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The Influence of Beauty Standards on the Thai Sex Industry

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ABSTRACT : This paper examines how beauty standards, race, and socioeconomic factors influence the earnings and experiences of sex workers in Thailand. Semi-structured interviews and surveys asked Thai sex workers how conformity to Western and Asian beauty ideals impacts wages, client demographics, and working conditions. The quantitative survey data and the qualitative insights from participant interviews reveal a "beauty premium" which suggests that sex workers who align with societal norms of attractiveness, particularly certain BMI levels and skin tone, are more favored than those who deviate from those norms.

KEYWORDS - *Beauty Standards, Body Mass Index (BMI), Prostitution, Thailand, Wages*

I.   INTRODUCTION

The sex industry in Thailand is a subject of interest due to the social and economic impacts that it has imposed on national policies. The size of Thailand's sex industry is considerably challenging to estimate due to its informal and illegal nature. Nonetheless, several studies have attempted to quantify its size and economic impact. For example, the International Labor Organization provided one of the most conservative estimates, suggesting a mere 200,000 sex workers [1]. NGOs and researchers have proposed higher figures, with estimates ranging from 400,000 to 2 million sex workers [2]. In terms of the economic significance of sex work at large, the NSWP suggested in 2015 that the sex industry in Thailand generated about 6.4 billion USD which accounts for 10% of Thailand's GDP [3].

Beauty standards within Thailand's sex work industry have been influenced by both Western and Asian beauty ideals, creating a "beauty premium" comprised of features like Body Mass Index (BMI), skin tone, and physical appearance, which can all affect workers' earnings and attractiveness to clientele. The intersection of colorism and beauty further complicates the dynamics, as preferences for lighter skin and culturally idealized features, particularly Western-looking features, often stratify opportunities within the market. Those who are deemed "non-conforming" then suffer the most economically [4].

Cunningham et al. study of sex workers that examined the role of beauty standards, Body Mass Index (BMI), and societal perceptions of physical appearance found that deviations from the societal norm in body weight, whether being overweight or underweight, correlate with lower earnings for sex workers [5]. Sex workers with high BMIs earned significantly less than their counterparts with average BMIs, suggesting that non-conformity to beauty standards diminishes economic potential in the industry.

Based on the Cunningham et al. study, this present study hypothesizes that sex workers with higher BMIs and body weights will tend to earn lower wages and have lower overall income compared to their counterparts with lower BMIs and body weights. This study mainly seeks to examine how body weight and BMI contribute to economic disparities within the sex industry through a mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative insights from semi-structured interviews and quantitative analysis of survey data.

II. METHODS

2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interview format was chosen to allow for the interviews to be focused while still giving space for new ideas and questions to ask the participant throughout the course of the interview [6]. Research participants were found with the help of a humanitarian official, and three sex workers were initially contacted to pilot the interview format. The interviews were kept anonymous, due to the sensitivity of their work and the social stigma surrounding it.

The semi-structured interview format helped the participants to feel more secure in providing information, as the conversation could be adjusted in real time to the respondent's responses and comfort. The natural and non-rigid conversational flow felt organic and the participants felt they could speak freely at their own pace.

Although the interview process was free-flowing, enumerators made sure to gather data fitting the following points:
-   Reasons for entering the sex industry
-   Their life story/background
-   Thoughts on Thai government regulations that affect the sex industry
-   Advantages and disadvantages that they experience in their work
-   Perspectives on societal stigma around the sex industry

The main difficulty in data collection was finding more willing participants, particularly due to the stigmatized and illegal status of sex work in Thailand. Some women were fearful that their information would be exploited if they came forward for an interview. To address these considerations, the survey was conducted with help from a well-regarded Thai NGO "SWING" [7]. SWING's core mission is to empower sex workers by providing access to healthcare, education, legal support, and advocacy for their rights. SWING operates drop-in centers in Bangkok, Pattaya, and Koh Samui, offering essential resources like HIV prevention services, sexual health education, and programs that help sex workers obtain high school certification. Other interviewers who wish to remain anonymous graciously helped in the interview and data gathering process.

2.2 Survey Variables
The variables collected for the survey encompass both quantitative and qualitative data and can be categorized as "Explanatory," "Explained," and "Background Controlled." The variables are summarized in TABLE 1.

