

**A SURVEY OF FOOD CONSUMPTION
IN THAILAND**

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1989 and 1990, I undertook research in social anthropology on food consumption patterns in Thailand using primarily ethnographic field methods. This qualitative data was given a nation-wide socio-economic context through a quantitative survey carried out in conjunction with Frank Small & Associates Marketing and Research Consultants based in Bangkok, Thailand. We surveyed 1200 people from five areas of Thailand - Bangkok, Central Thailand, the North, Northeast and South. The data was sorted according to five additional headings of sex, age, education, occupation and household income. This survey provided an overview within which to examine more in-depth qualitative data with respect to themes such as gender, generation, regionalism, ethnicity and socio-economic status as they relate to food consumption.

The Food Consumption Survey asked a wide range of questions about practices, perceptions and attitudes to do with food, covering such areas as individual and household eating patterns, food preferences, family interaction related to food, the position of maids in the family, frequency of Thai interaction with *farang* (Westerners), as well as the wide range of food venues in Thailand and which ones are patronized for which purposes. It looked at consumption of specific Thai dishes, ethnic and regional foods and Western and other foreign foods.

A selected number of the questions asked in the survey have been extracted for this paper, grouped in the following categories:

- Eating in and eating out
- Attitudes to and perceptions about foods
- Consumption of Thai dishes
- Consumption of foreign and regional foods
- Consumption of *farang* foods
- Inventory of household utensils and equipment

The survey provides nation-wide information about food consumption and should be of interest to a wide range of disciplines such as social anthropology, geography, nutrition, sociology and others. Readers are welcome to contact the author for further information about the survey, for data sheets on the full questionnaire, or for the longer versions of the data sheets printed here. For other applications of the data, see Walker 1996 and Yasmeen 1996.

CHAPTER 2. FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THAILAND

Data from this survey contribute to the broader discussion of how sociocultural identity, social relations and status are marked and constructed through food consumption, both historically and in the current context. The survey also illustrates the persistence and flexibility of the Thai food system in a context of rapid social change as it provides an opportunity to look at variables of age, education, household income, occupation and regional differences and their relation to food consumption.

Food and Status in Thai Culture

Food is central to Thai culture and plays an integral part in Thai social relations. As one person described to me, "All we ever think about is food." Sharing a meal precedes business dealings and *liang* [treating] your friends to a meal is an indication of social achievement, especially if it takes place in a fancy Western restaurant.

Thai notions of identity, hierarchy and status are expressed and negotiated through food. Central Thai food, epitomized by the foods of the Grand Palace, are at the top of the status hierarchy in relation to the foods and foodstyles of the North, Northeast and South. (The Northeast is Lao-influenced, the South is Muslim.) Central Thailand, and especially Bangkok as the only major urban centre, has dominated Thailand politically, economically, socially and culturally. Central Thai cuisine is found all over Thailand, as the Survey illustrates. When asked whether they had ever eaten Central Thai food, for example, the response rate (Question 4a) was 97% for every area, age, education, occupation and household income group with the exception of the South at 91%. In comparison, Southern Thai food was at 67%.

In defining Thai cuisine, however, Bangkokians have appropriated regional foods like *somtam* [papaya salad]. This is a Northeastern [Isan] dish that is becoming increasingly popular all over Thailand but especially in Bangkok and is being redefined as a "Thai" dish. Isan food is "low status" but it is very popular as is indicated by survey results of 91%.

Of the regional cuisines, Isan food is at the opposite end of the spectrum to Central Thai food. The Northeast is the region most unlike Bangkok in every way as the poorest and least developed region in Thailand with the lowest standard of living but with the most distinctive cuisine. Its cuisine relies heavily on wild greens and forest foods. *Khaw niaw* [sticky rice] is eaten with the hands in comparison to the *khaw sowaii* [steamed white rice] that is the standard in most of the rest of Thailand although well-to-do Bangkokians like to go "slumming" on the *sois* for Isan food. Brown and red rices, described as "fit only for prisoners and pigs" are eaten rarely - only 1% of Survey respondents indicated that they eat them every day, for example.

