31	\$2.20 - \$5.00
Bedok	\$3.04	\$2.80 - \$3.30	\$3.10	\$3.10 - \$3.10*	\$3.14	\$2.50 - \$4.10
Pasir Ris	\$2.20	\$2.20 - \$2.20*	\$3.27	\$2.50 - \$4.00	\$3.60	\$2.20 - \$4.00
Tampines	\$3.18	\$2.50 - \$3.50	\$3.31	\$2.50 - \$4.80	\$3.47	\$2.20 - \$5.00

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.2 Chicken Rice

The overall average price of chicken rice was \$3.80, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$2 to \$7.80. This derived price was slightly lower compared to the average price of \$4.04¹³ reported by the Department of Statistics (2023b) between September and November 2022.

Hawker centres and kopitiams had similar average prices of \$3.72 and \$3.68 respectively. While the cheapest price found in hawker centres was \$2.50, the range of available prices was similar (from \$2.50 to \$6.50) compared to that of kopitiams, which sold the dish at prices ranging from \$2 to \$6. Meanwhile, food courts generally sold the dish at a higher average price of \$4.64. Prices of chicken rice at food courts ranged from \$3 to \$7.80, which was the largest range found across the three food establishment types (see Table 3.20 below). The differences between food establishment types were found to be statistically significant¹⁴.

While the overall range of chicken rice prices appear to be quite large, it should be noted that only one stall sold the dish at \$2, while nine stalls sold the dish at \$2.50. Similarly, only one stall sold chicken rice at \$7.90, with the next highest price recorded being \$6.50. Across all the observations, the most common price recorded was \$3.50 (36.2 per cent). It was also the most commonly reported for both hawker centres and kopitiams, being reported for around four in 10 of all observations for these two establishment types. Meanwhile, the most common price reported for food courts was \$5. However, given that this price was observed for just 16.7 per cent of the food court stalls, it is likely that the prices in food courts were more varied.

Table 3.20: Prices of chicken rice across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.80	\$3.72	\$4.64	\$3.68
Maximum price	\$7.80	\$6.50	\$7.80	\$6.00
Minimum price	\$2.00	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$2.00
Most common price	\$3.50 (36.2%)	\$3.50 (40.9%)	\$5.00 (16.7%)	\$3.50 (40.6%)

There are no statistically significant differences in the average prices of chicken rice across the West, North, Central, Northeast and East regions¹⁵. The price ranges for these regions, however, differed. The Central region reported the largest range, from \$2.50 to \$7.80, while the East had the smallest range of \$2.80 to \$5.30. Meanwhile, prices ranged from \$2 to \$5.50 in the West, \$2.80 to \$5.50 in the North and \$2.50 to \$6 in the Northeast. Three areas in the Central region – Bishan, Novena and Geylang – were also the only areas to report average prices above \$4.

¹³ The average price for September to November 2022 was derived by taking the average of the reported prices for these three months. The average price of chicken rice was \$4.03 in both September and October 2022, and rose slightly to \$4.06 in November 2022.

¹⁴ $F(2,741) = 130.63, p < .001$

¹⁵ $F(4,739) = 1.76, ns$

While the lowest price of \$2 was only found in Clementi, many areas reported the second lowest price of \$2.50. These included Bukit Panjang and Jurong West in the West; Kallang, Queenstown and Toa Payoh in the Central region; as well as Hougang in the Northeast (see Graph 3.7 and Table 3.21 below).

Within the Western region, Bukit Panjang had the lowest average price of \$3.64. Together with Choa Chu Kang, which reported an average price of \$3.69, it was one of the only two areas in the West with average prices lower than \$3.70. Meanwhile, areas in the North reported slightly higher average prices – Yishun had the lowest average cost of \$3.68, followed by Sembawang (\$3.71) and Woodlands (\$3.80).

Within the Central region, Bishan, Bukit Merah and Geylang reported higher maximum prices compared to the other areas, while Kallang, Queenstown and Toa Payoh reported the lowest minimum prices compared to other areas in the region. Toa Payoh (\$3.66) also reported one of the lowest average prices. While the lowest average price (\$3.63) within the Central region was reported in Bukit Timah, the low number of stalls and the small range of prices should be taken into context.

In the Northeast, Hougang recorded the largest range of prices (\$2.50 to \$6), while Ang Mo Kio and Punggol recorded the smallest (\$3 to \$4.50). The highest average cost, meanwhile, was found in Sengkang (\$3.98), even though it did not have chicken rice priced at \$6, which was the maximum price found in the region. In the East, Bedok recorded the lowest average price of \$3.67, followed by Tampines (\$3.77) and Pasir Ris (\$3.96). It is interesting to note that even though Pasir Ris had the smallest range in recorded price, it had the highest average cost, which suggested that many of the chicken rice stalls priced their offerings nearer to \$4.

Graph 3.7: Prices of chicken rice across neighbourhoods

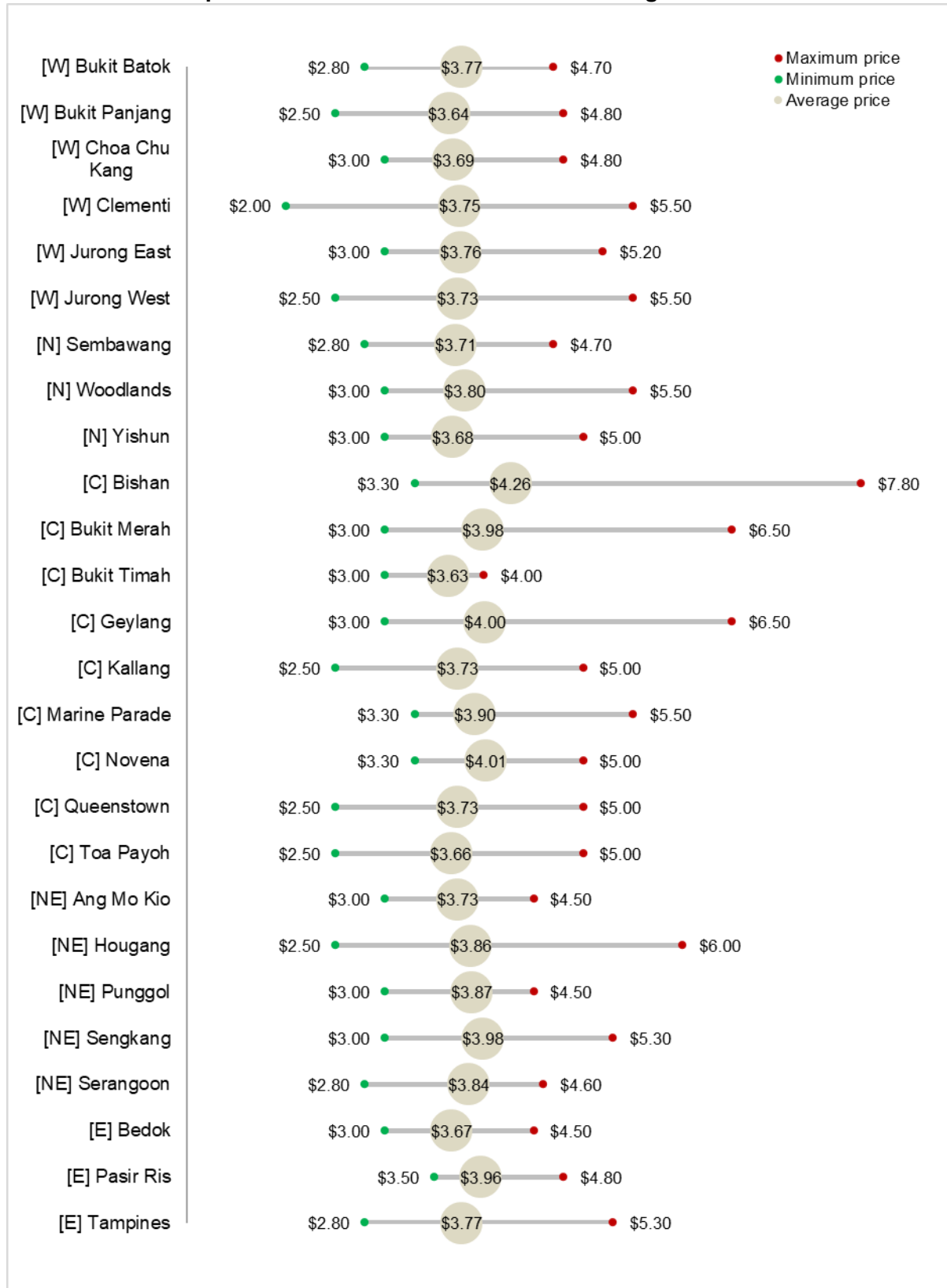


Table 3.21: Prices of chicken rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Rice			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.73	\$5.50	\$2.00	169
Bukit Batok	\$3.77	\$4.70	\$2.80	28
Bukit Panjang	\$3.64	\$4.80	\$2.50	17
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.69	\$4.80	\$3.00	21
Clementi	\$3.75	\$5.50	\$2.00	33
Jurong East	\$3.76	\$5.20	\$3.00	29
Jurong West	\$3.73	\$5.50	\$2.50	41
NORTH	\$3.74	\$5.50	\$2.80	68
Sembawang	\$3.71	\$4.70	\$2.80	12
Woodlands	\$3.80	\$5.50	\$3.00	31
Yishun	\$3.68	\$5.00	\$3.00	25
CENTRAL	\$3.87	\$7.80	\$2.50	256
Bishan	\$4.26	\$7.80	\$3.30	16
Bukit Merah	\$3.98	\$6.50	\$3.00	45
Bukit Timah	\$3.63	\$4.00	\$3.00	8
Geylang	\$4.00	\$6.50	\$3.00	49
Kallang	\$3.73	\$5.00	\$2.50	35
Marine Parade	\$3.90	\$5.50	\$3.30	11
Novena	\$4.01	\$5.00	\$3.30	13
Queenstown	\$3.73	\$5.00	\$2.50	40
Toa Payoh	\$3.66	\$5.00	\$2.50	39
NORTHEAST	\$3.84	\$6.00	\$2.50	159
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.73	\$4.50	\$3.00	47
Hougang	\$3.86	\$6.00	\$2.50	48
Punggol	\$3.87	\$4.50	\$3.00	19
Sengkang	\$3.98	\$5.30	\$3.00	28
Serangoon	\$3.84	\$4.60	\$2.80	16
EAST	\$3.76	\$5.30	\$2.80	92
Bedok	\$3.67	\$4.50	\$3.00	37
Pasir Ris	\$3.96	\$4.80	\$3.50	12
Tampines	\$3.77	\$5.30	\$2.80	43

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In the West, North and East, hawker centres recorded the lowest average prices, followed by kopitiam and food courts. In the Central and Northeast, kopitiam recorded the lowest average prices, followed by hawker centres and food courts. Average prices for food courts across the regions were more variable, ranging from \$4.25 in the East to \$4.96 in the West (see Table 3.22 below).

In the West, chicken rice in hawker centres were priced between \$3 and \$4.50, between \$2 and \$5 in kopitiams, and between \$3.80 and \$5.50 in food courts. Interestingly, kopitiams in Bukit Panjang (\$3.49) recorded a lower average price compared to the hawker centres in Clementi, Jurong East and Jurong West. Food court prices were the most variable for this region, with the lowest recorded average price being \$4.27 in Choa Chu Kang and the highest recorded price of \$5.07 in Jurong East.

In the North, the number of recorded hawker centre prices was small. Meanwhile, Sembawang recorded the lowest average price for both food courts (\$4.33) and kopitiams (\$3.50). In contrast, Woodlands had the highest average price for kopitiams (\$3.70) while Yishun had the highest average price for food courts (\$4.65).

In the Central region, kopitiams in different areas recorded similar average prices of under \$3.90. The lowest average price for kopitiams was found in Novena at \$3.45. Meanwhile, Marine Parade hawker centres had the smallest range of chicken rice prices (\$3.30 to \$3.80), and also recorded the lowest average price in the region for hawker centres at \$3.52. Novena and Bishan hawker centres, in contrast, were the only areas among the neighbourhoods surveyed where the average prices for hawker centres were higher than \$4. When comparing food court prices, Geylang (\$5.75), Bishan (\$5.70) and Marine Parade (\$5.35) were the three areas with the highest average prices for the region.

In the Northeast, the average prices for food centres and kopitiams were relatively similar. Ang Mo Kio hawker centres recorded the lowest average price (\$3.71), followed by those in Sengkang (\$3.80) and then those in Hougang (\$3.92).

When comparing food establishments in the East, hawker centres in Tampines had the lowest recorded average price of \$3.30 even though those in Pasir Ris had the smallest range of \$3.50 to \$3.80. No prices were recorded for food courts in Bedok, while those in Pasir Ris had an average cost of \$4.08 and those in Tampines had an average cost of \$4.38. Kopitiam chicken rice prices in Pasir Ris were the highest at \$3.96, compared to \$3.68 in Bedok and \$3.71 in Tampines.

Table 3.22: Prices of chicken rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Rice					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.56	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.73	\$3.80 - \$5.50	\$3.63	\$2.00 - \$5.00
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$4.70	\$4.70 - \$4.70*	\$3.74	\$2.80 - \$4.50
Bukit Panjang	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	\$4.35	\$3.80 - \$4.80	\$3.49	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$4.27	\$3.80 - \$4.80	\$3.59	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Clementi	\$3.68	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$5.15	\$4.80 - \$5.50	\$3.64	\$2.00 - \$4.50
Jurong East	\$3.61	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$5.07	\$5.00 - \$5.20	\$3.60	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Jurong West	\$3.53	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$5.00	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$3.63	\$2.50 - \$5.00
NORTH	\$3.59	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.49	\$3.50 - \$5.50	\$3.61	\$2.80 - \$5.00
Sembawang	-	-	\$4.33	\$3.80 - \$4.70	\$3.50	\$2.80 - \$4.00
Woodlands	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.52	\$3.50 - \$5.50	\$3.70	\$3.30 - \$5.00
Yishun	\$3.80	\$3.80 - \$3.80^	\$4.65	\$4.30 - \$5.00	\$3.58	\$3.00 - \$4.50
CENTRAL	\$3.78	\$2.50 - \$6.50	\$4.94	\$3.20 - \$7.80	\$3.68	\$2.50 - \$5.50
Bishan	\$4.25	\$4.00 - \$4.50	\$5.70	\$4.60 - \$7.80	\$3.87	\$3.30 - \$4.50
Bukit Merah	\$3.85	\$3.00 - \$6.50	\$5.00	\$3.20 - \$6.50	\$3.69	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Bukit Timah	\$3.60	\$3.00 - \$4.00	-	-	\$3.67	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Geylang	\$3.99	\$3.00 - \$5.50	\$5.75	\$5.00 - \$6.50	\$3.83	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Kallang	\$3.55	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.78	\$4.40 - \$5.00	\$3.56	\$2.50 - \$4.50
Marine Parade	\$3.52	\$3.30 - \$3.80	\$5.35	\$5.20 - \$5.50	\$3.70	\$3.50 - \$3.80
Novena	\$4.08	\$3.50 - \$5.00	\$4.60	\$4.60 - \$4.60^	\$3.45	\$3.30 - \$3.50
Queenstown	\$3.64	\$2.50 - \$4.50	\$4.43	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$3.72	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Toa Payoh	\$3.65	\$2.50 - \$5.00	\$4.33	\$4.20 - \$4.50	\$3.59	\$2.50 - \$4.50
NORTHEAST	\$3.78	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.46	\$3.00 - \$5.50	\$3.73	\$2.50 - \$6.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.71	\$3.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.74	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Hougang	\$3.92	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$4.47	\$3.00 - \$5.50	\$3.73	\$2.50 - \$6.00
Punggol	-	-	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50^	\$3.70	\$3.00 - \$4.20
Sengkang	\$3.80	\$3.00 - \$4.30	\$4.42	\$3.50 - \$5.30	\$3.71	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Serangoon	-	-	\$4.55	\$4.50 - \$4.60	\$3.74	\$2.80 - \$4.30
EAST	\$3.61	\$2.80 - \$4.50	\$4.25	\$3.50 - \$5.20	\$3.72	\$3.00 - \$5.30
Bedok	\$3.66	\$3.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.68	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Pasir Ris	\$3.65	\$3.50 - \$3.80	\$4.08	\$3.50 - \$4.30	\$3.96	\$3.50 - \$4.80
Tampines	\$3.30	\$2.80 - \$3.60	\$4.38	\$3.80 - \$5.20	\$3.71	\$3.00 - \$5.30

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.3 Economic Rice

The overall average price of economic rice was \$3.44, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$2.20 to \$5.70. This price was slightly lower compared to the average price of \$3.72¹⁶ reported by the Department of Statistics (2023b) for September to November 2022.

Kopitiam offered marginally lower prices than hawker centres, while food courts offered the dish at \$3 (see Table 3.23 below). While overall regional differences were found to be statistically significant¹⁷, the difference between the average prices of hawker centres and kopitiam was not statistically significant.

The most commonly observed price across all observations was \$3.50 (4.2 per cent of all the stalls surveyed). In hawker centres, around one quarter of the stalls surveyed priced the dish at \$3, while it was more commonly priced at \$4.20 for food courts (20 per cent) and \$3.30 for kopitiam (15.4 per cent). Given the most common prices for all food establishment types were observed for at most one quarter of the stalls, it would appear that there was some variation in the pricing of economic rice. It should also be noted that the lowest prices offered by kopitiam are not individual outliers, but are in very much in the continuum of distribution of prices. Two observations of \$2.20 are found, followed by three observations of \$2.30 and four observations of \$2.40. These lower prices likely contributed to the lower average price reported for kopitiam compared to hawker centres.

Table 3.23: Prices of economic rice across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.44	\$3.36	\$4.17	\$3.32
Maximum price	\$5.70	\$4.50	\$5.70	\$5.00
Minimum price	\$2.20	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$2.20
Most common price	\$3.50 (14.2%)	\$3.00 (25.5%)	\$4.20 (20.0%)	\$3.30 (15.4%)

The differences between regions were not statistically significant¹⁸. Average prices and range in prices across the regions were also fairly similar. The West had an average price of \$3.39 with prices ranging from \$2.30 to \$5.30. The North had an average price of \$3.44 with prices ranging from \$2.20 to \$5. The Central region had an average price of \$3.50 with prices ranging from \$2.20 to \$5.70. The Northeast had an average price of \$3.42 with prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$4.60. The East had an average price of \$3.41 with prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$5.20.

The highest average neighbourhood price was recorded in Marine Parade at \$4.18 while the lowest average neighbourhood price was recorded in Serangoon at \$3.11, leading to a range

¹⁶ The average price for September to November 2022 was derived by taking the average of the reported prices for these three months. The average price of economic rice was reported to be \$3.70 in September 2022, \$3.72 in October 2022 and \$3.73 in November 2022.

¹⁷ $F(2,568) = 125.97, p < .001$

¹⁸ $F(4,566) = 0.957, ns$

of average prices that varied by \$1.07. This large range was mainly the result of the high average price in Marine Parade, given that the next highest neighbourhood average was \$3.74 in Bukit Merah, which was lower by \$0.44. There was also much variation in the range of prices in each neighbourhood. The range of prices was narrowest in Sembawang and Serangoon, respectively ranging by \$1 from \$2.90 to \$3.90 and \$2.50 to \$3.50. However, at its widest, it ranged by up to \$3.50, as in the case of Kallang, where the price ranged from \$2.20 to \$5.70.

For the neighbourhoods in the West, the average prices were quite similar. Clementi had the lowest average price at \$3.30 while Bukit Panjang had the highest average price at \$3.53. The range varied greatly across neighbourhoods. In Choa Chu Kang, which reported the narrowest range, the lowest recorded price was \$3.00 and the highest \$4.10. In contrast, the largest range was found in Jurong East with a minimum price of \$2.50 and a maximum price of \$5.30, more than two times wider the range in Choa Chu Kang.

A similar trend was found in the North. Yishun had the lowest average price of \$3.38 while Woodlands had the highest average price of \$3.52. However, the range in actual prices recorded in Yishun (\$2.20 to \$4.50) was twice as wide as that recorded in Sembawang (\$2.90 to \$3.90).

In the Central region, the lowest average price was \$3.21 in Geylang while the highest average price was \$4.18 in Marine Parade. However, it must be noted that Marine Parade had very few price observations, with the prices from only four stalls being recorded. The next highest average price was reported for Bukit Merah at \$3.74, which was comparatively lower. There was also high variation in the range of prices. Excluding Bukit Timah, which only had six price observations, the narrowest price range was found in Bukit Merah (\$3 to \$4.60), while the widest price range was recorded in Kallang (\$2.20 to \$5.70). The Central region therefore recorded the widest overall price range when compared with other regions, and also housed the neighbourhoods with the narrowest range and the widest range within its boundaries.

In the Northeast, average prices differed by relatively large margins, with the lowest average price at \$3.11 in Serangoon and the highest average price at \$3.69 in Punggol. Nonetheless, the Northeast had the lowest variation in neighbourhood price ranges. The narrowest range was reported in Serangoon (\$2.50 to \$3.50) while the largest range was reported in Hougang (\$2.60 to \$4.40).

In the East, the average prices were similar, with the lowest average price at \$2.50 in Bedok and the highest average price at \$3 in Pasir Ris. However, despite the similar average prices, the price ranges varied greatly across neighbourhoods. While Bedok and Pasir Ris had similarly narrow price ranges, from \$2.50 to \$3.80 and from \$3 to \$4.30 respectively, Tampines had a considerably larger price range from \$2.70 to \$5.20.

Graph 3.8: Prices of economic rice across neighbourhoods

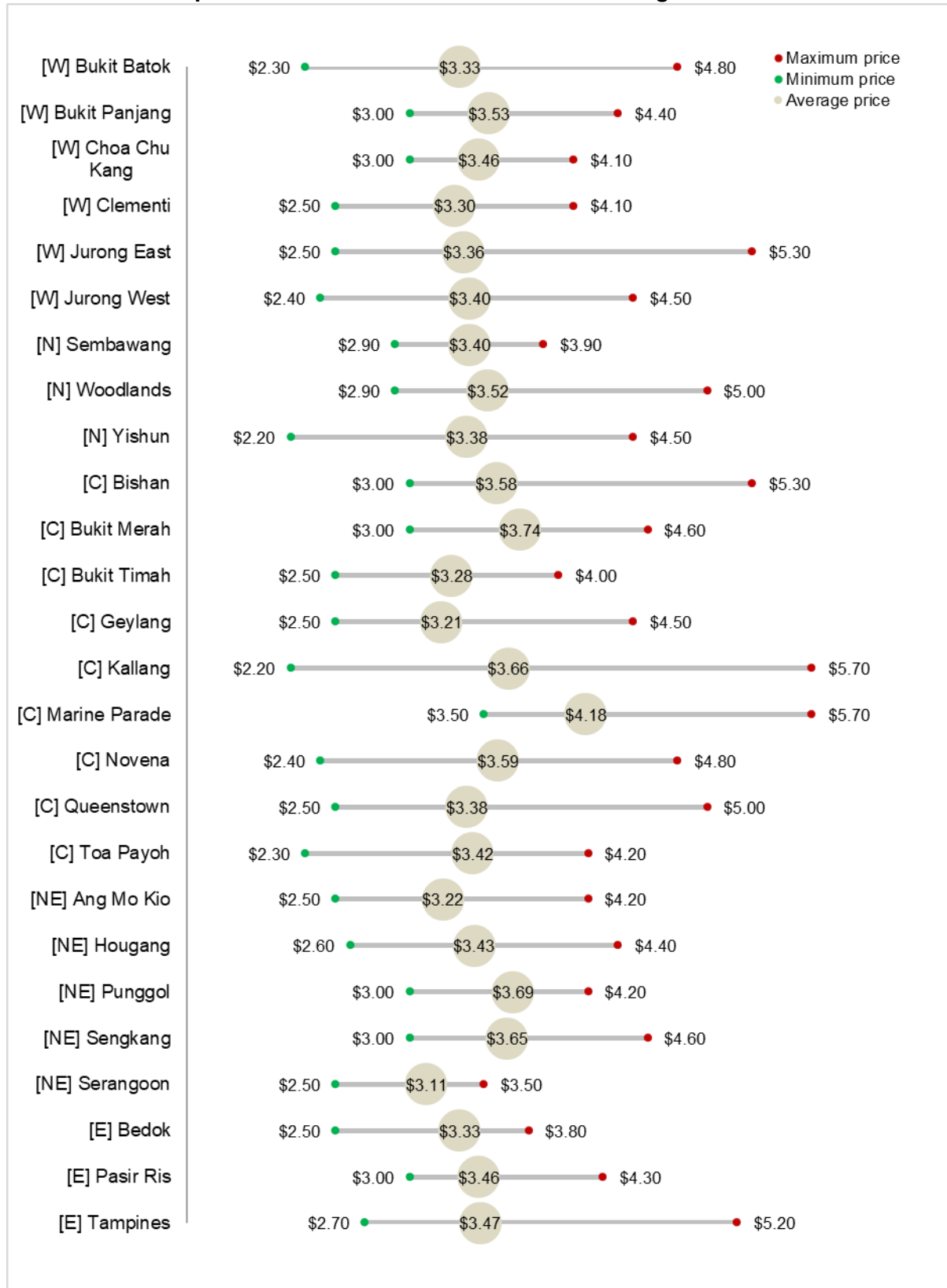


Table 3.24: Prices of economic rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Economic Rice			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.39	\$5.30	\$2.30	123
Bukit Batok	\$3.33	\$4.80	\$2.30	26
Bukit Panjang	\$3.53	\$4.40	\$3.00	15
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.46	\$4.10	\$3.00	17
Clementi	\$3.30	\$4.10	\$2.50	23
Jurong East	\$3.36	\$5.30	\$2.50	16
Jurong West	\$3.40	\$4.50	\$2.40	26
NORTH	\$3.44	\$5.00	\$2.20	81
Sembawang	\$3.40	\$3.90	\$2.90	14
Woodlands	\$3.52	\$5.00	\$2.90	33
Yishun	\$3.38	\$4.50	\$2.20	34
CENTRAL	\$3.50	\$5.70	\$2.20	170
Bishan	\$3.58	\$5.30	\$3.00	13
Bukit Merah	\$3.74	\$4.60	\$3.00	31
Bukit Timah	\$3.28	\$4.00	\$2.50	6
Geylang	\$3.21	\$4.50	\$2.50	34
Kallang	\$3.66	\$5.70	\$2.20	20
Marine Parade	\$4.18	\$5.70	\$3.50	4
Novena	\$3.59	\$4.80	\$2.40	11
Queenstown	\$3.38	\$5.00	\$2.50	16
Toa Payoh	\$3.42	\$4.20	\$2.30	35
NORTHEAST	\$3.42	\$4.60	\$2.50	125
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.22	\$4.20	\$2.50	35
Hougang	\$3.43	\$4.40	\$2.60	36
Punggol	\$3.69	\$4.20	\$3.00	14
Sengkang	\$3.65	\$4.60	\$3.00	28
Serangoon	\$3.11	\$3.50	\$2.50	12
EAST	\$3.41	\$5.20	\$2.50	72
Bedok	\$3.33	\$3.80	\$2.50	31
Pasir Ris	\$3.46	\$4.30	\$3.00	10
Tampines	\$3.47	\$5.20	\$2.70	31

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In the West, North, Northeast and East, kopitiam had the lowest average prices followed by hawker centres and then food courts. However, in the Central region, hawker centres instead had the lowest average price, followed by kopitiam and food courts.

In the West, economic rice cost an average of \$3.29 for kopitiam, \$3.48 for hawker centres

and \$4 for food courts. The prices ranged from \$2.30 to \$4.10 in kopitiam, \$2.70 to \$4.50 in hawker centres and \$3 to \$5.30 in food courts. For food courts, Jurong East appeared to price the economic rice much higher than the other neighbourhoods in the West, with the highest average price of \$5.30. In fact, this was the highest price for economic rice in food courts in the West. However, it must be noted that there was only one price observation made for Jurong East. In general, food courts in other neighbourhoods priced economic rice similarly to hawker centres and kopitiam. The food courts of Choa Chu Kang had the lowest average price in the West at \$3.33, comparable to that of average neighbourhood prices of hawker centres and kopitiam in the West.

In the North, the average price of economic rice was \$3.34 for kopitiam, \$3.50 for hawker centres and \$4.20 for food courts. The prices ranged from \$2.20 to \$4.30 for kopitiam, \$3.50 to \$3.50 for hawker centres and \$3.60 to \$5 for food courts. There did not seem to be many hawker centre stalls selling economic rice in the North, given that only a total of two price observations were made for hawker centres there. This also led to the minimum and maximum prices being the same for hawker centres in the North.

In the Central region, economic rice cost an average of \$3.26 in hawker centres, \$3.33 in kopitiam and \$4.53 in food courts. The prices ranged from \$2.50 to \$4.50 for hawker centres, \$2.20 to \$4.30 for kopitiam and \$3.60 to \$5.70 for food courts. For this region, neighbourhood prices in the food courts were consistently higher than those in hawker centres and kopitiam. The average neighbourhood prices of the food courts were consistently higher, ranging from the lowest of \$4.10 in Toa Payoh to the highest of \$5.70 in Marine Parade. There was also little overlap in the price range for food courts with the price range for hawker centres and kopitiam, with the price range of food courts higher than that of the other two types of establishments.

In the Northeast, the average price of economic rice was \$3.32 for kopitiam, \$3.43 for hawker centres and \$3.90 for food courts. The prices ranged from \$2.50 to \$4.10 in kopitiam, \$2.70 to \$4.40 in hawker centres and \$3 to \$4.60 in food courts. The highest average price reported for food courts in the region was found in Ang Mo Kio at \$4.20. However, only one price observation was made for that neighbourhood. The second-highest average price for food court was found in Punggol at \$4.17. This was higher than the highest average neighbourhood prices for hawker centres (\$3.90 in Hougang) and kopitiam (\$3.56 in Punggol).

For the East, economic rice cost on average \$3.32 in kopitiam, \$3.47 in hawker centres and \$3.95 in food courts. The prices ranged from \$2.50 to \$5 in kopitiam, \$3 to \$3.60 in hawker centres and \$3 to \$5.20 in food courts. Tampines food courts appeared to price economic rice quite high, with an average price of \$4.53. In contrast, the next highest average price was almost a dollar lower at \$3.75 in Pasir Ris food courts.