Table 1. Survey variables summarized

Explanatory variables	Explained variables	Background Controlled variables

Beauty standard:
- Height
- Skin Color
- BMI / Weight
- Conforming to Asian vs western beauty standards
	The sex worker's experience:
	- Earnings
	- Years since entering the industry
	- Location of work
	- Client demographic
	  - Age
	  - Nationality
	  - Number of clients
	- NGO/Government policies within the industry
	
	Subjective: In your opinion, how is your experience impacted by how much you conform to beauty standards:
		- Age
		- Diploma/Education Level
		- Languages spoken
		- Marital status
		- Demographic

After developing a set of questions based on the data and observations obtained from the interviews, the scope of the interviews was focused to elicit responses that addressed the topic of beauty ideals.

In preparing the questionnaire, emphasis on the variables to be incorporated taking into consideration general concepts within the area and other similar surveys which have been done in sex work. This survey particularly contained questions inquiring about how these aspects – height, skin color, body mass, etc - and the general orientation towards Asian or Western beauty standards affect the livelihood of sex workers.

2.3 Survey Responses
The data collection process was in circulation from September 2024 to November 2024 where the survey received responses from all around Thailand. A total of 201 respondents answered the survey, with 107 responding online and 94 responding in writing (See TABLE 7 in Appendix). However, due to suspicions about the accuracy of some of the data, only a total of 199 responses were used. (See TABLE 7 in Appendix)

To get a better sense of the demographics of this survey, we observe key characteristics that are impactful to the findings including: The sex workers' monthly income, BMI, conformity to Western/Asian beauty standards, and average income.
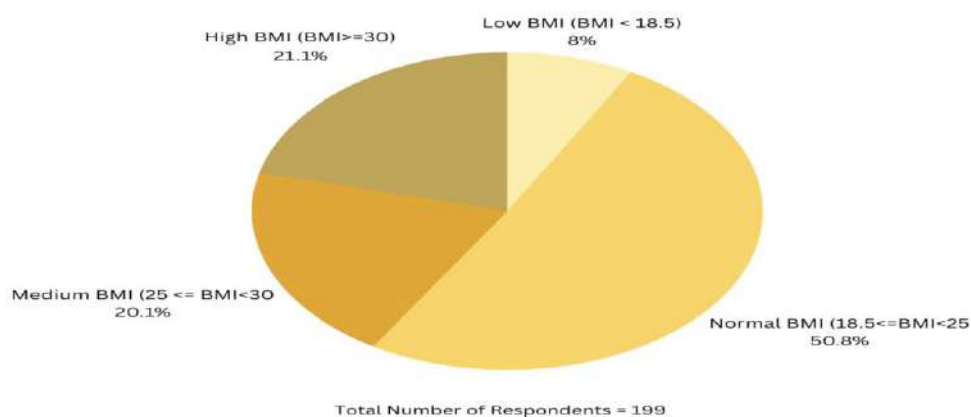

Figure 1. Distribution of BMI Amongst Sex Workers Surveyed

BMI is an important factor in the survey respondents' demographics as it is correlated with conformity to beauty standards. For this survey, the average BMI was 29.06 with 8% of respondents with low BMIs (BMI,18.5), 50.8% of respondents having a normal BMI ($18.5<=BMI<25$), 20.1% of respondents having medium BMI ($25<=BMI<30$), and 21.1% of respondents having high BMI ($BMI>=30$).
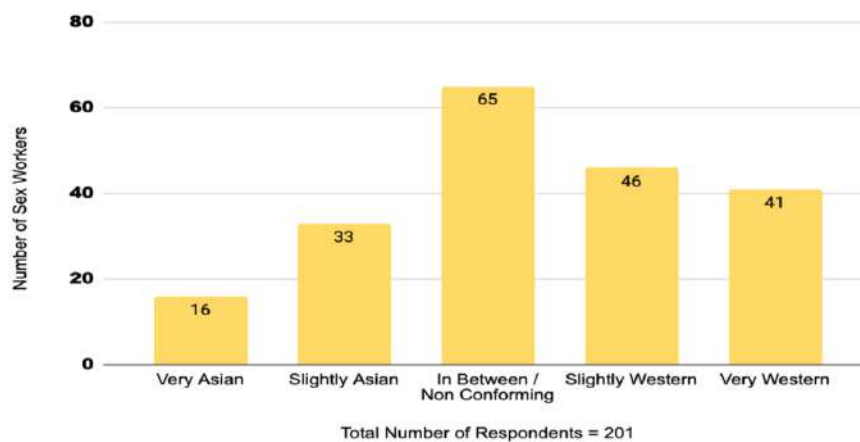
Figure 2. Distribution of Conformity to Asian/Western Beauty Standards Amongst Sex Workers Surveyed

Regarding the distribution of conformity to Asian/Western beauty standards amongst sex workers surveyed, 65 respondents indicated feeling between/non conforming to either beauty standards. In addition, 48 respondents feel that they conform more to Asian beauty standards and 87 respondents feel that they conform more to Western beauty standards.

