

**FROM RICE FIELDS TO RED LIGHT  
DISTRICTS: AN ECONOMIC EXAMINATION  
OF FACTORS MOTIVATING EMPLOYMENT  
IN THAILAND'S SEX INDUSTRY**

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## ABSTRACT

This research identifies factors that distinguish rural women who have migrated to Bangkok for the purpose of enhancing their economic wellbeing by engaging in the sex industry and those who have stayed in their rural communities and are not engaged in the sex industry. The research used primary data collected through interviews in the red light districts of Bangkok and Pattaya<sup>1</sup> and in villages in the rural provinces of Buriram, Udon Thani, Sakon Nakhon, Chayaphum and Khon Kaen in Thailand. A total of 100 respondents provided information for the study: 55 percent from the red light districts and the remainder from the provinces. The data were analyzed using logit regression modeling approach as well as statistical analysis. The statistical analysis provided the descriptive statistics of the respondents and an overview of the data. The logit regression modeling approach facilitated the estimation of the responses of the probability of working in the red light entertainment districts to specified demographic and psychographic variables.

The pseudo R-square of the logit model was 46.2 percent for the base model, which included age, marital status, number of male and female siblings respectively, birth position and number of children, education, financial responsibility and average monthly age. The results indicated that marital status was significant at the 1 percent level, exhibiting a marginal effect of about -35.2 percent. That is, when the marital status of a respondent changed from unmarried (0) to married (1), the probability of sex industry participation decreased by about 35 percent.

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<sup>1</sup> The study focused primarily on entertainment districts catering to foreign (Western) clientele as opposed to segments of the industry catering to local or regional clientele.

Assessing the effect only among respondents with children, the results are not very different from the base model. The pseudo R-square for this model – which is the same as the base model, except that it has Teen Mother as a variable – was 61.4 percent with a total number of observations of 78 instead of the original 100. This implies that about 22 respondents did not have any children. In this model, the marital status variable is significant at the 1 percent level as was the number of female siblings. The average monthly wage is significant at the 5 percent level, with a 1000 Thai Baht increase in wages leading to a marginal 0.01 percent decline in the probability of sex industry participation. Education, under this model, is statistically significant at the 10 percent level, with another year of education decreasing the probability of sex industry participation by 2.5 percent.

The foregoing provides some clear policy direction. Specific efforts may be invested in enhancing the education of women in Thailand, which is expected to increase their economic situation. However, this expectation would not materialize if investments are not made to enhance the economic opportunities available to women across the economic spectrum. Perhaps most importantly, however, this study shows that incremental improvement in educational and economic opportunities for rural women alone may not achieve lasting results if cultural paradigms regarding marriage, relational fidelity and imbalanced socio-cultural obligations of daughters are not addressed in tandem.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>Chapter I: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Research Problem and Question .....	2
1.2 Thesis Objectives .....	4
1.3 Method Overview.....	5
<b>Chapter II: Related Literature</b> .....	<b>7</b>
2.1 Thailand’s Sex Industry .....	7
2.1.1 Historic and Legal Context.....	7
2.1.2 Thailand’s Sex Industry Today.....	9
2.1.3 Religious and Cultural Context .....	10
2.1.4 Service & Venues.....	11
2.1.5 Customers & Demand.....	12
2.2 Tourism and Rural Economic Factors .....	13
2.2.1 Tourism .....	14
2.2.2 Unintended Consequences of Development .....	15
2.3 Austrian Economic Theory and Employment Choices.....	16
2.4 Summary of Literature Review.....	17
<b>Chapter III: Data and Methods</b> .....	<b>19</b>
3.1 Survey Instrument .....	19
3.1.1 Survey Part 1: Socio-economic Data.....	20
3.1.2 Survey Part 2: Employment Perceptions.....	21
3.2 Data Overview.....	22
3.3 Theory and Conceptual Model.....	25
3.3.1 Binary Dependent Variable Model.....	27
<b>CHAPTER IV: Analysis and Results</b> .....	<b>29</b>
4.1 Characteristics of Sex Industry Participants (SIP) and Non-Participants (NPs) .....	29
4.2 Socio-Economic Factors Influencing Probability of Participation .....	37
4.2.1 Logic Regression Scenario 1: Without Teen Motherhood Variable .....	37
4.2.2 Logit Regression Scenario 2: With Teen Mother Variable .....	39

4.2.3 Summary of Regression Analysis .....	42
4.3 Qualitative Factors Motivating Participation .....	44
4.3.1 Introduction to Bar Work: Social and Familial Influences.....	44
4.3.2 Life Circumstances and Inciting Incidents.....	49
<b>Chapter V: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations .....</b>	<b>56</b>
5.1 Summary.....	56
5.2 Conclusions .....	58
5.3 Recommendations .....	62
5.3 Limitations of Study and Suggestions for Future Research.....	63
<b>Works Cited.....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Survey Instrument .....</b>	<b>68</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 3.1: Province of Origin Among Sex Industry Participants (SIP).....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Figure 3.2: Isaan: Thailand's Northeastern Provinces .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Figure 4.1: Word Cloud: Important Employment Considerations among NPs .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Figure 4.2: Word Cloud: Important Employment Considerations Among SIPs.....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Figure 4.3: Spectrum from Pure Coercion to Voluntary Entry .....</b>	<b>45</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 3.1: Summary Statistics of Relevant Quantitative Variables (SIPs) (N = 55) ....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Table 3.2: Summary Statistics of Relevant Quantitative Variables (NPs) (N = 45).....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Table 3.3: Regression Variables and Hypothesized Signs .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Table 3.4: Results of Mis-Specification Test (Model 1 – No Teenage Mom) .....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Table 3.5: Results of Mis-Specification Test (Model 2 – With Teenage Mom).....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Table 4.1: Summary of Socio-economic Data .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Table 4.2: Most Important Factors When Considering Employment.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Table 4.3: Logistic Regression Results (Without Teenage Mother Status).....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Table 4.4: Logit Regression 2 (With Teenage Mother Status).....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Table 4.5: Reasons for Leaving Prior Place of Employment (Among SIPs).....</b>	<b>50</b>

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Migration as a means of improving an individual or family situation is a common and widely studied phenomenon, particularly in developing economies, and is often attributed to economic poverty of some form. Thailand is no exception. Migration out of the rural Isaan region is seen in part as a result of unequal development in the country that has led to disparate income earning potential between still-poor rural areas and developed municipal areas, as well as increased commercialization and materialism of Thai society (Jeffrey, 2003; Boonchalaksi & Guest, Prostitution in Thailand, 1998). The current age of social media networks, developed transportation systems and streams of economic remittances from urban to rural areas has facilitated direct exposure of these less-developed, relatively poor areas to the material possibilities elsewhere, increasing felt needs among individuals, families and communities located in rural areas (Archavayitkul & Guest, 1994).

Migration out of Thailand's rural poor region of Isaan and into populated urban centers, especially Bangkok, is dominated by women and has increased over time (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998). It consists largely of young, unmarried women with low education in search of employment (Archavayitkul & Guest, 1994). For many migrating women, the goal is decreasing their felt discomfort or that of their families by seeking higher income or an alternative financial supporter, and the destination is often employment in Thailand's sex industry.

Though prostitution of various forms has been a prevalent form of local economic exchange in Thailand for centuries (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998), the highly visible, heavily marketed segment of the industry catering to foreign visitors creates strong demand

for women offering sexual services in the populated areas of Bangkok and Pattaya. Over the last several decades, stories of economic success obtained by women that participate in the sex industry have been widely communicated, facilitated both by time and advanced communication technology. This has increased the expectancy among rural residents that female migration to the sex industry is an effective means of achieving material economic gain for individuals, families and even entire rural communities.

In sum, the link has been made between increasing felt needs and the ability of migration (and specifically, migration to the sex industry) to fill them at what is perceived to be an acceptable cost to individual, family or community. The means by which this money is earned and sent home, and the social, emotional and economic consequences that result on the part of both the individual and broader society, are less well established in the literature.

The urgency that once drove study of internal rural-urban migration in Thailand largely subsided following the relative strengthening of rural areas through development programs implemented by the Thaksin government (Chamrathirong, 2007). This has led to a gap in information regarding the less socially and economically positive elements of migration that are manifest in social challenges spread from the rice fields of Isaan to the red light districts of Bangkok and Pattaya.

### **1.1 Research Problem and Question**

A number of non-governmental organizations are actively engaged in intervention and after-care of women, men and families affected by Thailand's sex industry employment<sup>2</sup>.

Many of these organizations have been offering some combination of counseling, further

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<sup>2</sup> NightLight International, Tamar Center, Rahab Ministries, New Beginnings, Dton Naam and TRCDF each hold similar missions in reaching and rehabilitating individuals and/or families impacted by the sex trade.

education, career or skill training, craft-style employment opportunities and family or social services to those coming out of the sex industry or at risk of entering it for more than a decade. However, many of the organizations continue to face challenges with respect to facilitating healthy reintegration into homes and communities, particularly those in rural areas, and working to break the cycle of future generations migrating to cities such as Bangkok.