Table 3.25: Prices of economic rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Economic Rice					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.48	\$2.70 - \$4.50	\$4.00	\$3.00 - \$5.30	\$3.29	\$2.30 - \$4.10
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$4.50	\$4.20 - \$4.80	\$3.24	\$2.30 - \$4.10
Bukit Panjang	\$3.70	\$3.70 - \$3.70	\$3.80	\$3.00 - \$4.40	\$3.40	\$3.00 - \$3.70
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$3.33	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$3.49	\$3.00 - \$4.10
Clementi	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	\$3.29	\$2.50 - \$4.10
Jurong East	\$3.20	\$2.80 - \$3.60	\$5.30	\$5.30 - \$5.30*	\$3.23	\$2.50 - \$3.70
Jurong West	\$3.64	\$2.70 - \$4.50	\$4.17	\$4.10 - \$4.20	\$3.21	\$2.40 - \$3.70
NORTH	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50^	\$4.20	\$3.60 - \$5.00	\$3.34	\$2.20 - \$4.30
Sembawang	-	-	\$3.90	\$3.90 - \$3.90^	\$3.32	\$2.90 - \$3.70
Woodlands	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50^	\$4.30	\$3.60 - \$5.00	\$3.41	\$2.90 - \$4.10
Yishun	-	-	\$4.27	\$3.80 - \$4.50	\$3.29	\$2.20 - \$4.30
CENTRAL	\$3.26	\$2.50 - \$4.50	\$4.53	\$3.60 - \$5.70	\$3.33	\$2.20 - \$4.30
Bishan	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.90	\$4.50 - \$5.30	\$3.38	\$3.00 - \$3.90
Bukit Merah	\$3.30	\$3.30 - \$3.30*	\$4.27	\$3.60 - \$4.60	\$3.59	\$3.00 - \$4.30
Bukit Timah	\$3.38	\$3.00 - \$4.00	-	-	\$3.10	\$2.50 - \$3.70
Geylang	\$3.23	\$2.80 - \$4.50	\$4.40	\$4.40 - \$4.40*	\$3.14	\$2.50 - \$3.80
Kallang	\$3.10	\$3.10 - \$3.10*	\$5.00	\$4.20 - \$5.70	\$3.22	\$2.20 - \$3.70
Marine Parade	-	-	\$5.70	\$5.70 - \$5.70*	\$3.67	\$3.50 - \$3.80
Novena	-	-	\$4.35	\$3.90 - \$4.80	\$3.16	\$2.40 - \$3.80
Queenstown	\$3.12	\$2.50 - \$4.00	\$4.27	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$3.21	\$3.00 - \$3.40
Toa Payoh	\$3.46	\$3.40 - \$3.50	\$4.10	\$4.00 - \$4.20	\$3.36	\$2.30 - \$3.80
NORTHEAST	\$3.43	\$2.70 - \$4.40	\$3.90	\$3.00 - \$4.60	\$3.32	\$2.50 - \$4.10
Ang Mo Kio	\$2.80	\$2.70 - \$3.00	\$4.20	\$4.20 - \$4.20*	\$3.23	\$2.50 - \$3.90
Hougang	\$3.90	\$3.40 - \$4.40	\$3.92	\$3.30 - \$4.20	\$3.31	\$2.60 - \$3.70
Punggol	-	-	\$4.17	\$4.10 - \$4.20	\$3.56	\$3.00 - \$4.10
Sengkang	\$3.73	\$3.00 - \$4.10	\$3.87	\$3.00 - \$4.60	\$3.51	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Serangoon	-	-	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.12	\$2.50 - \$3.50
EAST	\$3.47	\$3.00 - \$3.60	\$3.95	\$3.00 - \$5.20	\$3.32	\$2.50 - \$5.00
Bedok	\$3.54	\$3.50 - \$3.60	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.30	\$2.50 - \$3.80
Pasir Ris	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.75	\$3.30 - \$4.30	\$3.32	\$3.00 - \$3.60
Tampines	\$3.60	\$3.60 - \$3.60*	\$4.53	\$3.90 - \$5.20	\$3.35	\$2.70 - \$5.00

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.4 Wanton Noodles

Based on all the collected data, wanton noodles cost \$3.92 on average, with a maximum price of \$7.80 and a minimum price of \$2.50. The food item cost the least in hawker centres (\$3.72), with prices ranging between \$3 and \$5.50. The highest price of \$7.80 was only found in food courts, while the lowest price of \$2.50 was only found in kopitiams. The average price of wanton noodles in kopitiams was \$3.85 – in this food establishment type, the cheapest recorded price was \$2.50 while the most expensive was \$6.30. Meanwhile, wanton noodles cost the most in food courts at an average price of \$4.90, with actual prices ranging from \$3.50 to \$7.80 (see Table 3.26 below). The price differences between food establishment types were found to be statistically significant¹⁹.

It should be noted that prices of wanton noodles were mostly under \$6 – only five stalls sold the dish at \$6 or above. Similarly, only one stall sold wanton noodles at \$2.50, the lowest recorded price. The next lowest price of \$3 was more commonly found – 30 stalls sold the dish at this price. The most common price overall was \$3.50 – it was recorded for 32.7 per cent of all observations. This price point was also noted as the most common one for hawker centres – where nearly half of the stalls priced it thus – and kopitiams, where 32 per cent sold it at this price. Meanwhile, the most common price noted for food courts was \$5.50. But given that it was only observed for 16.1 per cent of the stalls, there appears to be some variations in pricing.

Table 3.26: Prices of wanton noodles across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.92	\$3.72	\$4.90	\$3.85
Maximum price	\$7.80	\$5.50	\$7.80	\$6.30
Minimum price	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$3.50	\$2.50
Most common price	\$3.50 (32.7%)	\$3.50 (46.5%)	\$5.50 (16.1%)	\$3.50 (32.0%)

Average prices of wanton noodles were not statistically different across the five different regions surveyed²⁰. The Central region recorded the largest difference in prices, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$2.50 in Toa Payoh to a maximum of \$7.80 in Bishan. In contrast, prices were more similar in the East, with a range of \$3.50 to \$5.50. Meanwhile, prices ranged from \$3 to \$6.30 in the West, \$3 to \$5.80 in the North and \$3 to \$7 in the Northeast (see Graph 3.9 and Table 3.27 below).

In the West, only Bukit Panjang and Jurong West recorded average prices of over \$4, while the others had average prices ranging from \$3.69 (Jurong East) to \$3.93 (Bukit Batok). Jurong West also had the largest range of prices recorded, from \$3 to \$6.30.

There was little variation in the price ranges recorded for neighbourhoods in the North – prices ranged from \$3.50 to \$5.50 in Sembawang, from \$3.50 to \$5.80 in Woodlands and from \$3 to

¹⁹ $F(2,617) = 136.19, p < .001$

²⁰ $F(4,615) = 1.57, ns$

\$5.50 in Yishun. However, Sembawang had the highest average price of \$4.18 based on all the recorded prices. It also had the fewest numbers of stalls selling wanton noodles. Similar observations were made for the East – prices ranged from \$3.50 to \$5 in Bedok and Pasir Ris, and from \$3.50 to \$5.50 in Tampines. The average prices did not differ as much compared to the North, given that wanton noodles cost on average \$3.89 in Bedok, \$3.95 in Pasir Ris and \$4.07 in Tampines.

Within the Central region, three neighbourhoods – Bukit Merah (\$4), Marine Parade (\$4.12) and Bishan (\$4.13) – had average prices above \$4, while the others had average prices above \$3.70. Excluding Bukit Timah, which only had six stalls selling the dish, Queenstown recorded the smallest range (\$3 to \$4.60) in wanton noodles prices with 30 stalls.

In the Northeast, most neighbourhoods had average prices above \$4, with wanton noodles in Sengkang priced highest at \$4.31. The only exception was Ang Mo Kio, where wanton noodles cost an average of \$3.81. Sengkang also recorded the highest range in prices, from \$3.50 to \$7 across 22 stalls.

Graph 3.9: Prices of wanton noodles across neighbourhoods

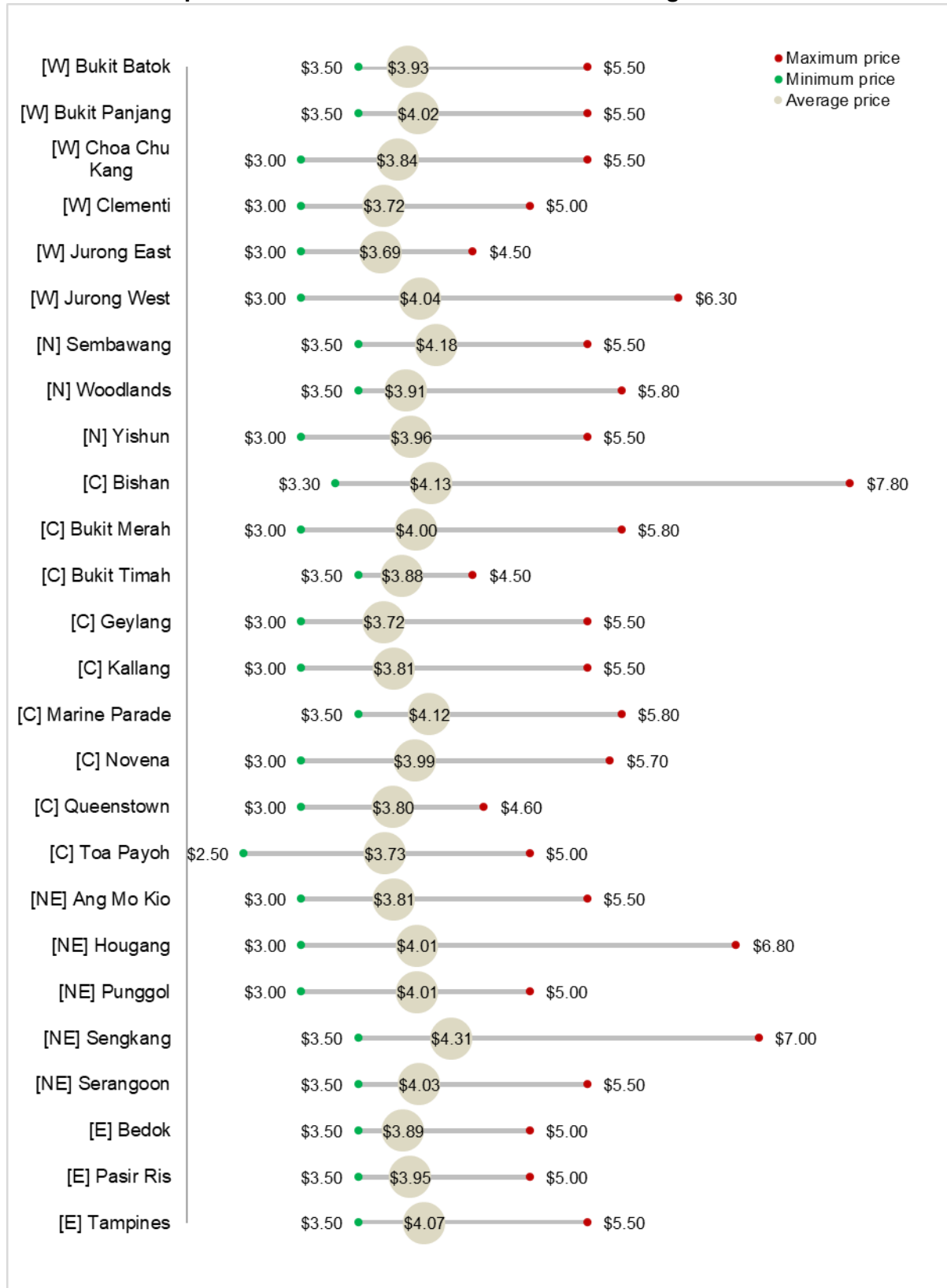


Table 3.27: Prices of wanton noodles across neighbourhoods

Region	Wonton Noodles			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.87	\$6.30	\$3.00	114
Bukit Batok	\$3.93	\$5.50	\$3.50	21
Bukit Panjang	\$4.02	\$5.50	\$3.50	11
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.84	\$5.50	\$3.00	15
Clementi	\$3.72	\$5.00	\$3.00	25
Jurong East	\$3.69	\$4.50	\$3.00	16
Jurong West	\$4.04	\$6.30	\$3.00	26
NORTH	\$3.97	\$5.80	\$3.00	77
Sembawang	\$4.18	\$5.50	\$3.50	11
Woodlands	\$3.91	\$5.80	\$3.50	28
Yishun	\$3.96	\$5.50	\$3.00	38
CENTRAL	\$3.86	\$7.80	\$2.50	212
Bishan	\$4.13	\$7.80	\$3.30	11
Bukit Merah	\$4.00	\$5.80	\$3.00	41
Bukit Timah	\$3.88	\$4.50	\$3.50	6
Geylang	\$3.72	\$5.50	\$3.00	33
Kallang	\$3.81	\$5.50	\$3.00	28
Marine Parade	\$4.12	\$5.80	\$3.50	9
Novena	\$3.99	\$5.70	\$3.00	13
Queenstown	\$3.80	\$4.60	\$3.00	32
Toa Payoh	\$3.73	\$5.00	\$2.50	39
NORTHEAST	\$3.99	\$7.00	\$3.00	135
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.81	\$5.50	\$3.00	48
Hougang	\$4.01	\$6.80	\$3.00	34
Punggol	\$4.01	\$5.00	\$3.00	13
Sengkang	\$4.31	\$7.00	\$3.50	22
Serangoon	\$4.03	\$5.50	\$3.50	18
EAST	\$3.98	\$5.50	\$3.50	82
Bedok	\$3.89	\$5.00	\$3.50	32
Pasir Ris	\$3.95	\$5.00	\$3.50	12
Tampines	\$4.07	\$5.50	\$3.50	38

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In the West, Central, and Northeast regions, average prices of wanton noodles were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiam and then food courts. In the North and East regions, however, kopitiam had the lowest average prices, followed by hawker centres and then food courts (see Table 3.28 below).

The average prices of wanton noodles sold in hawker centres in the Western region were quite similar. The range of prices found in this region was also quite small, with a minimum price of \$3 and a maximum price of \$4.50. There did not seem to be many food courts selling wanton noodles in the West, given that three regions had no data recorded. In kopitiams, the dish was sold between \$3 to \$6.30. Choa Chu Kang kopitiams sold the dish at the lowest average price of \$3.63, while the highest average price was found for Jurong West kopitiams at \$3.99.

Kopitiams in the Northern region had similar average prices for wanton noodles. Overall, wanton noodles cost \$3.85 in kopitiams. The average price was \$3.84 for Woodlands and Yishun and \$3.91 for Sembawang. Meanwhile the prices recorded for food courts and hawker centres in the region were higher – wanton noodles sold for an average of \$4.05 in hawker centres across the region and an average of \$5.08 in food courts.

Wanton noodles in the Central region cost an average of \$3.67 in hawker centres, \$3.79 in kopitiams and \$5.12 in food courts. Within the region, the lowest recorded average cost in hawker centres was found in Toa Payoh at \$3.46, which was also the lowest – together with Jurong West – across all the neighbourhoods surveyed. There seemed to be fewer food courts in the region selling wanton noodles, given that there were no prices recorded for Bukit Timah and Geylang, and only one recorded in Bishan. For the other neighbourhoods, the average price of wanton noodles in food courts ranged from \$4.13 (Queenstown) to \$5.34 (Bukit Merah). Prices in kopitiams across the region appear to be less variable, given that the overall range was \$2.50 to \$5, and the average prices by neighbourhoods were not too different.

In the Northeast, wanton noodles cost the lowest on average in Ang Mo Kio hawker centres (\$3.57), Hougang kopitiams (\$3.80) and lowest Punggol food courts (\$4.25). Comparing just the categories with more than one recorded price, Sengkang had the highest average price for hawker centres at \$4.27 and for kopitiams at \$4.04, while Serangoon had the highest average price for food courts at \$5.25.

For the Eastern region, wanton noodles cost an average of \$3.88 in kopitiams, \$4.04 in hawker centres and \$4.51 in food courts. The prices in kopitiams across the region were relatively similar – the dish cost \$3.76 in Pasir Ris, \$3.87 in Bedok and \$3.92 in Tampines. Food courts, in contrast, priced the dish quite differently in Pasir Ris (\$4.26) compared to Tampines (\$4.83), while no prices were recorded for Bedok. When comparing prices in hawker centres, those in Pasir Ris and Bedok sold the dish under \$4 on average, while it cost an average of \$4.60 in Tampines hawker centres.

Table 3.28: Prices of wanton noodles across neighbourhoods

Region	Wonton Noodles					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.54	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.89	\$3.80 - \$6.00	\$3.86	\$3.00 - \$6.30
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$3.93	\$3.50 - \$5.50
Bukit Panjang	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$4.65	\$3.80 - \$5.50	\$3.91	\$3.50 - \$4.50
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$4.67	\$4.20 - \$5.50	\$3.63	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Clementi	\$3.55	\$3.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.84	\$3.50 - \$5.00
Jurong East	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$4.00	-	-	\$3.75	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Jurong West	\$3.46	\$3.00 - \$3.80	\$5.27	\$4.30 - \$6.00	\$3.99	\$3.00 - \$6.30
NORTH	\$4.05	\$3.50 - \$5.00	\$5.08	\$3.80 - \$5.80	\$3.85	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Sembawang	-	-	\$5.40	\$5.30 - \$5.50	\$3.91	\$3.50 - \$4.30
Woodlands	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$4.73	\$3.80 - \$5.80	\$3.84	\$3.50 - \$5.50
Yishun	\$4.50	\$3.50 - \$5.00	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$3.84	\$3.00 - \$5.00
CENTRAL	\$3.67	\$3.00 - \$5.50	\$5.12	\$3.80 - \$7.80	\$3.79	\$2.50 - \$5.00
Bishan	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$7.80	\$7.80 - \$7.80*	\$3.79	\$3.30 - \$4.70
Bukit Merah	\$3.75	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$5.34	\$4.80 - \$5.80	\$3.85	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Bukit Timah	\$3.88	\$3.50 - \$4.00	-	-	\$3.90	\$3.50 - \$4.30
Geylang	\$3.61	\$3.00 - \$5.50	-	-	\$3.88	\$3.50 - \$5.00
Kallang	\$3.69	\$3.00 - \$5.00	\$5.25	\$5.00 - \$5.50	\$3.71	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Marine Parade	\$3.90	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$5.15	\$4.50 - \$5.80	\$3.65	\$3.50 - \$3.80
Novena	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.95	\$4.50 - \$5.70	\$3.63	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Queenstown	\$3.72	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.13	\$3.80 - \$4.60	\$3.85	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Toa Payoh	\$3.46	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.85	\$4.70 - \$5.00	\$3.75	\$2.50 - \$5.00
NORTHEAST	\$3.72	\$3.00 - \$4.80	\$4.83	\$3.50 - \$7.00	\$3.88	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.57	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$3.87	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Hougang	\$3.70	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$5.07	\$4.20 - \$6.80	\$3.80	\$3.50 - \$4.50
Punggol	-	-	\$4.25	\$4.00 - \$4.50	\$3.96	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Sengkang	\$4.27	\$3.80 - \$4.80	\$4.62	\$3.50 - \$7.00	\$4.04	\$3.50 - \$4.80
Serangoon	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*	\$5.25	\$5.00 - \$5.50	\$3.83	\$3.50 - \$4.50
EAST	\$4.04	\$3.50 - \$5.00	\$4.51	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$3.88	\$3.50 - \$5.50
Bedok	\$3.95	\$3.50 - \$5.00	-	-	\$3.87	\$3.50 - \$5.00
Pasir Ris	\$3.65	\$3.50 - \$3.80	\$4.26	\$4.00 - \$5.00	\$3.76	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Tampines	\$4.60	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$4.83	\$4.50 - \$5.50	\$3.92	\$3.50 - \$5.50

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.5 Fishball noodles

Fishball noodles cost an average of \$3.71 across all the recorded prices, which was slightly lower compared to the average price of \$3.86²¹ found by the Department of Statistics (2023b) for September to November 2022.

The lowest recorded price was \$2, while the highest was \$6. Hawker centres sold the dish at a cheaper price on average (\$3.45) compared to kopitiam (\$3.71) and food courts (\$4.50). The lowest recorded price was found in hawker centres while the highest recorded price was found in food courts (see Table 3.29 below). The price differences across food establishment types were statistically significant²².

The lowest price of \$2 was found only for two stalls, while there were seven records of the next lowest price of \$2.50. Similarly, just one stall sold the dish at \$6, while another stall sold it at \$5.80. The next highest price of \$5.60 was recorded for three stalls, while another nine stalls sold fishball noodles at \$5.50.

The dish was most commonly found at \$3.50, particularly in hawker centres, where 52.8 per cent of the stalls sold it at this price. It was also priced thus in 30.3 per cent of the kopitiam stalls surveyed. Meanwhile, it was more commonly found at \$4 in food courts (21.4 per cent of the observations).

Table 3.29: Prices of fishball noodles across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.72	\$3.46	\$4.51	\$3.71
Maximum price	\$6.00	\$5.00	\$6.00	\$5.50
Minimum price	\$2.00	\$2.00	\$3.00	\$2.50
Most common price	\$3.50 (34.5%)	\$3.50 (52.8%)	\$4.00 (21.4%)	\$3.50 (30.3%)

The average price reported for the various regions ranged from \$3.56 for the North to \$3.87 for the Northeast. Overall, the differences between the regions were statistically different²³. In addition, post-hoc statistical tests found that the average price reported for the Northern region was statistically lower compared to that reported for the Northeast. The price range reported for the North was also the smallest compared to the other regions – fishball noodles was priced at a minimum of \$2.50 and a maximum of \$4.90. In contrast, the maximum prices reported for the other regions were between \$5.50 and \$6 (see Graph 3.10 and Table 3.30 below).

In the West, fishball noodles cost \$3.65 on average. Clementi stalls sold the dish between \$3 and \$4.30, which was the narrowest range within the region. In contrast, Jurong East reported the widest price range, given that stalls sold the dish at a minimum of \$2 and a maximum of

²¹ The average price for September to November 2022 was derived by taking the average of the reported prices for these three months. The average price of fishball noodles was \$3.83 in September 2022, \$3.85 in October 2022 and \$3.90 in November 2022.

²² $F(2,554) = 88.15, p < .001$

²³ $F(4,552) = 4.24, p = .002$

\$5.60. Meanwhile, the dish cost \$3.56 on average in the North, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$2.50 to a maximum of \$4.90. The reported average prices in Woodlands and Yishun were both \$3.50, while fishball noodles cost \$3.88 on average in Sembawang. Stalls in the East sold the dish at an average price of \$3.81, with prices ranging between \$2.80 and \$5.50. It was more expensive in Tampines (\$3.92) compared to Bedok (\$3.75) and Pasir Ris (\$3.69).

The average price of fishball noodles in the Central region was \$3.68. Excluding the neighbourhoods with less than 10 recorded prices – namely Bukit Timah, Marine Parade and Novena – the area with the lowest average price was Kallang (\$3.45) while the areas with the highest average price were Bishan and Bukit Merah (\$3.74).

In the Northeast, fishball noodles were sold at an average price of \$3.87, which was the highest compared to the other regions. Punggol recorded the highest average price of \$4.03 across all the neighbourhoods surveyed. In fact, Hougang (\$3.99), Serangoon (\$4.02) and Sengkang (\$3.92) all reported average prices very close to \$4. Only Ang Mo Kio sold the dish at a lower average price of \$3.59.

Graph 3.10: Prices of fishball noodles across neighbourhoods

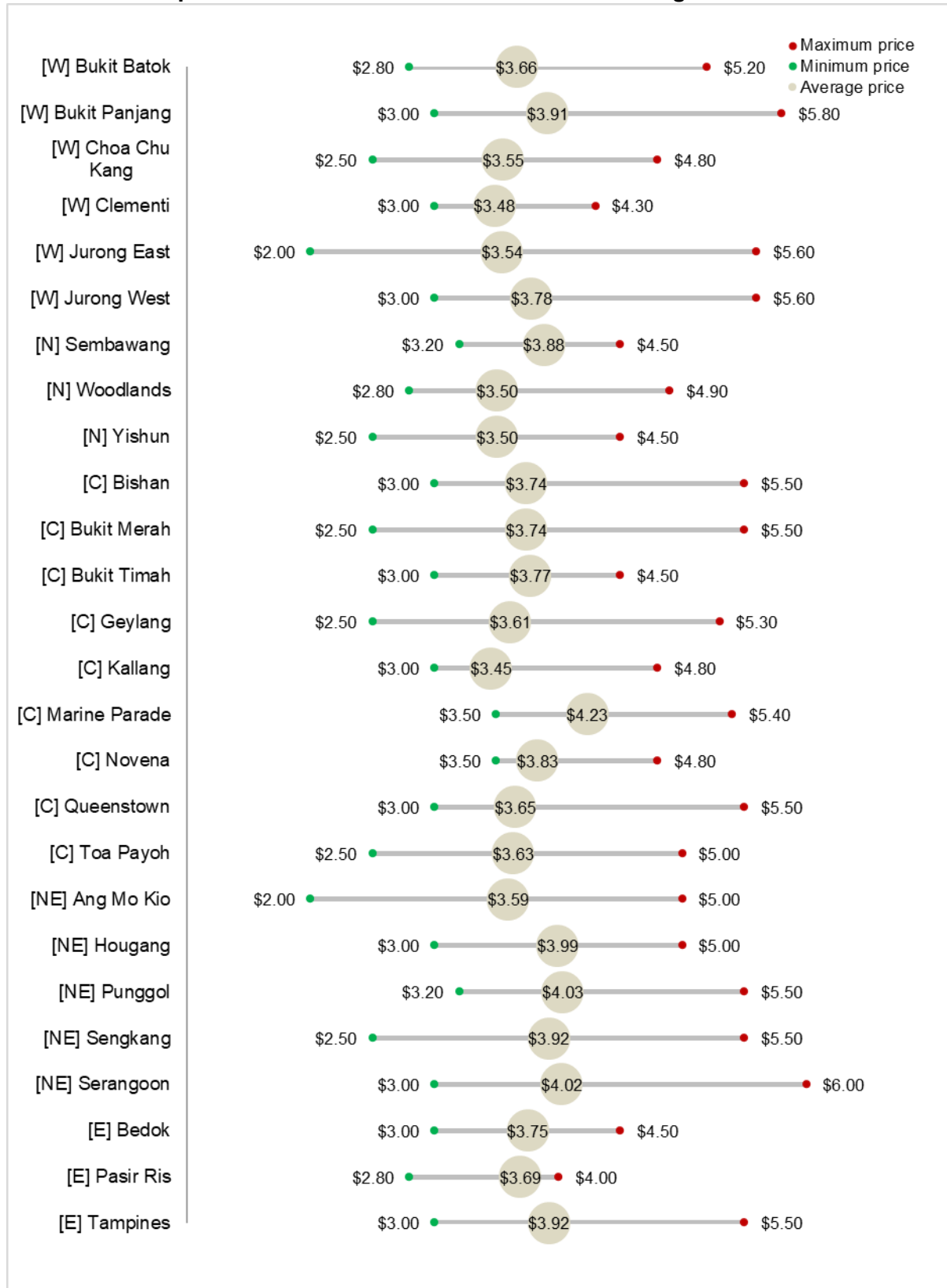


Table 3.30: Prices of fishball noodles across neighbourhoods

Region	Fishball Noodles			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.65	\$5.80	\$2.00	113
Bukit Batok	\$3.66	\$5.20	\$2.80	25
Bukit Panjang	\$3.91	\$5.80	\$3.00	10
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.55	\$4.80	\$2.50	14
Clementi	\$3.48	\$4.30	\$3.00	22
Jurong East	\$3.54	\$5.60	\$2.00	14
Jurong West	\$3.78	\$5.60	\$3.00	28
NORTH	\$3.56	\$4.90	\$2.50	60
Sembawang	\$3.88	\$4.50	\$3.20	10
Woodlands	\$3.50	\$4.90	\$2.80	24
Yishun	\$3.50	\$4.50	\$2.50	26
CENTRAL	\$3.68	\$5.50	\$2.50	191
Bishan	\$3.74	\$5.50	\$3.00	15
Bukit Merah	\$3.74	\$5.50	\$2.50	43
Bukit Timah	\$3.77	\$4.50	\$3.00	9
Geylang	\$3.61	\$5.30	\$2.50	37
Kallang	\$3.45	\$4.80	\$3.00	13
Marine Parade	\$4.23	\$5.40	\$3.50	4
Novena	\$3.83	\$4.80	\$3.50	7
Queenstown	\$3.65	\$5.50	\$3.00	27
Toa Payoh	\$3.63	\$5.00	\$2.50	36
NORTH EAST	\$3.87	\$6.00	\$2.00	130
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.59	\$5.00	\$2.00	40
Hougang	\$3.99	\$5.00	\$3.00	36
Punggol	\$4.03	\$5.50	\$3.20	15
Sengkang	\$3.92	\$5.50	\$2.50	22
Serangoon	\$4.02	\$6.00	\$3.00	17
EAST	\$3.81	\$5.50	\$2.80	63
Bedok	\$3.75	\$4.50	\$3.00	29
Pasir Ris	\$3.69	\$4.00	\$2.80	8
Tampines	\$3.92	\$5.50	\$3.00	26

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In all the regions, the average price of fishball noodles was the cheapest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and food courts. In general, prices of the dish in the West were on the lower end of the spectrum for each of the food establishment types. The region reported the lowest average price for hawker centres (\$3.30 compared to \$3.32 – \$3.67), the second lowest average price for kopitiams (\$3.60 compared to \$3.56 – \$3.82) and around the midpoint for

food courts (\$4.40 compared to \$4.29 – \$4.71). Meanwhile, fishball noodles were the most expensive in hawker centres in the Northeast, food courts in the Central region and kopitiam in the East (see Table 3.31 below).

It appears that not a lot of prices were recorded for fishball noodles in hawker centres in the West. For the other two food establishment types, the dish cost less on average in Choa Chu Kang food courts (\$3.75) and kopitiam (\$3.52). In contrast, the dish cost the most on average in Bukit Panjang food courts (\$4.60) – excluding Jurong East since there was only one observation – and Bukit Panjang kopitiam (\$3.72).

In contrast, average prices for the Northeast were all on the higher end of the spectrum – the dish cost on average \$3.67 in hawker centres, \$4.58 in food courts and \$3.79 in kopitiam. The dish was priced lowest in Sengkang hawker centres (\$3.40), Punggol food courts (\$4.40) and Ang Mo Kio kopitiam (\$3.60), but highest in Hougang and Serangoon hawker centres (\$4), Serangoon food courts (\$5.75) and Punggol kopitiam (\$3.97).

In the North, fishball noodles cost on average \$3.32 in hawker centres, \$4.35 in food courts and \$3.56 in kopitiam. However, it appears that very few prices were recorded for the dish in food courts for the region. When comparing prices in kopitiam, the dish was the cheapest on average in Woodlands (\$3.41), followed by Yishun (\$3.57) and then Sembawang (\$3.79).

In the Central region, fishball noodles cost on average \$3.45 in hawker centres, \$4.71 in food courts and \$3.75 in kopitiam. As there were several neighbourhoods with single observations in food courts and kopitiam, comparisons will not be made for these two establishment types. In the hawker centres, those in Kallang and Bishan offered fishball noodles at the lowest average price of \$3.25, while those in Marine Parade offered it at the highest average price of \$4.

Meanwhile, fishball noodles cost an average of \$3.48 in hawker centres, \$4.29 in food courts, and \$3.82 in kopitiam in the East. Only one price was recorded for Pasir Ris hawker centres and Bedok food courts. Meanwhile, average prices for fishball noodles in kopitiam were quite similar for all three neighbourhoods in the East.