Country foods such as wild honey, insects, frogs and snake are difficult to get in Bangkok. They are becoming expensive and part of a status inversion that is occurring with some Isan foods. With an

increasing interest in vegetarianism and in Western-influenced notions of health, people talk about Isan food being "lighter" and "more healthy" than the "rich" coconut milk-based curries of Central Thai cuisine and a few upscale restaurants in Bangkok are starting to offer brown rice. Isan is also said to be the most traditional area of Thailand - "that's where you go if you want to see the real Thailand, if you want to eat real Thai food." It is interesting that insects, which repel some urbanites, are said to be an acceptable food item by 51% of respondents, perhaps having to do with sour black ants said to be favourite food of the present Queen.

Historically and in the present context, the Thai food system has incorporated foreign foods and foodways but has reinterpreted these to produce new cultural forms, practices and symbols. Status comes into play. Eating different foods and trying the latest restaurant is part of the "s-mart" lifestyle that well-to-do Bangkokians emulate. Japanese food is said to be expensive but, I was told "it doesn't have any special social status". Burmese food is low status and not very popular. Chinese food has long been incorporated into the Thai food system. Eating out at a good Chinese restaurant is a family affair for Sino-Thai families and appreciating good Chinese cuisine "means you appreciate the fine things in life". Consumption of *farang* [Western] food in the home means having the utensils as well as "the facilities", and eating out at a "proper" Western restaurant in one of the luxury hotels shows "you know what's what!".

Thai values such as the public display of status, making merit, *sanuk* [fun, entertainment], and seniority are all expressed and negotiated through food. Thai also value both the modern and the traditional, saying this is about "going with the times without forgetting who you are". Thai notions of a meal are based on a persistent structure that can accommodate considerable flexibility and innovation in content.

A proper Thai meal is constructed around rice, and is made up of rice (*khaw*) and side dishes or with rice (*kab khaw*). Rice is intricately bound up with Thai notions of self. Wealthy Bangkokians may still teach their children to acknowledge the Rice Goddess before starting their meal in an upscale Japanese restaurant.

The survey asks for degree of agreement about various statements to do with food. For all questions, the basic data is provided according to overall respondents. For three of these statements,

"I never feel full unless I have eaten rice."

"No meal is complete without rice."

"Rice is the perfect food."

full results, sorted according to the banners of area, sex, age, education, occupation and household income, are provided for further discussion here.

Attitudes Towards Rice

	"I never feel full unless I have eaten rice."	"No meal is complete without rice."	"Rice is the perfect food"
<u>Area</u>			
Bangkok	68	66	75
North	70	81	78
Central	75	81	78
South	79	85	89
Northeast	<u>84</u> [16%]	<u>85</u> [19%]	<u>91</u> [16%]
<u>Age</u>			
15 - 24	66	67	77
25 - 34	72*	71	77
35 - 44	71	75	79
45+	<u>80</u> [14%]	<u>80</u> [13%]	<u>81</u> [4%]
<u>Education</u>			
Tertiary	58	62	67
Secondary	66	66	73
Primary	<u>82</u> [24%]	<u>83</u> [21%]	<u>87</u> [20%]
<u>Occupation</u>			
Prof/Executive	58	52	56
Business/Merchant	65	67	75*
White Collar	70	69	73
Blue Collar	<u>82</u> [24%]	<u>85</u> [33%]	<u>89</u> [33%]
<u>Household Income (baht per month)</u>			
15, 000 >	51	54	69*
10, 000 - 14, 999	61	65	68
7, 000 - 9, 999	75*	73	75
5, 000 - 6, 999	73	78	81*
4, 000 - 4, 999	86*	83*	87
<4, 000	<u>82</u> [35%]	<u>82</u> [29%]	<u>85</u> [19%]

Key: Responses are arranged in order of most agreement with statements 1, 2, and 3, to least disagreement.
 '[]' indicates percentage differential between lowest and highest categories for each header and for each question.

'*' indicates exception to the pattern.

Although there are minor differences, for all three questions the most decisive factors in degree of disagreement were occupation and household income. The clear breakdown amongst age groups indicates that intergenerationally, attitudes towards rice and notions of a meal are undergoing changes with the youngest age group being the least conservative but these differences are less significant than occupation and household income.

For all three questions, agreement correlated inversely with area, age, education, occupation and household income (with several minor exceptions indicated by *). For all three questions, Bangkok and the Northeast were the most unlike in their responses, for example, 91% of Northerners agreed that "Rice is the perfect food", compared to Bangkok at 75%. Older, blue-collar workers in the urban Northeast with a primary education or less, and a household income of less than 4,000 *baht*, agreed most strongly. The Survey indicates that for all Thai, the presence of rice continues to indicate "a proper meal". Consuming less rice, however, is one expression of modernity and of the influence of the West on the Thai food system.