Figure 3. Distribution of Monthly Income Amongst Sex Workers Surveyed

Figure 4. Distribution of Average Income Amongst Sex Workers Surveyed

Lastly, Figs. 3 and 4 illustrate the distribution of income amongst sex workers surveyed. Most of the survey respondents have an average income (revenue per client) of under 10,000 baht and monthly income of under 20,000 baht.

2.4 Empirical Strategy
To gather useful data for this research, respondents were asked to self-report their height and weight. Their Body Mass Index (BMI) was then calculated from (1).

Equation 1: Calculation of Body Mass Index (BMI):

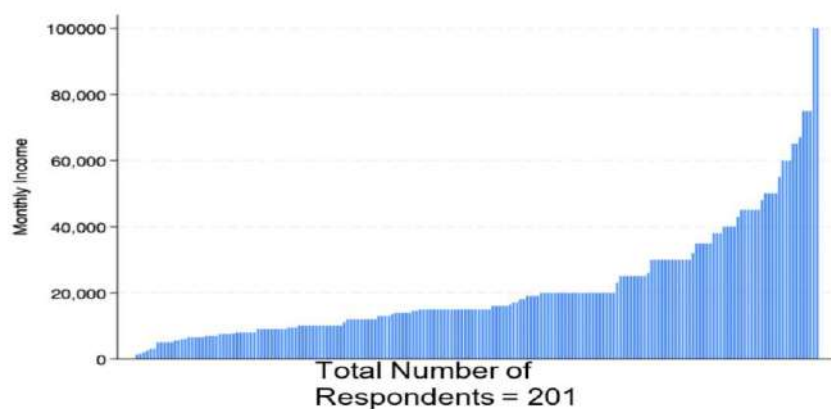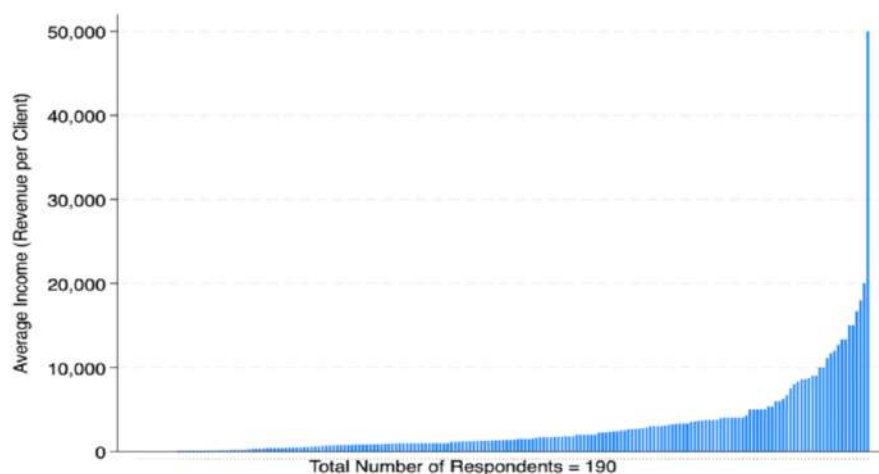$$\text{BMI} = \frac{Weight(kg)}{(Height\ (meters))^2}.$$

In addition, the workers' revenue per client, also referred to as Average Income, is calculated and used in the regressions. The respondents' average income was calculated from (2).

Equation 2: Calculation of Average Income:

$$Average\ Income = \frac{Monthly\ Income}{Average\ Number\ of\ Clients}$$

In addition, data regressions were used to analyze the determinants of sex workers' income, using different sets of independent variables to explain variations in earnings, including beauty standards, BMI, education, language skills, and client demographics. The regression results are presented in TABLES 8 & 9 in the Appendix.

III. DISCUSSION

This section aims to outline and discuss significant findings from the interview analysis, particularly highlighting how education, BMI, client characteristics, and contact methods affect the income of the sex workers interviewed.

A consistent finding across all four tables is the significant role of education in influencing earnings. Sex workers with a college-level education earn substantially higher monthly incomes and average incomes per client, with these effects being both statistically significant and robust across multiple model specifications. This result highlights the importance of educational attainment in increasing economic opportunities, even within non-traditional industries. The education level of the parents appears to have little to no effect on income levels.