Table 3.31: Prices of fishball noodles across neighbourhoods

Region	Fishball Noodles					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.30	\$2.00 - \$4.00	\$4.40	\$3.00 - \$5.80	\$3.60	\$2.50 - \$4.80
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$4.35	\$3.50 - \$5.20	\$3.60	\$2.80 - \$4.50
Bukit Panjang	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.60	\$3.50 - \$5.80	\$3.72	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$3.75	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$3.52	\$2.50 - \$4.80
Clementi	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.61	\$3.20 - \$4.30
Jurong East	\$2.88	\$2.00 - \$3.50	\$5.60	\$5.60 - \$5.60*	\$3.61	\$3.10 - \$4.50
Jurong West	\$3.64	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$4.33	\$3.00 - \$5.60	\$3.61	\$3.00 - \$4.80
NORTH	\$3.32	\$2.50 - \$3.50	\$4.35	\$4.00 - \$4.90	\$3.56	\$2.80 - \$4.80
Sembawang	-	-	\$4.25	\$4.00 - \$4.50	\$3.79	\$3.20 - \$4.30
Woodlands	\$3.41	\$2.80 - \$3.50	\$4.45	\$4.00 - \$4.90	\$3.41	\$2.80 - \$4.80
Yishun	\$3.13	\$2.50 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.57	\$3.00 - \$4.50
CENTRAL	\$3.45	\$2.50 - \$4.50	\$4.71	\$3.80 - \$5.50	\$3.75	\$2.50 - \$5.50
Bishan	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$3.68	\$3.00 - \$5.00
Bukit Merah	\$3.35	\$2.50 - \$4.00	\$4.66	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$3.91	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Bukit Timah	\$3.68	\$3.00 - \$4.00	-	-	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*
Geylang	\$3.40	\$2.50 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.85	\$3.00 - \$5.30
Kallang	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	\$4.15	\$3.50 - \$4.80
Marine Parade	\$4.00	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$5.40	\$5.40 - \$5.40*	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*
Novena	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$4.80	\$4.80 - \$4.80*	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50^
Queenstown	\$3.46	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.43	\$3.80 - \$5.50	\$3.66	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Toa Payoh	\$3.52	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.85	\$4.70 - \$5.00	\$3.59	\$2.50 - \$4.80
NORTHEAST	\$3.67	\$2.00 - \$5.00	\$4.58	\$3.80 - \$6.00	\$3.79	\$2.50 - \$5.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.58	\$2.00 - \$5.00	-	-	\$3.60	\$2.50 - \$4.80
Hougang	\$4.00	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$4.45	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$3.93	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Punggol	-	-	\$4.40	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$3.97	\$3.20 - \$5.50
Sengkang	\$3.40	\$3.30 - \$3.50	\$4.39	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$3.69	\$2.50 - \$4.50
Serangoon	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00^	\$5.75	\$5.50 - \$6.00	\$3.76	\$3.00 - \$4.50
EAST	\$3.48	\$2.80 - \$4.00	\$4.29	\$3.50 - \$5.50	\$3.82	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Bedok	\$3.63	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.81	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Pasir Ris	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	\$3.93	\$3.80 - \$4.00	\$3.73	\$3.30 - \$4.00
Tampines	\$3.33	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$4.75	\$4.50 - \$5.50	\$3.84	\$3.00 - \$5.50

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.6 Sliced Fish Soup with Rice

Based on all the collected data, sliced fish soup with rice cost \$5.54 on average, with a maximum price of \$8.50 and a minimum price of \$3.30. On average, the food item cost the least in hawker centres (\$5.32). However, both the overall highest price (\$8.50) and the lowest price (\$3.30) were found at hawker centres. In kopitiam, the average price of sliced fish soup with rice was \$5.48, with the minimum and maximum prices being \$3.50 and \$7.50 respectively. Meanwhile, sliced fish soup with rice cost the most on average in food courts at \$6.14, with actual prices ranging between \$4.70 and \$8 (see Table 3.32 below). The price differences between food establishment types were found to be statistically significant²⁴.

It should be noted that the prices of sliced fish soup with rice were mostly under \$7 – only twenty-three stalls (5.2 per cent of the total number of stalls) sold the dish at \$7 or above. Only one stall sold the dish at \$3.30, the lowest recorded price. Similarly, only one stall sold the dish at both \$8.50, the highest recorded price.

The most commonly found price of the dish was \$5.50 – 28.2 per cent of all surveyed stalls sold the dish at this price. This was also the most commonly observed price for hawker centres (34.3 per cent of the observations) and kopitiam (30.8 per cent of the observations). Meanwhile, the most common price found in food courts was \$6. But given that just 13.9 per cent of food court stalls sold it at this price, there appears to be more variation in the pricing for this particular food establishment type.

Table 3.32: Prices of sliced fish soup with rice across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$5.54	\$5.32	\$6.14	\$5.48
Maximum price	\$8.50	\$8.50	\$8.00	\$7.50
Minimum price	\$3.30	\$3.30	\$4.70	\$3.50
Most common price	\$5.50 (28.2%)	\$5.50 (34.3%)	\$6.00 (13.9%)	\$5.50 (30.8%)

Average prices of sliced fish soup with rice were not statistically different across the five different regions surveyed²⁵. The Central region recorded the largest difference in prices, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$3.30 in Geylang to a maximum of \$7.50 in Kallang, Novena as well as Geylang. In contrast, the smallest difference in prices was recorded in the North region, with prices ranging from \$4.50 to \$7.50. Additionally, prices ranged from \$4.50 to \$8.50 in the West, \$4 to \$7.50 in the Northeast and \$4 to \$8 in the East (see Graph 3.11 and Table 3.33 below).

In the West, only Choa Chu Kang recorded an average price of over \$6 while others had average prices ranging from \$5.45 (Bukit Batok) to \$5.98 (Bukit Panjang). Meanwhile, Jurong East had the largest range of prices recorded, from \$4.50 to \$8.50.

²⁴ $F(2,441) = 32.53, p < .001$

²⁵ $F(4,439) = 1.53, ns$

There was some variation in the price ranges recorded in the North, with prices ranging from \$5 to \$7 in Sembawang, from \$4.50 to \$7.50 in Woodlands and from \$4.50 to \$6.50 in Yishun. It should be noted, however, that even though Sembawang reported the highest average price of \$5.77, it had the fewest observations of prices for this food item.

As for the Central region, only Bishan and Novena recorded average prices of over \$6 while others had average prices ranging from \$4.98 (Bukit Merah) and \$5.90 (Marine Parade). The largest range in prices was recorded in Geylang, with prices ranging from \$3.30 to \$7.50. It also had the highest number of price observations (35). Meanwhile, the smallest range in prices was recorded in Marine Parade with prices ranging from \$5.50 to \$6.20. Notably, it also had the fewest price observations recorded.

In the Northeast, only Serangoon recorded an average price of over \$6 while others had average prices ranging from \$5.42 in Hougang to \$5.58 in Punggol. Additionally, while Punggol and Serangoon were the neighbourhoods that had the two fewest stalls selling sliced fish soup with rice, they also recorded the smallest range of prices.

In the East, there were no neighbourhoods recording average prices of over \$6. While Pasir Ris had the fewest prices reported, it was also the neighbourhood with the smallest range of prices recorded (from \$5 to \$6.80).

Graph 3.11: Prices of sliced fish soup with rice across neighbourhoods

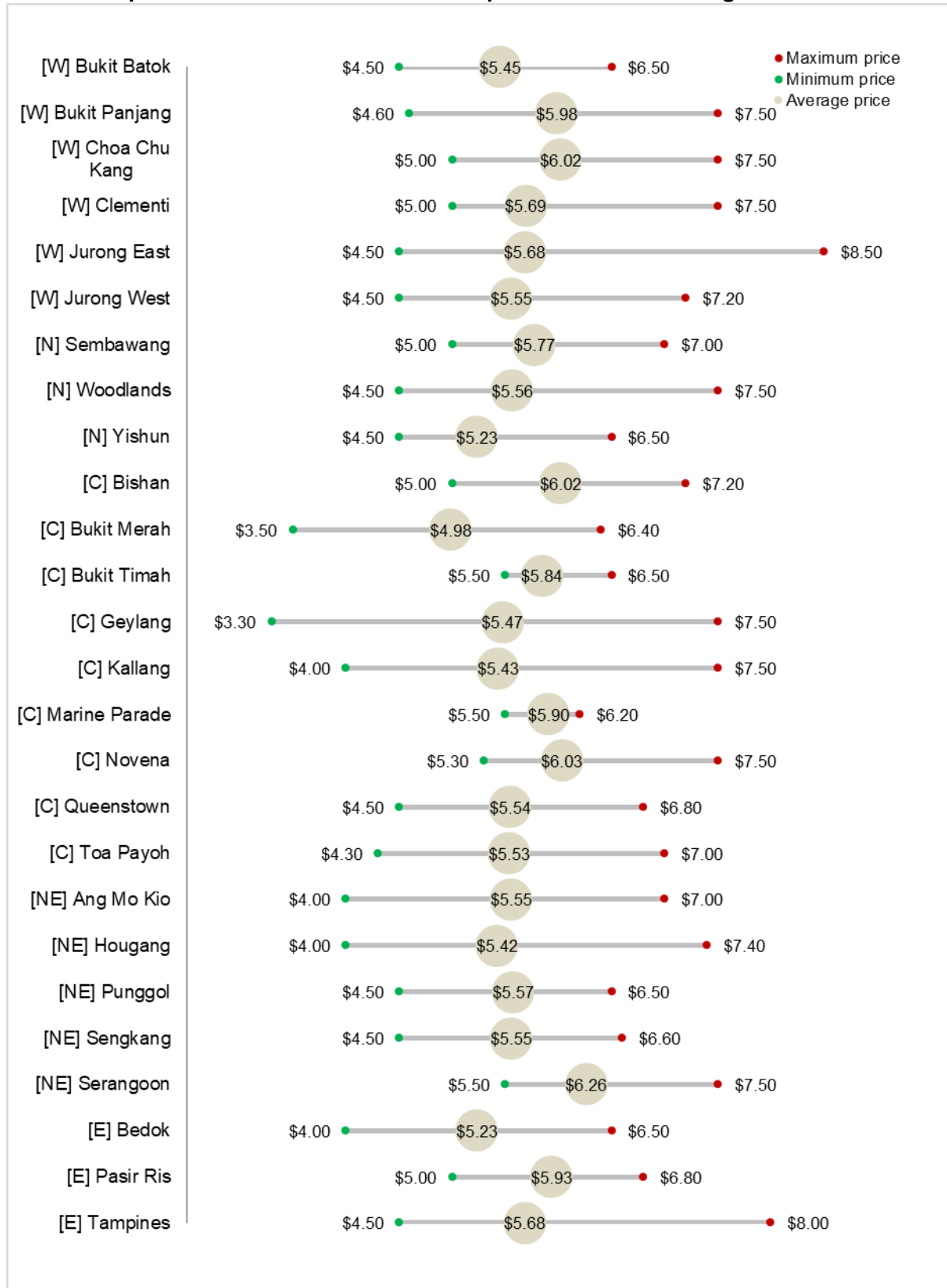


Table 3.33: Prices of sliced fish soup with rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Sliced Fish Soup with Rice			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$5.70	\$8.50	\$4.50	83
Bukit Batok	\$5.45	\$6.50	\$4.50	13
Bukit Panjang	\$5.98	\$7.50	\$4.60	9
Choa Chu Kang	\$6.02	\$7.50	\$5.00	13
Clementi	\$5.69	\$7.50	\$5.00	17
Jurong East	\$5.68	\$8.50	\$4.50	9
Jurong West	\$5.55	\$7.20	\$4.50	22
NORTH	\$5.45	\$7.50	\$4.50	54
Sembawang	\$5.77	\$7.00	\$5.00	9
Woodlands	\$5.56	\$7.50	\$4.50	21
Yishun	\$5.23	\$6.50	\$4.50	24
CENTRAL	\$5.48	\$7.50	\$3.30	156
Bishan	\$6.02	\$7.20	\$5.00	10
Bukit Merah	\$4.98	\$6.40	\$3.50	30
Bukit Timah	\$5.84	\$6.50	\$5.50	5
Geylang	\$5.47	\$7.50	\$3.30	35
Kallang	\$5.43	\$7.50	\$4.00	18
Marine Parade	\$5.90	\$6.20	\$5.50	3
Novena	\$6.03	\$7.50	\$5.30	9
Queenstown	\$5.54	\$6.80	\$4.50	20
Toa Payoh	\$5.53	\$7.00	\$4.30	26
NORTHEAST	\$5.59	\$7.50	\$4.00	91
Ang Mo Kio	\$5.55	\$7.00	\$4.00	35
Hougang	\$5.42	\$7.40	\$4.00	25
Punggol	\$5.57	\$6.50	\$4.50	7
Sengkang	\$5.55	\$6.60	\$4.50	15
Serangoon	\$6.26	\$7.50	\$5.50	9
EAST	\$5.48	\$8.00	\$4.00	60
Bedok	\$5.23	\$6.50	\$4.00	31
Pasir Ris	\$5.93	\$6.80	\$5.00	8
Tampines	\$5.68	\$8.00	\$4.50	21

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

The average prices of sliced fish soup with rice were the lowest in hawker centres for all regions except for the West, where kopitiam reported the lowest average price. Additionally, the average prices of the dish were the highest in food courts for all regions (see Table 3.34 below).

The average prices of sliced fish soup with rice sold in kopitiams in the West were quite similar, with the exception of Jurong East. There also seemed to be a lack of stalls selling the dish in hawker centres in the West, given that three neighbourhoods did not have data recorded. The largest range of prices was also found to be in hawker centres, with the dish being sold from \$5 to \$8.50. Kopitiams in Jurong East sold the dish at the lowest average price of \$5.03 while the highest average price was found for Choa Chu Kang food courts at \$6.95.

In the North, hawker centres had the largest price range for sliced fish soup with rice (\$4.50 to \$7.50). However, hawker centres also had the lowest recorded average price of the dish at \$5.14. Indeed, the lowest average price of the dish was found in Yishun hawker centres at \$4.67. Meanwhile, the highest recorded average price of the dish was found at food courts (\$5.93), with food courts in Woodlands recording the highest average price of \$6.36.

Prices across the three establishment types in the Central region were more variable – it was priced at an average of \$5.24 in hawker centres, \$6.13 in food courts and \$5.57 in kopitiams. Within the region, the lowest recorded average price in hawker centres was found in Bukit Merah at \$4.72, which was also the third lowest across all the neighbourhoods surveyed. There also seems to be fewer stalls at food courts in this region selling sliced fish soup with rice, given that no prices were recorded for Bukit Timah, while Bishan and Marine Parade both reported one observation each. Additionally, only one price was also recorded for hawker centres and kopitiams in Marine Parade.

As for the Northeast, excluding categories with only one recorded price, the lowest average cost of sliced fish soup with rice was found to be at Hougang (\$5.02). There also seemed to be fewer stalls selling the dish at hawker centres in this region, with no prices recorded for Punggol and only one price recorded for Sengkang and Serangoon. The average price of the dish at food courts was also quite varied. In contrast, the average price of the dish at kopitiams was not as varied with the exception of kopitiams in Serangoon.

In the East, sliced fish soup with rice cost the lowest on average in Bedok for all three establishment types. As a region, there also seemed to be fewer stalls selling the dish, with only one price recorded for Pasir Ris hawker centres, Tampines hawker centres, Bedok food courts and Pasir Ris kopitiams.

Table 3.34: Prices of sliced fish soup with rice across neighbourhoods

Region	Sliced Fish Soup with Rice					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$5.70	\$5.00 - \$8.50	\$6.41	\$5.00 - \$7.50	\$5.45	\$4.50 - \$7.00
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*	\$5.40	\$4.50 - \$6.50
Bukit Panjang	-	-	\$6.48	\$5.80 - \$7.50	\$5.35	\$4.60 - \$5.80
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$6.95	\$6.30 - \$7.50	\$5.60	\$5.00 - \$6.40
Clementi	\$5.79	\$5.00 - \$7.50	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*	\$5.59	\$5.20 - \$6.50
Jurong East	\$6.00	\$5.00 - \$8.50	-	-	\$5.03	\$4.50 - \$5.50
Jurong West	\$5.40	\$5.00 - \$6.00	\$6.08	\$5.00 - \$7.20	\$5.40	\$4.50 - \$7.00
NORTH	\$5.14	\$4.50 - \$7.50	\$5.93	\$4.70 - \$7.50	\$5.35	\$4.50 - \$7.00
Sembawang	-	-	\$5.37	\$5.00 - \$5.80	\$5.97	\$5.00 - \$7.00
Woodlands	\$5.50	\$4.50 - \$7.50	\$6.36	\$5.40 - \$7.50	\$5.25	\$4.50 - \$6.80
Yishun	\$4.67	\$4.50 - \$5.00	\$5.80	\$4.70 - \$6.50	\$5.20	\$4.50 - \$6.00
CENTRAL	\$5.24	\$3.30 - \$7.00	\$6.13	\$4.80 - \$7.50	\$5.57	\$3.50 - \$7.50
Bishan	\$6.20	\$6.20 - \$6.20*	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50*	\$5.94	\$5.00 - \$7.20
Bukit Merah	\$4.72	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$5.60	\$4.80 - \$6.40	\$5.05	\$3.50 - \$5.80
Bukit Timah	\$5.84	\$5.50 - \$6.50	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$5.17	\$3.30 - \$7.00	\$7.15	\$6.80 - \$7.50	\$5.64	\$4.50 - \$6.70
Kallang	\$5.27	\$4.50 - \$6.50	\$6.00	\$5.50 - \$6.50	\$5.50	\$4.00 - \$7.50
Marine Parade	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$6.20	\$6.20 - \$6.20*	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*
Novena	\$5.90	\$5.50 - \$6.50	\$6.75	\$6.00 - \$7.50	\$5.65	\$5.30 - \$6.00
Queenstown	\$5.12	\$4.50 - \$6.00	\$5.97	\$5.30 - \$6.80	\$5.77	\$5.00 - \$6.50
Toa Payoh	\$5.44	\$5.00 - \$6.00	\$6.05	\$6.00 - \$6.10	\$5.51	\$4.30 - \$7.00
NORTH EAST	\$5.32	\$4.00 - \$6.50	\$6.00	\$4.80 - \$7.40	\$5.59	\$4.00 - \$7.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$5.48	\$5.00 - \$6.50	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*	\$5.54	\$4.00 - \$7.00
Hougang	\$5.02	\$4.00 - \$6.50	\$6.70	\$6.00 - \$7.40	\$5.41	\$4.60 - \$6.70
Punggol	-	-	\$6.00	\$5.60 - \$6.50	\$5.25	\$4.50 - \$6.00
Sengkang	\$4.70	\$4.70 - \$4.70*	\$5.49	\$4.80 - \$6.00	\$5.73	\$4.50 - \$6.60
Serangoon	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$7.20	\$7.20 - \$7.20*	\$6.23	\$5.50 - \$7.50
EAST	\$5.35	\$4.00 - \$6.50	\$6.15	\$5.00 - \$8.00	\$5.32	\$4.00 - \$7.00
Bedok	\$5.32	\$4.00 - \$6.50	\$5.70	\$5.70 - \$5.70*	\$5.15	\$4.00 - \$6.00
Pasir Ris	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$5.95	\$5.00 - \$6.80	\$6.20	\$6.20 - \$6.20*
Tampines	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50*	\$6.58	\$5.50 - \$8.00	\$5.46	\$4.50 - \$7.00

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.7 Economic Bee Hoon Set

In economic bee hoon stalls, many different side dishes are sold to accompany the base dish of fried bee hoon or fried noodles. As these side dishes are not always comparable in portion size and price, we standardised the comparisons to only those where two common side dishes – fried egg and fried chicken wing – were also sold. Therefore, we only report the summation of the prices for stalls that sell the economic bee hoon set that comprises fried bee hoon, fried egg and fried chicken wing, which make up 74.3 per cent of the total number of economic bee hoon stalls surveyed.

Based on the collected data, economic bee hoon set cost \$3.48 on average, with a maximum price of \$6.50 and a minimum price of \$2.20. The food item cost the least in hawker centres (\$3.20), with prices ranging from \$2.20 to \$3.80. The highest price of \$6.50 was only found in food courts, while the lowest price of \$2.20 was only found in hawker centres. The average price of economic bee hoon set in kopitiams was \$3.49 – in this food establishment type, the cheapest recorded price was \$2.80 while the most expensive was \$6.20. Meanwhile, economic bee hoon set cost the most in food courts at an average price of \$4.50, with actual prices ranging from \$3.40 to \$6.50 (see Table 3.35 below). The price differences across food establishment types were statistically significant²⁶.

It should be noted that prices of economic bee hoon set were mostly under \$4 – only 16 stalls sold the food item at \$4 or above. Similarly, only one stall sold economic bee hoon set at \$2.20, the lowest recorded price.

The most found price for economic bee hoon set was \$3.50 – 13.5 per cent of all stalls surveyed sold the food item at this price. There appears to be more variation in the pricing of the economic bee hoon set, given that the most commonly observed prices for the three food establishment types were observed for less than one in five of the total observations. Furthermore, there were three most common prices (\$3.50, \$4.10 and \$4.80) noted for food courts.

Table 3.35: Prices of economic bee hoon set across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.48	\$3.20	\$4.50	\$3.49
Maximum price	\$6.50	\$3.80	\$6.50	\$6.20
Minimum price	\$2.20	\$2.20	\$3.40	\$2.80
Most common price	\$3.50 (13.5%)	\$3.20 (16.4%)	\$3.50 (14.3%) \$4.10 (14.3%) \$4.80 (14.3%)	\$3.50 (18.6%)

Average prices of economic bee hoon set were not statistically different across the five different regions surveyed²⁷. The Central region recorded the largest difference in prices for

²⁶ $F(2,168) = 39.16, p < .001$

²⁷ $F(4,166) = 0.60, ns$

the food item, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$2.20 to a maximum of \$6.50. Both prices were observed in Queenstown. In contrast, prices for the food item were more similar in the North, with a range of \$3.10 (Woodlands) to \$4.40 (Woodlands). Meanwhile, prices for the food item ranged from \$2.80 to \$6.20 in the West, \$2.90 to \$5 in the Northeast and \$2.70 to \$4.80 in the East (see Graph 3.12 and Table 3.36 below).

In the West, only Jurong East recorded an average price for economic bee hoon set at above \$4, while the other neighbourhoods had average prices for the food item ranging from \$3.15 (Bukit Batok) to \$3.42 (Choa Chu Kang). Furthermore, the average price recorded in Jurong East (\$4.20) was the highest recorded average price across all regions. Also, Jurong East had the largest range of prices recorded, from \$3.40 to \$6.20. However, it should be noted that only one stall in Jurong East recorded a price of \$6.20, while the remaining stalls in Jurong East had prices ranging from \$3.40 to \$3.70.

There was not much variation in the average prices for economic bee hoon set recorded for neighbourhoods in the North – average prices for the food item ranged from \$3.40 in Yishun to \$3.58 in Woodlands. Prices for the food item recorded in Yishun reflected the smallest range in the region – from \$3.30 to \$3.50. However, it should be noted that only four stalls were recorded selling economic bee hoon set in Yishun. While economic bee hoon set prices in Woodlands reflected the largest price range – \$3.10 to \$4.40 – in the region, it should also be noted that only two stalls sold the food item at \$4 and above, with the remaining stalls in the neighbourhood selling the food item at prices ranging from \$3.10 to \$3.70.

In the Central region, economic bee hoon set prices varied from \$3.10 in Bukit Timah to \$3.80 in Kallang. The largest price range recorded for the food item across all regions was observed in Queenstown with prices ranging from \$2.20 to \$6.50, though it should be noted that there was one observation each for the maximum and minimum prices, with the remaining stalls selling the food item at prices ranging from \$2.90 to \$3.20. The highest (\$6.50) and lowest recorded (\$2.20) prices of the food item were also observed in Queenstown. Similar price ranges were also observed in Geylang (from \$2.90 to \$6.20) and Kallang (from \$2.80 to \$6.20). It should be noted that only one observation was made in Bukit Merah and while no observations were made in Marine Parade.

Some variety in economic bee hoon set prices, both in terms of average prices and price ranges, was also observed in neighbourhoods in the Northeast region, though not to the degree observed in the Central region. Average prices of the economic bee hoon set in the region ranged from \$3.25 in Ang Mo Kio to \$3.93 in Serangoon. The largest price range in the region was observed in Hougang, with prices ranging from \$2.90 to \$5. However, it should be noted that only three stalls in Hougang sold the food item at \$4 and above, with the remaining stalls selling the food item at prices ranging from \$2.90 to \$3.80. Economic bee hoon set prices in Serangoon also tended to be higher in comparison to other neighbourhoods in the region with prices ranging from \$3.50 to \$4.60 and an average price of \$3.93. However, it should be noted that only three stalls were recorded to be selling the food item in Serangoon.

Economic bee hoon set prices varied considerably across neighbourhoods in the East, though price ranges were observed to be relatively similar across the neighbourhoods. In the East, only Pasir Ris (\$4.20) recorded an average price for economic bee hoon set above \$4. Observed prices ranged from \$2.70 to \$3.50 in Bedok, \$3.60 to \$4.80 in Pasir Ris and \$2.90

to \$3.90 in Tampines. Economic bee hoon set prices in Pasir Ris tended to be higher in comparison to the other neighbourhoods in the region, at an average price of \$4.20. However, it should be noted that only two price observations were made in Pasir Ris.

Graph 3.12: Prices of economic bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

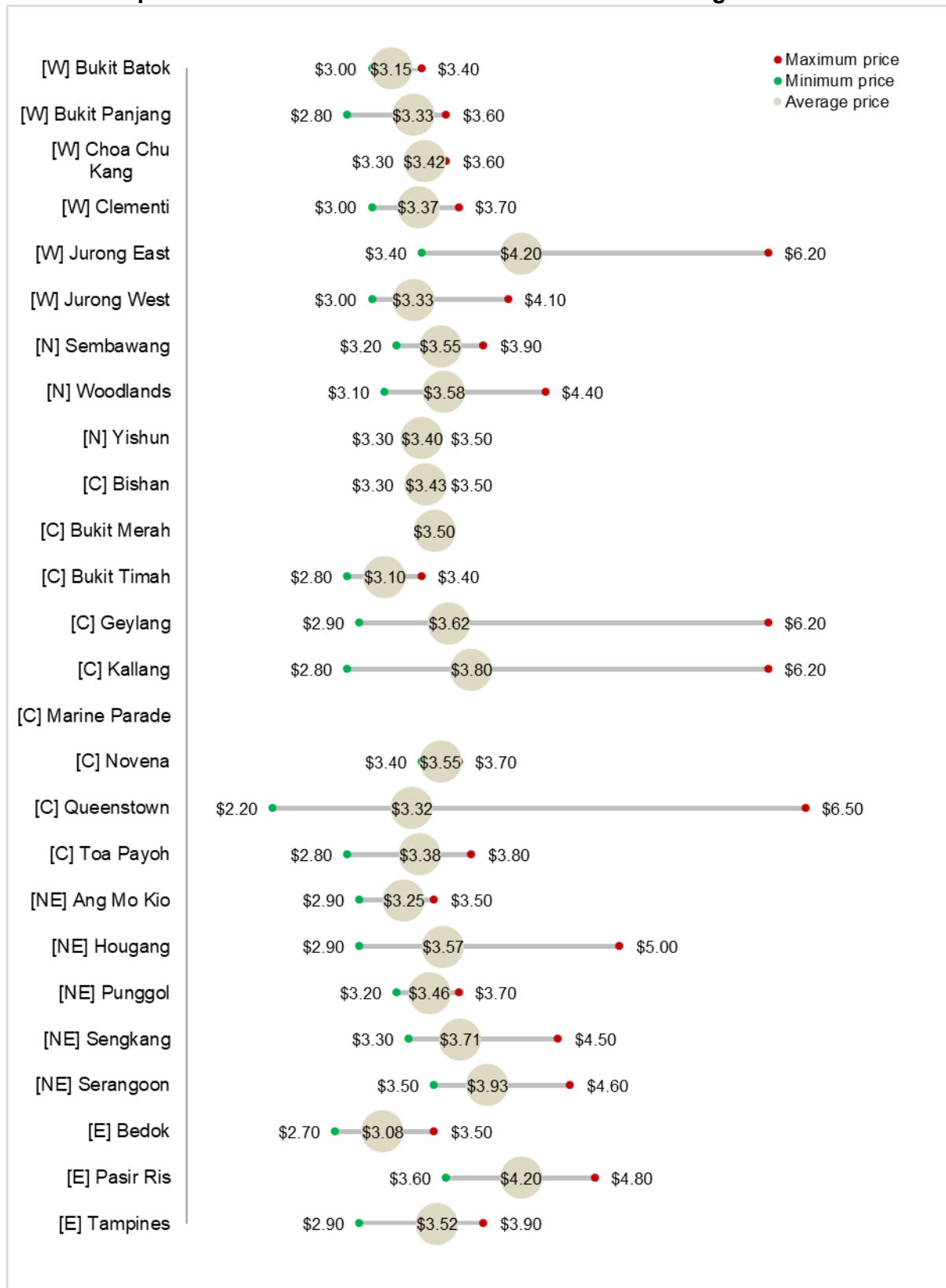


Table 3.36: Prices of economic bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

Region	Economic bee hoon set			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.39	\$6.20	\$2.80	34
Bukit Batok	\$3.15	\$3.40	\$3.00	11
Bukit Panjang	\$3.33	\$3.60	\$2.80	3
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.42	\$3.60	\$3.30	5
Clementi	\$3.37	\$3.70	\$3.00	3
Jurong East	\$4.20	\$6.20	\$3.40	4
Jurong West	\$3.33	\$4.10	\$3.00	8
NORTH	\$3.53	\$4.40	\$3.10	15
Sembawang	\$3.55	\$3.90	\$3.20	2
Woodlands	\$3.58	\$4.40	\$3.10	9
Yishun	\$3.40	\$3.50	\$3.30	4
CENTRAL	\$3.48	\$6.50	\$2.20	53
Bishan	\$3.43	\$3.50	\$3.30	3
Bukit Merah*	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$3.50	1
Bukit Timah	\$3.10	\$3.40	\$2.80	2
Geylang	\$3.62	\$6.20	\$2.90	9
Kallang	\$3.80	\$6.20	\$2.80	9
Marine Parade	-	-	-	0
Novena	\$3.55	\$3.70	\$3.40	2
Queenstown	\$3.32	\$6.50	\$2.20	10
Toa Payoh	\$3.38	\$3.80	\$2.80	17
NORTHEAST	\$3.55	\$5.00	\$2.90	53
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.25	\$3.50	\$2.90	11
Hougang	\$3.57	\$5.00	\$2.90	19
Punggol	\$3.46	\$3.70	\$3.20	5
Sengkang	\$3.71	\$4.50	\$3.30	15
Serangoon	\$3.93	\$4.60	\$3.50	3
EAST	\$3.36	\$4.80	\$2.70	16
Bedok	\$3.08	\$3.50	\$2.70	9
Pasir Ris	\$4.20	\$4.80	\$3.60	2
Tampines	\$3.52	\$3.90	\$2.90	5

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Across all five regions, average prices of mee rebus were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiam and then food courts (see Table 3.37 below).

In hawker centres in the West, both the highest average price (\$3.70 in Clementi) and lowest average price (\$2.80 in Bukit Panjang) across all five regions were observed. However, it

should be noted that there was only one observation each hawker centres in Clementi and Bukit Panjang separately. There did not seem to be many food courts selling economic bee hoon sets in the West, given that only a single observation of price was made in the region – in Jurong West at \$4.10. Variety was also observed in recorded prices of the food item in kopitiam in the West, with prices ranging from \$3 (in Bukit Batok and Clementi) to \$6.20 (in Jurong East) and average prices ranging from \$3.15 (Bukit Batok) to \$4.47 (Jurong East).