***Farang* Foods and Foodstyles**

Of all the cuisines that have impacted the Thai food system historically and in the present day, Chinese and *farang* [Western] are the most significant. Anything Western is unequivocally high status, especially Western food. Yet Thai notions of propriety around food consumption remain fixed despite the growing availability of *farang* food items, shopping outlets and eating venues. *Farang* food is often described as not substantial enough to be a "meal". Teenagers will go to McDonald's or Pizza Hut after school for a snack, and then go home to a "proper" Thai meal with rice. Western foods and foodstyles are impacting the Thai food system but they are also being redefined in the Thai context. Questions in the Survey such as, "*Do you ever eat farang food at home?*" raises the issue of what is *farang* food. Ice cream and bread are *farang* foods but what about ice cream made with corn kernels or sandwiches made of soft white bread stuffed with bean paste? Street foods are incorporating Western foods, as they have incorporated Indonesian, Indian, and many other foods over the years. But what looks like *farang* food to a Thai is not always recognized as such by a Westerner, and vice versa.

Foods and foodstyles are mediums for the convertibility of self or for the expression of different aspects of a multifaceted Thai identity. Eating "Western" signals modernity and sophistication. Historically, Western utensils and equipment (ovens for baking, for example), and the knowledge about how to prepare, serve and eat Western food, have been the prerogative of the elites. The consumption of Western food in the home means having the utensils as well as "the facilities" and someone who knows how to prepare and serve *farang* food. As a number of questions in the Survey show, however, the integration of Western food into the Thai food system is not pervasive. Things Western have a specific place; items of material culture supplement rather than replace Thai ways of preparing and consuming food.

Indicators of changes in the Thai food system are the food-related items that people have and use in their homes, and also the type of kitchen, as Question 8 illustrates. A Thai-style kitchen is present in 77% of respondents' homes with variations according to area, gender, age, education and

household income. Northern homes indicated a Thai kitchen in every home, compared to Bangkok where 71% indicated a Thai kitchen. In Bangkok, street foods are more available and popular, and some living accommodations may not provide cooking facilities (see Yasmeen 1996 for in-depth discussion). Modern *farang*-style kitchens in elite homes are the ultimate status symbol and they are still a luxury item even in elite urban homes, with only 9% of Bangkok homes having one.

Like other Western items, however, the presence of a Western kitchen in a Thai home does not indicate that its use will be similar. Western-style kitchens are the ultimate status symbol but they are still described as "mostly for show". In elite homes, the cooking will still be carried out in the Thai kitchen although changes in household cooking and eating patterns are occurring. The lack of "good cooks" as young girls choose other types of employment, proprietorship over *farang* foods in the home by the family, and the convenience of Western-style breakfasts, may mean that family members take on more of the cooking tasks or purchase ready-made foods. Western breakfasts, for example, have been a standard meal in elite homes for some years now.

Other items surveyed, table knives for instance, indicate use for *farang* food - Thai food is cut up at the preparation stage into small pieces and eaten with a fork and spoon. In elite homes, breakfast might be toast jam or a fried egg, and the knives used for preparation might be kept in the *farang* kitchen for use by family members rather than by servants. Table knives are present in 53% of Bangkok homes and only 8% of homes in the Northeast.

Buying a loaf of French bread at one of the luxury hotel was a mark of aristocracy twenty years ago. Now, elites take their guests out to eat at the luxury hotels which serve fine French, Italian and North American food. Or they might invite guests home if they have the facilities which include a cook who knows how to prepare a "proper" Western meal. But few homes, as the Survey shows, have an oven for baking or roasting, for example. Eating out at a "proper" Western restaurant is not something that most Thai have experienced but more have eaten at a Western fast food restaurant, especially in Bangkok.

Refrigerators also signal a Western influence and are a sign of status that you can afford the appliance cost as well as the operating costs. Thai food is prepared fresh every day and shopping is done daily. In comparison, *farang* foods such as bacon, cheese and butter require refrigeration, although bread and fresh milk are starting to become available in some of the local markets. Refrigerators are present in 82% of Bangkok homes and 48% of homes in the Northeast. Microwaves, on the other hand, are present in only 6% of Thai homes where they are used for heating up Western snack foods primarily, or not at all in homes where they are there for show as part of the latest Western kitchen design.