Table 2. Monthly Income and BMI Regressions

Variables	Sex Worker	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	6463.38	7383.55	7250.46
	0.33	0.24	0.22
High BMI (BMI>=30)	**-11262.91***	**-11593.00***	**-12627.34***
	0.00	0.00	0.00
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI < 30)	**-10369.14***	**-10352.59***	**-9451.70***
	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 3. Average Income and BMI Regressions

Variables	Sex Worker	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	1074.71	1209.16	1093.48
	0.46	0.42	0.49
High BMI (BMI>=30)	-1016.11	-1103.82	-1242.02
	0.28	0.21	0.22
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI <30)	**-1715.01**	**-1720.23**	**-1715.97***
	0.04	0.04	0.05

The linear regression calculations were done using the statistical software STATA [8].
Body Mass Index (BMI) was a consistent predictor of income across the tables. High BMI (≥30) correlated with significantly lower monthly and average income, a finding that remains robust across all models. Medium BMI (25 ≤ BMI < 30) also correlated to negative effects on income, though to a slightly lesser extent. These results underscore the influence of physical characteristics on earnings, reflecting societal preferences and biases that prioritize certain body types. While

TABLES 8 and 9 suggest that beauty standards, particularly conformity to Western norms, might play a role in income determination, these effects are weaker and less consistent in TABLES 10 and 11 (See Appendix for TABLES 8-11), which are the tables without extreme values. Similarly, skin tone, measured on a scale of lighter to darker, shows no statistically significant impact on income, suggesting that while body type matters, skin tone may not hold as much weight in income determination within this context.

Table 4. Monthly Income from Western and Asian Client Regressions

Variables	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Western	4002.59	**6508.25****	**5532.36***
	0.19	0.02	0.05
Asian	4183.08	1582.90	1207.52
	0.25	0.64	0.73

Regarding client characteristics, the data suggests that having Western clients is positively correlated with higher earnings. This correlation is particularly evident in the more complex models that include multiple control variables. This finding reflects potential differences in spending behavior among client groups, with Western clients perhaps willing to pay a premium. Conversely, the negative relationship between client age and income in some models suggests that older clients may pay less. While these trends are consistent across the tables, the effects of client characteristics are slightly more pronounced in TABLE 11 (see Appendix), which includes additional controls and a higher adjusted R^2, indicating better explanatory power.

Workplace and client contact methods show varying effects across the analyses. TABLES 8 and 9 (in Appendix) emphasize the importance of referrals and word-of-mouth, consistently showing negative associations with income. This trend persists in TABLE 11 (in Appendix), where referrals are significantly linked to lower monthly earnings. However, workplace location does not demonstrate significant effects in any table, suggesting that location may not substantially influence income once other factors are accounted for.

Table 5. Monthly Income Adjusted R^2 from TABLE 8 in Appendix

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Adjusted R^2	0.152	0.011	0.019	0.174	0.181
Observations	198	198	198	198	198

Table 6. Average Income Adjusted R^2 from TABLE 9 in Appendix

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Adjusted R^2	-0.010	-0.001	0.002	-0.002	-0.003
Observations	199	199	199	199	199

The adjusted R^2 values provide further context to the analyses, with TABLES 11 and 12 generally showing higher values compared to TABLES 8 and 9. However, the inclusion of the outliers in the data does not drastically alter the significance or direction of key predictors such as education, BMI, and client nationality. It should be noted that while R^2 values will be positive, Adjusted R^2 can be negative in certain circumstances, such as in TABLE 6 and some of the tables in the Appendix [9].

To account for the disparities that may have occurred due to the differences in data collection between the data collected through an online survey and data collected on paper, the online data was regressed and manually compared to the data collected on paper (TABLE 13 in Appendix). However, as the regression results were insignificant, any differences in data collection methods did not affect the results.

The dataset was further Winsorized to account for any outliers, thus the values at the tails of the distribution were recoded to less extreme values [10]. After Winsorizing the dataset, there were a few changes that occurred in the significance of variables.

Most prominently, the results from the regression of the variable that measured a sex worker's conformity to the beauty standards of skin tone were not robust, while the results pertaining to BMI were. A possible explanation for this is the fact that Winsorizing the results lessened the influence of the extreme values present in the dataset.

In summary, the results reveal consistent and robust predictors of income: Namely, education, BMI, and client nationality. Other variables such as beauty standards and workplace location show negligible or inconsistent effects. However, the overall results highlight the complex interplay of individual, client, and contextual factors in determining earnings within the sex industry.