Like the West, there did not seem to be many food courts selling economic bee hoon set in the North, given that only a single observation of price was made in the region – in Woodlands at \$3.70. Hawker centre prices for the food item in the region ranged from \$3.30 (in Woodlands and in Yishun) to \$3.60 (in Woodlands) while kopitiam prices ranged from \$3.10 (in Woodlands) to \$4.40 (in Woodlands).

The greatest variation in prices of economic bee hoon set was observed in the Central region, with the average price of the food item observed at \$3.19 in hawker centres, \$3.54 in kopitiam and \$5.25 in food courts in the region. The lowest average price observed in hawker centres (\$2.80) was also observed in Bukit Timah, though it should be noted that only a single observation of price was made in that neighbourhood. Again, there did not appear to be many food courts selling economic bee hoon set in the Central region given that no observations of prices were made for six neighbourhoods and only a single observation was made in two neighbourhoods (Queenstown and Toa Payoh). While the highest recorded price (\$6.50) and average price (\$6.50) across all neighbourhoods was observed in food courts in Queenstown, it should be highlighted that there was just one price observation for food courts in the neighbourhood. With the exception of Geylang, which reported an average price of \$4.60, kopitiam in the region reported average prices below \$3.80. The lowest observed average price for the dish in kopitiam across all surveyed neighbourhood was recorded in Queenstown at \$3, which had the same minimum and maximum price.

In the Northeast, economic bee hoon set cost an average of \$3.27 in hawker centres, \$3.50 in kopitiam and \$4.20 in food courts. Average prices for the food item were observed to be relatively similar across hawker centres and kopitiam in the region. No prices were recorded for food courts in two neighbourhoods (Ang Mo Kio and Punggol) while a single observation of price was recorded in Serangoon (\$4.60).

For the Eastern region, economic bee hoon set cost an average of \$3.06 in hawker centres, \$3.44 in kopitiam and \$4.80 in food courts. Within the region, while recorded prices were fairly similar across hawker centres and kopitiam, recorded prices were observed to be relatively lower in Bedok, particularly so in hawker centres, where prices ranged from \$2.70 to \$3.10 and an average price of \$2.83 was recorded. There also did not appear to be many food courts selling economic bee hoon set in the region, given that only a single observation of price for the food item was recorded in Pasir Ris (\$4.80).

Table 3.37: Prices of economic bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

Region	Economic bee hoon set					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.24	\$2.80 - \$3.70	\$4.10	\$4.10 - \$4.10*	\$3.41	\$3.00 - \$6.20
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$3.15	\$3.00 - \$3.40
Bukit Panjang	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	-	-	\$3.60	\$3.60 - \$3.60^
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	-	-	\$3.42	\$3.30 - \$3.60
Clementi	\$3.70	\$3.70 - \$3.70*	-	-	\$3.20	\$3.00 - \$3.40
Jurong East	\$3.40	\$3.40 - \$3.40*	-	-	\$4.47	\$3.50 - \$6.20
Jurong West	\$3.20	\$3.00 - \$3.40	\$4.10	\$4.10 - \$4.10*	\$3.25	\$3.10 - \$3.40
NORTH	\$3.40	\$3.30 - \$3.60	\$3.70	\$3.70 - \$3.70*	\$3.55	\$3.10 - \$4.40
Sembawang	-	-	-	-	\$3.55	\$3.20 - \$3.90
Woodlands	\$3.45	\$3.30 - \$3.60	\$3.70	\$3.70 - \$3.70*	\$3.60	\$3.10 - \$4.40
Yishun	\$3.30	\$3.30 - \$3.30*	-	-	\$3.43	\$3.30 - \$3.50
CENTRAL	\$3.19	\$2.20 - \$3.80	\$5.25	\$3.50 - \$6.50	\$3.54	\$2.80 - \$6.20
Bishan	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	-	-	\$3.40	\$3.30 - \$3.50
Bukit Merah	-	-	-	-	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*
Bukit Timah	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	-	-	\$3.40	\$3.40 - \$3.40*
Geylang	\$3.13	\$2.90 - \$3.30	-	-	\$4.60	\$3.80 - \$6.20
Kallang	\$3.05	\$2.80 - \$3.60	\$5.50	\$4.80 - \$6.20	\$3.67	\$3.10 - \$4.10
Marine Parade	-	-	-	-	-	-
Novena	\$3.55	\$3.40 - \$3.70	-	-	-	-
Queenstown	\$2.96	\$2.20 - \$3.20	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^
Toa Payoh	\$3.44	\$3.20 - \$3.80	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.31	\$2.80 - \$3.70
NORTHEAST	\$3.27	\$2.90 - \$3.70	\$4.20	\$3.40 - \$5.00	\$3.50	\$2.90 - \$4.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.23	\$3.00 - \$3.40	-	-	\$3.28	\$2.90 - \$3.50
Hougang	\$3.30	\$2.90 - \$3.70	\$4.65	\$4.30 - \$5.00	\$3.47	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Punggol	-	-	-	-	\$3.46	\$3.20 - \$3.70
Sengkang	\$3.40	\$3.40 - \$3.40*	\$3.88	\$3.40 - \$4.50	\$3.67	\$3.30 - \$3.90
Serangoon	-	-	\$4.60	\$4.60 - \$4.60*	\$3.60	\$3.50 - \$3.70
EAST	\$3.06	\$2.70 - \$3.60	\$4.80	\$4.80 - \$4.80*	\$3.44	\$3.00 - \$3.90
Bedok	\$2.83	\$2.70 - \$3.10	-	-	\$3.28	\$3.00 - \$3.50
Pasir Ris	\$3.60	\$3.60 - \$3.60*	\$4.80	\$4.80 - \$4.80*	-	-
Tampines	\$3.25	\$2.90 - \$3.60	-	-	\$3.70	\$3.40 - \$3.90

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.8 Vegetarian Bee Hoon Set

Based on all the collected data, vegetarian bee hoon sets cost \$3.18 on average, with a maximum price of \$5 and a minimum price of \$1. On average, the food item cost the least in hawker centres (\$2.85) with prices ranging between \$1.50 and \$4.50. At food courts, the average price of vegetarian bee hoon was \$3.24, with the maximum and minimum prices being \$1 and \$4.80. Meanwhile, vegetarian bee hoon cost the most at kopitiam with the highest average of \$3.41, with actual prices ranging from \$1.80 to \$5 (see Table 3.38 below). The price differences between these food establishment types were found to be statistically significant²⁸.

It should be noted that highest price of \$5 was recorded only in kopitiam, while the lowest price of \$1 was recorded only in food courts. However, only five stalls across all establishment types sold vegetarian bee hoon for under \$2 and only one stall priced the dish at \$1.

The most commonly found price of the dish was \$3 – 31 stalls sold the dish at this price (25.2 per cent of the total number of observations). This was also the most common price for hawker centres, found for 36.2 per cent of the total stalls surveyed. Meanwhile, the most commonly observed price in food courts was \$4.50, found for one quarter of the stalls in this establishment type. There were two similarly common prices – \$3 and \$3.50 – noted for kopitiam, which made up a 43.8 per cent of all observations for this establishment type.

Table 3.38: Prices of vegetarian bee hoon set across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.18	\$2.85	\$3.24	\$3.41
Maximum price	\$5.00	\$4.50	\$4.80	\$5.00
Minimum price	\$1.00	\$1.50	\$1.00	\$1.80
Most common price	\$3.00 (25.2%)	\$3.00 (36.2%)	\$4.50 (25.0%)	\$3.00 (21.9%) \$3.50 (21.9%)

Average prices of vegetarian bee hoon sets were not statistically different across the five different regions surveyed²⁹. The largest difference in prices was recorded in the West, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$1.30 in Bukit Panjang to a maximum of \$5 in Bukit Batok and Jurong West. In contrast, prices were more similar in the East, with prices ranging from \$2 to \$3.50. Additionally, prices ranged from \$1 to \$4.50 in the North, \$1.50 to \$4.80 in the Central region and \$2 to \$4.50 in the Northeast (see Graph 3.13 and Table 3.39 below).

In the West, only Bukit Panjang recorded an average price of under \$3 for vegetarian bee hoon, while other neighbourhoods had average prices ranging from \$3.02 (Jurong East) to \$3.86 (Bukit Batok). In particular, both Clementi and Choa Chu Kang had the smallest range of prices recorded, from \$3 to \$3.50.

²⁸ $F(2,120) = 7.15, p = .001$

²⁹ $F(4,118) = 1.91, ns$

As for the North, Yishun recorded the highest average price of \$3.67 while Sembawang recorded the lowest average price of \$1.25 for vegetarian bee hoon. However, it must be noted that there were only two recorded prices for Sembawang. The largest range of prices recorded was in Woodlands, from \$2.50 and \$4.50.

Only two neighbourhoods in the Central area had average prices of vegetarian bee hoon under \$3, namely Kallang (\$2.68) and Queenstown (\$2.70). The neighbourhood of Geylang also recorded the largest range of prices, from \$2 to \$4.50. There were no price observations in Bukit Timah and Marine Parade, while Bishan and Novena were the neighbourhoods that had the two fewest number of stalls selling the dish.

In the Northeast, only Ang Mo Kio recorded an average price of under \$3 for vegetarian bee hoon, while other neighbourhoods had average prices ranging from \$3.44 (Sengkang) to \$3.83 (Serangoon). Serangoon also had the fewest number of price observations, while there were no observations made in Punggol. In the East, prices ranged between \$2 and \$3.50 with the average being \$2.67. There was only one price observation in Tampines and none in Pasir Ris.

Graph 3.13: Prices of vegetarian bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

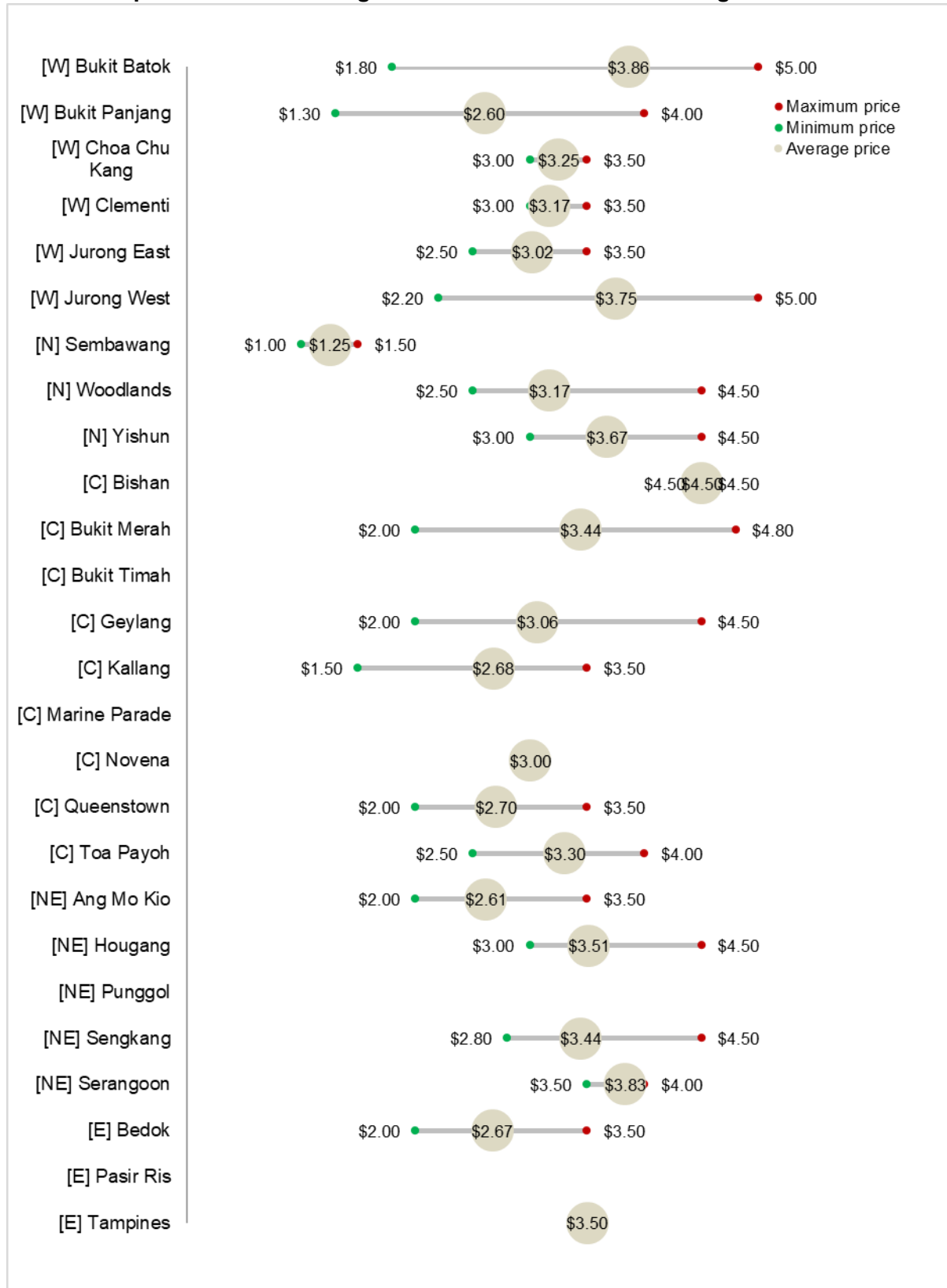


Table 3.39: Prices of vegetarian bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

Region	Vegetarian Bee Hoon/Noodle Set			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.42	\$5.00	\$1.30	37
Bukit Batok	\$3.86	\$5.00	\$1.80	10
Bukit Panjang	\$2.60	\$4.00	\$1.30	3
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.25	\$3.50	\$3.00	2
Clementi	\$3.17	\$3.50	\$3.00	9
Jurong East	\$3.02	\$3.50	\$2.50	5
Jurong West	\$3.75	\$5.00	\$2.20	8
NORTH	\$2.88	\$4.50	\$1.00	8
Sembawang	\$1.25	\$1.50	\$1.00	2
Woodlands	\$3.17	\$4.50	\$2.50	3
Yishun	\$3.67	\$4.50	\$3.00	3
CENTRAL	\$3.11	\$4.80	\$1.50	43
Bishan*	\$4.50	\$4.50	\$4.50	1
Bukit Merah	\$3.44	\$4.80	\$2.00	10
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	0
Geylang	\$3.06	\$4.50	\$2.00	9
Kallang	\$2.68	\$3.50	\$1.50	8
Marine Parade	-	-	-	0
Novena^	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.00	2
Queenstown	\$2.70	\$3.50	\$2.00	5
Toa Payoh	\$3.30	\$4.00	\$2.50	8
NORTHEAST	\$3.21	\$4.50	\$2.00	25
Ang Mo Kio	\$2.61	\$3.50	\$2.00	9
Hougang	\$3.51	\$4.50	\$3.00	8
Punggol	-	-	-	0
Sengkang	\$3.44	\$4.50	\$2.80	5
Serangoon	\$3.83	\$4.00	\$3.50	3
EAST	\$2.75	\$3.50	\$2.00	10
Bedok	\$2.67	\$3.50	\$2.00	9
Pasir Ris	-	-	-	0
Tampines*	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$3.50	1

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

The average prices of vegetarian bee hoon sets were the lowest in hawker centres in all regions except for the North, where the average price in food courts was the lowest. In the other regions except for the East – where there were no food court observations – the average prices of the dish were the highest in food courts (see Table 3.40 below).

The average prices of vegetarian bee hoon sold in hawker centres in the Western region were quite similar. The range of prices in these hawker centres was also quite small, with a minimum of \$3 and a maximum of \$3.50. However, there did not seem to be many hawker centre stalls in the West selling vegetarian bee hoon, seeing as four neighbourhoods did not have recorded data. A similar situation was noted for food courts in the West, with three neighbourhoods having no data recorded. Therefore, comparisons will not be made for these two food establishment types. In kopitiam, the dish was sold for between \$1.80 and \$5. While Clementi kopitiam sold the dish at the highest average price of \$3.86, Jurong East kopitiam sold the dish at the lowest average price of \$2.80.

In the North, food courts prices of vegetarian bee hoon ranged between a minimum of \$1 in Sembawang and a maximum of \$4.50 in Yishun. It should be noted, however, that there were only single observations for each of these price points. There also seemed to not be many hawker centre stalls in the North selling vegetarian bee hoon, with no data being recorded in Sembawang and only one price recorded for Woodlands and Yishun. The same general lack of vegetarian bee hoon stalls was also observed for both food courts and kopitiam in the North.

In the Central region, vegetarian bee hoon cost an average of \$2.83 at hawker centres, \$3.50 at food courts and \$3.38 at kopitiam. However, there did not seem to be many food court stalls in the Central region selling the dish, with prices only recorded at Bukit Merah and Toa Payoh. In fact, there was only one price recorded in Toa Payoh.

In the Northeast, Sengkang was the only neighbourhood with price observations in food courts, while both Sengkang and Serangoon had only one observation each for kopitiam. Therefore, no comparisons can be made for these two food establishment types. Among hawker centres, the lowest average price of vegetarian bee hoon for the region was found in Ang Mo Kio at \$2.43.

In the East, only Bedok had more than one price observation recorded – it reported an average price of \$2.50 for hawker centres and \$2.88 for kopitiam.

Table 3.40: Prices of vegetarian bee hoon set across neighbourhoods

Region	Vegetarian Bee Hoon Set					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.08	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$3.53	\$1.30 - \$4.80	\$3.48	\$1.80 - \$5.00
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$3.86	\$1.80 - \$5.00
Bukit Panjang	-	-	\$1.30	\$1.30 - \$1.30*	\$3.25	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*
Clementi	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	-	-	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$3.50
Jurong East	\$3.17	\$3.00 - \$3.50	-	-	\$2.80	\$2.50 - \$3.10
Jurong West	-	-	\$4.65	\$4.50 - \$4.80	\$3.45	\$2.20 - \$5.00
NORTH	\$3.75	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$2.33	\$1.00 - \$4.50	\$2.83	\$2.50 - \$3.50
Sembawang	-	-	\$1.25	\$1.00 - \$1.50	-	-
Woodlands	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*	-	-	\$2.50	\$2.50 - \$2.50^
Yishun	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*
CENTRAL	\$2.83	\$1.50 - \$4.50	\$3.50	\$2.00 - \$4.60	\$3.38	\$2.50 - \$4.80
Bishan	-	-	-	-	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*
Bukit Merah	\$3.13	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$3.30	\$2.00 - \$4.60	\$3.83	\$3.00 - \$4.80
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$2.92	\$2.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.33	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Kallang	\$2.46	\$1.50 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.03	\$2.80 - \$3.50
Marine Parade	-	-	-	-	-	-
Novena^	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	-	-	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*
Queenstown	\$2.75	\$2.00 - \$3.50	-	-	\$2.50	\$2.50 - \$2.50*
Toa Payoh	\$3.00	\$2.50 - \$3.50	\$3.90	\$3.90 - \$3.90*	\$3.30	\$3.00 - \$4.00
NORTHEAST	\$2.75	\$2.00 - \$3.50	\$3.65	\$2.80 - \$4.50	\$3.64	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$2.43	\$2.00 - \$2.80	-	-	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$3.50
Hougang	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	-	-	\$3.68	\$3.20 - \$4.50
Punggol	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sengkang	\$3.25	\$3.00 - \$3.50	\$3.65	\$2.80 - \$4.50	\$3.40	\$3.40 - \$3.40*
Serangoon	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	-	-	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*
EAST	\$2.50	\$2.00 - \$3.00	-	-	\$3.00	\$2.50 - \$3.50
Bedok	\$2.50	\$2.00 - \$3.00	-	-	\$2.88	\$2.50 - \$3.50
Pasir Ris	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tampines	-	-	-	-	\$3.50*	\$3.50 - \$3.50*

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.9 Nasi Lemak

Nasi lemak cost an average of \$3.49 across all regions and food establishment types. The lowest recorded price was \$1 and the highest was \$7. It was the cheapest on average in hawker centres (\$3.29), followed by kopitiam (\$3.50), and then food courts (\$4.49). These differences were statistically significant³⁰. The variation in prices across each food establishment type was quite wide – the range was \$1.20 to \$7 for hawker centres, \$2.80 to \$6.90 for food courts, and \$1 to \$6.90 in kopitiam (see Table 3.41 below).

However, it should be noted that prices of nasi lemak typically started from \$2, as there was just one stall selling the dish at \$1 and another selling it at \$1.20. Similarly, very few stalls sold it close to or at the maximum price – one stall sold it at \$7, two stalls sold it at \$6.90 while another two stalls sold it at \$6.50 and \$6 separately. Hence, more expensive nasi lemak was typically found for under \$6.

Overall, nasi lemak was sold for \$3.50 for 23.3 per cent of all observed stalls, making it the most common price. This was also the most commonly observed price for hawker centres (24.7 per cent of the observations) and kopitiam (24.8 per cent of the observations). Meanwhile, the most common price found in food courts was \$4 (15.2 per cent of the observations).

Table 3.41: Prices of nasi lemak across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.49	\$3.29	\$4.49	\$3.50
Maximum price	\$7.00	\$7.00	\$6.90	\$6.90
Minimum price	\$1.00	\$1.20	\$2.80	\$1.00
Most common price	\$3.50 (23.3%)	\$3.50 (24.7%)	\$4.00 (15.2%)	\$3.50 (24.8%)

The average price of nasi lemak in various regions was reported to be between \$3.41 and \$3.58. However, this variation in prices was not statistically significant³¹. The range of prices reported for the Central region was the widest – the lowest price recorded was \$1 and highest price recorded was \$6.90 – while the range in the North was the most narrow – the lowest price was \$2 while highest price was \$4.50 (see Graph 3.14 and Table 3.42 below).

Nasi lemak was sold an average price of \$3.48 in the North and \$3.51 in the West. Within the Western region, Bukit Panjang recorded the lowest average price for nasi lemak at \$3.23, while Jurong East recorded the highest average price at \$3.76. Within the Northern region, the dish was priced lowest on average in Woodlands (\$3.33) and highest in Yishun (\$3.67).

On average, nasi lemak cost \$3.41 in the Central region, with the lowest recorded price being \$1 and the highest recorded price being \$6.90. Within the region, Toa Payoh had the lowest average price of \$3.04, while Marine Parade had the highest average price of \$3.90.

³⁰ $F(2,422) = 34.64, p < .001$

³¹ $F(4,420) = 0.678, ns$

The Northeast region reported an average price of 3.56, with the lowest price available being \$2.50 and the highest available price being \$6.90. Within the region, nasi lemak was cheapest on average in Hougang (\$3.37) and most expensive on average in Punggol (\$4.06).

Meanwhile, nasi lemak was priced at an average of \$3.58 in the East, with a lowest recorded price of \$2 and a highest recorded price of \$6. It was cheapest in Pasir Ris at an average price of \$3.33, followed by Tampines (\$3.58) and Bedok (\$3.65).

Graph 3.14: Prices of nasi lemak across neighbourhoods

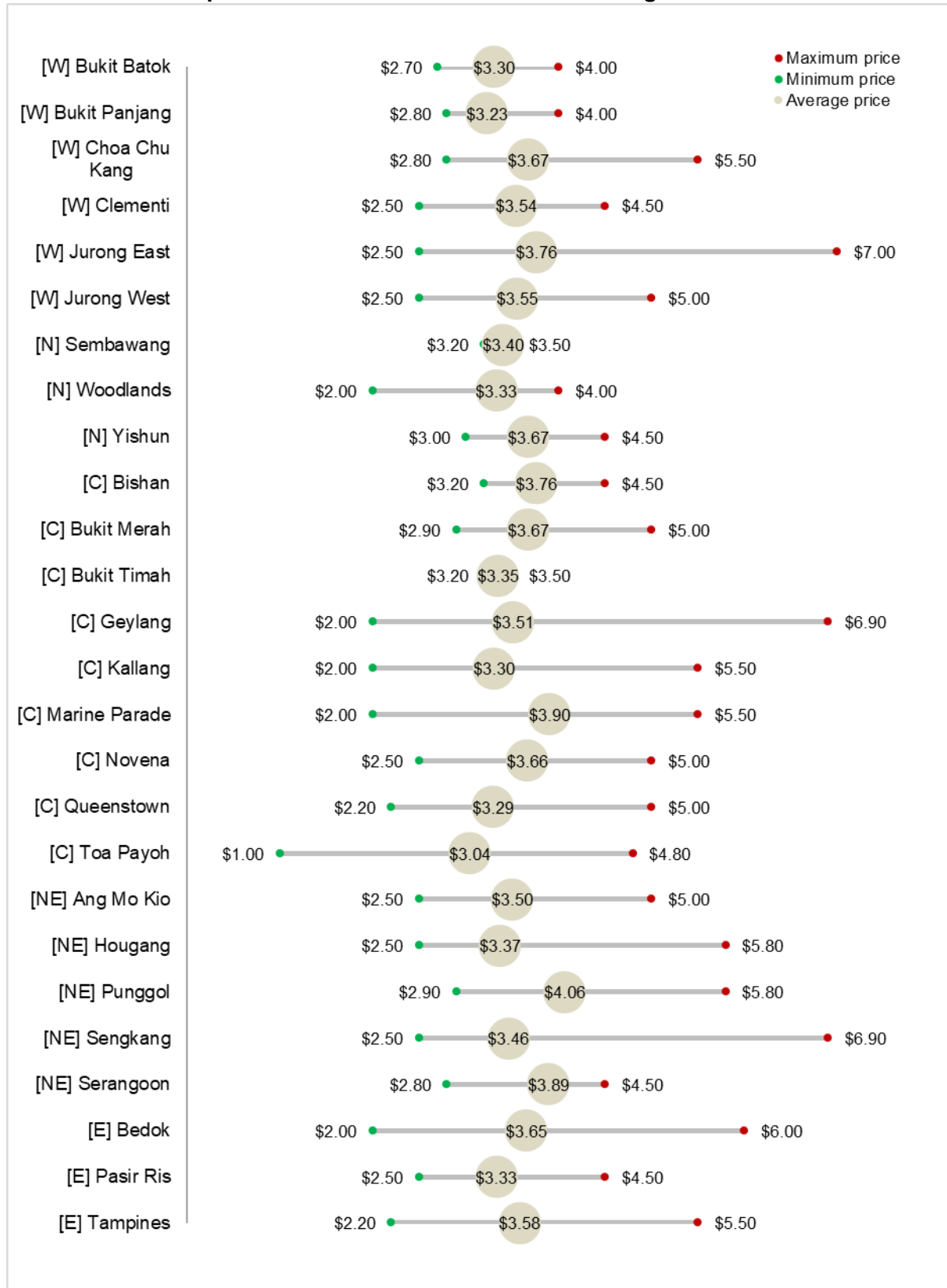


Table 3.42: Prices of nasi lemak across neighbourhoods

Region	Nasi Lemak			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.51	\$7.00	\$2.50	100
Bukit Batok	\$3.30	\$4.00	\$2.70	20
Bukit Panjang	\$3.23	\$4.00	\$2.80	12
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.67	\$5.50	\$2.80	15
Clementi	\$3.54	\$4.50	\$2.50	21
Jurong East	\$3.76	\$7.00	\$2.50	14
Jurong West	\$3.55	\$5.00	\$2.50	18
NORTH	\$3.48	\$4.50	\$2.00	26
Sembawang	\$3.40	\$3.50	\$3.20	3
Woodlands	\$3.33	\$4.00	\$2.00	12
Yishun	\$3.67	\$4.50	\$3.00	11
CENTRAL	\$3.41	\$6.90	\$1.00	151
Bishan	\$3.76	\$4.50	\$3.20	7
Bukit Merah	\$3.67	\$5.00	\$2.90	14
Bukit Timah	\$3.35	\$3.50	\$3.20	2
Geylang	\$3.51	\$6.90	\$2.00	42
Kallang	\$3.30	\$5.50	\$2.00	24
Marine Parade	\$3.90	\$5.50	\$2.00	4
Novena	\$3.66	\$5.00	\$2.50	10
Queenstown	\$3.29	\$5.00	\$2.20	24
Toa Payoh	\$3.04	\$4.80	\$1.00	24
NORTHEAST	\$3.56	\$6.90	\$2.50	84
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.50	\$5.00	\$2.50	29
Hougang	\$3.37	\$5.80	\$2.50	23
Punggol	\$4.06	\$5.80	\$2.90	11
Sengkang	\$3.46	\$6.90	\$2.50	14
Serangoon	\$3.89	\$4.50	\$2.80	7
EAST	\$3.58	\$6.00	\$2.00	64
Bedok	\$3.65	\$6.00	\$2.00	26
Pasir Ris	\$3.33	\$4.50	\$2.50	8
Tampines	\$3.58	\$5.50	\$2.20	30

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

With the exception of the West, the general trend observed was that the average price for nasi lemak was the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and then food courts (see Table 3.43 below). It is likely that the one stall selling nasi lemak at \$7 in a Jurong East hawker centre contributed to the difference in trend for the West.

In the West, nasi lemak was priced on average at \$3.64 in hawker centres, \$4.26 in food courts and \$3.43 in kopitiam. Amongst kopitiam in the region, Bukit Panjang had the lowest average price (\$3.17) while Choa Chu Kang had the highest average price (\$3.59). In the North, nasi lemak was sold mostly in kopitiam, at an average price of \$3.47. Comparing within the region, it was priced lowest on average in Woodlands (\$3.27), followed by Sembawang (\$3.40) and Yishun (\$3.65).

Nasi lemak was found more commonly in hawker centres compared to kopitiam and food courts in the Central region, while more commonly found in kopitiam in the Northeastern and Eastern regions. Comparisons will thus only be made amongst categories with more than one observation.

Within the Central region, the dish was the cheapest in Toa Payoh hawker centres (\$2.72) and food courts (\$3.85) as well as kopitiam in Queenstown (\$3.13). It was most expensive in Marine Parade hawker centres (\$3.87), as well as Geylang food courts (\$5.75) and kopitiam (\$4.23). Within the Northeast, it was cheapest in Sengkang hawker centres (\$3.07) and food courts (\$4.35) as well as kopitiam in Hougang (\$3.03). It was the most expensive in Hougang hawker centres (\$3.40), Hougang food courts (\$5.80) and Serangoon kopitiam (\$3.87). Within the East, it was cheapest in Pasir Ris kopitiam (\$3.06), followed by Bedok (\$3.59) and then Tampines (\$3.87).