Though the web of factors contributing to entry into and perpetuation of sex industry employment is complex, there is agreement by many non-profit practitioners that one of the principal limiting factors to long-term success in helping women successfully leave the industry or avoid entering it is a lack of competitive economic alternatives. Perceived through this lens, the challenge of the work these organizations seek to perform becomes daunting, similar to those confronting the coca trade in South America or the poppy industry in Afghanistan. How do they craft competitive economic opportunities to the sex trade that provide the same or higher levels of economic returns to the different players involved in the trade expending the same level of effort and within the same timeframe?

Until intervention organizations are able to identify and implement competitive options, their efforts may yield poor results. However, for them to craft effective competitive solutions, they need to understand the factors that motivate the participants and the characteristics of the individuals that are so motivated. This understanding could help them appreciate the challenges within a more complete framework of the social and economic environment in which women who enter the sex industry are operating. It will help them look at the problem within a system's framework and position them to *see* how to most

effectively engage, intervene and reposition the economic and other incentives to achieve their stated objectives.

The research question that this thesis seeks to address is framed, therefore, around increasing the understanding of the factors influencing industry participation decisions. Specifically, what are the factors that influence participation in the sex industry in Thailand? The statistical strength of these factors could illuminate the critical loci of the problem and provide insights into how to address the problem more effectively. For example, if parental influence is the strongest factor, then recognizing the filial piety intricacies of the Thai culture would imply focusing attention on parents and not the children who are involved in the trade. Not recognizing this could not only make life difficult for those seeking to “help” but expose the people they seek to help to significant social danger.

## **1.2 Thesis Objectives**

The overall objective of this research is to assess the socio-economic factors that influence rural women’s participation in Thailand’s sex industry. Specific objectives are as follows:

- Describe participants in the Thai sex industry and compare them to those not involved in the sex industry with the view to developing a set of characteristics common to sex industry participants in Thailand
- Determine the socio-economic factors that influence the probability of participating in the industry with the view to understanding the forces that underscore participants’ decisions and behavior

- Develop an understanding of individuals' perspective on their decisions to participate in the industry using a qualitative/narrative analysis
- Use the results to provide insights for non-governmental organizations, such as the Thai Restoration Community Development Foundation, in designing and implementing intervention strategies.

Though economic and social bases of Thailand's sex industry have been well-studied, little research has been conducted with the goal of understanding the relative strength of these social and economic influences on sex industry participation. Increasing the understanding of the probability of various socio-economic factors to influence industry participation can educate and stimulate the development of future prevention and intervention strategies by non-profits, socially conscious entrepreneurs, development practitioners, and government agencies interested in helping to curb the flow of women from rice fields to red light districts.

### **1.3 Method Overview**

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to gather primary data relevant to the research questions stated above. Survey questions sought to identify socioeconomic factors that could be used to predict probability of participation in the sex industry, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The targeted sample of survey respondents included women currently employed in the sex industry and those not employed in the sex industry but remaining in largely non-municipal centers in the Isaan region.

Survey responses were analyzed using statistical and econometric analysis in order to address Objectives 1 and 2. Specifically, a logit regression modeling approach facilitated

the estimation of the responses related to the probability of working in the red light districts of Bangkok and Pattaya to specified demographic and psychographic variables. Qualitative analysis was conducted to build case studies in support of quantitative findings and offer insights that may not have otherwise surfaced through statistical or econometric analysis.

Combined, the quantitative and qualitative results provided a foundation for assessing socio-economic factors and their influence in determining likelihood of entry into the sex trade. The results also formulated a basis for drawing inferences used to provide policy recommendations. The recommendations focus on how governmental and non-governmental organizations can more effectively target programming to address root causes of migration to and participation in sex industry employment.

Relevant literature is reviewed in Chapter 2, and Chapter 3 describes the survey and econometric methods employed to complete the objectives. Results from the econometric and qualitative analysis are presented in Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 presents a summary of the study's conclusions.

## **CHAPTER II: RELATED LITERATURE**

The economic and social bases of Thailand's sex industry have been well-studied in sociology and related disciplines. This chapter provides an overview of the literature with the view of placing this particular study within the context of previous studies, identifying the gaps that this particular research addresses and determining take-off points for this research from previous efforts.

The layout of the chapter begins with an overview of the Thai sex industry, including a historic and legal context; review of the industry today; religious and cultural context; service and venues; and customers and demand. It goes on to discuss a series of rural economic factors that underlie migration patterns in Thailand, including the impacts of tourism and unintended consequences of development. It then touches on Austrian economic theory which lays the groundwork to understand that participation in the sex industry may be better understood and evaluated as being a function of pure human action.

### **2.1 Thailand's Sex Industry**

#### *2.1.1 Historic and Legal Context*

Research has found close associations between the sex trade, migrant communities and economic development throughout Thai history (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998). Thailand's sex trade dates back at least to the Ayuddhya period (1350-1767), at which time prostitution was legal and taxed by the government. Fueled by Chinese migration to the country and economic development that drew additional foreigners, the industry flourished. Prostitution continued to be legal (and therefore taxed) under the reign of King Rama V following passage of the "Contagious Disease Prevention Act" in 1908 that required prostitute houses to register. It was enacted in response to growing numbers of prostitutes

and unruliness of the houses in an effort to control public order and limit the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Prostitution through this period of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was characterized as “profitable, legal and to some extent acceptable in Thai society” (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998, p. 131).

Existing laws regulating prostitution were replaced in 1960 with “Prostitution Suppression Act,” largely in response to the United Nation’s declaration of the abolition of prostitution. The 1960 law made engagement in the sex trade illegal and subjected transgressors to monetary fines and imprisonment. Thailand instituted the “Entertainment Places Act” in 1966 to regulate entertainment establishments including go-go bars, karaoke bars, massage parlors and other similar entertainment venues. The law requires these establishments to be licensed for service and, though it does not expressly permit prostitution, creates loopholes in which sexual services may still be provided on site (Fox, 2009).

In 1996, Thailand instituted a new law serving as the central legal framework to prohibit prostitution. *The Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act* (known as the “Prostitution Law”) defines prostitution as “any act done to gratify the sexual desire of another in exchange for money or any other benefit, but only if it is done ‘in a promiscuous manner’” (Fox, 2009). The law fails to provide sufficient definition as to the terms included and this remaining ambiguity makes it difficult to prosecute potential offenders.

In recent years, the government has taken the step to work with brothel owners to enforce a rule of 100 percent condom use in all commercial sex establishments, although the act of prostitution remains illegal in theory. The government polices this rule through the use of government inspectors. Inspectors pose as would-be-clients in brothels and threaten to shut



down an establishment that fails to comply with the 100 percent condom use rule (World Health Organization, n.d.).

### *2.1.2 Thailand's Sex Industry Today*

Thailand's commercial sex industry today is complex and fragmented between populations, organization, level of visibility and targeted customers. The size and scope of the industry is difficult to quantify, though attempts have been made by numerous researchers, NGOs and interested third parties. A 2001 World Health Organization report estimated between 150,000 and 200,000 sex workers in the country (World Health Organization, 2001). Dr. Nitet Tinnakul, political science professor from Chulalongkorn University, estimated that there were about 2.8 million sex workers in Thailand between 1999 and 2002. (Fox, 2009) A government survey counted over 76,000 adult sex workers in registered entertainment establishments, though NGOs commonly cite between 200,000 and 300,000 sex workers (U.S. Department of State, 2009).

Researchers focused on determining the absolute size of the female sex worker population conclude that it remains largely unknown, further complicated by the fact that the population is constantly changing over time and place. Workers migrate between rural and urban settings, follow tourists or move from venue to venue frequently. Numbers may be overestimated by anti-prostitution organizations and overestimated by governments, and the accuracy of research attempts is limited by the varied willingness of sex workers to reveal details of their lives or behavior for reasons of pride, fear or shame (Vandepitte et al., 2006).

Though the numbers vary widely, the sex industry in Thailand remains not only a key social issue but also a significant economic driver of the country. It is considered “highly visible, economically successful, internally differentiated and illegal” (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998) and has been estimated to make up as much as three percent of the Thai economy, worth US\$4.3 billion in 2003 (Fox, 2009).

### *2.1.3 Religious and Cultural Context*

A variety of religious and cultural factors with implications on the roles and status of women have been linked to the regular occurrence of prostitution, its perpetuation in the Thai economy and its acceptance by much of Thai society. Migration for sex sector employment is inextricably linked to family roles (Archavayitkul & Guest, 1994) as Thai culture places the majority of the household economic responsibility on the women of the family. Daughters – and most often the youngest daughter – are expected to care for aging parents. Employment opportunities for young, uneducated women are few and far between, particularly in rural areas, and are generally limited to petty trading and factory work. Many of these women are left to make a ‘best choice’ from a narrow range of options, often leading to migration to sex work, in order to fulfill their familial economic responsibility (Mensendiek, 1997; Sandy, 2007).