IV.   CONCLUSION

The study's data is limited due to the challenges of reaching a stigmatized and vulnerable population. Extreme values in the dataset, introduced either due to participant misreporting or outlying factors, were addressed through Winsorizing, but the difficulties in gathering reliable data highlight the complexities of working with sensitive data in these contexts.

The findings from this study reveal the pervasive influence of societal beauty standards, language proficiency, education, and client demographics on income levels within Thailand's sex industry. Conformity to Asian and Western beauty ideals plays a significant role in shaping economic outcomes, particularly in terms of BMI and skin tone. Thus, sex workers who deviate from these ideals face lower income potential, highlighting systemic biases that reflect broader societal norms.

Client demographics also demonstrated a notable influence on the sex workers' incomes. Western clients were associated with higher income levels compared to Asian clients, reflecting cultural and economic differences in spending behavior. This segmentation within the client base suggests that targeted marketing and understanding client preferences are essential strategies for sex workers aiming to maximize earnings.

Interestingly, while BMI consistently influenced both monthly income and average income per client, skin tone displayed a less consistent impact. This disparity suggests that physical appearance, especially body type, may hold more weight in client perceptions than skin tone in the Thai context. Additionally, language proficiency, particularly in English, emerged as a critical factor, reinforcing the role of cultural capital in accessing higher-value clientele.

V.   ACKKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Appendix
Please note that the numbering of the tables is a continuation of the table numbers in the research paper.

Table 7. Summary Statistics on Sex Worker Characteristics

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	N
Sex Worker's Age	26.76263	15.19983	0	60	198
Speaks Thai	.989899	.1002484	0	1	198
Speaks English	.5628141	.4972897	0	1	199
Speaks Other Languages	.1212121	.3272009	0	1	198
Sex Worker's Weight	69.12764	17.20775	40	170	199
Sex Worker's Height	1.645729	.1337846	1.47	1.9	199
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	.4321608	.4966258	0	1	199
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: College	.4924623	.5012041	0	1	199
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: Elementary	.0703518	.2563839	0	1	199
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Elementary	.040201	.1969258	0	1	199
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	.3869347	.4882769	0	1	199
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	.5678392	.4966258	0	1	199
Single	.7537688	.4319013	0	1	199
In a relationship	.1809045	.3859099	0	1	199
Years of experience	9.316583	30.33192	0	40	199
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	3.306533	1.198276	1	5	199

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	N
Sex Worker's Age	26.76263	15.19983	0	60	198
Speaks Thai	.989899	.1002484	0	1	198
Speaks English	.5628141	.4972897	0	1	199
Having Lighter Skintone (1) to Having Darker Skin Tone (5)	2.653266	1.335368	1	6	199
BMI	29.0615	53.13474	14.86326	769.579	199
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	.080402	.2726003	0	1	199
High BMI (BMI>=30)	.2110553	.4090867	0	1	199
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI)	.201005	.4017625	0	1	199
Number of Clients per Worker	38.21156	125.8229	0	1000	199
Monthly income	21286.43	17370.91	0	100000	199
Average Income (Price per Client)	2971.09	4920.256	0	50000	199

Table 8. Monthly Income and Characteristics Regressions

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Sex Worker					
Age	-90.04			-84.88	-67.11
	0.23			0.24	0.36
Speaks English	1357.39			234.15	-429.52
	0.55			0.92	0.86
Speaks Other Languages	**9022.72***			8300.30	7320.72
	0.09			0.12	0.17
Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	**7872.50***			6526.21	**8080.31***
	0.08			0.13	0.08
Highest Level of Diploma: College	**12221.48****			**12307.41****	**14271.71*****
	0.02			0.02	0.01
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	-5153.02			-3602.24	-6221.94
	0.35			0.53	0.31
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	-8633.42			-7979.03	-11101.96
	0.17			0.21	0.11
In a relationship	2965.26			3768.16	3020.95
	0.31			0.19	0.30
Years of experience	54.59			60.71	61.85
	0.83			0.80	0.80