.....

Survey data provide a nation-wide look at the Thai food system in a period of rapid industrialization. It is being shaped by the impact of Western and other foreign foods and foodstyles from without, as well as from within by its own regional and ethnic foods. On the other hand, the Thai food system can be said to be extremely cohesive and persistent despite variables of age, sex, education, occupation and household income.

CHAPTER 3: INTERPRETING THE DATA SHEETS

Several types of questions were asked. Some required simple confirmation by the respondent, for example, the household inventory. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they have a microwave, charcoal stove or other kitchen items (Western and Thai) in their household. The results can be read according to overall rate of response as well as according to the headings of area, gender, age, education, occupation and household income. A Thai style kitchen is present in 77% of respondents' homes with variations according to area, gender, age, education and household income. Northern homes, for example, indicated a Thai kitchen in every home, compared to Bangkok where 71% indicated a Thai kitchen. *Farang*-style kitchens, on the other hand, are still a luxury item even in elite urban homes, with only 9% of Bangkok homes indicating one.

Other questions have to do with frequency, for example, "*Do you ever eat farang food at home?*" followed by a question about whether this is done everyday, once a week, 2-3 times a month, at least once a month, or less often.

A series of statements about eating habits and eating preferences asked for degree of agreement or disagreement on a scale of 1 to 5:

1	strongly agree
2	agree
3	neither agree nor disagree
4	disagree
5	is strongly disagree

Most of these statements did not invite a strong degree of agreement or disagreement; thus at the analysis stage, it is useful to combine 1 with 2, and 4 with 5 and state, for example, that 78% of respondents indicated that "*Rice is the perfect food*" (combining the 10 % who strongly agreed with the 68 % who agreed). With a few statements, however, there was strong agreement or disagreement and the five degrees may be retained.

It should be kept in mind that survey results are based on reported behaviour, attitudes and values, and so is most effectively used in conjunction with data generated through other means such as an historic overview, in-depth interviews, participant observation and case studies. Results can also be looked at in relation to quantitative data available from other sources, particularly government census data such as the bulletins of the National Statistical Office.

CHAPTER 4: QUESTIONNAIRE

EATING IN AND EATING OUT

Question 1a: Much eating in Thailand is done outside the home. Do you ever eat out as a family?

Yes1 - ask Q2b

No2 - go to next question

b: Which of these venues do you ever eat at as a family?

- | | |
|--|---|
| Noodle shop | 1 |
| Thai restaurant | 2 |
| Regional Thai restauran | 3 |
| Garden restaurant | 4 |
| Chinese restaurant | 5 |
| Patakhan [fancy Thai restaurant] | 6 |
| Western fast food | 7 |
| Western restaurant | 8 |
| Others (specify) | 9 |

ATTITUDES TO AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT FOODS

Question 2: Here are some statements people have made regarding their eating habits. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with them. (Respondents were asked for degree of agreement using a scale of 1 through 5):

<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
1	2	3	4	5

When my friends invite me to eat with them, I prefer to eat out.
On special occasions, I prefer to eat out.
Thai people prefer to take guests out rather than invite them to their homes.

I never feel full unless I have eaten rice.
Rice is the perfect food.
No meal is complete without rice.

Insects are an acceptable food item.
People who eat insects are usually poor.
Country people eat better food than people in Bangkok.

Boys should learn how to cook.
Girls should learn how to cook.
Boys should help with the household cooking.
Girls should help with the household cooking.

It is important to know about Thai medicine in order to decide on everyday eating habits.
Some foods make you feel warm inside.
Some foods make you feel cool inside.

My eating habits are not as healthy as they used to be.
Thai food is changing for the worse.

FREQUENCY OF CONSUMPTION OF THAI DISHES

Question 3: How often in an average month would you eat these Thai foods?