This traditional obligation of the daughter to care for parents and siblings is further reinforced by the Buddhist religion. The religion provides a basis whereby the merit of fulfilling one’s familial obligations (including caring for parents and siblings, making donations to temples, bringing gifts to family members, etc.) can counterbalance the demerit of prostituting one’s self. Though families and society overtly look down on

prostitution as a social practice, it is tolerated as a necessary means of income generation for rural households and therefore accepted as an option for women (Mensendiek, 1997).

#### *2.1.4 Service & Venues*

The commercial sex industry in Thailand consists of both direct and indirect sex establishments. Direct sex establishments are those in which sex workers sell sex directly and may include both the traditional brothel and many of the country's massage parlors. Direct prostitution consisted of approximately half of the total industry in 1989 (Hanenberg & Rojanapithayakorn, 1998) and there are still thousands of commercial sex establishments in operation, including traditional brothels, massage parlors, saunas and karaoke bars (AVERT, 2011).

Indirect sex establishments are those in which the establishment and its workers provide other services, e.g., food/drink service, pool, karaoke, a-go-go bars/dance clubs, or other services but offer an option for sexual services at a price separately negotiated (Hanenberg & Rojanapithayakorn, 1998). Formats for indirect commercial sex have increased in complexity as Thai society has evolved over the years. Networks of phone contacts or Internet sites are increasingly being used to facilitate connections for purposes of commercial sex, causing the network of indirect sex workers to expand rapidly and become increasingly harder to reach for education and outreach services to reduce their risks (National AIDS Prevention and Alleviation Committee, 2010).

Direct sex establishments overwhelmingly cater to international visitors and tourists. These are largely concentrated in the red light districts of Bangkok (including Patpong, Nana Entertainment Plaza and Soi Cowboy), Pattaya (including Walking Street and Soi 6) and

Phuket, though venues in rural municipal locations such as Udon Thani and Buriram appear to be increasing. This is not to say there are no local establishments catering to local Thai customers. These, unlike the international-focused ones, are scattered throughout the country, but kept largely separate from venues catering to international visitors. The direct sex system has another segment that is serviced by “freelance workers,” sometimes referred to as street walkers. They consist of workers who are not employed by a specific entertainment establishment but solicit customers from strategic street locations in public areas.

#### *2.1.5 Customers & Demand*

Measuring and classifying demand for commercial sexual services in the Thailand is complex and fragmented. Demand for sexual services comes both from local clientele as well as from international tourists or visitors, and the sector has diversified to meet a variety of specific market niches sometimes varying by socio-economic status and/or nationality. The segment of the industry serving international visitors and tourists is highly visible and highly economical both for customers and those providing service. The economic power of foreign men is viewed as an important factor leading to expansion of the industry (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998). Visitors access sexual services at relatively low prices and provide a source of foreign income to the Thai economy. The financial contribution often extends beyond what is paid to the establishment or even to compensate for the additional sexual services provided. Frequently, the financial contribution extends to longer supports that some of the sex customers provide for the women who serve them beyond the services they provide. These supports often extend to the women’s families,

increasing the economic incentives associated with the supply side of the industry as some women seek men who would provide these extra-service supports.

In 2007, Thailand welcomed nearly 14.5 million visitors. More than 65 percent of them were male (totaling 9,436,571) with only 8.8 percent of them indicated they were visiting for business (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2011). Though the percentage of male visitors participating in sex tourism cannot be determined with any accuracy, the statistics show that the potential demand for services of this nature is significant. While the international demand side is the most visible, there is evidence that local demand is by no means insignificant (Jeffrey, 2003; Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998).

## **2.2 Tourism and Rural Economic Factors**

A majority of women working in the sex industry have migrated to the populated areas of Bangkok, Pattaya and Phuket from Thailand's poor, rural regions of the North and Northeast. Despite the root causes of rural poverty being complex and extensive in nature, it is important to note that not all individuals facing poverty resort to migration and not all migrants enter the sex trade.

The UNDP Human Achievement Index (HAI) shows clearly that the North and Northeast regions of Thailand perform far below other regions of the country, particularly with respect to income, debt and education. According to the UNDP 2007 Thailand Human Development Report, 7 million people (or over 11 percent of the population) lived in absolute poverty in 2004 and 87 percent of them were farmers or farm workers in rural areas. The level of poverty in the Northern and Northeastern regions of the country is estimated between 16 and 17 percent compared to less than two percent in Bangkok

according to the same report. The highest proportion of indebted households falls in the Northeast region at over 78 percent. Questions remain with respect to differential access to quality education between rural and urban areas (UNDP, 2007).

Unequal development and poverty in general is often viewed as one of the main factors leading to migration for sex work, but is clearly not the only factor contributing to participation in the industry. After all, not all poor women with low education end up as sex industry participants. Instead, participation in sex work is connected to a variety of factors, including, but not necessarily limited to, rural poverty, narrow employment options, gendered divisions of labor, lack of a welfare system and increasing levels of familial responsibility (Sandy, 2007).

### *2.2.1 Tourism*

Thailand's booming tourist industry – posting significant increases in international arrivals over decades – has expanded employment in the service sector, a portion of which is the commercial sex sector (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998). Though tourism has been promoted in Thailand through development assistance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, it has been known to cause harm to the country with particular respect to the rural population and to women. Some have gone so far as to argue that tourism has promoted the commodification and monetization of Thai society” (Mensendiek, 1997).

Tourism has distracted attention from the generation of sustainable income opportunities in the rural areas and has led more rural residents to seek jobs in the service sector. It has also increased exposure to wealth and modern goods, fostering desire for even more material wealth in the rural areas. The combination of these factors has created more demand for

women in the service sector (and in turn, a willingness of women to enter the service sector to meet new material wealth goals) as wages are far more lucrative than those in traditionally available jobs such as factory work (Mensendiek, 1997).

### *2.2.2 Unintended Consequences of Development*

Studies from the early 1990s documented a number of negative consequences of early development efforts in rural Thailand including unequal income distribution, the loss of farmland and the marginalization of women. Research has documented this lapsed development dating back to the initiation of the strategic plan for national development in 1957 as the nation moved from agriculture to industrialization. This expansion of export industries appeared to come at the expense of development in the rural countryside and contributed to the expanded gap between the rich and poor in the country (Jeffrey, 2003, p. xii).

Development efforts focused on industry and tourism, often at the expense of the agricultural sector. The role of women as producers and farmers was largely overlooked and women were left out of agricultural and technical training, while still being left to bear the economic responsibility of the household. Complaints were made that the fruits of the economic boom of the late 1980s and early 1990s did not reach the rural poor. Instead, farmers remained heavily indebted, perpetuated by issues of lack of ownership and capital. These large debts coupled with limited rural employment opportunities often lead to migration to the city to find work (Mensendiek, 1997).

One of the unintended consequences of Thailand's development efforts and urbanization was declining income levels from agriculture and rising demand for urban labor. For poor,

rural families, this often meant sending youth into the city in order to send home supplementary income. This resulted in scattered families, hollowed village populations with few working age citizens remaining, and children not being raised by their parents (UNDP, 2007).

A study published by the International Labor Organization entitled “The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia” cited that nearly 300 million dollars is transferred every year to rural families by women engaged in prostitution in urban areas, a startling number that in many cases exceeds the budgets of government-funded development programs. The study estimated that prostitution in Thailand produced an annual income between 22.5 and 27 billion dollars between 1993 and 1995 (Agnote, 1998).

### **2.3 Austrian Economic Theory and Employment Choices**

This section draws upon specific elements of Austrian economic theory in discussing incentives and knowledge as key motivators toward human behavior and economic choice, supporting the assumption that the choice to seek employment in the sex industry is a function of pure human action.

Praxeological assertions argue that every human action is driven by attempts to avoid discomfort. Austrian economists explain that individuals satisfy felt needs and desires based on subjective preferences within the limitations placed upon them. In this case, satisfaction is left as a subjective term, and any possible moral or ethical judgments related to decision making are left out of the economic discussion. Austrian economist Murray Rothbard (1956, p. 1) stated:



“... the essence and the driving force of human action, and therefore of the human market economy, are the valuations of individuals. Action is the result of choice among alternatives, and choice reflects values, that is, individual preferences among these alternatives.”

This theory, then, would lead us to believe that a decision on the part of an individual to seek employment in the sex industry is based on the valuation and preferences among perceived available alternatives, and a desire to decrease their felt sense of discomfort.