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	-2045.50			**-2255.35***	**-2403.18***
	0.13			0.09	0.07
Having Lighter skin tone (1) to Having a Darker Skin Tone (5)	-63.06			-228.41	-263.71
	0.96			0.86	0.84
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	6463.38			7383.55	7250.46
	0.33			0.24	0.22
High BMI (BMI>=30)	**-11262.91*****			**-11593.00*****	**-12627.34*****
	0.00			0.00	0.00
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI < 30)	**-10369.14*****			**-10352.59*****	**-9451.70*****
	0.00			0.00	0.00
Number of Clients	**-17.13***			**-14.95****	**-14.53****
	0.00			0.02	0.04
Location					
Al Coco (Stripper's Club)		6931.84			2586.97
		0.34			0.62
Other Locations		480.94			375.59
		0.87			0.90
Contact					
An online source		-3602.87			-4554.69
		0.34			0.14
Word of mouth		-5155.64			**-6012.77***
		0.13			0.06
Referral		**-8083.04****			**-9193.44****
		0.04			0.04
Client					
Age			**-167.87***	-96.09	-125.35
			0.06	0.32	0.20
Western			4002.59	**6508.25****	**5532.36***
			0.19	0.02	0.05
Asian			4183.08	1582.90	1207.52
			0.25	0.64	0.73
Adjusted R^2	0.152	0.011	0.019	0.174	0.181
Observations	198	198	198	198	198

Marginal effects (d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1 * $p<0.1$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$

Table 9. Average Income (Revenue per client) and Characteristics Regressions

Sex Worker				
Age	-2.97			0.31	2.28
	0.90			0.99	0.93
Speaks English	**1426.70****			**1466.38***	**1387.83***
	0.05			0.07	0.06
Speaks Other Languages	220.98			605.44	817.37
	0.83			0.56	0.44
Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	1284.95			1247.22	1301.62
	0.28			0.28	0.30
Highest Level of Diploma: College	1296.43			1227.62	839.80
	0.31			0.33	0.53
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	**1631.03***			1250.87	1134.42
	0.10			0.22	0.38
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	945.39			375.43	540.97
	0.41			0.77	0.69
In a relationship	-142.83			-256.22	-318.30
	0.83			0.74	0.67
Years of experience	25.48			42.20	33.61
	0.71			0.54	0.62
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	197.27			235.51	309.68
	0.52			0.45	0.33
Having Lighter Skintone (1) to Having Darker Skin Tone (5)	-13.65			52.88	81.65
	0.96			0.83	0.76
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	1074.71			1209.16	1093.48
	0.46			0.42	0.49
High BMI (BMI>=30)	-1016.11			-1103.82	-1242.02
	0.28			0.21	0.22
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI <30)	**-1715.01****			**-1720.23****	**-1715.97***
	0.04			0.04	0.05
Number of Clients	**-7.60*****			**-6.34*****	**-6.98*****
	0.00			0.00	0.00
Location					
Work at Al Coco (Stripper's Club)		1305.69			1249.17
		0.37			0.41
Works in Other Locations		224.41			3.32
		0.80			1.00
Contact					

Contact through online sources		1009.50			1559.87
		0.34			0.12
Contact through word of mouth		-832.92			-49.85
		0.24			0.95
Contact through referral		112.40			276.92
		0.91			0.79
Client					
Client's Ages			-41.08	-51.42	-45.86
			0.17	0.18	0.25
Clients are western			884.78	629.72	727.14
			0.17	0.38	0.34
Clients are Asian			**-1099.80***	**-1387.66***	**-1566.22***
			0.07	0.06	0.06
Adjusted R^2	-0.010	-0.001	0.002	-0.002	-0.003
Observations	199	199	199	199	199

Marginal effects (d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1 * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 10. Description of Variables

Variable	Description of Variables
Dependent Variables	
monthlyincome	The amount of income a sex worker receives, on average, in one month.
av_income	The amount of income a sex worker receives, on average, per client
Sex Worker Charateristics	
Sex Worker's Age	The sex worker's current age at the time of the survey
Language	All the languages the sex worker speaks at the time of the survey.
Speaks Thai	The sex worker speaks Thai.
Speaks English	The sex worker speaks English.
Speaks Other Languages	The sex worker speaks languages other than Thai or English.
Sex Worker's Weight	The sex worker's mass, measured in kilograms, at the time of the survey
Sex Worker's Height	The sex worker's height, measured in centimeters, at the time of the survey
Years of experience	The amount of years the sex worker has been involved in the sex industry
Schooling	The academic experience a sex worker has
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: Elementary	The highest level of schooling the sex worker has is elementary school.
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	The highest level of schooling the sex worker has is highschool.
Sex Worker's Highest Level of Diploma: College	The highest level of schooling the sex worker has is college.
Parent Schooling	The academic experience a sex worker's parents have
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Elementary	The highest level of schooling the sex worker's parents have is elementary school.
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	The highest level of schooling the sex worker's parents have is highschool.
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	The highest level of schooling the sex worker's parents have is college.
Marital Status	The marital status of the sex worker