(Respondents were asked to indicate frequency)

	<i>every day</i>	<i>2-3 times a week</i>	<i>at least once a month</i>	<i>rarely</i>	<i>never</i>
Somtam	1	2	3	4	5
Khaw Niaw	1	2	3	4	5
Khaw Sowaii	1	2	3	4	5
Brown Rice	1	2	3	4	5
Unmilled Rice	1	2	3	4	5
Naam Phrik	1	2	3	4	5
Insects	1	2	3	4	5
Curry	1	2	3	4	5
Pad Thai	1	2	3	4	5
Khaw Thom	1	2	3	4	5
Snake	1	2	3	4	5
Shark's Fin	1	2	3	4	5
Thom Yam (Goong/Gai)	1	2	3	4	5
Naam Phrik Oong	1	2	3	4	5
Mee Grob	1	2	3	4	5
Gwaitiaw	1	2	3	4	5
Laab Raw	1	2	3	4	5
Laab Cooked	1	2	3	4	5
Naam Phrik Plaa Rah	1	2	3	4	5
Kai Yang	1	2	3	4	5

Note: Thai spelling according to Frank Small and Associates

CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN AND REGIONAL FOODS

Question 4a: Which of these have you ever eaten?

b: How often do you eat each of them in an average month?

<i>ever</i>	<i>once</i>	<i>2 or 3</i>	<i>at least</i>	<i>less</i>
<i>eaten</i>	<i>a week</i>	<i>times</i>	<i>once</i>	<i>often</i>
		<i>a month</i>	<i>a month</i>	

Burmese
Japanese
Chinese
Farang [Western]
Muslim
Northern Thai
Northeast Thai
Southern Thai
Central Thai

CONSUMPTION OF *FARANG* [WESTERN] FOODS

Question 5: Have you ever had a *farang* come to your household to eat with you?

Yes.....1
No.....2

Question 6a: Do you ever eat *farang* food at home?

Yes.....1 - ask Q8b
No.....2 - go to next question

b: How often in an average month would you eat *farang* food at home?

everyday.....1
once a week.....2
2-3 times a month.....3
at least once a month.....4
less often.....5

Question 7: Have you ever eaten at

farang fast food restaurant.....1
farang restaurant.....2
neither.....3

INVENTORY OF HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND EQUIPMENT

Question 8: Which of these items do you have in your household?

Thai style kitchen		1
Farang style kitchen		2
No kitchen facilities		3
Forks		4
Spoons		5
Table knives		6
Chopsticks		7
Microwave oven	8	
Refrigerator		9
Electric stove		10
Gas stove		11
Electric oven		12
Gas oven		13
Charcoal stove		14
Wok		15
Electric rice cooker		16
Mortar and pestle		17
Food processor		18
Blender		19

CHAPTER 5: DATA SHEETS

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APPENDIX: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Food Consumption Survey was undertaken in conjunction with Frank Small and Associates Marketing and Research Consultants, through Peter Snell, Managing Director Thailand. All interviews were conducted face-to-face by trained interviewers using the structured questionnaire.

A random survey was conducted amongst the adult urban population of Thailand - 1300 persons aged 15 years to 64 years - by conventional survey techniques.

The structure of the sample was

Bangkok	500
Central	200
North	200
Northeast	200
South	200.
TOTAL	1300.

The sampling points used were

Greater Bangkok		
Central	-	Suphanburi Petchburi Rayong
North	-	Lumpang Tak Sukhothai
North East	-	Leoi Maha Sarakham Yasothon
South	-	Patanee Pang-Nga Chumporn

Sampling Procedures

A master sampling frame was constructed from a prelisting of all households in each urban area. A mapping team walked each of the urban areas selected for sampling and a rough count of dwelling units (DU) was made. These were then divided into blocks of 300 for Bangkok, 150 for outside of Bangkok. These blocks are primary sampling units (PSU). The sample for this survey was dispersed throughout a range of PSU's in each urban area to improve the reliability of the results. Each selected PSU was mapped in detail with every DU recorded as to location and

address. Each DU in a PSU had a 1 in 30 chance of selection; that is, to get a 500 sample in Bangkok required 50 PSUs.

The survey sample was drawn from the PSU listing by interval sampling, for example, every fifth dwelling was noted. In each sample, a minimum cluster size of 5 DUs was used to ensure a wide spread of sampling points. A cluster size was generally 5 and sometimes 10 but never greater than 10. Thus, in any given PSU, only 5 to 10 households would be contacted depending how dispersed geographically the houses were in that PSU.

Household Contact Procedure

An interviewer called at each DU to ascertain that it was an occupied household. Dwelling units included slums, temporary housing and shophouses as long as these were residences. Initial contact was attempted in the early evening when there is the greatest chance of success. To try to make contact at the household level, the interviewer made 3 calls at 3 different day-parts on at least 2 different days. If there was no response from the household at the first attempt, the interviewer called back at a different day-part; if there was no response on the second call-back, they tried again at a different day-part. If after these 3 call-backs there was still no response from the household, it was deemed non-contact and no further calls were made. In this case, the next household on the interval sampling within that PSU was selected until the cluster size within the PSU, that is, 10 out of 300, was completed.