The perception is widely held among rural residents that urban centers are perceived to offer both more abundant and more lucrative employment opportunities than rural areas. For many, and especially those whose employment options are further limited by education or skill level, the sex industry offers attractive potential to generate greater economic return than achievable elsewhere. Therefore, economic theory would explain this phenomenon simply as a pure human action seeking to decrease an element of felt economic discomfort. The chosen action is based on valuation of available alternatives based on available knowledge and incentives.

#### **2.4 Summary of Literature Review**

This chapter reviewed literature related to social and economic bases of prostitution in Thailand with a particular focus on factors motivating rural-urban migration to that end. It also discussed Austrian economic theory in relating sex industry employment decisions being a result of pure human action.

The review showed that Thailand's sex industry is complex, fragmented and deeply engrained in many facets of Thailand's culture, society and economic structure. The industry is heavily influenced by factors including religion, gender and other socio-cultural obligations of women to provide financially for families. Limited access to education,

economic choices and social or economic safety nets on the part of the rural poor play a role in motivating migration. These factors have been influenced at least in part by unequal levels of economic development in Thailand. This unequal development has created a widening gap between the rich and poor and an increasing appetite for material wealth among those remaining in less developed, poor economic areas such as Isaan. Those facing increased needs based on poverty or increasing felt needs for material items are faced with decisions as to how to relieve that state of felt discomfort. Spreading knowledge of sex industry participation as an effective avenue to achieving material gain in areas when few alternatives are available causes this to be viewed as a means to decreasing an individual or family's state of felt discomfort.

## **CHAPTER III: DATA AND METHODS**

This section includes discussion of the models and data used in the study. The first section describes the survey instrument used for data collection and is followed by an introduction to models used in the study. All econometric and statistical analysis was conducted using analytical software Stata 11.0®.

### **3.1 Survey Instrument**

A semi-structured questionnaire was developed to gather information relevant to the survey objectives. Survey questions sought to identify socioeconomic factors that could be used to predict probability of participation in the sex industry through quantitative and qualitative methods. Samples were drawn from women currently employed in the sex industry and from those not employed in the sex industry but remaining in largely non-municipal centers in the Isaan region.

The questionnaire included demographic and psychographic information as well as information related to motivations behind employment decision and perceptions of current employment status, and was translated into Thai. It was tested on a variety of subjects of varied employment and education statuses and adjusted accordingly to ensure maximum comprehension across targeted population segments. The complete survey instrument is located in Appendix I.

Interviews were conducted by the study author with the assistance of a native Thai speaker during the months of September and October 2011. Sensitivity to privacy and protection of interviewed women was ensured through administration of an informed consent document informing subjects of the voluntary nature of the interview, confidentiality of data obtained

and protection of any identifying factors of an individual, her family or her place of employment.

A targeted sample of 55 women currently employed in the entertainment districts of Bangkok (including Soi Cowboy, Nana and Patpong) and Pattaya (including Soi 4 and Walking Street) were interviewed for the data used in this study. The sample was drawn from entertainment districts catering mainly to a Western clientele, and all 55 women interviewed currently worked in the sex industry in some capacity.

In addition, 45 women in the rural provinces of Buriram, Udon Thani, Sakon Nakhon, Chayaphum and Khon Kaen were interviewed. While all the women interviewed in Bangkok and Pattaya currently worked in the entertainment industry, those in upcountry were engaged in various forms of employment that did not include the entertainment industry.

Sex industry respondents were surveyed at their respective workplaces during working hours. Respondents not employed in the sex industry were surveyed in six different villages across five provinces with the assistance of local community members offering introductions.

### *3.1.1 Survey Part 1: Socio-economic Data*

The first portion of the survey sought to gather important demographic and socio-economic data to be used to compare profiles of those employed in the sex industry and those not employed. Survey participants were asked about age, home province, marital status, birth position, children (and location of children), family decision-making and financial responsibility, and education. Participants were also asked to include information related to

their current employment, focusing on accountant cost and benefit factors including average wage received.

The following socioeconomic attributes were used for further analysis:

- **Age:** Current age of respondent
- **Siblings:** Number of male and female siblings in immediate family
- **Birth position:** The individual's rank by age among siblings
- **Total children:** Total number of children
- **Teenage pregnancy:** Calculated by subtracting 'age of oldest child' from respondent current age
- **Education:** Number of years of completed education
- **Average monthly wage:** Estimated average monthly wage in current employment position
- **Marital status:** Binary coefficient -- 1 if married or co-habiting; 0 if not. 0 includes single, separated, divorced or widowed.

These socioeconomic characteristics are analyzed to determine which of those becomes a predictor of the probability of entering sex work. These are then evaluated to determine if policy recommendations can be made based on known predictors.

### *3.1.2 Survey Part 2: Employment Perceptions*

Survey participants were also asked about their perceptions of current employment situations with the goal of understanding factors that may motivate changes in employment over time. Qualitative analysis enabled the presentation of data through the telling of individual stories to give real-world context to the theory put forth (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

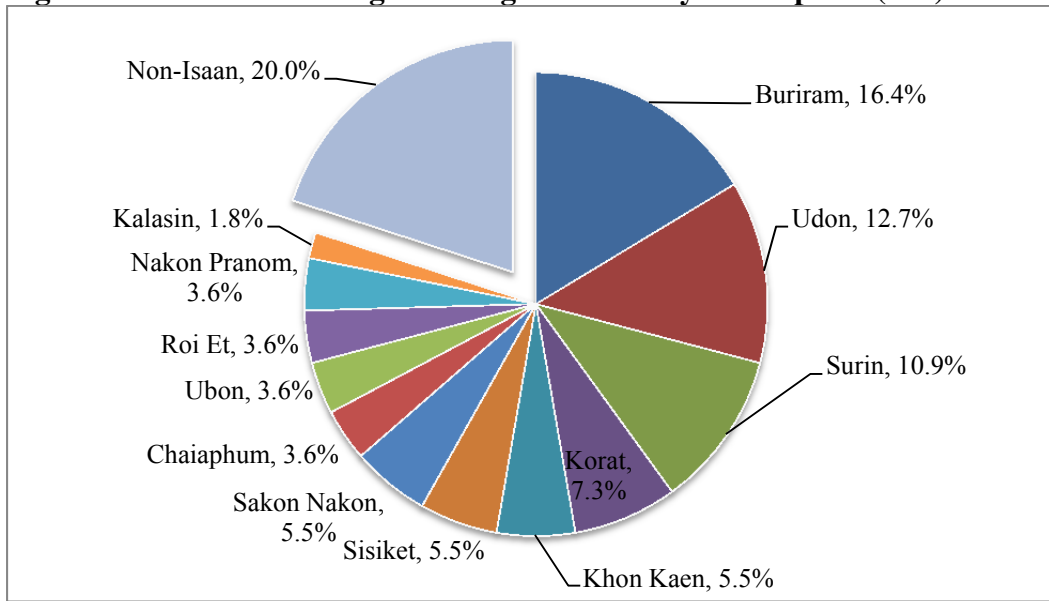
Survey participants were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with a series of statements related to factors regarding their current work situation, and subsequently to rate their importance. Information was also gathered related to ideal employment and factors motivating employment decisions.

### **3.2 Data Overview**

The data used in this study were obtained from a primary survey referenced in Section 3.1. All responses were self-reported and not verified after initial interview due to confidentiality needs of respondents. A total of 100 individuals participated in the study; 55 respondents currently employed in sex industry venues in Bangkok and Pattaya and 45 respondents currently located and employed in rural areas of Thailand's northeastern Isaan region.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the distribution of surveyed sex industry participants (SIPs) by their home province. The figure shows that 80 percent of the SIPs interviewed were from the Isaan region of Thailand and the remaining 20 percent from non-Isaan provinces. All subjects interviewed were Thai citizens, though one potential subject declined to complete the survey based on her Laotian nationality. Of those responding from the Isaan region (NPs), the highest percent hailed from Buriram province (21 percent) followed by Udon, Surin and Korat (16, 14 and 9 percent, respectively). Non-profit practitioners in the field will often cite that roughly 70-90 percent of women working in the entertainment districts have migrated from the Isaan region, and this sample supports the experience of those organizations.

**Figure 3.1: Province of Origin Among Sex Industry Participants (SIP)**



The comparison sample of those not employed in the sex industry (non-participants, or NPs) was drawn from women currently located and employed in five different provinces in Isaan. NPs were interviewed at their homes or workplaces in the provinces of Buriram (17 responses), Khon Kaen and neighboring Chayaphum (14 and 2, respectively), Udon (7) and Sakon Nakhon (5) to total 45 respondents. These provinces can be located on the map of Thailand's Isaan region included in Figure 3.2. Occupations represented by these respondents included farming, factory work, small business ownership or trading, daily wage earners, government or professional employees (including hospital/clinic administrative staff and teachers) and housewives.