Table 3.43: Prices of nasi lemak across neighbourhoods

Region	Nasi Lemak					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.64	\$2.50 - \$7.00	\$4.26	\$2.80 - \$5.50	\$3.43	\$2.50 - \$4.80
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$3.30	\$2.70 - \$4.00
Bukit Panjang	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	\$3.17	\$2.80 - \$3.80
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$4.15	\$2.80 - \$5.50	\$3.59	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Clementi	\$3.50	\$2.50 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.56	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Jurong East	\$4.28	\$3.10 - \$7.00	-	-	\$3.55	\$2.50 - \$4.50
Jurong West	\$3.38	\$2.50 - \$4.00	\$4.50	\$4.00 - \$5.00	\$3.45	\$2.50 - \$4.80
NORTH	\$3.25	\$2.00 - \$4.00	\$4.00	\$3.70 - \$4.50	\$3.47	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Sembawang	-	-	-	-	\$3.40	\$3.20 - \$3.50
Woodlands	\$3.30	\$2.00 - \$4.00	\$3.80	\$3.80 - \$3.80*	\$3.27	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Yishun	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$4.10	\$3.70 - \$4.50	\$3.65	\$3.00 - \$4.00
CENTRAL	\$3.21	\$1.20 - \$5.50	\$4.50	\$3.00 - \$6.50	\$3.53	\$1.00 - \$6.90
Bishan	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.80	\$3.80 - \$3.80*	\$3.80	\$3.20 - \$4.50
Bukit Merah	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$5.00	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	\$3.88	\$2.90 - \$4.50
Bukit Timah	\$3.35	\$3.20 - \$3.50	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$3.20	\$2.00 - \$5.00	\$5.75	\$5.00 - \$6.50	\$4.23	\$3.20 - \$6.90
Kallang	\$2.96	\$2.00 - \$4.00	\$5.00	\$4.50 - \$5.50	\$3.23	\$2.20 - \$4.00
Marine Parade	\$3.87	\$2.50 - \$5.50	-	-	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*
Novena	\$3.64	\$2.50 - \$5.00	\$4.50	\$4.50 - \$4.50*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*
Queenstown	\$3.20	\$2.20 - \$4.80	\$4.00	\$3.00 - \$5.00	\$3.13	\$2.50 - \$3.50
Toa Payoh	\$2.72	\$1.20 - \$4.00	\$3.85	\$3.50 - \$4.20	\$3.17	\$1.00 - \$4.80
NORTH EAST	\$3.30	\$2.50 - \$5.00	\$4.92	\$2.80 - \$6.90	\$3.45	\$2.50 - \$5.80
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.27	\$2.50 - \$5.00	\$4.30	\$4.30 - \$4.30*	\$3.78	\$2.50 - \$4.50
Hougang	\$3.40	\$2.70 - \$5.00	\$5.80	\$5.80 - \$5.80^	\$3.03	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Punggol	-	-	\$5.50	\$5.50 - \$5.50^	\$3.73	\$2.90 - \$5.80
Sengkang	\$3.07	\$3.00 - \$3.20	\$4.35	\$2.80 - \$6.90	\$3.11	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Serangoon	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	-	-	\$3.87	\$2.80 - \$4.50
EAST	\$3.38	\$2.00 - \$4.50	\$4.00	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$3.67	\$2.00 - \$6.00
Bedok	\$3.70	\$2.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.59	\$2.00 - \$6.00
Pasir Ris	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	\$4.25	\$4.00 - \$4.50	\$3.06	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Tampines	\$2.93	\$2.20 - \$4.50	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.87	\$2.50 - \$5.50

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.10 Chicken Briyani

The overall average price of chicken briyani was \$6.44, with prices across the neighbourhoods ranging from \$3 to \$12.90. The overall average price was slightly higher than the overall average price of \$6.40³² found by the Department of Statistics (2023b) for September to November 2022.

The dish cost the least in hawker centres at \$5.94, followed by kopitiams at \$6.52, then food courts at \$7.29 (see Table 3.44 below). These price differences were statistically significant³³. While the lowest price of \$3 was found in both hawker centres and kopitiams, the lowest price found in food courts was \$5.50.

The most common price observed for the dish was \$6, found for three in ten of all surveyed stalls. It was also the most common price found in hawker centres (29.9 per cent of the observations) and kopitiams (33.2 per cent of the observations). Meanwhile, one quarter of the food court stalls surveyed sold the dish at \$6.50.

Table 3.44: Prices of chicken briyani across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$6.44	\$5.94	\$7.29	\$6.52
Maximum price	\$12.90	\$10.00	\$9.50	\$12.90
Minimum price	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$5.50	\$3.00
Most common price	\$6.00 (30.4%)	\$6.00 (29.9%)	\$6.50 (25.0%)	\$6.00 (33.2%)

There were no statistically significant differences in the average prices of chicken briyani across the regions³⁴. However, the range in prices varied considerably across the regions. These trends are most likely due to the rarity of prices at the extremes, given that only four places sold the dish below \$4 and only sold it above \$9. The East had the lowest average price of \$6.25, but actual prices ranged from \$3.80 to \$11.90, which was close to the maximum price recorded. In contrast, the North had the highest average price of \$6.61 but a smaller price range – while it reported a higher minimum price of \$5.50, the maximum price was \$9.50. Meanwhile, the West had an average price of \$6.53 with prices ranging from \$3 to \$9. Similarly, the Northeast sold the dish at \$6.49 on average, with prices ranging from \$3 to \$9. In contrast, the Central region reported a lower average price of \$6.35 while prices started from \$4 all the way to \$12.90 (see Graph 3.15 and Table 3.45 below).

In the West, chicken briyani was sold for an average of \$6.53. The highest average price was \$6.71 in Bukit Panjang while the lowest average price was \$6.29 in Clementi. The range in prices in the neighbourhoods were all quite similar, from \$5.50 to \$7.50 except Jurong West, which reported a maximum of \$9 and a minimum of \$3.

³² The average price for September to November 2022 was derived by taking the average of the reported prices for these three months. The average price of chicken briyani was \$6.39 in September 2022, and \$6.40 in both October and November 2022.

³³ $F(2,277) = 14.76, p < .001$

³⁴ $F(4,275) = 0.89, ns$

In the North, the dish cost \$6.61 on average. Sembawang had a relatively lower average price of \$6.28 compared to Woodlands (\$6.69) and Sembawang (\$6.75). It is likely that the lower maximum and minimum prices reported for Sembawang (\$5.50 to \$7) compared to the other two neighbourhoods contributed to this trend.

In the Central region, Toa Payoh reported the lowest average price of \$5.81, with the dish being priced at a minimum of \$4.50 and a maximum of \$7. This was comparatively lower compared to the other neighbourhoods. Excluding Bukit Timah and Marine Parade, which had no observations and one observation respectively, the average prices for the other neighbourhoods ranged from \$6.17 (Bukit Merah) to \$6.84 (Queenstown).

The average price of chicken briyani in the Northeast was \$6.49, with recorded prices going from \$3 to \$9. Punggol reported the highest average price across all surveyed neighbourhoods at \$7.11. In contrast, Ang Mo Kio reported the third-lowest average price across all neighbourhoods at \$4.90.

Meanwhile, the dish cost on average \$6.25 in the East. There appeared to be few stalls selling it in Pasir Ris, given that there were only two price observations – both costing \$7 – in the neighbourhood. Bedok reported the lowest average price across all neighbourhoods at \$5.54. In contrast, Tampines reported an average price of \$6.73, which was nearer to the higher end of the spectrum.

Graph 3.15: Prices of chicken briyani across neighbourhoods

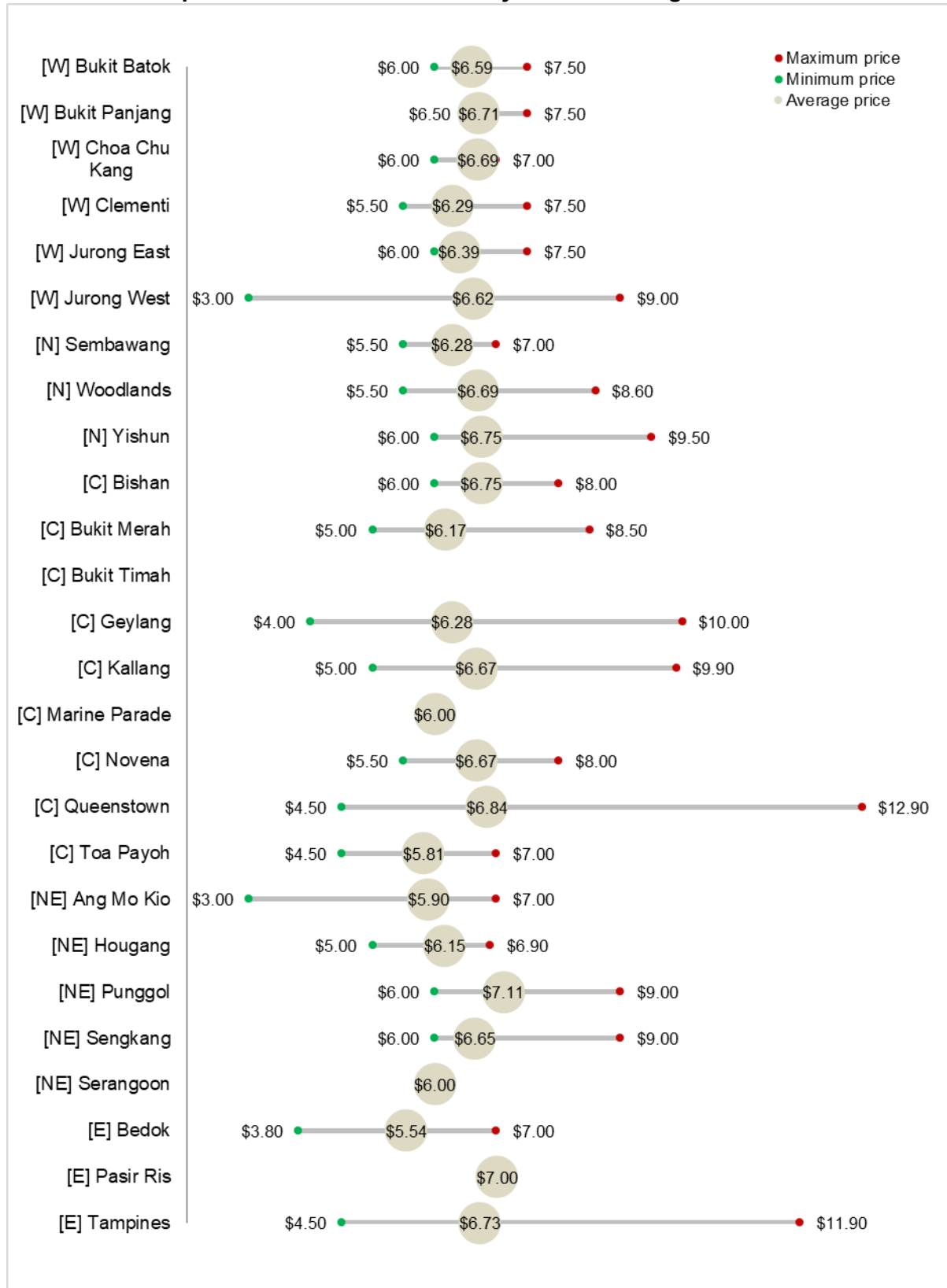


Table 3.45: Prices of chicken briyani across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Briyani			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$6.53	\$9.00	\$3.00	60
Bukit Batok	\$6.59	\$7.50	\$6.00	11
Bukit Panjang	\$6.71	\$7.50	\$6.50	7
Choa Chu Kang	\$6.69	\$7.00	\$6.00	8
Clementi	\$6.29	\$7.50	\$5.50	12
Jurong East	\$6.39	\$7.50	\$6.00	9
Jurong West	\$6.62	\$9.00	\$3.00	13
NORTH	\$6.61	\$9.50	\$5.50	49
Sembawang	\$6.28	\$7.00	\$5.50	12
Woodlands	\$6.69	\$8.60	\$5.50	19
Yishun	\$6.75	\$9.50	\$6.00	18
CENTRAL	\$6.35	\$12.90	\$4.00	90
Bishan	\$6.75	\$8.00	\$6.00	6
Bukit Merah	\$6.17	\$8.50	\$5.00	15
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	0
Geylang	\$6.28	\$10.00	\$4.00	23
Kallang	\$6.67	\$9.90	\$5.00	13
Marine Parade*	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	1
Novena	\$6.67	\$8.00	\$5.50	6
Queenstown	\$6.84	\$12.90	\$4.50	10
Toa Payoh	\$5.81	\$7.00	\$4.50	16
NORTHEAST	\$6.49	\$9.00	\$3.00	38
Ang Mo Kio	\$5.90	\$7.00	\$3.00	10
Hougang	\$6.15	\$6.90	\$5.00	6
Punggol	\$7.11	\$9.00	\$6.00	11
Sengkang	\$6.65	\$9.00	\$6.00	10
Serangoon*	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	1
EAST	\$6.25	\$11.90	\$3.80	43
Bedok	\$5.54	\$7.00	\$3.80	18
Pasir Ris^	\$7.00	\$7.00	\$7.00	2
Tampines	\$6.73	\$11.90	\$4.50	23

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

For all regions, average prices were lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiam then food courts. Chicken briyani prices were not observed in the hawker centres and food courts for about half of the neighbourhoods.

In the Western region, the average price for chicken briyani was \$6.33 in hawker centres, \$6.54 in kopitiam and \$7.25 in food courts. The price range was large for kopitiam, from \$3

to \$9. This range was smaller for hawker centres from \$4.50 to \$7.50 and even smaller for food courts where it ranged in the higher end of \$6.50 to \$8.00. Additionally, chicken briyani appeared to be difficult to find in food courts, with four out of six neighbourhoods appearing to not sell the dish at all in the food courts. While average prices in each neighbourhood were close to each other for hawker centres and kopitiam, they were far apart for food courts. However, the only two average prices for food courts were based on single observations.

In the North, chicken briyani cost an average of \$6 in hawker centres, \$6.52 in kopitiam and \$7.62 in food courts. Average prices were more consistent in hawker centres and kopitiam compared to food courts, where neighbourhood average prices ranged from \$6.50 to \$9.50. However, the average price for food courts in Sembawang and Yishun were based on single price observations.

In the Central region, there was an average price of \$6.09 for hawker centres, \$6.42 for kopitiam and \$7.29 for food courts. Neighbourhood average prices were similar to each other for each establishment type. However, the Novena hawker centre had an especially high average price, though this was based on a single observation. Similarly, the Queenstown kopitiam had an average price that was especially higher than that of the other neighbourhoods. However, this was likely increased by a price observation of \$12.90. The other prices observed for kopitiam in Queenstown were either \$6 or \$6.50, similar to average price of kopitiam in the other neighbourhoods.

For the Northeast, there was an average price of \$5.50 for hawker centres, \$6.61 for kopitiam and \$7.04 for food courts. There were no prices observed for more than half the neighbourhoods for hawker centres and food courts, which suggests a difficulty in finding this dish in the Northeast. The price ranges were equally large for hawker centres and kopitiam, with the price ranging from \$3 to \$7 for hawker centres and \$5 to \$9 for kopitiam, but was much narrower for food courts, ranging from \$6 to \$8.90. Average prices for each neighbourhood were similar to each other for hawker centres and kopitiam, varying by up to \$1 or \$2. However, it varied more greatly for food courts, ranging from \$6.50 to \$7.85.

For the East, the average price was \$5.38 in hawker centres, \$6.57 in kopitiam and \$7 in food courts. The average price for hawker centres for the entire region was based on a single price observation. Across neighbourhoods, average prices varied little for hawker centres, but it varied more for kopitiam, likely because of the higher average price of \$7 in Pasir Ris, which was based on a single observation.

Table 3.46: Prices of chicken briyani across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Briyani					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$6.33	\$4.50 - \$7.50	\$7.25	\$6.50 - \$8.00	\$6.54	\$3.00 - \$9.00
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$6.59	\$6.00 - \$7.50
Bukit Panjang	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50*	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50*	\$6.80	\$6.50 - \$7.50
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	-	-	\$6.69	\$6.00 - \$7.00
Clementi	\$6.50	\$6.00 - \$7.00	-	-	\$6.14	\$5.50 - \$7.50
Jurong East	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*	-	-	\$6.44	\$6.00 - \$7.50
Jurong West	\$6.00	\$4.50 - \$7.50	\$8.00	\$8.00 - \$8.00*	\$6.60	\$3.00 - \$9.00
NORTH	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00^	\$7.62	\$6.50 - \$9.50	\$6.52	\$5.50 - \$7.50
Sembawang	-	-	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50*	\$6.25	\$5.50 - \$7.00
Woodlands	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00^	\$7.37	\$6.50 - \$8.60	\$6.64	\$5.50 - \$7.50
Yishun	-	-	\$9.50	\$9.50 - \$9.50*	\$6.59	\$6.00 - \$7.50
CENTRAL	\$6.09	\$4.00 - \$10.00	\$7.29	\$5.50 - \$8.50	\$6.42	\$4.50 - \$12.90
Bishan	-	-	-	-	\$6.75	\$6.00 - \$8.00
Bukit Merah	\$5.94	\$5.50 - \$7.50	\$7.50	\$6.50 - \$8.50	\$6.00	\$5.00 - \$6.50
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$6.21	\$4.00 - \$10.00	\$8.00	\$8.00 - \$8.00*	\$6.20	\$5.50 - \$7.50
Kallang	\$6.10	\$5.00 - \$7.50	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*	\$7.03	\$6.00 - \$9.90
Marine Parade	-	-	-	-	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*
Novena	\$8.00	\$8.00 - \$8.00*	\$6.75	\$5.50 - \$8.00	\$6.17	\$6.00 - \$6.50
Queenstown	\$5.90	\$4.50 - \$7.00	\$7.50	\$7.50 - \$7.50*	\$7.85	\$6.00 - \$12.90
Toa Payoh	\$5.25	\$4.50 - \$6.00	-	-	\$5.89	\$4.50 - \$7.00
NORTHEAST	\$5.50	\$3.00 - \$7.00	\$7.04	\$6.00 - \$8.90	\$6.61	\$5.00 - \$9.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$4.88	\$3.00 - \$7.00	-	-	\$6.58	\$6.00 - \$7.00
Hougang	-	-	-	-	\$6.15	\$5.00 - \$6.90
Punggol	-	-	\$7.85	\$6.80 - \$8.90	\$6.94	\$6.00 - \$9.00
Sengkang	\$6.75	\$6.50 - \$7.00	\$6.50	\$6.00 - \$7.00	\$6.70	\$6.00 - \$9.00
Serangoon	-	-	-	-	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*
EAST	\$5.38	\$4.00 - \$7.00	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*	\$6.57	\$3.80 - \$11.90
Bedok	\$5.32	\$4.00 - \$7.00	-	-	\$5.90	\$3.80 - \$7.00
Pasir Ris	-	-	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*
Tampines	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*	-	-	\$6.77	\$4.50 - \$11.90

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.11 Mee Rebus

Based on all the collected data, mee rebus cost \$3.58 on average, with a maximum price of \$5.50 and a minimum price of \$2.50. This overall average price was slightly lower than the overall average prices found by the Department of Statistics (2023b), which was reported to have remained constant at \$3.63 from September 2022 to November 2022.

On average, the food item cost the least in hawker centres (\$3.41), with prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$4.50. The highest price of \$5.50 was found in a food court and a kopitiam, while the lowest price of \$2.50 was found in a hawker centre and a kopitiam. The average price of mee rebus in kopitiams was \$3.61, with the cheapest recorded price being \$2.50 and the highest recorded price being \$5.50. Meanwhile, mee rebus costs the most in food courts at an average price of \$4.02, with actual prices ranging from \$3.30 to \$5.50 (see Table 3.47 below). The differences in prices across food establishment types were found to be statistically significant³⁵.

It should be noted that prices of mee rebus were mostly under \$4.20 – only nineteen stalls sold the food item at \$4.20 and above. Similarly, only two stalls sold mee rebus at \$2.50 and another two at \$5.50, the lowest and highest recorded price respectively.

The most common price for mee rebus was \$3.50 – 42.8 per cent of all stalls surveyed sold the food item at this price. It was also sold at this price in 48.1 per cent of all hawker centre stalls and 43.6 per cent of all kopitiam stalls surveyed. Meanwhile, it was more commonly found at \$4 in food court stalls, with 34.4 per cent of the stalls selling it at this price point.

Table 3.47: Prices of mee rebus across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$3.58	\$3.41	\$4.02	\$3.61
Maximum price	\$5.50	\$4.50	\$5.50	\$5.50
Minimum price	\$2.50	\$2.50	\$3.30	\$2.50
Most common price	\$3.50 (42.8%)	\$3.50 (48.1%)	\$4.00 (34.4%)	\$3.50 (43.6%)

Average prices of mee rebus were not statistically different across the five different regions surveyed³⁶. The Northeast region recorded the largest range in prices, with prices ranging from a minimum of \$2.70 in Ang Mo Kio to a maximum of \$5.50 in Hougang. In contrast, prices were more similar in the North, ranging from \$2.80 (Woodlands) to \$4.50 (Sembawang). Meanwhile, prices ranged from \$3 to \$5.50 in the West, \$2.50 to \$5 in the Central region, and \$3 to \$5.20 in the East (see Graph 3.16 and Table 3.48 below).

In the West, average prices ranged from \$3.50 in Bukit Batok to \$3.72 in Bukit Panjang. The largest range in prices for the region – as well as across all neighbourhoods surveyed – was found in Jurong West, where prices ranged from \$3 to \$5.50. However, it should be noted that

³⁵ $F(2,273) = 24.29, p < .001$

³⁶ $F(4,271) = 2.02, ns$

except for one stall in Jurong East where mee rebus was sold at \$4.50 and another at Jurong West where mee rebus was sold at \$5.50, the highest recorded price across all five regions, prices of mee rebus in Jurong East and Jurong West ranged from \$3 to \$4.

Like the West, there was not much variation in the average prices of mee rebus recorded for neighborhoods in the North – they ranged from \$3.59 in Woodlands to \$3.68 in Yishun. Besides a stall in Woodlands with mee rebus priced at \$2.80 and another in Sembawang with mee rebus priced at \$4.50, prices of mee rebus in the West ranged from \$3 to \$4.

Similarly, there was not much variation in the average prices of mee rebus recorded for neighborhoods in the East – average prices ranged from \$3.66 in Bedok to \$3.81 in Pasir Ris. Tampines reported the greatest price range in the East with prices ranging from \$3 to \$5.20, though only three stalls had prices above \$4.50, the maximum price observed in Bedok and Pasir Ris. It should also be noted that besides these three stalls in Tampines, two stalls in Bedok, and a stall in Pasir Ris, prices of mee rebus in the East ranged from \$3 to \$4.

Within the Central region, three neighbourhoods – Bishan (\$3.36), Bukit Merah (\$3.29) and Toa Payoh (\$3.42) – had average prices below \$3.50, though it should be noted that only five and seven stalls were recorded selling mee rebus in Bishan and Bukit Merah respectively. There was just one price observation of \$3.50 each in Bukit Timah and Marine Parade. Meanwhile, Geylang and Queenstown recorded the greatest range of mee rebus prices in the region – \$3 to \$5; however, just three stalls in Geylang and a single stall in Queenstown sold mee rebus at prices above \$4. Similarly, only two stalls in Kallang and a single stall in Novena recorded prices above \$4. Two stalls in Toa Payoh recorded mee rebus prices of \$2.50, the lowest price recorded. Besides these exceptions, prices of mee rebus recorded in the Central region ranged from \$3 to \$4.

In the Northeast, only Ang Mo Kio (\$3.29) had an average price for mee rebus below \$3.50. It was also the neighbourhood with the lowest average price recorded. The highest average price in the region was recorded in Punggol at \$3.85, though it should be noted that only six stalls in Punggol recorded selling mee rebus. Hougang also recorded the highest range in prices, from \$3 to \$5.50, like Jurong West. Besides a stall in Punggol and two stalls in Hougang, recorded prices of mee rebus in the Northeast were \$4 and below.

Graph 3.16: Prices of mee rebus across neighbourhoods

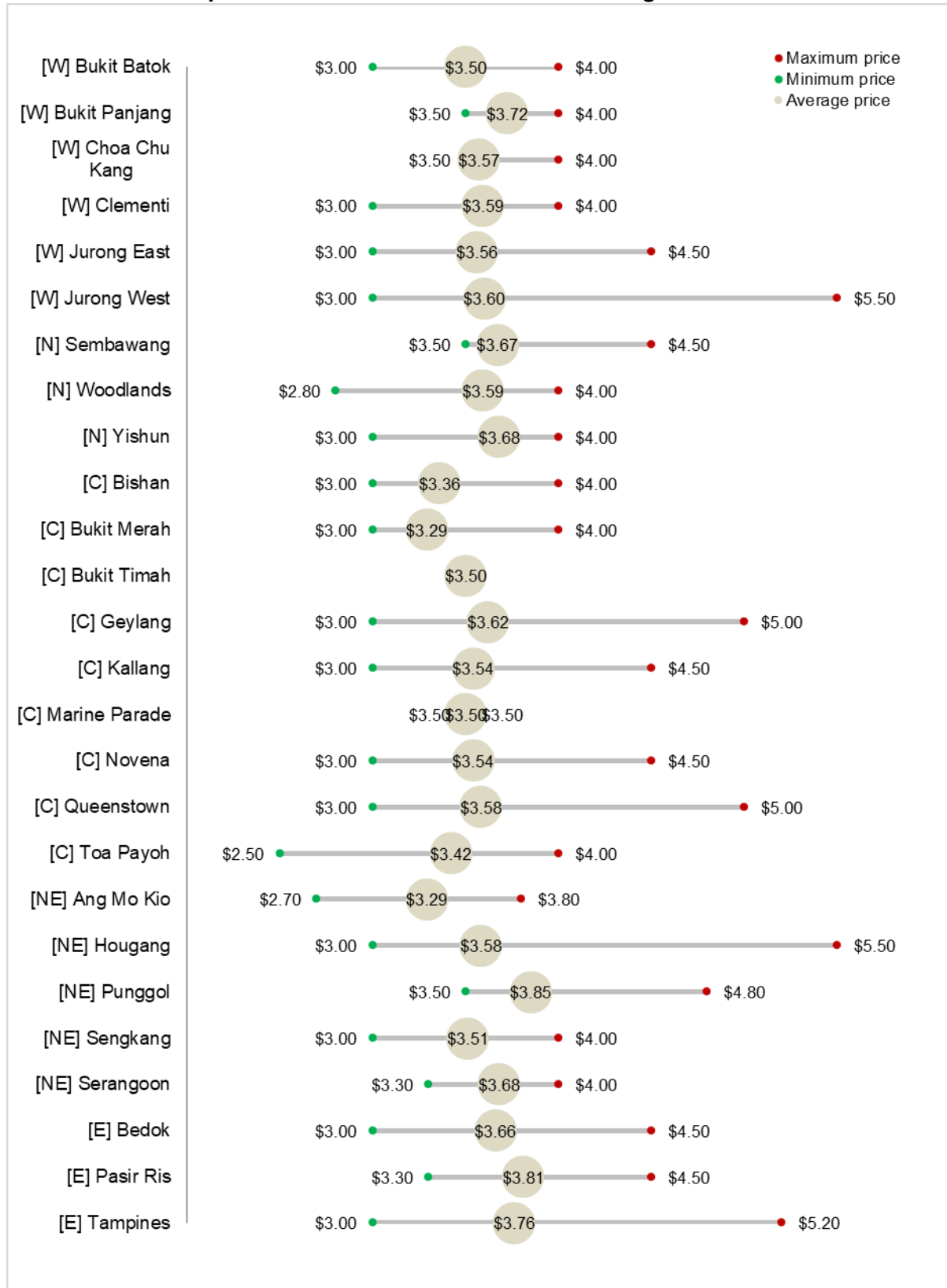


Table 3.48: Prices of mee rebus across neighbourhoods

Region	Mee Rebus			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$3.58	\$5.50	\$3.00	59
Bukit Batok	\$3.50	\$4.00	\$3.00	10
Bukit Panjang	\$3.72	\$4.00	\$3.50	5
Choa Chu Kang	\$3.57	\$4.00	\$3.50	7
Clementi	\$3.59	\$4.00	\$3.00	14
Jurong East	\$3.56	\$4.50	\$3.00	13
Jurong West	\$3.60	\$5.50	\$3.00	10
NORTH	\$3.64	\$4.50	\$2.80	37
Sembawang	\$3.67	\$4.50	\$3.50	6
Woodlands	\$3.59	\$4.00	\$2.80	17
Yishun	\$3.68	\$4.00	\$3.00	14
CENTRAL	\$3.51	\$5.00	\$2.50	86
Bishan	\$3.36	\$4.00	\$3.00	5
Bukit Merah	\$3.29	\$4.00	\$3.00	7
Bukit Timah*	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$3.50	1
Geylang	\$3.62	\$5.00	\$3.00	22
Kallang	\$3.54	\$4.50	\$3.00	12
Marine Parade*	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$3.50	1
Novena	\$3.54	\$4.50	\$3.00	7
Queenstown	\$3.58	\$5.00	\$3.00	12
Toa Payoh	\$3.42	\$4.00	\$2.50	19
NORTHEAST	\$3.53	\$5.50	\$2.70	46
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.29	\$3.80	\$2.70	14
Hougang	\$3.58	\$5.50	\$3.00	12
Punggol	\$3.85	\$4.80	\$3.50	6
Sengkang	\$3.51	\$4.00	\$3.00	8
Serangoon*	\$3.68	\$4.00	\$3.30	6
EAST	\$3.73	\$5.20	\$3.00	48
Bedok	\$3.66	\$4.50	\$3.00	18
Pasir Ris^	\$3.81	\$4.50	\$3.30	9
Tampines	\$3.76	\$5.20	\$3.00	21

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Across all five regions, average prices of mee rebus were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and then food courts.

The average prices of mee rebus sold in hawker centres (\$3.41) and kopitiams (\$3.55) in the Western region were quite similar. While the range of prices in hawker centres in the region

was quite small – \$3 (Jurong East) to \$3.60 (Clementi) – the range of prices in kopitiams was comparatively larger, from \$3 to \$4.50 (Jurong East). Amongst hawker centres and kopitiams in the West, Jurong West kopitiams sold the food item at the lowest average price of \$3.29 while the highest average price of \$3.73 was found in Jurong East kopitiams. There did not seem to be many hawker centres and food courts selling mee rebus in the West, given that there were only hawker centre data for three neighbourhoods and food court data for two neighbourhoods. The highest average price for the food item was found for Jurong West food courts at \$4.75 (see Table 3.49 below).

Food courts (\$3.76) and kopitiams (\$3.73) in the Northern region had similar average prices for mee rebus. Meanwhile, the prices recorded for hawker centres in the region were lower – mee rebus was sold for an average of \$3.13. The lowest recorded average price in hawker centres across all regions was found in the region, in Yishun at \$3. The lowest recorded average price in food court across all regions was also found in the region, in Sembawang at \$3.50, though it should be noted that there was only one food court stall recorded selling mee rebus in Sembawang.

Mee rebus in the Central region cost an average of \$3.39 in hawker centres, \$3.51 in kopitiams and \$4.05 in food courts. Across all regions, the lowest recorded average price for hawker centres (\$3) and kopitiams (\$3) was also in the Central region, in Bishan and Novena respectively. However, it should be noted that there was only one hawker centre price recorded for Bishan and two kopitiam prices recorded for Novena. While the highest average price recorded for kopitiams across all regions was found in Bukit Merah (\$4), it should be noted that there was only one price observation in the neighbourhood. There seemed to be fewer food courts in the region selling mee rebus, given that there were no prices recorded for Bukit Merah, Bukit Timah and Marine Parade, and only one price recorded in Bishan. While the range of prices for the food item is higher in food courts in the region (\$3.50 to \$5), there is a larger range in prices in hawker centres and kopitiams with prices for both ranging from \$2.50 to \$4.50.