Individual Respondent Contact Procedure

If during the course of any of the three household calls, the interviewer made contact with the DU, the interviewer used the Kish Grid or statistical/random number table to select a respondent within the household. The Kish Grid ensures that each respondent within a household has an equal chance of selection. When using a Kish Grid, the interviewer lists all the people in the household aged 15-64 from the oldest to the youngest. The interviewer then takes the last digit of the house number and draws a line down the chart to a point where that coincides with the line marking a household member, thus indicating the number of the respondent to interview.

If the person dictated by the Kish Grid was not present, the interviewer made an appointment to call back when the identified person was likely to be at home. Three call-backs were made. If after the third attempt, the interviewer was unable to obtain an interview, the individual was deemed non-contact. No further calls were made.

Response Rate of Household Contacts:

Using Bangkok as an example, 2606 households were listed. Of these, 2073 were active DUs. Non-contacts, refusals, non-eligibles (because they work in one of the businesses prohibited such as an advertising agency, or had been interviewed recently) left a final sample of 517.

Exclusions

Maids were only included if they ate with the family, that is, if they were considered to be part of the family circle. *Farang*, Japanese and other non-Thai households were also omitted.

Weighting

The sample is not distributed proportionate to population - to do so would leave some areas with inadequate representation to make the data useful. The sample is thus a multi-stage stratified sample that was weighted at the analysis stage to correctly represent the population. Weighting was done by region to correct for sampling error.

	Actual % of structure of sample:	% of sample	population	weight	(Sample x Weight = Population)
Bangkok	500	38.4	61.9	1.61	
North	200	15.4	12.1	.79	
N.E.	200	15.4	8.4	.55	
Central	200	15.4	8.8	.57	
South	200	15.4	8.8	.57	
Total	1300	100%	100%		

The target population to which the sample was weighted is a 5-year projection (to bring the population to 1989 figures) of the 1984 Census Update.

The sample was random but to ensure an adequate sample in each area, a sample size of 200 in each area was pre-set. (As samples increase in size, the degree of sampling error decreases; however, commercially it is necessary to rely on the smallest sample size that can be considered reliable.) A sample of 200 is commercially acceptable as a minimum for this kind of study for outside of Bangkok. For Bangkok, a sample of 500 is considered reliable. Bangkok is important because marketing strategy depends on Bangkok. For example, the urban population of Thailand represents only 20% of the total population; however, economically it is the most active. Bangkok represents 61.9% of the population, but only 38.4% of the sample. So a weight, which is a function of real proportion divided by sample proportion, is applied to make each area as important in the sample as it is in the population. Thus, every answer received from Bangkok was upgraded in importance by 1.61 times; every answer received outside Bangkok was downgraded.

Because individual respondent contact rates also differ - for example, housewives are easy to contact; teenagers are less likely to be at home - weighting was also done for age and sex.

Banners Used in the Survey

<i>Area</i>	Bangkok Central North Northeast South	<i>Sex</i>	Male Female
<i>Age</i>	15-24 25-34 35-44 45+	<i>Education</i>	Primary Secondary Tertiary
<i>Occupation</i>	Professional/Executive Business/Merchant White Collar Blue Collar Housewife Student Others	<i>Household Income</i> <i>Baht per month</i>	less than 4000 4000 - 4999 5000 - 6999 7000 - 9999 10000 - 14999 15000 +

Ten age ranges were initially surveyed but collapsed into four categories at the analysis stage. Twelve categories of occupation were collapsed into seven. Education was asked for according to type of institution attended and collapsed into the three categories of primary, secondary and tertiary. Personal and household income was collected according to sixteen categories from no income up to 25,000 baht per year. Because household income is more important to lifestyle in Thailand than personal income, only household income is presented here, and the original sixteen categories were collapsed into six. These ranges were selected to best represent the age, occupational, education and income range of the population as well as to provide a large enough sample for comparison. The household income categories used in the banners were worked out to best represent the income distribution of the population. The bulk of all Thai households fall between 3000 and 10,000 *Baht* per month. Thus, the breaks at the lower end are much closer together, for example, 4000 - 4999 *Baht* per month, because this is where the bulk of the population falls; in comparison, for the higher income brackets, a wider spread was used.