**Figure 3.2: Isaan: Thailand's Northeastern Provinces**



Source: [www.trekthailand.net](http://www.trekthailand.net)

Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 describe summary statistics of relevant quantitative variables for SIPs and NPs, respectively. The average age of respondents for SIPs and NPs was 32 and 37, respectively. Both SIPs and NPs were, on average, one of between four and five children and have, on average, between one and two children of their own. These and other socio-economic characteristics are further discussed in Chapter 4.



**Table 3.1: Summary Statistics of Relevant Quantitative Variables (SIPs) (N = 55)**

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	31.69	8.08	16	60
Total Siblings	4.27	2.37	1	12
Birth Position	2.85	2.01	1	12
Total Children	1.18	1.09	0	4
Age of Oldest Child	13.00	6.09	3	27
Education (years)	8.25	3.10	0	16
Average Monthly Wage (baht)	10,627.45	5,129.66	1,500	25,000
Marital Status (binary, 1=married)	.18	.34	0	1

**Table 3.2: Summary Statistics of Relevant Quantitative Variables (NPs) (N = 45)**

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	37.07	10.58	18	59
Total Siblings	4.65	2.09	0	8
Birth Position	2.58	2.03	1	8
Total Children	1.78	1.05	0	4
Age of Oldest Child	14.82	9.46	.1	39
Education (years)	9	4.243	2	16
Average Monthly Wage (baht)	1854.88	26188.74	1000	150,000
Marital Status (binary, 1=married)	.78	.42	0	1

### 3.3 Theory and Conceptual Model

It is hypothesized that the probability of being a sex worker is determined by a number of socio-economic factors. These variables and their expected signs from the logit regression model are presented in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3: Regression Variables and Hypothesized Signs**

Variable	Expected Sign	Rationale
Age (number) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Age}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Age}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Age}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Age}(0)} < 0$	-	Younger women are more likely to be engaged in sex work than older women
Married/Cohabiting (dummy, with Single, etc. as the reference) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Married}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Married}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Married}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Married}(0)} < 0$	-	Married or cohabiting women are less likely than single women to be engaged in the sex trade. (Single includes Single, Separated, Divorced or Widowed)
Female Siblings (number) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{FemaleSibs}(1)} - \beta_{\text{FemaleSibs}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{FemaleSibs}(1)} - \beta_{\text{FemaleSibs}(0)} < 0$	-	Women with more female siblings are less likely to be engaged in the sex trade
Male Siblings (number) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{MaleSibs}(1)} - \beta_{\text{MaleSibs}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{MaleSibs}(1)} - \beta_{\text{MaleSibs}(0)} < 0$	-	Women with more male siblings are less likely to be engaged in the sex trade
Birth Position H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{BirthPos}(1)} - \beta_{\text{BirthPos}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{BirthPos}(1)} - \beta_{\text{BirthPos}(0)} > 0$	+	The higher their birth position, the more their responsibility to the family and hence, the more likely they are to engage in sex trade
Total number of Children H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{BirthPos}(1)} - \beta_{\text{BirthPos}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{BirthPos}(1)} - \beta_{\text{BirthPos}(0)} < 0$	-	Children would have a negative effect on participating in the sex trade.
Education (Years) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Education}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Education}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Education}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Education}(0)} < 0$	-	The more educated the woman, the greater her options for good paying jobs, and hence, the less likely she would be involved in the sex trade.
Financial Provider (1 if sole provider, 0 if otherwise) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{FinProv}(1)} - \beta_{\text{FinProv}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{FinProv}(1)} - \beta_{\text{FinProv}(0)} > 0$	+	The likelihood of being in the sex trade increases if the woman is a sole provider of her family
Average Monthly Wage H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Income}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Income}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{Income}(1)} - \beta_{\text{Income}(0)} < 0$	-	The higher the wage earned by the woman, the lower the likelihood of working in the sex industry.
Teen Mother (defined to have had first child by age 20 years) H <sub>0</sub> : $\beta_{\text{TeenMom}(1)} - \beta_{\text{TeenMom}(0)} = 0$ H <sub>1</sub> : $\beta_{\text{TeenMom}(1)} - \beta_{\text{TeenMom}(0)} > 0$	+	The likelihood of being in the business increases with being a teen mother

### 3.3.1 Binary Dependent Variable Model

An individual's decision to seek employment in the sex industry may be a composite decision based on many factors including individual socio-economic factors. By evaluating the influence of various socio-economic factors on the likelihood of entry into the industry, we can gain insight into which of those factors may require policy solutions to facilitate change in unhealthy migration patterns.

The dependent variable was defined as a binary variable that indicated whether a respondent was currently involved in the sex industry (=1) or not (=0). A series of socio-economic factors are then used as the explanatory variables to predict the likelihood of the binary dependent variable – involvement in the sex industry or not. Logit regression was used to estimate the model, and reported using marginal results.

The model is specified as follows:

$$\pi = \text{Prob}(Y=1 | x_i) = \frac{\exp(\alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_n x_n)}{1 + \exp(\alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_n x_n)}$$

Where  $\pi$  is the probability of a respondent being an SIP, and Y is the distinguishing variable which is equal to 1 when the respondent is an SIP. The coefficients are defined by  $\beta_i$  and  $\alpha$  is the intercept. The  $x_1$  to  $x_n$  represent the independent variables included in the model. In the base model, they encompassed age, marital status, siblings (male and female), birth position, number of children, education, familial financial responsibility and average monthly wage. The alternate model included all these variables plus a teenage mother dummy variable. The binary dependent variable for this model is  $S_o$  which is the binary variable (1 = employed in the sex industry; 2 = not). The  $\beta_k$ 's are the regression coefficients, interpreted using marginal analysis.

A STATA® misspecification test (Linktest) was applied in order to determine if the models were specified correctly. The Linktest regresses the dependent variable and the predicted outcome. If the model is not mis-specified, the predicted outcome should be the only significant variable in the model. As seen in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, the only significant variable is Pred(work) in each test indicating that the models are not mis-specified.

**Table 3.4: Results of Mis-Specification Test (Model 1 – No Teenage Mom)**

work	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf.	Interval]
<b>Pred(work)</b>	1.317	0.386	3.410	0.001	0.560	2.074
<b>_hatsq</b>	-0.115	0.072	-1.580	0.113	-0.257	0.027
<b>_cons</b>	0.195	0.445	0.440	0.661	-0.677	1.066

**Table 3.5: Results of Mis-Specification Test (Model 2 – With Teenage Mom)**

work	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf.	Interval]
<b>Pred(work)</b>	1.027	0.263	3.910	0.000	0.513	1.542
<b>_hatsq</b>	0.034	0.045	0.760	0.446	-0.054	0.122
<b>_cons</b>	-0.102	0.439	-0.230	0.817	-0.962	0.759

## **CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

Analysis presented in this chapter is divided into three sections, addressing each of the three study objectives. The first objective seeks to describe characteristics of participants in the sex industry with the view to develop a profile of the sex industry participant in Thailand. This analysis uses basic statistical analysis of socio-economic data to compare and contrast the two groups of individuals: those currently employed in the sex industry and those not. Summary statistics are provided regarding the two groups.

The second objective focused on determining those socio-economic factors that influence the probability of participating in the industry with the view to understanding the forces underscoring participants' decisions and behavior. The model involved logit regressions, with the endogenous variable defined as two segments of individuals: sex industry participants (SIP) and non-participants (NP).

The third section includes an evaluation of responses regarding individuals' perspectives on decisions to participate or not participate in the industry using narration and case studies. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of implications and recommendations for governmental and non-governmental organizations to design and implement prevention and intervention strategies based on the findings.

### **4.1 Characteristics of Sex Industry Participants (SIP) and Non-Participants (NPs)**

This section will describe characteristics of participants in the sex industry through evaluation of socio-economic factors of SIPs and NPs surveyed. Table 4.1 shows summary statistics of primary data gathered through the study survey differentiating socio-economic characteristics between the two populations.

Results showed there is a significant difference in marital status between SIPs and NPs. Over 87 percent of SIPs are single, separated, divorced or widowed, and fewer than 13 percent are married or co-habiting. In contrast, nearly 78 percent of non-participants indicated being married or co-habiting. Some of this may have been explained by the age range of the samples drawn, as the NP sample showed a slightly higher average age of 37 years compared to 32 for SIPs, though not enough to explain the drastic difference.

Though data was combined for binary comparison between married/co-habiting and non-married or co-habiting, it is worth mentioning that those reporting to be separated, divorced or widowed was 60 percent among SIPs compared to under 18 percent for NPs. The influence of broken relationships on probability of participation in the industry is further discussed in Section 4.3.