In the Northeast, mee rebus cost an average of \$3.38 in hawker centres, \$3.56 in kopitiams and \$3.80 in food courts. Hawker centres in this region recorded the largest range in prices, with the minimum price being \$2.70 and the maximum being \$4.50. Hougang hawker centres also recorded the highest average price for hawker centres across all surveyed neighbourhoods at \$3.75. No prices were recorded in Punggol and Serangoon hawker centres, while there were no prices recorded for Ang Mo Kio food courts and only a single observation recorded in Hougang and Serangoon each. Given the low number of observations, no comparisons will be made across neighbourhoods for this region.

For the Eastern region, mee rebus cost an average of \$3.58 in hawker centres, \$3.73 in kopitiams and \$4.17 in food courts. Average prices in the region were relatively similar across hawker centres and kopitiams respectively. Price ranges for hawker centres and kopitiams were relatively similar as well. There appeared to be greater variety in prices in food courts in the region, in terms of both average prices (\$3.95 in Pasir Ris to \$4.60 in Tampines) and price ranges (\$3.30 to \$5.20). The highest recorded average price for food courts across all neighbourhoods was also found in the region, in Tampines at \$4.60.

Table 3.49: Prices of mee rebus across neighbourhoods

Region	Mee Rebus					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$3.41	\$3.00 - \$3.60	\$4.33	\$3.80 - \$5.50	\$3.55	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Bukit Panjang	-	-	\$3.90	\$3.80 - \$4.00	\$3.60	\$3.50 - \$3.80
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	-	-	\$3.57	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Clementi	\$3.53	\$3.50 - \$3.60	-	-	\$3.61	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Jurong East	\$3.30	\$3.00 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.73	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Jurong West	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$4.75	\$4.00 - \$5.50	\$3.29	\$3.00 - \$3.50
NORTH	\$3.13	\$2.80 - \$3.50	\$3.76	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.73	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Sembawang	-	-	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.70	\$3.50 - \$4.50
Woodlands	\$3.20	\$2.80 - \$3.50	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.71	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Yishun	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	\$3.90	\$3.80 - \$4.00	\$3.77	\$3.00 - \$4.00
CENTRAL	\$3.39	\$2.50 - \$4.50	\$4.05	\$3.50 - \$5.00	\$3.51	\$2.50 - \$4.50
Bishan	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.80	\$3.80 - \$3.80*	\$3.33	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Bukit Merah	\$3.17	\$3.00 - \$3.50	-	-	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*
Bukit Timah	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$3.48	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.40	\$3.80 - \$5.00	\$3.93	\$3.50 - \$4.50
Kallang	\$3.36	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.00	\$3.80 - \$4.20	\$3.67	\$3.00 - \$4.50
Marine Parade	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	-	-	-	-
Novena	\$3.60	\$3.50 - \$3.80	\$4.00	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^
Queenstown	\$3.50	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$5.00	\$5.00 - \$5.00*	\$3.33	\$3.00 - \$3.50
Toa Payoh	\$3.28	\$2.50 - \$4.00	\$3.67	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.50	\$2.50 - \$4.00
NORTHEAST	\$3.38	\$2.70 - \$4.50	\$3.80	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.56	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.25	\$2.70 - \$3.50	-	-	\$3.43	\$3.00 - \$3.80
Hougang	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.50	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.49	\$3.00 - \$5.50
Punggol	-	-	\$3.90	\$3.80 - \$4.00	\$3.83	\$3.50 - \$4.80
Sengkang	\$3.40	\$3.30 - \$3.50	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00	\$3.45	\$3.00 - \$3.80
Serangoon	-	-	\$4.00	\$4.00 - \$4.00*	\$3.62	\$3.30 - \$4.00
EAST	\$3.58	\$3.00 - \$4.50	\$4.17	\$3.30 - \$5.20	\$3.73	\$3.00 - \$4.80
Bedok	\$3.65	\$3.00 - \$4.50	-	-	\$3.66	\$3.00 - \$4.00
Pasir Ris	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.95	\$3.30 - \$4.50	\$3.75	\$3.50 - \$4.00
Tampines	\$3.38	\$3.00 - \$4.00	\$4.60	\$4.00 - \$5.20	\$3.75	\$3.00 - \$4.80

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.12 Prata Set (1 Plain and 1 Egg)

According to the data collected, the average cost of one plain and one egg prata was \$2.97. For ease of reference, it will be referred to as “prata set” for the rest of the discussion. The average cost of the prata set was the lowest in hawker centres (\$2.88), while the average prices at kopitiams and food courts were \$2.97 and \$3.16 respectively. These differences were statistically significant³⁷. Both the highest and lowest priced prata sets could be found at kopitiams for \$4.40 and \$2.20 respectively. The price of prata sets cost \$2.30 to \$3.80 at hawker centres, and \$2.90 to \$4.10 at food courts (see Table 3.50 below).

The prata set mostly cost less than \$4, with seven out of 298 stalls pricing their pratas at \$4 or more (1 per cent). The most common price observed was \$3, occurring at 38.8 per cent of all stalls surveyed. This price was found in 27.8 per cent of all hawker centre stalls and 42.3 per cent of all kopitiam stalls. Meanwhile, there were two most common price points for food courts – the pratas were sold at either \$2.90 or \$3 for 55.6 per cent of the stalls surveyed.

Table 3.50: Prices of prata set (1 plain and 1 egg) across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$2.97	\$2.88	\$3.16	\$2.97
Maximum price	\$4.40	\$3.80	\$4.10	\$4.40
Minimum price	\$2.20	\$2.30	\$2.90	\$2.20
Most common price	\$3.00 (38.9%)	\$3.00 (28.3%)	\$2.90 (27.8%) \$3.00 (27.8%)	\$3.00 (42.3%)

The average price of the prata set was statistically different across the five different regions surveyed³⁸. In particular, the prices were significantly lower in the West compared to the Central region. The North and the Central reported the largest range in prices – the lowest price in both regions was \$2.20 and the highest price was \$4.40. The Northeast had the smallest price difference between the most and least costly sets found in the region, with the most affordable prata set costing \$2.50 and the most expensive costing \$3.50. The lowest prices of prata sets were \$2.20 in the West and \$2.50 in the East. The highest priced prata in the West was \$3.50 and \$4 in the East (see Graph 3.17 and Table 3.51 below).

In the West, Jurong West had the highest average price of \$3.01, the only Western neighbourhood with an average price that exceeded \$3. Bukit Batok had the lowest average price in the West (\$2.76) and when compared across all neighbourhoods surveyed. The average price for the prata set was \$2.80 in Clementi, \$2.85 in Choa Chu Kang, \$2.87 in Jurong East and \$2.93 in Bukit Panjang. Meanwhile, prices varied the least in Clementi (\$2.50 to \$3) and varied the most in Choa Chu Kang (\$2.20 to \$3.30).

The average price of the prata set in the North was \$2.98. Specifically, the set cost \$2.85 in Sembawang, \$2.99 in Yishun and \$3.03 in Woodlands. The lowest prices in Sembawang,

³⁷ $F(2,295) = 5.76, p = .004$.

³⁸ $F(4,293) = 2.66, p = .033$.

Yishun and Woodlands were \$2.20, \$2.50 and \$2.70 respectively while the highest prices were \$3, \$3.50, and \$4 respectively.

In the Central region, there were no price observations for the prata set in Bukit Timah. Geylang reported the lowest average price prata (\$2.81), while Bishan had the highest average price (\$3.19). Bishan also reported the highest average price in all the regions surveyed. Geylang had the widest range of the prata set in the Central region, with the highest price of \$4 and the lowest price of \$2.20.

In the Northeast, the prata set cost \$3.02 on average. The lowest average price was found in Serangoon (\$2.90), followed by \$2.98 in Ang Mo Kio, \$3.02 in Punggol, \$3.04 in Hougang and \$3.05 in Sengkang. The price range for the dish was the narrowest in Serangoon, with prata prices ranging between \$2.80 and \$3. Punggol and Sengkang also had relatively smaller price ranges, with prata prices in Punggol ranging from \$2.90 to \$3.30, and \$2.80 to \$3.30 in Sengkang.

In the East, the average cost of the prata set was \$3.02. The lowest average price of prata in the East was in Bedok (\$2.92), which was the only Eastern neighbourhood to have an average price of below \$3. Tampines had the highest average price of prata (\$3.10), while the average price in Pasir Ris was \$3. Bedok and Tampines had the same lowest prices of one plain and one egg prata (\$2.50), while the lowest price of one plain and one egg prata was \$2.80 in Pasir Ris. The highest prices of the prata set in Pasir Ris, Bedok and Tampines were \$3.20, \$3.30 and \$4 respectively.

Graph 3.17: Prices of prata set (1 plain and 1 egg) across neighbourhoods

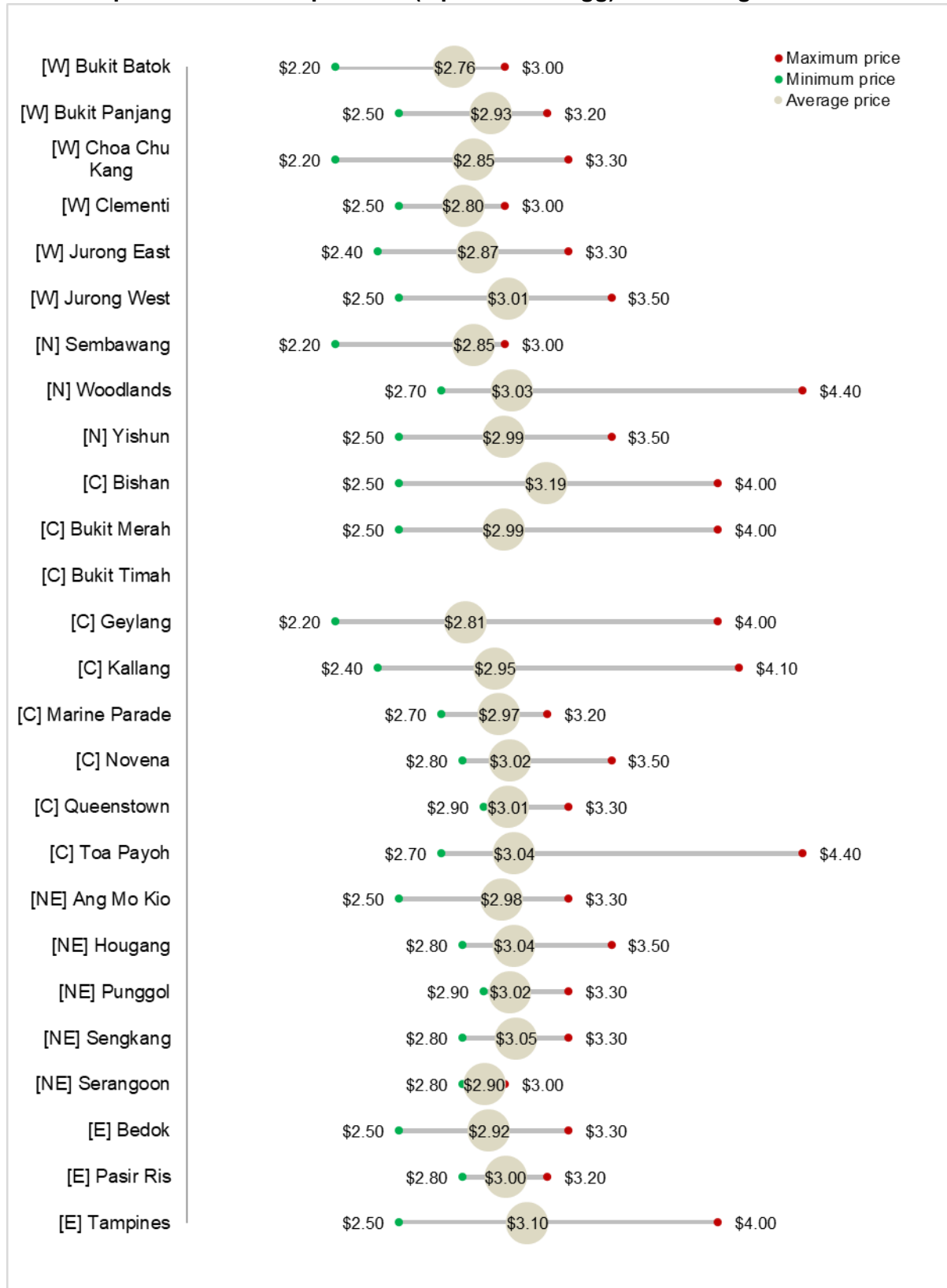


Table 3.51: Prices of prata set (1 plain and 1 egg) across neighbourhoods

Region	Prata set (1 Plain and 1 Egg)			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$2.87	\$3.50	\$2.20	72
Bukit Batok	\$2.76	\$3.00	\$2.20	12
Bukit Panjang	\$2.93	\$3.20	\$2.50	8
Choa Chu Kang	\$2.85	\$3.30	\$2.20	12
Clementi	\$2.80	\$3.00	\$2.50	10
Jurong East	\$2.87	\$3.30	\$2.40	15
Jurong West	\$3.01	\$3.50	\$2.50	15
NORTH	\$2.98	\$4.40	\$2.20	52
Sembawang	\$2.85	\$3.00	\$2.20	11
Woodlands	\$3.03	\$4.40	\$2.70	21
Yishun	\$2.99	\$3.50	\$2.50	20
CENTRAL	\$3.00	\$4.40	\$2.20	85
Bishan	\$3.19	\$4.00	\$2.50	8
Bukit Merah	\$2.99	\$4.00	\$2.50	18
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	0
Geylang	\$2.81	\$4.00	\$2.20	13
Kallang	\$2.95	\$4.10	\$2.40	6
Marine Parade	\$2.97	\$3.20	\$2.70	3
Novena	\$3.02	\$3.50	\$2.80	5
Queenstown	\$3.01	\$3.30	\$2.90	11
Toa Payoh	\$3.04	\$4.40	\$2.70	21
NORTHEAST	\$3.02	\$3.50	\$2.50	48
Ang Mo Kio	\$2.98	\$3.30	\$2.50	12
Hougang	\$3.04	\$3.50	\$2.80	11
Punggol	\$3.02	\$3.30	\$2.90	12
Sengkang	\$3.05	\$3.30	\$2.80	11
Serangoon	\$2.90	\$3.00	\$2.80	2
EAST	\$3.02	\$4.00	\$2.50	41
Bedok	\$2.92	\$3.30	\$2.50	15
Pasir Ris	\$3.00	\$3.20	\$2.80	5
Tampines	\$3.10	\$4.00	\$2.50	21

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

In the West and Central regions, average prices were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by kopitiam and then food courts. In the North and East, average prices were the lowest in hawker centres, followed by food courts and then kopitiam. In the Northeast, average prices were the lowest in kopitiam, followed by hawker centres and then food courts (see Table 3.52 below).

The average price of the prata set at hawker centres in the West was \$2.77, with prices ranging between \$2.50 and \$3. No prices were recorded for hawker centres in Bukit Batok and Choa Chu Kang. The average prata prices at hawker centres in the West were fairly similar. Only two food court prices were recorded for the West – one in Bukit Panjang (\$2.90) and the other in Jurong West (\$3.50). Therefore, comparisons will not be made for this food establishment type. The average price of the prata set at kopitiam in the West was the highest in Jurong West (\$3.01), the only neighbourhood in the West with an average prata price at kopitiam of more than \$3. Meanwhile, the lowest average price was reported in Bukit Batok (\$2.76).

The average price of the prata set at hawker centres in the North was \$2.90, and actual prices ranged between \$2.80 and \$3. Woodlands had one recorded hawker stall selling the prata set at \$3, while Yishun had two stalls (\$2.80 and \$2.90). The average cost of the prata set at food courts in the North was \$2.97, with one observation each in Sembawang and Woodlands. Meanwhile, kopitiam in the North sold the prata set for an average of \$2.98; Sembawang, Yishun and Woodlands kopitiam sold the dish for an average of \$2.85, \$3.01 and \$3.03 respectively.

The average price of the dish at hawker centres in the Central region was \$2.89. Kallang hawker centres priced it lowest at \$2.60 on average while Queenstown hawker centres priced it highest at an average of \$3.02. Kopitiam in the Central region sold the dish at \$3.01 on average; actual prices varied between \$2.20 and \$4.40. Meanwhile, the average price at food courts in the Central region was \$3.35. However, given that Bukit Merah, Kallang, Marine Parade, Novena, Queenstown, and Toa Payoh each had just one price observation in food courts, further comparisons will not be made.

At hawker centres in the Northeast, the average price of the prata set was \$3.02. There were seven observations, four from Ang Mo Kio hawker centre stalls (average price of \$3.03) and three from Sengkang hawker centre stalls (average price of \$3.02). Meanwhile, the prata set cost on average \$3.08 in food courts and \$3.01 in kopitiam. The highest average price for both food courts and kopitiam in the region could be found in Sengkang at \$3.10 and \$3.05 respectively.

The average price of the prata set at hawker centres in the East was \$2.90, while the average prices at food courts and kopitiam was \$3 and \$3.04 respectively. Given that there were very few observations for hawker centres and food courts in the East, further comparisons will not be made. Among kopitiam in the region, Bedok kopitiam sold the dish at the lowest average of \$2.87, followed by Pasir Ris at \$3.07 and Tampines at \$3.13.

Table 3.52: Prices of prata (1 plain and 1 egg) across neighbourhoods

Region	Prata (1 Plain and 1 Egg)					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$2.77	\$2.50 - \$3.00	\$3.20	\$2.90 - \$3.50	\$2.88	\$2.20 - \$3.30
Bukit Batok	-	-	-	-	\$2.76	\$2.20 - \$3.00
Bukit Panjang	\$2.90	\$2.90 - \$2.90*	\$2.90	\$2.90 - \$2.90*	\$2.93	\$2.50 - \$3.20
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	-	-	\$2.85	\$2.20 - \$3.30
Clementi	\$2.78	\$2.50 - \$3.00	-	-	\$2.82	\$2.50 - \$3.00
Jurong East	\$2.73	\$2.50 - \$3.00	-	-	\$2.90	\$2.40 - \$3.30
Jurong West	\$2.75	\$2.50 - \$3.00	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$3.01	\$2.50 - \$3.30
NORTH	\$2.90	\$2.80 - \$3.00	\$2.97	\$2.90 - \$3.00	\$2.98	\$2.20 - \$4.40
Sembawang	-	-	\$2.90	\$2.90 - \$2.90*	\$2.85	\$2.20 - \$3.00
Woodlands	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	\$3.03	\$2.70 - \$4.40
Yishun	\$2.85	\$2.80 - \$2.90	-	-	\$3.01	\$2.50 - \$3.50
CENTRAL	\$2.89	\$2.30 - \$3.80	\$3.35	\$2.90 - \$4.10	\$3.01	\$2.20 - \$4.40
Bishan	-	-	-	-	\$3.19	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Bukit Merah	\$2.94	\$2.50 - \$3.80	\$2.90	\$2.90 - \$2.90*	\$3.06	\$2.70 - \$4.00
Bukit Timah	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$2.78	\$2.30 - \$3.00	-	-	\$2.86	\$2.20 - \$4.00
Kallang	\$2.60	\$2.60 - \$2.60*	\$4.10	\$4.10 - \$4.10*	\$2.75	\$2.40 - \$3.00
Marine Parade	\$2.70	\$2.70 - \$2.70*	\$3.20	\$3.20 - \$3.20*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*
Novena	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.50	\$3.50 - \$3.50*	\$2.87	\$2.80 - \$2.90
Queenstown	\$3.02	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$3.10	\$3.10 - \$3.10*	\$2.98	\$2.90 - \$3.00
Toa Payoh	\$2.93	\$2.80 - \$3.20	\$3.30	\$3.30 - \$3.30*	\$3.06	\$2.70 - \$4.40
NORTHEAST	\$3.02	\$2.80 - \$3.30	\$3.08	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$3.01	\$2.50 - \$3.50
Ang Mo Kio	\$3.03	\$2.80 - \$3.20	-	-	\$2.96	\$2.50 - \$3.30
Hougang	-	-	-	-	\$3.04	\$2.80 - \$3.50
Punggol	-	-	\$3.07	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$3.00	\$2.90 - \$3.30
Sengkang	\$3.02	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$3.10	\$2.90 - \$3.30	\$3.05	\$2.80 - \$3.30
Serangoon	-	-	-	-	\$2.90	\$2.80 - \$3.00
EAST	\$2.90	\$2.50 - \$3.20	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00^	\$3.04	\$2.50 - \$4.00
Bedok	\$3.07	\$3.00 - \$3.20	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$2.87	\$2.50 - \$3.30
Pasir Ris	\$2.80	\$2.80 - \$2.80*	\$3.00	\$3.00 - \$3.00*	\$3.07	\$3.00 - \$3.20
Tampines	\$2.50	\$2.50 - \$2.50*	-	-	\$3.13	\$2.50 - \$4.00

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.3.13 Chicken Chop

Chicken chop was the highest priced dish amongst our selected dishes. On average, it cost \$7.58, with a lowest recorded price of \$4 and highest recorded price of \$11.90. In hawker centres, the dish cost on average \$6.90, with the range of recorded prices going from \$4.50 to \$9.80. The average cost of chicken chop in kopitiams was \$7.65 and ranged from \$4 to \$11.90. The dish cost the most on average in food courts at \$8.03 and was priced at a minimum of \$6 and a maximum of \$9.90 (see Table 3.53 below). The differences in prices across the food establishment types were statistically significant³⁹.

Just two stalls sold the dish at \$11.90, while four stalls sold it at the next highest price of \$10.60. At the lower end of the spectrum, only one stall sold the dish at \$4, while another sold it at \$4.50. Six stalls were recorded selling the dish at the next highest price of \$5.50.

The most common price was \$7.50, which occurred for 20.8 per cent of all observations. It was also the most common price found in kopitiam stalls, with 24.1 per cent of the observations at this price point. Meanwhile, it was sold by 32.4 per cent of hawker centre stalls for \$7. There were two most common prices (\$7.90 and \$8.90) for food courts – these prices were observed for 30.6 per cent of the stalls.

Table 3.53: Prices of chicken chop across food establishment types

	Overall	Hawker Centre	Food Court	Kopitiam
Average price	\$7.58	\$6.90	\$8.03	\$7.65
Maximum price	\$11.90	\$9.80	\$9.90	\$11.90
Minimum price	\$4.00	\$4.50	\$6.00	\$4.00
Most common price	\$7.50 (20.8%)	\$7.00 (32.4%)	\$7.90 (15.3%) \$8.90 (15.3%)	\$7.50 (24.1%)

The average prices reported for the different regions were statistically significant⁴⁰. Additionally, prices were found to be significantly lower in the Central region compared to the West. The range of chicken chop prices was the largest in the East – the minimum price recorded was \$5.50 while the maximum was \$11.90. In contrast, the range of prices was the narrowest in the North – chicken chop cost a minimum of \$4 and a maximum of \$9.90 in that region (see Graph 3.18 and Table 3.54 below).

On average, chicken chop was sold at a price of \$7.82 in the West, with the minimum price being \$6 and the maximum price being \$10.60. Within the region, Jurong West had the lowest average price of \$7.54 while Bukit Panjang had the highest average price of \$8.28. Bukit Batok and Bukit Panjang were also the only two neighbourhoods out of all surveyed with average prices above \$8.

³⁹ $F(2,487) = 28.85, p < .001$

⁴⁰ $F(4,485) = 2.75, p = .028$

In the North, the average price of chicken chop was \$7.52. The average prices and overall price ranges of the three neighbourhoods in the region were also quite similar – Sembawang reported an average price of \$7.55, Woodlands reported an average price of \$7.57, while Yishun reported an average price of \$7.43.

The average price of chicken chop was \$7.40 in the Central region, with prices ranging between \$4.50 and \$10.50. Kallang reported the highest average price for the dish at \$7.81, while Geylang had the lowest average price of \$6.95. Geylang was also the only neighbourhood with an average price below \$7.

Meanwhile, chicken chop cost \$7.58 on average in the Northeast, with a minimum recorded price of \$5.50 and a maximum recorded price of \$10.60. The dish was cheapest on average in Hougang at \$7.40 and most expensive in Ang Mo Kio at \$7.79.

Chicken chop cost on average \$7.62 in the East, with the cheapest recorded price being \$5.50 and the most expensive recorded price being \$11.90. Bedok and Pasir Ris had relatively similar average prices of under \$7.60, while it was slightly more costly in Tampines with an average price of \$7.69.

Graph 3.18: Prices of chicken chop across neighbourhoods

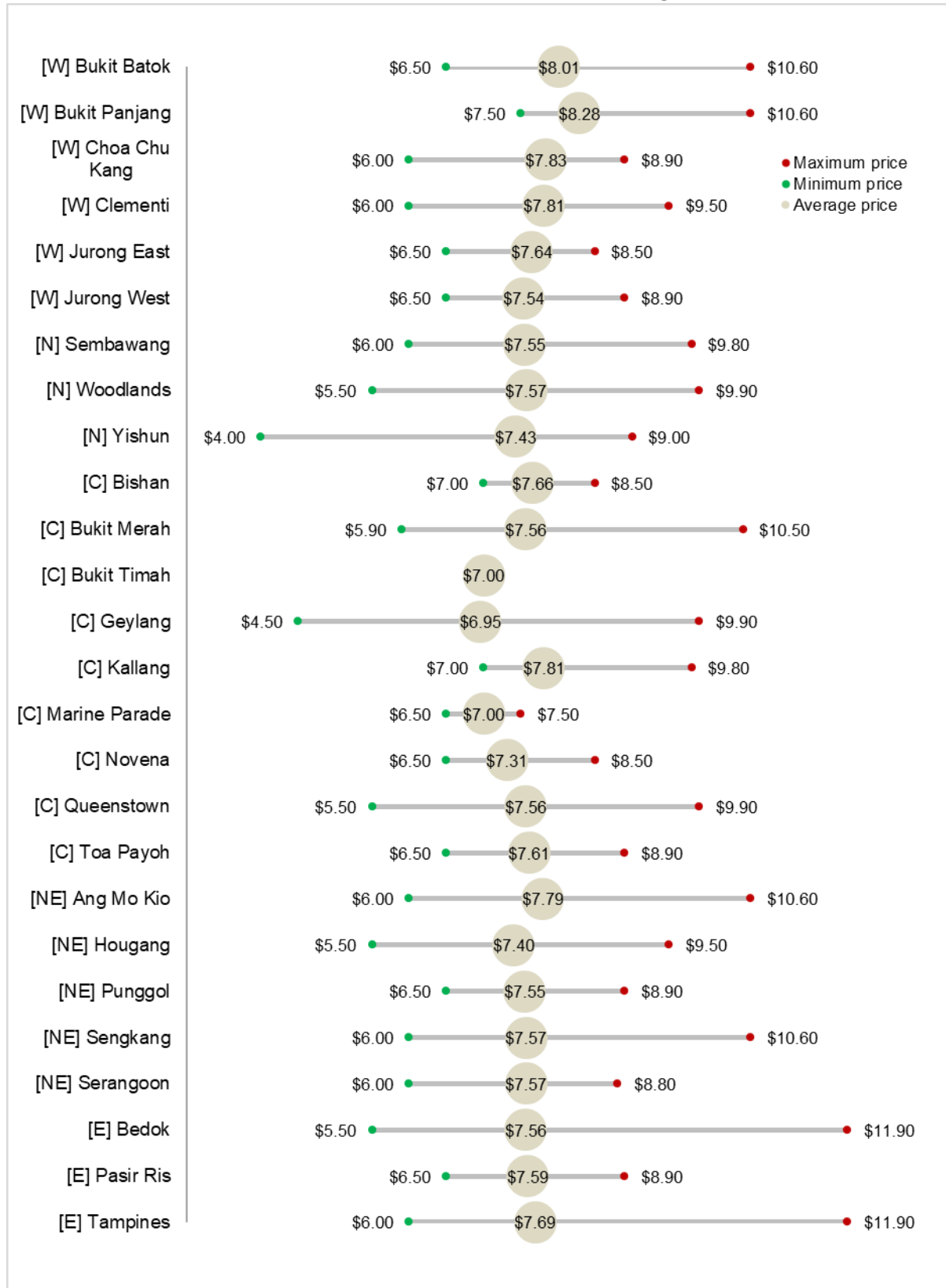


Table 3.54: Prices of chicken chop across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Chop			
	Average price	Maximum price	Minimum price	Number of stalls
WEST	\$7.82	\$10.60	\$6.00	103
Bukit Batok	\$8.01	\$10.60	\$6.50	15
Bukit Panjang	\$8.28	\$10.60	\$7.50	11
Choa Chu Kang	\$7.83	\$8.90	\$6.00	16
Clementi	\$7.81	\$9.50	\$6.00	26
Jurong East	\$7.64	\$8.50	\$6.50	17
Jurong West	\$7.54	\$8.90	\$6.50	18
NORTH	\$7.52	\$9.90	\$4.00	74
Sembawang	\$7.55	\$9.80	\$6.00	15
Woodlands	\$7.57	\$9.90	\$5.50	32
Yishun	\$7.43	\$9.00	\$4.00	27
CENTRAL	\$7.40	\$10.50	\$4.50	127
Bishan	\$7.66	\$8.50	\$7.00	9
Bukit Merah	\$7.56	\$10.50	\$5.90	19
Bukit Timah*	\$7.00	\$7.00	\$7.00	1
Geylang	\$6.95	\$9.90	\$4.50	32
Kallang	\$7.81	\$9.80	\$7.00	12
Marine Parade	\$7.00	\$7.50	\$6.50	5
Novena	\$7.31	\$8.50	\$6.50	8
Queenstown	\$7.56	\$9.90	\$5.50	18
Toa Payoh	\$7.61	\$8.90	\$6.50	23
NORTHEAST	\$7.58	\$10.60	\$5.50	112
Ang Mo Kio	\$7.79	\$10.60	\$6.00	31
Hougang	\$7.40	\$9.50	\$5.50	29
Punggol	\$7.55	\$8.90	\$6.50	13
Sengkang	\$7.57	\$10.60	\$6.00	27
Serangoon	\$7.57	\$8.80	\$6.00	12
EAST	\$7.62	\$11.90	\$5.50	74
Bedok	\$7.56	\$11.90	\$5.50	30
Pasir Ris	\$7.59	\$8.90	\$6.50	11
Tampines	\$7.69	\$11.90	\$6.00	33

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

With the exception of the East, chicken chop was the most affordable in hawker centres, followed by kopitiams and then food courts. For the Eastern region, the average price for kopitiams was slightly higher compared to that recorded for food courts. In hawker centres, chicken chop was the cheapest in the Central region (\$6.80) and most expensive in the Northeast (\$7.12). In food courts, it was the cheapest in the East (\$7.60) and most expensive

in the West (\$8.45). In kopitiam, it was the cheapest in the North (\$7.48) and the most expensive in the West (\$7.84) (see Table 3.55 below).

Chicken chop cost an average of \$6.94 in hawker centres, \$8.45 in food courts and \$7.84 in kopitiam in the West. When broken down into different neighbourhoods, there were relatively fewer observations for hawker centres and food courts. Comparing the categories with more than one observed price, chicken chop was the cheapest in Jurong East and Clementi hawker centres (\$6.75), Choa Chu Kang food courts (\$7.90) and Jurong West kopitiam (\$7.53); and most expensive in Jurong West hawker centres (\$7.13), as well as Bukit Panjang food courts (\$8.87) and kopitiam (\$8.14).