Single	The sex worker is currently single.
In a relationship	The sex worker is currently in a relationship or is married.
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	On a scale of 1-5 how much the sex worker feels that they conform more to western beauty standards (1) or asian beauty standards (5).
Having Lighter Skintone (1) to Having Darker Skin Tone (5)	On a scale of 1-5 how much the sex worker feels that they conform to lighter skin tone (1) or darker skin tone (5).
BMI	A measurement tool used to screen for underweight, overweight, or obesity based on a calculation of a person's height relative to their weight.
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	BMI<18.5
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI)	BMI>=30
High BMI (BMI>=30)	BMI>=25
Type of Work Characteristics	
Work Place	Where the sex worker works
Bar	The sex worker's primary place of work is the bar.
Al Coco (Stripper's Club)	The sex worker's primary place of work is at an al coco or a stripper's club.
Other Locations	The sex worker's primary place of work is at some place other than a bar or an al coco.
How Clients Contact	How the client gets in contact with the sex worker
An online source	The client gets in contact with the sex worker online.
Face to face interactions	The client gets in contact with the sex worker through face to face interactions.
Word of mouth	The client gets in contact with the sex worker through word-of-mouth.
Referral	The client gets in contact with the sex worker through referrals.
On the phone	The client gets in contact with the sex worker through the telephone.
Clients' Charateristics	
Age	The typical age of a sex worker's client
Nationality	The nationalities of a sex worker's clients.
Thai	The sex worker's clients are Thai
Western	The sex worker's clients are from Western countries.
Asian	The sex worker's clients are from Asian countries other than Thailand.

Table 11. Monthly Income and Characteristics Regressions with Windsor

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Sex Worker					
Age	-81.68			-78.84	-62.03
	0.28			0.28	0.4
Speaks English	1781.52			683.19	18.82
	0.44			0.77	0.99
Speaks Other Languages	**9247.24***			8404.41	7337.8
	0.08			0.12	0.17
Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	**8379.00***			6974.34	**8503.68***
	0.07			0.11	0.06
Highest Level of Diploma: College	**12101.68****			**12152.14****	**14308.98*****
	0.03			0.02	0.01

Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	-5420.35		-3752.39	-6275.41
	0.33		0.51	0.31
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	-8051.21		-7298.93	-10379.54
	0.2		0.25	0.13
In a relationship	2480.56		3335.21	2649.76
	0.4		0.25	0.37
Years of experience	125.5		123.81	123.66
	0.61		0.61	0.62
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	-1704.39		**-1951.27**	**-2140.56**
	0.21		**0.14**	**0.11**
Having Lighter skin tone (1) to Having a Darker Skin Tone (5)	195.59		**-12.22**	**-59.68**
	0.88		**0.99**	**0.96**
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	6679.53		**7484.27**	**7388.55**
	0.3		**0.23**	**0.21**
High BMI (BMI>=30)	**-11763.72***		**-11953.51***	**-12903.15***
	0		**0**	**0**
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI < 30)	**-9913.22***		**-9961.53***	**-9048.89***
	0		**0**	**0**
Number of Clients	**-17.13***		**-14.96****	**-14.50****
	0		**0.02**	**0.04**
Location				
Al Coco (Stripper's Club)		6929.06		2042.26
		0.34		0.69
Other Locations		479.49		265.06
		0.87		0.93
Contact				
An online source		-3605.75		-4997.73
		0.34		0.11
Word of mouth		-5158.62		**-6295.81****
		0.13		0.05
Referral	**8086.08****			**-8786.52****
	0.04			0.05
Client				
Age			**167.87***	-96.09	-125.35
			0.06	0.32	0.20
Western			4002.59	**6508.25****	5532.36*
			0.19	0.02	0.05
Asian			4183.08	1582.90	1207.52
			0.25	0.64	0.73

Adjusted R^2	0.162	0.011	0.019	0.181	0.187
Observations	198	198	198	198	198

Marginal effects (d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1 * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 12. Average Income (Price per client) and Characteristics Regressions with Windsor