**Table 4.1: Summary of Socio-economic Data**

	Sex Industry Participants (SIP) (n=55)		Non-Participants (NP) (n=45)	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Marital Status</b>				
Single	15	27.3%	3	6.7%
Separated, Divorced, Widowed (SDW)	33	60.0%	8	17.8%
Combined Single and SDW <sup>3</sup>	48	87.3%	11	24.5%
Married or Co-Habiting	7	12.7%	35	77.8%
<b>Family Position</b>				
Oldest Child	13	23.6%	20	44.4%
Youngest Child	17	30.9%	7	15.6%
Only Child	3	5.5%	0	0.0%
Only Daughter	18	32.7%	9	16.4%
Average Family Position (Number)	2.855		3.099	
<b>Children</b>				
Average Number of Children	1.18		1.47	
Percent with 1 or more children	36	65%	40	89%
Teenage Mother (% having 1 <sup>st</sup> child prior to 20 years old)	19	52.8% (of mothers) 34.5% (of total)	10	25% (of mothers) 22.2% (of total)
<b>Family Financial Responsibility</b>				
Self as Sole Provider	39	70.9%	18	40.0%
Combination Self and Other <sup>4</sup>	7	12.7%	8	17.8%
Father and Mother	3	5.5%	4	8.9%
Husband or Boyfriend	0	-	10	22.2%
<b>Education</b>				
Completed < 6 years	3	5.5%	9	20.0%
Completed 6 years	21	38.2%	10	22.2%
Completed 9 years or equivalent	16	29.1%	12	26.7%
Completed 12 years or equivalent	12	21.8%	5	11.1%
Completed some university or equivalent	2	3.6%	9	20.0%
<b>Average Monthly Wage (Thai baht)</b>				
Range	1,500 – 25,000		1,000 – 150,000	
Average	10,627.45		18,494.88	
Standard Deviation	5129.66		26484.67	

The percent of SIPs indicating they are the youngest child of the family adds to nearly 31 percent; nearly double the percent of youngest children among NPs. Likewise, the percent

<sup>3</sup> Categories for Single and SDW were combined for analysis in order to reduce potential error of SDW's self-reporting as single. However, gathered statistics were also left intact in order to show prevalence of those reporting SDW and differentiation between the two population samples.

<sup>4</sup> Includes combination of self and parent(s), siblings, or husband

of SIPs indicating they are the only daughter of the family adds to nearly 33 percent, again nearly double the percent among NPs. There were no ‘only children’ among the NPs interviewed, but over 44 percent were oldest children. These trends imply that youngest children and only daughters of the family appear to be of relatively higher risk of entry into the industry.

Nearly 71 percent of SIPs indicated being the sole financial provider of the family. This is defined by the individual citing sole responsibility to provide for financial needs of family that may include extended family located in the provinces. Less than 13 percent indicated sharing financial responsibility with another family member (most often a parent or sibling) and 5.5 percent indicated their parents continued to hold financial responsibility. This compared to 40 percent of NPs with sole responsibility, while 22 percent indicated a husband or boyfriend was solely responsible, or 18 percent shared responsibility with another family member. Interestingly, of the SIPs, 82 percent of those separated, divorced or widowed indicated being the sole financial provider of the household, compared to 100 percent of those married or co-habiting and 33 percent of those considering themselves single.

Taken together, these trends related to family position and financial responsibility supported observations in the field and in the literature related to gender roles and responsibilities among Thai families (De Jong, 2000) but also offer unique insight into the interplay of these gender and familial pressures with respect to entry into the sex industry.



For example, survey respondents were asked to list ‘most important things’ related to their employment decision and were given the opportunity to list up to five items. Family, children and money (or some combination thereof) were the most frequently cited items mentioned by both SIP and NP respondents. Sixty-seven percent of NPs and 42 percent of SIPs indicated ‘family’ was one of the most important considerations when determining employment as described further in Table 4.2. When combined with responses for children (cited by 17 percent of SIPs and 48 percent of NPs) the influence of family needs on employment decisions becomes clear.

**Table 4.2: Most Important Factors When Considering Employment**

Factor	Total # of mentions		Total # mentioning at least once		Percent (%) mentioning at least once	
	<i>SIP</i>	<i>NP</i>	<i>SIP</i>	<i>NP</i>	<i>SIP</i>	<i>NP</i>
Money	46	23	21	39	72.2	50.0
Family	29	32	28	23	42.6	66.7
Children	14	24	20	9	16.7	47.6
Friends	11	1	1	7	13.0	2.4
Freedom	9	9	8	7	13.0	19.0
Comfortable	6	3	3	4	7.4	7.1
Location Near Home	2	13	12	2	3.7	28.6

NP n=42; SIP n=54

Money was the most frequently cited consideration among SIPs (72 percent mentioned money at least once) and the second most frequent among SPs (mentioned by half of respondents at least once), though the importance of money was generally tied to the financial needs of immediate or extended family. Responses were also entered into the online tool, Wordle (available at <http://www.wordle.com>), to generate a ‘word cloud’ showing prominence of words in the responses based on their frequency (Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2).



**Figure 4.2: Word Cloud: Important Employment Considerations Among SIPs**



In addition to the statistical and graphic representations presented previously, ‘close proximity to family and ability to care for my children’ was rated as important or very important by over 90 percent of SIPs, and ‘adequate income to support myself and my family’ received the same ratings by over 94 percent. Both characteristics were rated as important or very important by nearly 98 percent of NPs in the survey.

Sixty-five percent of SIPs reported having one child or more compared to 89 percent of NPs. Of those reporting that they have children, nearly 53 percent of SIPs had their first child in their teenage or pre-teenage years<sup>5</sup> compared to 25 percent of the NP mothers. Thailand is reported to have the second highest rate of teenage pregnancy in the world, with 7 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 19 already reported to have one or more children (Bangkok Post, 2011). There were estimated to be 77,092 teen pregnancies or 211

<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of these calculations, teenage pregnancy was any pregnancy under the age of 20.

per day in 2008, on the rise from 68,385 in 2007. “Early-age pregnancy leads to couples being parents before they are ready to, causing economic hardship and, in some cases, to commercial sex” (Narkathap as quoted in (National AIDS Prevention and Alleviation Committee, 2010, p. 28).

There proved to be only minor differentiation between education levels among respondents. The average of years of completed education among SIPs was 8.25 compared to 9.0 among NPs. The difference in mean education levels between SIPs and NPs and may have been due in part to the inclusion of multiple government employees (hospital administrative officials) and teachers. Reasons for discontinuing study included the economic situation of the family (not having enough money to pay for school and/or requiring son or daughter to work to contribute to economic needs of the family) or a traumatic experience leading to shame and lack of motivation to study. The most common response was ‘no money; poor family’.

The average monthly income among SIPs surveyed was 10,627 baht (standard deviation of 5129.66 and range of 1500-25,000 baht per month) compared to 18,495 baht (standard deviation of 26,484.67 and a range of 1000-150,000 baht) among NPs surveyed. As would be expected, there was a great deal more consistency among wages earned by SIPs despite the broad range than there was among wage possibilities of NPs.

After examining the summary statistics for SIPs and NPs, we begin to see some trends between attributes. The socio-economic characteristics described in this section will be examined more closely with respect to their probability of impacting participation in the sex industry in Section 4.2.

## **4.2 Socio-Economic Factors Influencing Probability of Participation**

This section discusses the results of the econometric analysis in determining the socio-economic factors that influence the probability of participating in the industry. The model involved logit regressions, with the endogenous variable defined as two segments of individuals: sex industry participants (SIP) and non-participants (NP). In this analysis, the dependent variable is defined as a binary descriptor, where a respondent being SIP is coded as 1 and 0 if NP. The independent variables were socio-economic characteristics: age, marital status, siblings (male and female), birth position, number of children, education, familial financial responsibility, average monthly wage, and teen motherhood.

The hypothesis associated with this objective is that there will be significant differences in the likelihood of participation in the sex industry across various socio-economic characteristics. The marginals ( $\partial y/\partial x$ ) will be used to evaluate the change in the probability of being in the sex trade given a unit change in the respective variable. The logistic model was employed in the estimation and the model was estimated under two scenarios: (1) without teenage mother status; and (2) with teenage mother status.

### *4.2.1 Logic Regression Scenario 1: Without Teen Motherhood Variable*

Table 4.3 shows the regression output from the first scenario logit regression, including all socio-economic characteristics listed above with the exception of teen motherhood. The model statistics indicate that the model as a whole is significant at the 1 percent level given the Likelihood Ratio chi-square of 63.78 and a probability greater than chi-square of 0.00. The goodness of fit is relatively strong given the pseudo  $R^2$  of 46.2.

The first scenario model showed that being married or co-habiting as opposed to 'not married or co-habiting' (including single, separated, divorced or widowed) decreased the

probability of being an SIP by 35 percent, significant at a 1 percent level of confidence.

Being the sole financial provider for dependents increases the probability of being in the sex trade by 17.5 percent, significant at the 5 percent level. Conversely, an increase in female siblings by one person decreases the probability of participation by 6.6 percent, while male siblings proved not to be a significant indicator of participation in the industry.