In the North, the dish cost an average of \$6.90 in hawker centres, \$7.90 in food courts and \$7.48 in kopitiam. Given the low number of observed prices in hawker centres in the region, comparisons will not be made across different neighbourhoods. In food courts, the range of prices charged for chicken chop were fairly similar, but average prices were quite different, with the dish costing on average \$6.95 in Sembawang, \$7.83 in Yishun and \$8.72 in Woodlands. In kopitiam, it was cheapest in Yishun (\$7.29), followed by Woodlands (\$7.53) and Sembawang (\$7.77).

In the Central region, there were also some neighbourhoods with no recorded prices in some of the food establishment types. They will therefore not be included in comparisons. In hawker centres, Novena had the lowest average price of \$6.50. It should also be noted that the prices in different locations were the same. In contrast, Kallang hawker centres reported the highest average price of \$8.27. Amongst the food courts, when the single observation in Geylang was excluded, those in Toa Payoh reported the lowest average price of \$7.45 while those in Bukit Merah reported the highest average price of \$8.90. Meanwhile, chicken chop was the cheapest in Novena kopitiam (\$7.17) and the most expensive in Queenstown kopitiam (\$7.88).

Chicken chop cost on average \$7.12 in hawker centres, \$8.05 in food courts and \$7.57 in kopitiam in the Northeast. Excluding categories with one or no observations, it was the cheapest in Hougang hawker centres (\$6.50), Sengkang food courts (\$7.48) and Punggol kopitiam (\$7.31); and the most expensive in Sengkang hawker centres (\$7.67), Punggol food courts (\$8.90) and Ang Mo Kio kopitiam (\$7.89).

Meanwhile, the dish cost on average \$7 in hawker centres, \$7.60 in food courts and \$7.71 in kopitiam in the East. It was the cheapest in Pasir Ris hawker centres (\$6.55), Tampines food courts (\$7.54) and Bedok kopitiam (\$7.59); while most expensive in Bedok hawker centres (\$7.38), as well as Pasir Ris food courts (\$7.68) and kopitiam (\$7.94).

Table 3.55: Prices of chicken chop across neighbourhoods

Region	Chicken Chop					
	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Price	Minimum and Maximum Prices
WEST	\$6.94	\$6.00 - \$7.50	\$8.45	\$6.00 - \$9.50	\$7.84	\$6.00 - \$10.60
Bukit Batok	-	-	\$8.35	\$7.80 - \$8.90	\$7.95	\$6.50 - \$10.60
Bukit Panjang	\$7.50	\$7.50 - \$7.50*	\$8.87	\$8.50 - \$9.30	\$8.14	\$7.50 - \$10.60
Choa Chu Kang	-	-	\$7.90	\$6.00 - \$8.90	\$7.81	\$7.00 - \$8.50
Clementi	\$6.75	\$6.00 - \$7.00	\$9.50	\$9.50 - \$9.50*	\$7.93	\$6.00 - \$9.50
Jurong East	\$6.75	\$6.50 - \$7.00	-	-	\$7.75	\$7.00 - \$8.50
Jurong West	\$7.13	\$6.90 - \$7.50	\$8.20	\$7.50 - \$8.90	\$7.53	\$6.50 - \$8.50
NORTH	\$6.90	\$6.00 - \$9.00	\$7.90	\$6.00 - \$9.90	\$7.48	\$4.00 - \$9.80
Sembawang	-	-	\$6.95	\$6.00 - \$8.00	\$7.77	\$6.50 - \$9.80
Woodlands	\$6.38	\$6.00 - \$7.00	\$8.72	\$7.00 - \$9.90	\$7.53	\$5.50 - \$9.50
Yishun	\$9.00	\$9.00 - \$9.00*	\$7.83	\$6.70 - \$8.90	\$7.29	\$4.00 - \$8.90
CENTRAL	\$6.80	\$4.50 - \$9.80	\$8.10	\$7.00 - \$9.90	\$7.61	\$5.50 - \$10.50
Bishan	-	-	\$7.90	\$7.90 - \$7.90*	\$7.63	\$7.00 - \$8.50
Bukit Merah	\$6.70	\$6.50 - \$7.50	\$8.90	\$7.90 - \$9.90	\$7.70	\$5.90 - \$10.50
Bukit Timah	\$7.00	\$7.00 - \$7.00*	-	-	-	-
Geylang	\$6.54	\$4.50 - \$8.00	\$9.90	\$9.90 - \$9.90*	\$7.28	\$6.00 - \$8.00
Kallang	\$8.27	\$7.00 - \$9.80	\$7.50	\$7.50 - \$7.50*	\$7.68	\$7.00 - \$8.90
Marine Parade	\$6.83	\$6.50 - \$7.00	-	-	\$7.25	\$7.00 - \$7.50
Novena	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50^	\$8.00	\$7.60 - \$8.50	\$7.17	\$7.00 - \$7.50
Queenstown	\$6.80	\$6.50 - \$7.00	\$7.77	\$7.50 - \$8.00	\$7.88	\$5.50 - \$9.90
Toa Payoh	\$7.17	\$6.50 - \$7.50	\$7.45	\$7.00 - \$7.90	\$7.70	\$6.50 - \$8.90
NORTHEAST	\$7.12	\$6.00 - \$8.90	\$8.05	\$6.00 - \$8.90	\$7.57	\$5.50 - \$10.60
Ang Mo Kio	\$7.26	\$6.00 - \$8.30	\$7.90	\$7.90 - \$7.90*	\$7.89	\$6.00 - \$10.60
Hougang	\$6.50	\$6.50 - \$6.50^	\$8.07	\$7.50 - \$8.80	\$7.39	\$5.50 - \$9.50
Punggol	-	-	\$8.90	\$8.90 - \$8.90^	\$7.31	\$6.50 - \$7.90
Sengkang	\$7.67	\$6.20 - \$8.90	\$7.48	\$6.00 - \$8.50	\$7.57	\$6.00 - \$10.60
Serangoon	\$6.00	\$6.00 - \$6.00*	\$8.65	\$8.50 - \$8.80	\$7.50	\$6.90 - \$8.20
EAST	\$7.00	\$6.50 - \$8.00	\$7.60	\$6.00 - \$8.80	\$7.71	\$5.50 - \$11.90
Bedok	\$7.38	\$7.00 - \$8.00	-	-	\$7.59	\$5.50 - \$11.90
Pasir Ris	\$6.55	\$6.50 - \$6.60	\$7.68	\$7.00 - \$8.30	\$7.94	\$7.50 - \$8.90
Tampines	\$6.70	\$6.60 - \$6.80	\$7.54	\$6.00 - \$8.80	\$7.79	\$6.00 - \$11.90

Note: Regions marked with * only have 1 stall, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

Regions marked with ^ have the same prices for all prices recorded, so maximum and minimum prices are the same.

3.4 CHANGES IN FOOD PRICES

Analysis of the two rounds of data collection – first during September to November 2022 and revisits between January and February 2023 – aimed to determine the changes of prices, if any, to the food items of interest. For this section, all the prices listed will pertain specifically to the stalls that were revisited. Therefore, they may not fully correspond with the prices listed in earlier sections of this chapter.

Due to time and manpower constraints, we were only able to revisit a small proportion of food establishments. A total of 50 establishments were revisited, with 263 stalls providing usable data to make comparisons between food prices in end 2022 and early 2023. Additionally, the closing of stalls or stalls that changed hands that occurred in between our two periods of data collection decreased the number of possible direct comparisons. Finally, as researchers revisited a small number of food establishments from each neighbourhood, we were unable to perform regional analyses for each food item. Therefore, while the data might have provided some interesting insights into changes in food prices, this segment of analysis might not be as generalisable or in-depth due to the small sample size. Revisits to more food establishments can be conducted in the future to provide a more comprehensive dataset.

While sweeping conclusions should not be drawn from the analysis of the data, it was evident that most stall owners in the food establishments that researchers revisited did not increase the prices of the food items they sold. Majority of stall owners who did increase their prices only did so by a small margin. While analyses showed that most of these increases were statistically significant, the average increases in prices at these revisited stalls did not exceed \$0.30, and did not go above \$0.10 for most food items.

3.4.1 Observed Changes in Food Prices

Comparing the data collected for the revisited stalls in both periods, all of the food items from the drinks stall (i.e., Kopi O, Kopi, iced Milo, iced lime juice, canned drink with ice, breakfast set) experienced fairly small but statistically significant increases in average prices. Chicken rice, economic rice (2 vegetables and 1 meat), wanton noodles, fishball noodles, sliced fish soup with rice, prata (1 plain and 1 egg) and chicken chop also experienced small but statistically significant increases in average prices. Economic bee hoon set, nasi lemak, chicken briyani and mee rebus experienced small and non-significant increases in average prices. Vegetarian bee hoon was the only food item that did not experience any increases in average prices (see Table 3.56 below).

From the data, a total of 17 out of 57 stalls that researchers revisited and were selling Kopi O increased their prices. We found that the average price of Kopi O for these stalls rose by 3.8 per cent from \$1.05 in late 2022 to \$1.09 in early 2023. While the change in average price was only about \$0.04, the difference in average prices was significant⁴¹. Amongst the 57 stalls revisited by researchers that sold Kopi, 16 increased prices. The average increase in kopi prices was \$0.03, from \$1.17 in late 2022 to \$1.20 in early 2023. This increase, while small (2.6 per cent), was found to be significant⁴².

⁴¹ $t_{56} = 4.72, p < .001$.

⁴² $t_{56} = 4.42, p < .001$.

Iced Milo experienced the highest relative increase in average prices – the average increase in iced Milo prices was \$0.12 (7 per cent), which was significant⁴³. In late 2022, average iced Milo prices amongst the revisited 55 stalls that sold iced Milo was \$1.72, which increased to \$1.84 in early 2023, as 23 of the 55 stalls increased their iced Milo prices between the first and second rounds of data collection.

Fourteen out of the 44 revisited stalls that sold iced lime juice increased their prices between the two data collection periods. Amongst these stalls, the average price of iced lime juice was \$1.68 in late 2022, but increased to \$1.75 in early 2023, thus demonstrating a small but significant increase of \$0.07⁴⁴ (4.2 per cent). The average price of canned drink with ice increased significantly from \$1.50 to \$1.57⁴⁵ between late 2022 and early 2023 (4.7 per cent increase). Twenty-one out of 52 stalls revisited that sold canned drinks with ice increased their prices between the two data collection periods.

According to the data collected, the average price of the breakfast set increased significantly⁴⁶ by 6.8 per cent (\$0.21) amongst revisited stalls that sold the food item. The price of the breakfast set rose from \$3.07 to \$3.28, which was the second largest relative increase in prices, after iced Milo. Meanwhile, the average price of chicken rice at the 42 revisited stalls that offered the dish increased significantly by \$0.15⁴⁷ (4.1 per cent), from \$3.70 in late 2022 to \$3.85 in early 2023. Ten out of the 42 stalls increased the prices of their chicken rice.

Between late 2022 and early 2023, economic rice (2 vegetables and 1 meat) experienced a small but significant increase in average prices of 1.4 per cent by \$0.05⁴⁸. The average price of economic rice for the 29 revisited stalls had risen from \$3.59 in late 2022 to \$3.64 in early 2023. The average prices of wanton noodles amongst the 29 revisited stalls that sold the dish also increased significantly by \$0.13⁴⁹ (3.2 per cent), from \$4.01 in late 2022 to \$4.14 in early 2023. Nine out of the 29 stalls increased the prices of their wanton noodles.

From the data collected, the average price of fishball noodles at the 30 revisited stalls rose significantly from \$3.68 in late 2022 to \$3.87 in early 2023⁵⁰, thus demonstrating at \$0.19 (5.2 per cent) increase in average prices. Eleven out of the 30 stalls adjusted their fishball noodles prices. The average price of sliced fish soup with rice increased significantly between the first and second rounds of data collection by \$0.28⁵¹ (5.0 per cent). Average rice with fish soup prices amongst the 19 revisited stalls was \$5.57 in late 2022 and \$5.85 in early 2023, with 7 stalls increasing their prices.

⁴³ $t_{52} = 4.36, p < .001$.

⁴⁴ $t_{43} = 3.34, p < .001$.

⁴⁵ $t_{51} = 4.49, p < .001$.

⁴⁶ $t_{28} = 4.48, p < .001$.

⁴⁷ $t_{41} = 3.09, p = .002$.

⁴⁸ $t_{28} = 1.70, p = .050$.

⁴⁹ $t_{28} = 2.90, p = .004$.

⁵⁰ $t_{29} = 3.42, p < .001$.

⁵¹ $t_{18} = 2.85, p = .005$.

The average price of prata (1 plain and 1 egg) was \$2.95 in late 2022; it increased significantly by \$0.07 (2.4 per cent) to \$3.02 in early 2023⁵². Four out of the 13 revisited stalls that offered the prata set increased their prices. The average price of chicken chop increased significantly by \$0.11 (1.5 per cent)⁵³, from \$7.44 in the first round of data collection to \$7.55 in the second round. Three out of the 21 stalls selling chicken chop increased their prices.

While the economic bee hoon set experienced an increase in average prices from \$3.23 in late 2022 to \$3.33 in early 2023, this 3.1 per cent increase was not significant⁵⁴. It is likely due to the small number of stalls selling this dish amongst the revisited locations, as only three revisited stalls sold economic bee hoon, of which just one stall increased their prices. None of the stalls out of the four revisited stalls that sold vegetarian bee hoon increased their vegetarian bee hoon set prices, which left average prices of vegetarian bee hoon sets stable at \$2.55 since the first round of data collection in late 2022⁵⁵.

The average price of nasi lemak sold at the 16 revisited stalls increased non-significantly from \$3.49 in late 2022 to \$3.53 in early 2023⁵⁶, by 1.2 per cent. Two out of the 16 stalls increased the prices of their nasi lemak. Out of the 12 revisited stalls that sold nasi briyani with chicken (i.e., chicken briyani), two increased their chicken briyani prices. This resulted in an increase of average chicken briyani prices from \$6.61 to \$6.71 (1.5 per cent increase). This increase was not significant⁵⁷. According to the data collected, only one out of the 17 revisited stalls increased their mee rebus prices. This meant a minimal increase in average prices of mee rebus, with the average price in late 2022 being \$3.51, and the average price in early 2023 being \$3.53. This 0.6 per cent increase of \$0.02 was also not significant⁵⁸.

⁵² $t_{12} = 2.25, p = .022$.

⁵³ $t_{20} = 1.75, p = .047$.

⁵⁴ $t_2 = 1.00, p = .211$.

⁵⁵ There are no statistics to illustrate the changes in prices of the vegetarian bee hoon set as there was no difference between prices in September to November 2022 and in January to February 2023.

⁵⁶ $t_{15} = 1.38, p = .094$.

⁵⁷ $t_{11} = 1.20, p = .128$.

⁵⁸ $t_{16} = 1.00, p = .166$.

Table 3.56: Prices of Food Items for Revisited Stalls

	Average price		Average increase in prices	Proportion of observations with changes
	First round (Sep-Nov 2022)	Second round (Jan-Feb 2023)		
Kopi O	\$1.05	\$1.09	\$0.04 (3.81%)	17/57
Kopi	\$1.17	\$1.20	\$0.03 (2.56%)	16/57
Iced Milo	\$1.72	\$1.84	\$0.12 (6.98%)	23/55
Iced lime juice	\$1.68	\$1.75	\$0.07 (4.17%)	14/44
Canned drink with ice	\$1.50	\$1.57	\$0.07 (4.67%)	21/52
Breakfast set	\$3.07	\$3.28	\$0.21 (6.84%)	15/29
Chicken rice	\$3.70	\$3.85	\$0.15 (4.05%)	10/42
Economic rice	\$3.59	\$3.64	\$0.05 (1.39%)	6/29
Wanton noodles	\$4.01	\$4.14	\$0.13 (3.24%)	9/29
Fishball noodles	\$3.68	\$3.87	\$0.19 (5.16%)	11/30
Sliced fish soup with rice	\$5.57	\$5.85	\$0.28 (5.03%)	7/19
Economic bee hoon set	\$3.23	\$3.33	\$0.10 (3.10%)	1/3
Vegetarian bee hoon set*	\$2.55	\$2.55	\$0.00 (0.00%)	0/4
Nasi lemak	\$3.49	\$3.53	\$0.04 (1.15%)	2/16
Chicken briyani	\$6.61	\$6.71	\$0.10 (1.51%)	2/12
Mee rebus	\$3.51	\$3.53	\$0.02 (0.57%)	1/17
Prata set (1 plain and 1 egg)	\$2.95	\$3.02	\$0.07 (2.37%)	4/13
Chicken chop	\$7.44	\$7.55	\$0.11 (1.48%)	3/21

Note: Food items marked with * did not experience any changes in average prices.

3.4.2 Comparisons across Food Establishment Types

Similar to the analysis done for individual food items in the previous segments of the paper, statistical analyses were conducted to find out if the average price of food items differed significantly between food establishment types amongst the stalls that were surveyed for comparison between the two rounds of data collection. Again, the prices quoted in this section pertain specifically to the revisited stalls.

Food items found to have significant differences in average prices between food establishment types in late 2022 still report significant differences in early 2023. Similarly, most of the food items that did not have statistically significant price differences across food establishments in late 2022 were found to still have no significant differences in early 2023. The only exception was sliced fish soup with rice, for which average prices did not differ significantly between food establishment types in late 2022 but were found to differ significantly in early 2023. For most of the food items, the trend in average prices remain – prices were typically the highest at food courts, followed by kopitiam and then hawker centres. The only exceptions for the stalls revisited in early 2023 were the breakfast set, chicken briyani and the prata set (see Table 3.57 below).

Amongst the drink items on our list, only iced lime juice did not have prices differing significantly across food establishment types in both periods of data collection. For Kopi O, Kopi, iced Milo and canned drink with ice, prices were significantly different across hawker centres, food courts and kopitiam.

In late 2022, Kopi O was sold on average for \$0.93 in hawker centres, \$1.19 in food courts and \$1.17 in kopitiam; prices increased respectively to \$0.96, \$1.21 and \$1.20 in early 2023. For both late 2022⁵⁹ and early 2023⁶⁰, the differences across food establishment types were statistically significant.

Kopi was slightly more expensive – it was priced on average at \$1.05, \$1.31 and \$1.27 in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiam in late 2022, and these prices increased to \$1.08, \$1.33 and \$1.30 respectively in early 2023. The average prices of Kopi also differed significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁶¹ and early 2023⁶².

According to the data collected, the average price of canned drink with ice in revisited hawker centres, food courts and kopitiam were \$1.39, \$1.63 and \$1.60 respectively in late 2022. They increased to \$1.41, \$1.80 and \$1.69 respectively in early 2023, but these differences across food establishment types remained statistically significant in both late 2022⁶³ and early 2023⁶⁴.

The average price of iced Milo in hawker stalls surveyed in both rounds of data collection was \$1.56 in late 2022 and \$1.69 in early 2023. In food courts, the average price of iced Milo was

⁵⁹ $F(2, 54) = 20.36, p < .001$.

⁶⁰ $F(2, 54) = 21.31, p < .001$.

⁶¹ $F(2, 54) = 18.63, p < .001$.

⁶² $F(2, 54) = 20.20, p < .001$.

⁶³ $F(2, 49) = 13.30, p < .001$.

⁶⁴ $F(2, 49) = 42.21, p < .001$.

\$2.04 in late 2022 and \$2.14 in early 2023. Meanwhile, in kopitiams, the average price was \$1.81 in late 2022 and \$1.94 in early 2023. While the differences across establishment types were significant in both periods, prices differed more significantly in late 2022⁶⁵ compared to early 2023⁶⁶.

Meanwhile, iced lime juice cost on average \$1.62, \$1.86 and \$1.64 in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams respectively in late 2022; these prices increased to \$1.65, \$1.93 and \$1.74 respectively in early 2023. However, similar to the trend found for late 2022⁶⁷, these differences across food establishment types were still not statistically significant in early 2023⁶⁸.

Amongst the food items, price differences across establishment types differed significantly in both periods for chicken rice, economic rice, wanton noodles, fishball noodles and mee rebus. There were no significant differences in price across establishment types in both periods for the breakfast set, economic bee hoon set, nasi lemak, chicken briyani, the prata set and chicken chop. For sliced fish soup with rice, statistically significant differences in prices were found only in early 2023. Finally, there was no way to ascertain the trend for vegetarian bee hoon because it was only found in hawker centres in the places revisited. Furthermore, the average price for this dish remained unchanged at \$2.55.

Chicken rice was priced on average at \$3.36, \$4.75 and \$3.66 in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams respectively in late 2022. They then increased to \$3.52, \$4.78 and \$3.85 respectively in early 2023. These differences across food establishment types were statistically significant in both late 2022⁶⁹ and early 2023⁷⁰. Meanwhile, the average price the 2 meat and 1 vegetable option for economic rice did not change in hawker centres (\$3.20) and food courts (\$4.44) surveyed in both rounds of data collection, but rose from \$3.34 to \$3.41 at kopitiams. The average prices of economic rice differed significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁷¹ and early 2023⁷².

Data collected from stalls surveyed in both rounds of data collection showed that the average price of wanton noodles increased from \$3.56 to \$3.73 at hawker centres from late 2022 to early 2023. The average price of wanton noodles at food courts remained the same at \$5.38, while the average price at kopitiams increased from \$3.84 to \$3.99. The average prices of wanton noodles differed significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁷³ and early 2023⁷⁴.

For fishball noodles, the average prices at hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams in late 2022 were \$3.32, \$4.85 and \$3.72. They increased in early 2023 to \$3.49, \$5.05 and \$3.92. Despite the different magnitude in price increases, the differences in average prices of fishball

⁶⁵ $F(2, 54) = 11.21, p < .001$.

⁶⁶ $F(2, 54) = 5.70, p = .006$.

⁶⁷ $F(2, 45) = 2.23, ns$.

⁶⁸ $F(2, 45) = 2.38, ns$.

⁶⁹ $F(2, 39) = 24.15, p < .001$.

⁷⁰ $F(2, 39) = 16.73, p < .001$.

⁷¹ $F(2, 26) = 22.89, p < .001$.

⁷² $F(2, 26) = 20.50, p < .001$.

⁷³ $F(2, 26) = 36.59, p < .001$.

⁷⁴ $F(2, 26) = 41.68, p < .001$.

noodles across food establishment types remained statistically significant for both late 2022⁷⁵ and early 2023⁷⁶.

The average price of mee rebus in the revisited hawker centres was \$3.21 in late 2022 and \$3.25 in early 2023. But even though prices remained the same in the sole food court stall (\$4.50) and kopitiam stalls (\$3.69) surveyed in both rounds of data collection, the prices were found to differ statistically across food establishment types in both late 2022⁷⁷ and early 2023⁷⁸.

In late 2022, the breakfast set cost on average \$3.10, \$2.79, and \$3.19 in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams respectively, with prices increasing to \$3.16, \$3.16, and \$3.40 respectively in early 2023. The average prices of the breakfast set did not differ significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁷⁹ and early 2023⁸⁰.

The average price of the economic bee hoon set at hawker centres remained at \$3.10 for both late 2022 to early 2023. Meanwhile, the average price rose from \$3.50 in late 2022 to \$3.80 in early 2023 for kopitiams. There were no observations at food courts for the economic bee hoon set within the list of revisited locations. The average prices of the economic bee hoon set did not differ significantly between hawker centres and kopitiams in both late 2022⁸¹ and early 2023⁸².

According to the data collected from stalls surveyed in both rounds of data collection, the average price of nasi lemak at hawker centres was \$3.23 in late 2022 and \$3.31 in early 2023. At food courts and kopitiams, the average price of nasi lemak remained at \$4.50 and \$3.60 respectively from late 2022 to early 2023. The average prices of nasi lemak did not differ significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁸³ and early 2023⁸⁴.

While there was no change in the average price of chicken briyani in hawker centres (\$5.67) in the two periods of data collection, the prices for food courts and kopitiams rose from \$6.80 and \$6.94 respectively in late 2022 to \$7 and \$7.06 respectively in early 2023. Despite these changes, the average prices of chicken briyani did not differ significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁸⁵ and early 2023⁸⁶.

For the prata set, the average prices in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams were \$2.90, \$3 and \$2.96 respectively in late 2022. They increased to \$3.03, \$3.30 and \$2.99 in early

⁷⁵ $F(2, 27) = 14.37, p < .001$.

⁷⁶ $F(2, 27) = 11.02, p < .001$.

⁷⁷ $F(2, 14) = 8.00, p = .005$.

⁷⁸ $F(2, 14) = 8.42, p = .004$.

⁷⁹ $F(2, 26) = 1.95, ns$.

⁸⁰ $F(2, 26) = 1.04, ns$.

⁸¹ $F(1, 1) = 5.33, ns$.

⁸² $F(1, 1) = 16.33, ns$.

⁸³ $F(2, 13) = 2.37, ns$.

⁸⁴ $F(2, 13) = 2.35, ns$.

⁸⁵ $F(2, 9) = 0.79, ns$.

⁸⁶ $F(2, 9) = 1.01, ns$.

2023. For both late 2022⁸⁷ and early 2023⁸⁸, the average prices of the prata set did not differ significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022 and early 2023.

Meanwhile, chicken chop was sold for \$7, \$7.58 and \$7.46 at hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams respectively in late 2022. While the average price did not change for hawker centres in early 2023, increases were observed for the other two establishment types – the dish cost \$8.05 in food courts and \$7.49 in kopitiams. Despite these changes, the average prices of chicken chop did not differ significantly between food establishment types in both late 2022⁸⁹ and early 2023⁹⁰.

In late 2022, sliced fish soup with rice cost on average \$5.21, \$6.07 and \$5.50 in hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams respectively. These differences were not statistically significant⁹¹. However, after prices increased to \$5.37, \$6.43 and \$5.82 respectively in early 2023, these differences across food establishment types were found to be statistically significant⁹².

⁸⁷ $F(2, 10) = 0.18$, *ns*.

⁸⁸ $F(2, 10) = 1.10$, *ns*.

⁸⁹ $F(2, 18) = 0.23$, *ns*.

⁹⁰ $F(2, 18) = 0.93$, *ns*.

⁹¹ $F(2, 16) = 3.31$, *ns*.

⁹² $F(2, 16) = 4.68$, $p = .025$.

Table 3.57: Prices of food items at different establishment types in late 2022 and early 2023

	Hawker Centre			Food Court			Kopitiam		
	Late 2022	Early 2023	No. of stalls	Late 2022	Early 2023	No. of stalls	Late 2022	Early 2023	No. of stalls
Kopi O	\$0.93	\$0.96	28	\$1.19	\$1.21	9	\$1.17	\$1.20	20
Kopi	\$1.05	\$1.08	28	\$1.31	\$1.33	9	\$1.27	\$1.30	20
Iced Milo	\$1.56	\$1.69	27	\$2.04	\$2.14	8	\$1.81	\$1.94	20
Iced lime juice	\$1.62	\$1.65	17	\$1.86	\$1.93	9	\$1.64	\$1.74	18
Canned drink with ice	\$1.39	\$1.41	25	\$1.63	\$1.80	7	\$1.60	\$1.69	20
Breakfast set	\$3.10	\$3.16	8	\$2.79	\$3.16	7	\$3.19	\$3.40	14
Chicken rice	\$3.36	\$3.52	17	\$4.75	\$4.78	6	\$3.66	\$3.85	19
Economic rice	\$3.20	\$3.20	2	\$4.44	\$4.44	7	\$3.34	\$3.41	20
Wanton noodles	\$3.56	\$3.73	10	\$5.38	\$5.38	5	\$3.84	\$3.99	14
Fishball noodles	\$3.32	\$3.49	14	\$4.85	\$5.05	4	\$3.72	\$3.92	12
Sliced fish soup with rice	\$5.21	\$5.37	7	\$6.07	\$6.43	6	\$5.50	\$5.82	6
Economic bee hoon set	\$3.10	\$3.10	2	-	-	-	\$3.50	\$3.80	1
Vegetarian bee hoon set	\$2.55	\$2.55	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nasi lemak	\$3.23	\$3.31	7	\$4.50	\$4.50	1	\$3.60	\$3.60	8
Chicken briyani	\$5.67	\$5.67	3	\$6.80	\$7.00	1	\$6.94	\$7.06	8
Mee rebus	\$3.21	\$3.25	8	\$4.50	\$4.50	1	\$3.69	\$3.69	8
Prata set (1 plain and 1 egg)	\$2.90	\$3.03	4	\$3.00	\$3.30	1	\$2.96	\$2.99	8
Chicken chop	\$7.00	\$7.00	2	\$7.58	\$8.05	4	\$7.46	\$7.49	15

For each of the food items, we also examined whether any particular food establishment type reported significantly higher price increases between the two data collection periods. Out of all the food items, canned drinks with ice and chicken chop were the only food items in which the price difference between late 2022 and early 2023 differed significantly amongst the three types of food establishments⁹³.

For canned drink with ice, the average change in prices was the highest in food courts (\$0.17), followed by kopitiams (\$0.10) and then hawker centres (\$0.02). The difference in the average change in prices was significant between hawker centres and food courts ($p = .002$), and hawker centres and kopitiams ($p = .040$), but not significant between food courts and kopitiams.

For chicken chop, there was no change in hawker centre prices. However, it became more expensive by \$0.48 on average in food courts and \$0.03 on average in kopitiams. The

⁹³ Canned drinks with ice: $F(2, 49) = 7.44, p = .002$.
Chicken chop: $F(2, 18) = 5.09, p = .018$.

difference in average change in prices was only significant between food courts and kopitiam ($p = .016$) (see Table 3.58 below).

Table 3.58: Prices of food items by establishment type from late-2022 to early-2023

	Hawker Centre		Food Court		Kopitiam	
	Average price change	No. of stalls	Average price change	No. of stalls	Average price change	No. of stalls
Kopi O	\$0.03	28	\$0.02	9	\$0.04	20
Kopi	\$0.03	28	\$0.02	9	\$0.04	20
Iced Milo	\$0.13	27	\$0.10	8	\$0.13	20
Iced lime juice	\$0.03	17	\$0.08	9	\$0.09	18
Canned drink with ice	\$0.02	25	\$0.17	7	\$0.10	20
Breakfast set	\$0.06	8	\$0.37	7	\$0.21	14
Chicken rice	\$0.16	17	\$0.03	6	\$0.19	19
Economic rice	No change	2	No change	7	\$0.07	20
Wanton noodles	\$0.17	10	No change	5	\$0.15	14
Fishball noodles	\$0.16	14	\$0.20	4	\$0.20	12
Sliced fish soup with rice	\$0.16	7	\$0.37	6	\$0.32	6
Economic bee hoon set	No change	2	NA	0	\$0.30	1
Vegetarian bee hoon set	No change	4	NA	0	NA	0
Nasi lemak	\$0.09	7	No change	1	No change	8
Chicken briyani	No change	3	\$0.20	1	\$0.13	8
Mee rebus	\$0.04	8	No change	1	No change	8
Prata set (1 plain and 1 egg)	\$0.13	4	\$0.30	1	\$0.03	8
Chicken chop	No change	2	\$0.48	4	\$0.03	15

3.4.3 Difficulties of Rising Costs

As mentioned in the limitations section (Section 1.2.5), there were a few stalls that underwent changes during the period of data collection. This was especially noticeable during the time period between the end of the first round of data collection (i.e., end November 2022) and the start of the second round of data collection (i.e., mid-January to early February 2023). While the stalls we surveyed during the data collection process might have closed or changed hands for various reasons, news reports indicate that stall owners who had closed their stalls during this period cited rising operating prices for the closing of their stalls (Tan, 2023; Kerr, 2023), with both rental and ingredient prices increasing drastically over the past year.