Variables	Sex Worker	Work	Client	Sex Worker and Client	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Sex Worker					
Age	-10.79			-8.08	-7.63
	0.58			0.68	0.7
Speaks English	**1158.09****			**1089.30***	**1050.81***
	0.05			0.05	0.05
Speaks Other Languages	451.32			741.59	922.45
	0.65			0.47	0.36
Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	840.86			840.06	1004.79
	0.42			0.4	0.4
Highest Level of Diploma: College	973.14			1009.15	855.18
	0.42			0.41	0.52
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	1521.19			1235.06	933.84
	0.14			0.23	0.46
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	1190.02			730.15	610.65
	0.3			0.52	0.65
In a relationship	58.3			8.97	-46.78
	0.92			0.99	0.94
Years of experience	16.11			26.14	18.6
	0.81			0.67	0.77
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	228.26			236.49	298.97
	0.45			0.44	0.33
Having Lighter Skintone (1) to Having Darker Skin Tone (5)	-0.49			38.67	99.07
	1			0.87	0.7
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	1277.78			1437.57	1301.12
	0.37			0.32	0.4
High BMI (BMI>=30)	-599.75			-732.88	-756.98
	0.38			0.29	0.29
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI <30)	**-1416.34****			**-1410.32****	**-1355.84***
	0.03			0.03	0.05
Location					
Work at Al Coco (Stripper's Club)		1629.68			1542.37

Variables				
		0.23		0.29
Works in Other Locations		663.58		552.8
		0.26		0.4
Contact				
Contact through online sources		481.39		1043.82
		0.5		0.11
Contact through word of mouth		-947.55		-151.03
		0.16		0.83
Contact through referral		5.56		372.83
		1		0.71
Client				
Client's Ages			-31.19	-35.61	-29.29
			0.23	0.23	0.33
Clients are western			1036.78*	882.93	981.08
			0.08	0.15	0.14
Clients are Asian			-963.40*	-1166.57*	-1227.22*
			0.09	0.07	0.06
Adjusted R^2	0.007	0.009	0.009	0.018	0.023
Observations	199	199	199	199	199

Marginal effects (d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1 * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 13. The Effect of Online Responses versus In Person Responses

Variables	Sex Worker	Sex Worker, Work, and Client	Sex Worker	Sex Worker, Work, and Client
Sex Worker				
Age	-90.04	-67.11	-2.97	2.28
	0.23	0.36	0.90	0.93
Speaks English	1357.39	-429.52	**1426.70****	**1387.83***
	0.55	0.86	0.05	0.06
Speaks Other Languages	**9022.72***	7320.72	220.98	817.37
	0.09	0.17	0.83	0.44
Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	**7872.50***	**8080.31***	1284.95	1301.62
	0.08	0.08	0.28	0.30
Highest Level of Diploma: College	**12221.48****	**14271.71******	1296.43	839.80
	0.02	0.01	0.31	0.53
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: Highschool	-5153.02	-6221.94	**1631.03***	1134.42
	0.35	0.31	0.10	0.38
Parent's Highest Level of Diploma: College	-8633.42	-11101.96	945.39	540.97
	0.17	0.11	0.41	0.69

In a relationship	2965.26	3020.95	-142.83	-318.30
	0.31	0.30	0.83	0.67
Years of experience	54.59	61.85	25.48	33.61
	0.83	0.80	0.71	0.62
Conforming to Asian (1) vs Western Beauty Standard (5)	-2045.50	**-2403.18***	197.27	309.68
	0.13	0.07	0.52	0.33
Having Lighter skin tone (1) to Having a Darker Skin Tone (5)	-63.06	-263.71	-13.65	81.65
	0.96	0.84	0.96	0.76
Low BMI (BMI < 18.5)	6463.38	7250.46	1074.71	1093.48
	0.33	0.22	0.46	0.49
High BMI (BMI>=30)	**-11262.91***	**-12627.34***	-1016.11	-1242.02
	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.22
Medium BMI (25 <= BMI < 30)	**-10369.14***	**-9451.70***	**-1715.01**	**-1715.97***
	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.05
Number of Clients	**-17.13***	**-14.53**	**-7.60***	**-6.98***
	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
Online	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	.	.	.	.
In Person	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	.	.	.	.
Location				
Work at Al Coco (Stripper's Club)		2586.97		1249.17
		0.62		0.41
Works in Other Locations		375.59		3.32
		0.90		1.00
Contact				
An online source		-4554.69		1559.87
		0.14		0.12
Word of mouth		**-6012.77***		-49.85
		0.06		0.95
Referral		**-9193.44***		276.92
		0.04		0.79
Client				
Age		-125.35		-45.86
		0.20		0.25
Western		**5532.36***		727.14
		0.05		0.34

Asian		1207.52		**-1566.22***
		0.73		0.06
Adjusted R^2	0.152	0.181	-0.010	-0.003
Observations	198	198	199	199

Marginal effects (d) for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1 * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

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