The results however suggest that age is not a differentiator in whether a respondent is in or not in the sex industry. A unit increase in age does not change the probability of being in the sex trade. However, the sign on age is negative, as hypothesized, suggesting that although not statistically significant, the older one gets, the lower the probability that such an individual will be involved in the sex trade.

**Table 4.3: Logistic Regression Results (Without Teenage Mother Status)**

Number of obs=	<b>100</b>
LR chi2(9)=	63.78
Prob > chi2=	0
Pseudo R2=	0.4622
Log likelihood =	-37.102921

Variable	Marginal Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P>z
Age	-0.008	0.005	-1.600	0.110
Marital Status (Married=1)	-0.352***	0.050	-7.070	0.000
Male Siblings	0.015	0.035	0.420	0.673
Female Siblings	-0.066**	0.032	-2.060	0.039
Birth Position	0.033	0.032	1.030	0.302
Total Children	-0.009	0.035	-0.250	0.803
Years of Education	-0.006	0.012	-0.530	0.599
Financial Responsibility (Sole Financial Provider=1)	0.175**	0.073	2.410	0.016
Avg Monthly Wage (baht)	0.000	0.000	-1.520	0.130

\*=0.1, \*\*=0.05, \*\*\*=0.01

Birth position also failed to be a differentiating factor in participation in the trade. Though not statistically significant, the positive sign is consistent with the hypothesis that women of higher birth positions (older children) in the family are more likely to be SIPs.

Interestingly, this was not clearly supported by the data gathered showing differences between birth positions amongst the two populations.

#### *4.2.2 Logit Regression Scenario 2: With Teen Mother Variable*

The second scenario included the variable of teenage motherhood and results are summarized in This model showed results similar to the previous scenario with only minor adjustments. Marital status continued to be a strong indicator, with marriage or co-habitation decreasing the likelihood of participation in the industry by 36 percent (a mere one percent increase over the previous scenario and still significant at the 1 percent level). Similarly, being the sole financial provider increases the probability of participation by 20 percent (compared to 17.5 percent in the previous scenario.) An increase in female siblings by one person decreases the probability of participation by 9 percent (versus 6.6 percent) but the confidence level increases from 5 percent to 1 percent for the female sibling variable. Interestingly, however, the additional teenage motherhood variable was not statistically significant in influencing the probability of participation in the industry.

Table 4.4 below. Though the inclusion of the teenage mother variable reduced the sample size from 100 to 78, the model as a whole remains significant at the 1 percent level and improved over the model in Scenario 1. The Likelihood Ratio chi-square increased to 66.28 and the probability greater than chi-square remains strong at 0.00. The goodness of fit improved in strength, as this model is effective in explaining 61.4 percent of the variation compared to 46 percent in the previous scenario.

This model showed results similar to the previous scenario with only minor adjustments. Marital status continued to be a strong indicator, with marriage or co-habitation decreasing the likelihood of participation in the industry by 36 percent (a mere one percent increase over the previous scenario and still significant at the 1 percent level). Similarly, being the sole financial provider increases the probability of participation by 20 percent (compared to 17.5 percent in the previous scenario.) An increase in female siblings by one person decreases the probability of participation by 9 percent (versus 6.6 percent) but the confidence level increases from 5 percent to 1 percent for the female sibling variable. Interestingly, however, the additional teenage motherhood variable was not statistically significant in influencing the probability of participation in the industry.



**Table 4.4: Logit Regression 2 (With Teenage Mother Status)**

Number of obs=	<b>78</b>
LR chi2(9)=	66.28
Prob > chi2=	0
Pseudo R2=	0.6141
Log likelihood =	-
	20.823833

Variable	Marginal Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P>z
Age	-0.010	0.008	-1.260	0.208
Marital Status (Married=1)	-0.363***	0.079	-4.620	0.000
Male Siblings	0.004	0.043	0.090	0.928
Female Siblings	-0.089**	0.029	-3.100	0.002
Birth Position	0.033	0.039	0.850	0.398
Total Children	0.063	0.060	1.060	0.289
Years of Education	-0.025*	0.014	-1.810	0.071
Financial Responsibility (Sole Financial Provider=1)	0.198**	0.095	2.080	0.038
Avg Monthly Wage (baht)	-0.000**	0.000	-2.150	0.032
Teenage Mother (Yes=1)	-0.064	0.084	-0.760	0.446

\*=0.1, \*\*=0.05, \*\*\*=0.01

The relative weakness of age and birth position in predicting participation remain relatively consistent with the previous model, as do the total number of children or dependents; however, the variables of education and average monthly wage become significant in the model. Average monthly wage becomes significant at the 5 percent level but remains at the frontier. A unit increase in monthly wage decreases the likelihood of participation, but by a minor amount (a 1000 baht increase decreases the likelihood by 1 percent). This implies current differences in income are not significant enough to impact changes in probability. Education also becomes a significant variable, implying that a unit increase in education (one year) decreases the likelihood of participation by 2.5 percent.

The fact that education became significant only upon introduction of the teenage variable may suggest some level of correlation between education and teen motherhood. A

collinearity test was applied between the two variables and found a correlation of 0.18, which was not significant at the 5 percent level, suggesting that collinearity was not an issue.

#### *4.2.3 Summary of Regression Analysis*

The models above begin to build a case to show the strong influence of marriage and familial placement and responsibility on probability of participation in the sex industry. Marriage or co-habitation greatly reduces the probability, but having fewer female siblings and carrying the weight of being the sole financial provider greatly increase the probability of participation. Income ranges and education also rise as variables worthy of further discussion.

It is not surprising that marriage or co-habitation decreases the probability of participation in the sex industry, though the degree to which it influences the probability was not anticipated. Evaluation of this together with the additional breakdown of singles into those single versus those suffering from a broken relationship (separated, divorced or widowed) provides some interesting insights into the strong influence of marital or relationship status on industry participation.

The strength of 'female siblings' in influencing participation may appear peculiar when juxtaposed the fact that 'male siblings' does not appear to be a significant influence and, in fact, carries the opposite sign. This is, however, consistent with the author's experience in the breakdown of familial responsibility among male and female siblings. Stated simply, financial responsibility for the family generally falls on the shoulders of the daughters of the family more so than the sons. The logical conclusion, then, is that the likelihood of

being the sole daughter carrying the financial burden decreases as the number of daughter increases. The model supports this general statement by showing that an increase in female siblings by one decreases the probability of participation by 9 percent, while an increase in male siblings, though not statistically significant, may increase the probability though by a negligible amount (0.4 percent).

Average monthly wage and education both become statistically significant when included in the second model with the teenage mother variable (which effectively excludes non-mothers from the model). An increase in monthly wage appears to decrease the likelihood of participation in the sex industry, though it remains at the frontier implying it would take a significant wage increase to make any difference in the probability of entry. For example, a monthly wage increase of 10,000 baht (roughly equal to the current average received by SIPs) would decrease likelihood of participation in the sex industry by nearly 10 percent. This would imply that significant income differentials do, in fact, have an effect on probability of sex industry participation, but minor differentials (i.e. marginal increases in monthly income) would have little effect, particularly for women with children.

Education also becomes a significant variable in the second scenario limited only to women with children, showing a unit increase in education by one year decreases the likelihood of participation by 2.5 percent. A potential scenario to explain this phenomenon would be juxtaposition of employment options for a mother with low education and a non-mother with low education, discussed further in the following section.

### **4.3 Qualitative Factors Motivating Participation**

The third section includes an evaluation of individuals' perspectives on decisions to participate or not participate in the industry using narrative analysis and case studies. This includes identification and evaluation of common motivating factors leading to sex industry participation including social or familial influences and life circumstances or inciting incidents.

#### *4.3.1 Introduction to Bar Work: Social and Familial Influences*

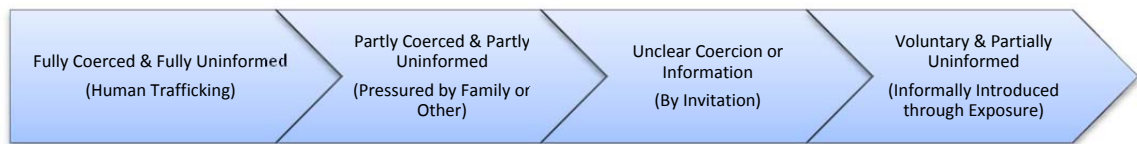
Social influences of friends and family and exposure to material wealth of mid- to higher income brackets appear to facilitate greater interest in participation in the sex industry, or at least in its ability to help individuals gain a level of material wealth not believed to be otherwise attainable. In general, over 47 percent of SIPs interviewed indicated a friend introduced them to their current work, whereas 36 percent indicated they came on their own, and 11 percent indicated a relative introduced them. In contrast, 67 percent of NPs were introduced to their current employment by a family member, and only 14 percent by friends. These statistics do, however, speak to the heavy influence of family and friends, respectively, on employment decisions between SIPs and NPs.