The pains of having to deal with the inflation of both rental and ingredient prices was felt not only by stall owners who had to close their businesses, but also by stall owners whose businesses were still in operation. While conducting data collection, a few researchers struck

up conversations with numerous stall owners who spoke of the hardships of having to manage the rising cost of operation and not increasing prices by too much in order to not drive customers away. From various interactions with stall owners, researchers found that stall owners often sought to justify the prices of their food. They also emphasised their decision to not increase prices if they had not done so, and took pride in keeping their prices the same despite the inflationary pressures threatening many food stall owners' income and job security.

For example, a drink stall owner at a hawker centre in Tampines reported not increasing prices of their beverages and breakfast sets since 2020, but reluctantly did so in 2023. They explained that while they did not want to disappoint many of their loyal customers who had been patronising the stall for years, they could not cope with the rising cost of ingredients like eggs and evaporated milk at the prices they were selling their food for. When asked about the potential rising costs, a long-time customer of that particular drink stall expressed their chagrin, but also demonstrated an understanding behind the stall owner's decision to increase prices, as they were well aware of global inflationary pressures alongside the GST hike in 2023.



Chapter 4

Meal Prices

CHAPTER 4 | MEAL PRICES

4.1 BREAKFAST, LUNCH, DINNER

4.1.1 Meal Plans

Using our data, we derived the estimated meal budget required by an individual to have all three meals – breakfast, lunch and dinner – a week in these food establishments. Based on convention and usual opening times of the stalls selling the various food items, we assigned the food items as breakfast, lunch or dinner food items. This arrangement is simply a method for us upon which to base the calculations, and do not represent prescriptions on when the food items should be consumed. The menus used are presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Assumed mealtime menus

	Drinks	Dishes
Breakfast	Kopi O Kopi	Mee rebus Nasi lemak Wanton noodles Vegetarian beehoon Prata (1 plain, 1 egg) Economic beehoon (with egg and fried chicken wing) Breakfast set (already includes a drink)
Lunch	Kopi O Kopi Iced Milo Iced lime juice Iced canned drink	Chicken briyani Mee rebus Nasi lemak Fishball noodles Wanton noodles Vegetarian beehoon Economic rice (1 meat, 2 vegetables) Chicken chop Chicken rice Sliced fish soup with rice Economic beehoon (with egg and fried chicken wing)
Dinner	Kopi O Kopi Iced Milo Iced lime juice Iced canned drink	Chicken briyani Fishball noodles Wanton noodles Economic rice (1 meat, 2 vegetables) Chicken chop Chicken rice Sliced fish soup with rice

4.1.2 Calculating Meal Costs

After deriving individual meal costs for all possible meal time combinations listed above, two types of calculations were made – the first to derive the average prices for each type of meal within an establishment and the second to identify the cheapest and most expensive meals for each type of meal for each establishment. Establishments which had no possible combination for any type of meal (breakfast, dinner or lunch) would be excluded from the calculation of the average prices of that particular meal.

To calculate the average price of each type of meal, all possible meal combinations were derived by adding the recorded price of each drink in an establishment to the price of each food item in an establishment. The only exception was the breakfast set, because it already includes a drink and so constitutes a meal on its own. Therefore, the breakfast set price, if available, was simply added to the list of prices of meals derived for that establishment. The average of all available prices was then calculated.

For the second type of calculation, the cheapest and most expensive drinks and food items for each meal type were listed. The cheapest meals were then calculated by summing the prices of the cheapest drink and cheapest food item, while the most expensive meal was calculated by adding up the prices of the most expensive drink and most expensive food item. Where there are multiple drinks or food at the same minimum or maximum price, all possible combinations were listed.

4.3 COSTS FOR BREAKFAST, LUNCH, DINNER

Using these average prices across food establishments, we then derived the overall average prices for these three mealtimes. Overall, breakfast cost \$4.81 on average, lunch cost \$6.01 on average and dinner was \$6.20 on average (see Table 4.2 below). We then summed up all the meal costs for individual locations to derive the average cost of three meals a day. The average cost of an individual having all three meals in kopitiam, food courts, and hawker centres was thus found to be \$16.89 a day, making it \$118.23 a week and \$506.70 for a month of 30 days. For a family of four, therefore, the average cost of eating out for three meals a day at such food establishments in a week would be \$472.92.

Table 4.2: Average meal costs across food establishments surveyed

	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	Total
Average price	\$4.81	\$6.01	\$6.20	\$16.89

The most common meal combinations for the cheapest meals and most expensive meals are shown in the table below. For breakfast, the breakfast set, at an average price of \$3.25, was the most common least expensive meal while Kopi with wanton noodles, costing on average \$5.32, was the most expensive meal. For lunch and dinner, the least expensive meal was Kopi O with economic rice (on average \$4.39 for lunch; \$4.43 for dinner) and the most expensive was iced Milo with chicken chop (on average \$9.58 for both lunch and dinner) (see Table 4.3

below). The differences in average prices for the Kopi O with economic rice meal for lunch and dinner is most likely due to some other meal combination being listed as cheapest for certain food establishments during lunch, given the differences in the meal time menus for dinner and lunch.

Table 4.3: Most common cheapest and most expensive meal combinations

Meal costs and combinations		Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Most expensive	Meal combination	Kopi + Wonton noodles	Iced Milo + Chicken chop	Iced Milo + Chicken chop
	Average Price	\$5.32	\$9.58	\$9.58
	Price range	\$4.20-\$9.50	\$7.10-\$14.20	\$7.10-\$14.20
Least expensive	Meal combination	Breakfast set (drink included)	Kopi O + Economic rice	Kopi O + Economic rice
	Average Price	\$3.25	\$4.41	\$4.43
	Price range	\$2.00-\$5.90	\$3.20-\$6.20	\$3.20-\$6.20

However, it should be noted that these are estimated costs based on data collected from all over the island. Realistically, an individual is unlikely to travel all around the island for each meal. Therefore, while we provide this number as a guiding estimate for overall meal costs, for more daily calculations, it might be more informative to look at meal costs in different regions.

Comparing individual meal costs across the regions, the differences in average costs for lunch⁹⁴ and dinner⁹⁵ were found to be statistically significant, while there were no statistically significant differences in breakfast costs⁹⁶ across regions. The North reported the highest average lunch (\$6.22) and dinner (\$6.40) costs, while the Central region reported the lowest lunch (\$5.88) and dinner (\$6.05) costs. Across the neighbourhoods, Marine Parade had the highest average breakfast cost at \$5.12, Sembawang reported the highest average lunch cost at \$6.35 and Jurong East reported the highest average dinner cost at \$6.71. In contrast, Queenstown reported the lowest average breakfast cost at \$4.33, Kallang reported the lowest average lunch cost at \$5.64 while Toa Payoh reported the lowest average dinner cost at \$5.89 (see Table 4.4 below). Bukit Timah was excluded from the comparisons given that the neighbourhood only had three kopitiam and two hawker centres located within its boundaries, a much smaller number compared to other neighbourhoods. Furthermore, kopitiam and hawker centres offer cheaper food on average, which explain the lower costs reported for Bukit Timah.

In the West, the average meal costs were \$4.59 for breakfast, \$6.07 for lunch and \$6.31 for dinner. The cheapest breakfast at \$2 could be found in both Bukit Panjang and Jurong West, and were breakfast sets consisting of toast and a drink, typically Kopi O. The most expensive breakfast set cost \$8.10 and was found in Jurong East and consisted of Kopi and nasi lemak. The cheapest lunch, consisting of Kopi O and vegetarian bee hoon, cost \$2.40 and could be

⁹⁴ $F(4,739) = 2.86, p = .023$

⁹⁵ $F(4,734) = 3.00, p = .018$

⁹⁶ $F(4,628) = 1.12, ns$

found in Bukit Panjang, while the cheapest dinner was Kopi O with fishball noodles (\$2.80) in Jurong East. Meanwhile, the most expensive lunch and dinner was iced milo and chicken chop at \$12.50, found in both Bukit Panjang and Bukit Batok.

In the North, breakfast cost on average \$4.49, lunch cost on average \$6.22 and dinner cost on average \$6.40. The cheapest breakfast, the breakfast set or Kopi O with vegetarian bee hoon at \$2.20, could be found in all three neighbourhoods. The most expensive breakfast set was Kopi and wanton noodles at \$7.80, found in Woodlands. Meanwhile, the cheapest lunch was iced canned drink with vegetarian bee hoon at \$2.00 in Sembawang, while the cheapest dinners were Kopi O with fishball noodles or economic rice in Woodlands and Yishun. The most expensive lunch and dinner was iced Milo with chicken chop at \$12.30, in Woodlands.

In the Central region, the average meal costs were \$4.59 for breakfast, \$5.88 for lunch and \$6.05 for dinner. The cheapest breakfast cost \$2, and was either breakfast set or Kopi O and nasi lemak found in Toa Payoh, while the most expensive breakfast cost \$9.50 and was Kopi and wanton noodles in Bishan. The cheapest lunch set, found in Toa Payoh, consists of Kopi O and nasi lemak at \$2 while the cheapest dinner was Kopi O and fishball noodles at \$3.10 in Geylang. The most expensive lunch and dinner both cost \$14.90, and consisted of iced Milo with chicken briyani sold in Queenstown.

In the Northeast, on average breakfast cost \$4.75, lunch cost \$5.97 and dinner cost \$6.16. The cheapest breakfast was the breakfast set at \$2.20 and could be found in all the neighbourhoods except Serangoon. The most expensive breakfast combination was Kopi with wanton noodles at \$8.70 sold in Sengkang. The cheapest lunch was Kopi with vegetarian bee hoon at \$2.90, while the cheapest dinner was Kopi O with fishball noodles at \$3, both sold in Ang Mo Kio. Interestingly, the most expensive lunch and dinner sets – iced Milo with chicken chop at \$13.10 for both meals – were also found in Ang Mo Kio.

In the East, the average meal costs were \$4.76 for breakfast, \$6.17 for lunch and \$6.39 for dinner. The cheapest breakfasts, the breakfast set, could be found in Tampines and Pasir Ris at \$2.20, while the most expensive breakfast was Kopi with nasi lemak or wanton mee at \$7.20, found in Bedok and Tampines. Since Kopi O was sold at the same price as Kopi in one of the food establishments in Tampines, Kopi O with nasi lemak was also one of the meal combinations that cost \$7.20. The cheapest lunch, consisting of Kopi O and nasi lemak, cost \$2.90 in Bedok. The cheapest dinner was either Kopi O with economic rice in Bedok or Kopi O with fishball noodles in Pasir Ris, both sold at \$3.50. The most expensive lunch and dinner was iced Milo with chicken briyani or chicken chop, sold at \$14.90 in Tampines.

Table 4.4: Meal prices across neighbourhoods

Region	Breakfast			Lunch			Dinner		
	Average meal cost	Most expensive	Cheapest	Average meal cost	Most expensive	Cheapest	Average meal cost	Most expensive	Cheapest
WEST	\$4.59	\$8.10	\$2.00	\$6.07	\$12.50	\$2.40	\$6.31	\$12.50	\$2.80
Bukit Batok	\$4.36	\$6.70	\$2.50	\$5.89	\$12.50	\$2.90	\$6.13	\$12.50	\$3.50
Bukit Panjang	\$4.50	\$7.10	\$2.00	\$6.03	\$12.50	\$2.40	\$6.31	\$12.50	\$3.70
Choa Chu Kang	\$4.76	\$6.60	\$2.20	\$6.17	\$11.80	\$3.70	\$6.37	\$11.80	\$3.70
Clementi	\$4.56	\$6.30	\$2.70	\$5.99	\$12.30	\$3.20	\$6.22	\$12.30	\$3.20
Jurong East	\$4.46	\$8.10	\$2.80	\$6.34	\$11.20	\$2.80	\$6.71	\$11.20	\$2.80
Jurong West	\$4.94	\$7.60	\$2.00	\$6.16	\$12.00	\$3.40	\$6.35	\$12.00	\$3.50
NORTH	\$4.49	\$7.80	\$2.20	\$6.22	\$12.30	\$2.00	\$6.40	\$12.30	\$3.40
Sembawang	\$4.50	\$6.60	\$2.20	\$6.38	\$12.00	\$2.00	\$6.70	\$12.00	\$3.80
Woodlands	\$4.49	\$7.80	\$2.20	\$6.35	\$12.30	\$2.90	\$6.53	\$12.30	\$3.40
Yishun	\$4.49	\$7.10	\$2.20	\$6.07	\$11.70	\$3.40	\$6.20	\$11.70	\$3.40
CENTRAL	\$4.59	\$9.50	\$2.00	\$5.88	\$14.90	\$2.00	\$6.05	\$14.90	\$3.10
Bishan	\$4.79	\$9.50	\$2.50	\$6.15	\$11.10	\$4.00	\$6.28	\$11.10	\$4.00
Bukit Merah	\$4.63	\$8.60	\$2.30	\$5.97	\$12.50	\$3.30	\$6.06	\$12.50	\$3.30
Bukit Timah	\$4.86	\$5.70	\$2.70	\$5.28	\$8.70	\$3.70	\$5.33	\$8.70	\$3.70
Geylang	\$4.66	\$8.20	\$2.80	\$5.87	\$12.40	\$2.90	\$6.04	\$12.40	\$3.10
Kallang	\$4.50	\$7.60	\$2.30	\$5.64	\$11.50	\$2.30	\$5.96	\$11.50	\$3.20
Marine Parade	\$5.12	\$7.40	\$3.20	\$6.09	\$9.20	\$3.50	\$6.13	\$9.20	\$4.30
Novena	\$4.67	\$7.50	\$2.70	\$5.99	\$11.50	\$3.30	\$6.22	\$11.50	\$3.60
Queenstown	\$4.33	\$7.50	\$2.20	\$6.07	\$14.90	\$2.80	\$6.25	\$14.90	\$3.30
Toa Payoh	\$4.48	\$6.20	\$2.00	\$5.67	\$11.00	\$2.00	\$5.89	\$11.00	\$3.20
NORTHEAST	\$4.75	\$8.70	\$2.20	\$5.97	\$13.10	\$2.90	\$6.16	\$13.10	\$3.00
Ang Mo Kio	\$4.68	\$6.70	\$2.20	\$5.93	\$13.10	\$2.90	\$6.08	\$13.10	\$3.00

Hougang	\$4.76	\$8.20	\$2.20	\$5.77	\$11.30	\$3.40	\$5.97	\$11.30	\$3.40
Punggol	\$4.78	\$7.20	\$2.20	\$6.22	\$11.40	\$3.90	\$6.39	\$11.40	\$3.90
Sengkang	\$4.84	\$8.70	\$2.20	\$6.17	\$12.60	\$3.50	\$6.46	\$12.60	\$3.50
Serangoon	\$4.84	\$7.10	\$2.50	\$5.99	\$11.40	\$3.70	\$6.10	\$11.40	\$3.70
EAST	\$4.76	\$7.20	\$2.20	\$6.17	\$14.90	\$2.90	\$6.39	\$14.90	\$3.50
Bedok	\$4.52	\$7.20	\$2.50	\$6.05	\$14.20	\$2.90	\$6.25	\$14.20	\$3.50
Pasir Ris	\$4.93	\$6.40	\$2.20	\$6.14	\$10.30	\$3.40	\$6.37	\$10.30	\$3.50
Tampines	\$4.96	\$7.20	\$2.20	\$6.31	\$14.90	\$3.00	\$6.53	\$14.90	\$3.60

4.4 COSTS OF 3 MEALS A DAY

In the earlier section, the average cost of an individual having all three meals in kopitiams, food courts and hawker centres was found to be \$16.89 a day, making it \$118.23 a week. For a family of four (assuming two parents and two teenage/adult children), the costs will come up to \$67.56 a day. Incorporating all possible meal combinations found in the different food establishments, average meal costs for a day in different regions were around \$17 for the individual and under \$69 for the family of four, indicating that there are no major differences in food costs across regions. Specifically, it ranged from \$16.61 for an individual and \$66.44 for a family in the Central region to \$17.18 for an individual and \$68.72 for a family in the East (see Graph 4.1 and Table 4.5 below). However, these differences were not statistically significant⁹⁷.

The maximum and minimum meal costs for each food establishment were also recorded by adding up the most expensive meals for the three meal types and the cheapest meals for the three meal types respectively. The maximum and minimum for each region and neighbourhood were then listed in the table below. The largest range was found in the East, with a minimum cost of \$9.20 for an individual and \$36.80 for a family in Pasir Ris, and a maximum cost of \$37 for an individual and \$148 for a family in Tampines. The smallest range was found in the West, with a minimum cost of \$8.40 for an individual and \$33.60 for a family in Jurong East, and a maximum cost of \$29.70 for an individual and \$118.80 for a family in Bukit Panjang. The differences in maximum costs were found to be of statistical significance⁹⁸.

Comparing mean costs across neighbourhoods, excluding Bukit Timah given the reasons explained in earlier sections, Toa Payoh reported the lowest cost of \$15.98 for an individual and \$63.92 for a family. Meanwhile, Bishan reported the highest average meal cost of \$18 for an individual and \$72 for a family, with Jurong West (\$17.69 for individual; \$70.76 for a family), Punggol (\$17.57 for individual; \$70.28 for a family) and Sembawang (\$17.56 for individual; \$70.24 for a family) also reporting average costs above \$17.40 for individuals and above \$70 for a family of four. These findings suggest that while the highest and lowest possible costs people can spend in for three meals a day at such food establishments might vary across region, meal costs on average are unlikely to vary across regions.

⁹⁷ $F(4, 622) = 7.48, ns$

⁹⁸ $F(4, 715) = 8.14, p < .001$

Graph 4.1: Cost of 3 meals a day across neighbourhoods (individual)

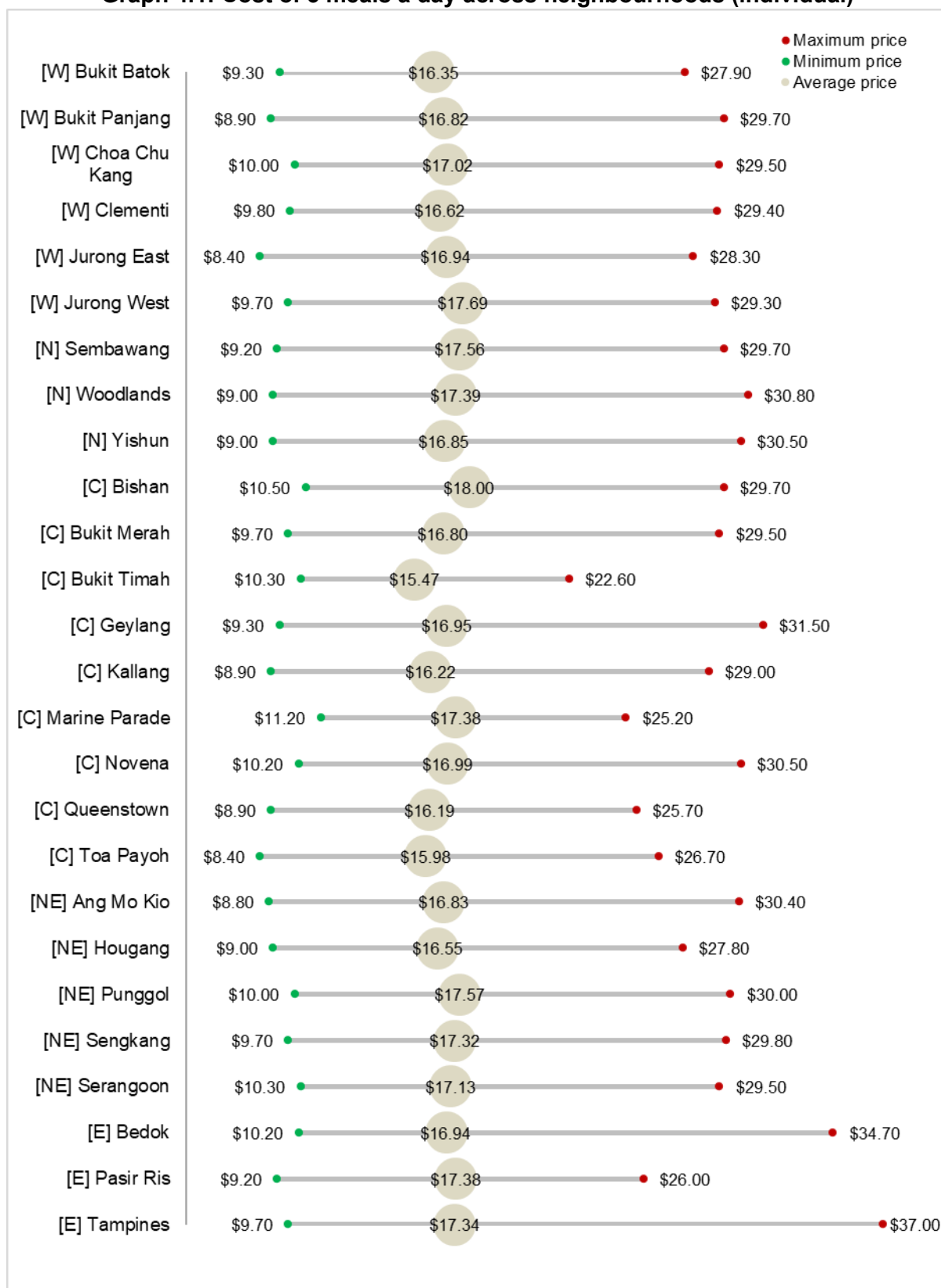


Table 4.5: Cost of 3 meals a day across neighbourhoods (Individual and Family of 4)

Region	Cost of 3 meals a day (Individual)			Cost of 3 meals a day (Family of 4)		
	Average cost	Maximum cost	Minimum cost	Average cost	Maximum cost	Minimum cost
WEST	\$16.88	\$29.70	\$8.40	\$67.52	\$118.80	\$33.60
Bukit Batok	\$16.35	\$27.90	\$9.30	\$65.40	\$111.60	\$37.20
Bukit Panjang	\$16.82	\$29.70	\$8.90	\$67.28	\$118.80	\$35.60
Choa Chu Kang	\$17.02	\$29.50	\$10.00	\$68.08	\$118.00	\$40.00
Clementi	\$16.62	\$29.40	\$9.80	\$66.48	\$117.60	\$39.20
Jurong East	\$16.94	\$28.30	\$8.40	\$67.76	\$113.20	\$33.60
Jurong West	\$17.69	\$29.30	\$9.70	\$70.76	\$117.20	\$38.80
NORTH	\$17.17	\$30.80	\$9.00	\$68.68	\$123.20	\$36.00
Sembawang	\$17.56	\$29.70	\$9.20	\$70.24	\$118.80	\$36.80
Woodlands	\$17.39	\$30.80	\$9.00	\$69.56	\$123.20	\$36.00
Yishun	\$16.85	\$30.50	\$9.00	\$67.40	\$122.00	\$36.00
CENTRAL	\$16.61	\$31.50	\$8.40	\$66.44	\$126.00	\$33.60
Bishan	\$18.00	\$29.70	\$10.50	\$72.00	\$118.80	\$42.00
Bukit Merah	\$16.80	\$29.50	\$9.70	\$67.20	\$118.00	\$38.80
Bukit Timah	\$15.47	\$22.60	\$10.30	\$61.88	\$90.40	\$41.20
Geylang	\$16.95	\$31.50	\$9.30	\$67.80	\$126.00	\$37.20
Kallang	\$16.22	\$29.00	\$8.90	\$64.88	\$116.00	\$35.60
Marine Parade	\$17.38	\$25.20	\$11.20	\$69.52	\$100.80	\$44.80
Novena	\$16.99	\$30.50	\$10.20	\$67.96	\$122.00	\$40.80
Queenstown	\$16.19	\$25.70	\$8.90	\$64.76	\$102.80	\$35.60
Toa Payoh	\$15.98	\$26.70	\$8.40	\$63.92	\$106.80	\$33.60
NORTHEAST	\$16.96	\$30.40	\$8.80	\$67.84	\$121.60	\$35.20
Ang Mo Kio	\$16.83	\$30.40	\$8.80	\$67.32	\$121.60	\$35.20
Hougang	\$16.55	\$27.80	\$9.00	\$66.20	\$111.20	\$36.00

Punggol	\$17.57	\$30.00	\$10.00	\$70.28	\$120.00	\$40.00
Sengkang	\$17.32	\$29.80	\$9.70	\$69.28	\$119.20	\$38.80
Serangoon	\$17.13	\$29.50	\$10.30	\$68.52	\$118.00	\$41.20
EAST	\$17.18	\$37.00	\$9.20	\$68.72	\$148.00	\$36.80
Bedok	\$16.94	\$34.70	\$10.20	\$67.76	\$138.80	\$40.80
Pasir Ris	\$17.38	\$26.00	\$9.20	\$69.52	\$104.00	\$36.80
Tampines	\$17.34	\$37.00	\$9.70	\$69.36	\$148.00	\$38.80



Chapter 5

Conclusion

CHAPTER 5 | CONCLUSION

5.1 THE COST OF EATING OUT

In this paper, we provide a comprehensive analysis of food prices in various Singaporean neighbourhoods. Our research aimed to investigate the cost of eating out at hawker centres, food courts and kopitiams for an individual or family over the course of a day. Our findings show that food prices exhibit significant variations, not only due to the ingredients and preparation methods but also depending on the location and establishment type. The results of our research also reveal a broader story of rising costs for both the consumers and the businesses in this sector.

While traditional dishes like economic rice and fishball noodles remain relatively affordable, costing under \$4 on average, other common dishes like chicken rice and wanton noodles exhibit a much larger price range, and variations are observed even in food establishments commonly perceived to be affordable. The growing price range in meal types for these establishments can be attributed to some degree to an increasing number of stalls that are no longer selling traditional offerings, or that sell commonly found dishes like chicken rice with a pricier twist, indicating dynamism and innovation in our food culture. When it comes to food costs for the individual, however, it can signal a different thing.

It is not the objective of this paper to pass value judgments on any pricing strategies by stall owners or food corporations. In fact, the information gathered during fieldwork as well as a scanning of the current economic environment indicate that they are operating amidst rising ingredient costs, higher inflation, more expensive rent and utilities, as well as more uncertainties in supply chain logistics. Big corporations operating food establishments or the businesses have more than one stall selling food under the same brand around the island may still be able to gain some economies of scale due to their size. But for the individual stall owner who rents a stall to sell their cooked dishes, these rising costs translate to even thinner margins for their business, particularly if they retain their prices. Indeed, the hawker centres, where most stall owners are individual operators rather than employees under a bigger corporation, remain the most affordable option for most of the food items on our list.

Our research shows that food costs can be a significant portion of an individual's monthly expenditure, with an average budget for having three meals a day in these food establishments being \$16.89. This means that individuals can expect meal costs of around \$506.70 for a month of 30 days. Even if an individual eliminates drinks from their meal, they can still expect to pay around \$371.70 for a month of 30 days.

The most recent Joint Autonomous Universities Graduate Employment Survey found that the median salary for fresh graduates from Nanyang Technological University (NTU), National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore Management University (SMU) and Singapore University of Social Sciences (SUSS) in 2023 is \$4,200 (Awang, 2023). Meanwhile, a separate study found that individuals with secondary and lower education or Institute of Technical Education (ITE) qualifications earn a median salary of \$2,000, while those with diploma or A-Level qualifications earn a median of \$2,600 (Tan, 2022).

Based on these figures, the cost of eating out every day for a month at \$506.40 would be around 12.1 per cent of a university graduate's salary, 19.5 per cent of a diploma or A-Level qualification holder's salary and 25.3 per cent of the salary of an individual with secondary and lower education or ITE qualifications. It should also be noted that these costs were calculated using prices taken from food courts, hawker centres, and kopitiams, food establishments that are viewed as more affordable. If individuals choose to eat at fast food restaurants, family restaurants, standalone shops, and restaurants for any of their meals, or turn to food delivery services, food costs are likely to increase exponentially.

It is worth noting that our data collection was conducted before the rise in GST from 7 to 8 per cent. In the second round of data collection conducted from January to February 2023, some stall owners indicate that they have not raised prices for the time being, but do not close the door on possible price increases in the future. Furthermore, another 1 per cent increase is scheduled for the start of 2024, which might contribute to further increases in food prices. To help Singaporeans cope with rising living costs, the government has announced various measures like the Assurance Package and the Enhanced GST Voucher scheme. Senior Minister of State (SMS) for National Development Sim Ann also announced during the Budget Committee of Supply debates that the affordable food scheme, which aims to provide economical meals and beverages across all neighbourhoods, would be expanded to include all the coffee shops rented out by HDB by 2026 (Ng, 2023). Essentially, all 374 kopitiams leased out by HDB would have to provide four budget meals and two budget beverages by 2026. However, the 402 coffee shops that HDB had sold would not be required to adhere to the scheme. Given that SMS Sim also shared plans to engage the operators of non-HDB-leased coffeeshops on the topic of affordable meals, it is hoped that these plans will help in some way to assuage the stresses of rising meal prices. But even with these schemes in place, it is essential that wages keep pace with inflation to provide a better quality of life for Singaporeans and reduce the fiscal burden tied to support packages.

In conclusion, the cost of eating out in Singapore is likely to continue to rise relative to individual and household incomes in the future. The hope is that real wages will increase at similar rates; if not, individuals and households will face higher food costs. While hawker culture in Singapore is an essential and convenient source of hot, delicious meals for Singaporeans, it may no longer be able to remain as cheap relative to other meal options, given the changes in the economic environment.



Annex 1

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Annex 2

Appendix



APPENDIX

Table: Total resident population by planning area, June 2022

Planning Area	Total Resident Population
Bedok	278,270
Tampines	265,340
Jurong West	258,240
Sengkang	252,730
Woodlands	252,190
Hougang	226,990
Yishun	222,580
Choa Chu Kang	189,990
Punggol	185,810
Bukit Batok	164,560
Ang Mo Kio	161,000
Bukit Merah	149,160
Pasir Ris	145,990
Bukit Panjang	137,020
Toa Payoh	128,450
Serangoon	117,910
Geylang	109,150
Sembawang	108,220
Kallang	100,520
Queenstown	96,730
Clementi	93,500
Bishan	85,680
Bukit Timah	79,270
Jurong East	76,390
Novena	50,580
Marine Parade	45,850
Tanglin	22,970
Outram	17,460
Rochor	12,930
River Valley	11,250
Newton	9,030
Downtown Core	4,000
Singapore River	3,740
Southern Islands	2,220
Mandai	2,090
Changi	1,810
Orchard	1,090
Sungei Kadut	740
Museum	630
Western Water Catchment	610
Seletar	300
Lim Chu Kang	90
Pioneer	50
North-Eastern Islands	40
Tuas	40

Boon Lay	30
Paya Lebar	30
Tengah	10
Western Islands	0
Central Water Catchment	-
Changi Bay	-
Marina East	-
Marina South	-
Simpang	-
Straits View	-

Source: Geographic distribution (2022), Department of Statistic Singapore. Retrieved August 31, 2022, from <https://www.singstat.gov.sg/find-data/search-by-theme/population/geographic-distribution/latest-data>



Annex 3

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Annex 4

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