Going deeper than simple introductions, sex industry participation is often assumed to be a result of trafficking or other forms of severe coercion. Though the majority of individuals participating in the industry are likely to face some form of coercion throughout the course of their employment, whether from pressuring family members, owners/managers of entertainment establishments or dishonest customers, the majority of SIPs currently employed in the tourist-focused red light districts of Bangkok and Pattaya would currently fall somewhere in the middle on the spectrum between “completely voluntary” and

“completely coerced”. As characterized by researcher Larissa Sandy after interviewing a number of sex workers in neighboring Cambodia, the vast majority “are not cultural dupes. Rather, they are women who have take a chance to improve their lives and the lives of those nearest and dearest to them as they negotiate their transition to a rapidly globalizing economy” (Sandy, 2007, p. 203).

Though this study did not press respondents for details on where they fell on the spectrum, some insights were drawn from responses about how to characterize various degrees between “fully uninformed and coerced” and “fully informed and voluntary.”

**Figure 4.3: Spectrum from Pure Coercion to Voluntary Entry**



The furthest left on the spectrum indicates a status of trafficking or sale of person, consisting of women or men that are fully coerced and often fully uninformed of the details of their destination. The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women and much of the international community defines human trafficking as involving three core elements: a) the movement of a person inside a country or across borders; b) with deception or coercion; and c) into a situation of forced labor, servitude or slavery-like practices (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, n.d.).

One survey respondent from Udon province recounted the story of her two older sisters being “sold” to a brothel at the age of 11: **“My parents knew where they were going, but my sisters did not.”**

Though this form of trafficking is still known to take place in many parts of the country, outside of this story no other stories of direct coercion or trafficking were discovered through the course of the study.

Slightly to right of trafficking would be a woman who has experienced pressure from family or a significant other to take place in the industry, most often driven by economic needs. These women are generally uninformed of the details of the industry and may be considered at least partly coerced. This pressure is based largely on the socio-cultural responsibility of the female to provide. Daughters (or in fewer cases, wives or girlfriends) are pressured to generate income for the family, either to meet basic or other material needs of the family.

A survey respondent from Buriram province recounted her mother's encouragement to her upon her recent completion of 9<sup>th</sup> grade: **“Go find a foreign husband so we can build a house too.”**

This family pressure is often driven by exposure to economic success of another individual achieved through migration to Bangkok or Pattaya, recounted either through direct exposure to her material success (i.e. seeing the house built by her foreign boyfriend) or via the rumor mill of rural Thailand facilitated by developed roads/public transportation systems and growing access to technology and social media in the rural areas.

A non-participant respondent interviewed in Khon Kaen proudly shared the story of her daughter's economic and relational success after migrating to Bangkok: **“My daughter worked at Big Mango in Nana. She found a foreigner after only a couple of months and now we have money. I'm so proud of her.”**

Family pressure may be based on misinformation or ignorance related to the process of acquiring funds and/or a foreign husband. The link between migration to Bangkok/Pattaya and working at a bar is often left unspoken, though it is the employment option leading to the highest possibility of high income and likelihood of acquiring a foreign boyfriend or husband. Even if working at a bar is the understood requirement, the link between working at a bar and the requirements to drink heavily, entertain customers and sell sex are often left unspoken or misunderstood by the individual pressured to migrate.

A 23-year-old from Surin recounted the invitation offered by a family friend to work with her in Bangkok, only to find out after her arrival that it was a karaoke bar where workers offered sexual services: **“She told me it was just a restaurant.”**

If no direct pressure was received from a family member or other respected individual, women may be directly invited by a friend or relative. This form of entry could be considered mostly voluntary, but the individual is likely left at least partially uninformed of the details of work. In this case, a trusted friend, relative or other acquaintance may provide a personal account (or second-hand account) of fast income generation with low entry barriers (anyone can be hired) and offer an invitation to join in the work. The individual invited may be relatively uninformed of the details of the work, or may be fully aware based on the account given by the friend, but experiences a certain degree of pressure from the friend to join her same occupation.

A survey respondent from Udon recounted a crisis of decision that occurred after discovering her older sister was HIV positive. When sharing her family’s critical economic situation with a friend, she recounted her friend offering the following advice: **“I know how to help you; come work with me and you can make enough money to help pay your sister’s hospital bills.”**

Another respondent recounted the details of her initial introduction to her current employment location: **“My close friend had a foreign husband. After my stepdad passed away, she introduced me to the bar where she worked so I could earn enough money to support my family.”**

A subsequent category involves indirect influence coming from a trusted friend, relative or acquaintance with experience in the industry. In this case, an individual may be indirectly exposed to the success of a trusted friend, relative, neighbor or other acquaintance in earning fast money and/or finding a foreign husband or boyfriend to support her and possibly her family. Understanding that the success was derived from work in the sex industry, the individual may seek out opportunities for equal material gain based on the expectancy that similar action on her part could achieve similar results. This form of introduction would be considered voluntary, but is likely still at least partially uninformed.

A respondent recounted the initial inciting incident and introduction leading to her participation in sex work: **“My aunt has a foreign husband and lives in England. After my husband and I broke up, I decided to go to work at Nana.”**

A subset of this category includes those that entered based on their own research or discovery of options, largely based on connections through social media or other means. Of these respondents indicating entering the industry fully on their own terms, a number of them indicated that this occurred following a broken relationship or situation of infidelity and was done specifically in an attempt to *brachote cheewit* or ‘spite life’.

One respondent recounted that her journey to become a bartender in Pattaya was a purely voluntary and relative informed one: **“Nobody told me about it; I just wanted to [spite] my boyfriend for cheating on me.”**



The vast majority of respondents fall in the middle of the spectrum, experiencing some form of financial pressure from family or loved ones, direct invitation by friends or other indirect exposure to income possibilities, and stories often include elements of each. In summary, however, each of these categories show the strong influence of friends, family and acquaintances in either pressuring, directly introducing or indirectly exposing individuals to the attractive material gain offered by the sex industry. The danger of this is when the introduction is made or exposure is gained without adequate information regarding the true requirements of employment in the industry or an accurate understanding of the risks associated.

#### *4.3.2 Life Circumstances and Inciting Incidents*

Many of the survey questions led to discovery of unique life circumstances or ‘inciting life incidents’ that appeared common in discussions of factors leading to participation in the sex industry. Many times, these circumstances appeared to pave the way to participation in the industry, facilitated by introduction or exposure as discussed in the previous section. Circumstances or incidents appeared to fall overwhelmingly in the categories of either economic or relational, though many consisted of a combination of the two. Though these elements are not comprehensive in predicting factors leading to sex industry participation, they provide some unique insights into common characteristics held by those that enter.

Several initial insights can be drawn from survey responses regarding changes in employment, particularly on the part of the SIP population. Survey respondents were asked to identify their place of previous employment and reason for leaving said employment, summarized in

Table 4.5. The majority (58 percent) of SIP respondents cited ‘insufficient money’ as the major factor contributing to the change, implying that the wages at previous places of employment<sup>6</sup> were not sufficient to meet their real or felt economic needs. However, 26 percent of those respondents went on to describe some form of economic incident that caused financial needs to exceed the earning potential at their previous place of employment.

**Table 4.5: Reasons for Leaving Prior Place of Employment (Among SIPs)**

(n=50)	#	%
Insufficient wage/salary (general)	16	32%
Change in family financial needs	7	14%
Pregnant and/or single parenting needs	3	6%
Debt issues	3	6%
<b>Total money-related</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>58%</b>
Broken relationship	10	20%
Company issue	8	16%
Tired, physical labor	5	10%
Bored, wanted change	3	6%

Incidents included family economic needs (often related to death or illness of a family financial provider); pregnancy, single parenting or other financial obligations resulting from broken relationships; and personal or family debt issues. Other less-cited incidents included company issues (ended contracts, failed business or internal conflict) or a physical inability to continue hard labor as required by the prior employer.

<sup>6</sup> SIP respondents listed prior employment in factory work (22 percent), some form of sales (14 percent), farming/agriculture (14 percent), beauty salon (10 percent) or other company or hotel (combined 10 percent). Other prior employment listed included daily-wage worker, house helper, mother and housewife, entrepreneur and jewelry business manager.

### **My Family Needs Money; What Choice Do I Have?**

A 31-year-old single mom working as a freelance worker in Pattaya with a ninth grade education is the sole financial provider for her family, including responsibility to provide for her grandparents, parents and child.

Similarly, a 21-year-old single mom from Buriram working in the Soi Cowboy area is the sole financial provider for her mother and brother after her stepdad passed away. **“I had no choice – I have to take care of my family.** But when my daughter grows up, I won’t work here anymore. I don’t want my daughter to know I work here.”

A 34-year-old from Sakon Nakhon, mother of two and separated from her husband, completed only a 4<sup>th</sup> grade equivalent dreams of studying computers and accounting, owning her own business and helping to develop her hometown. Her biggest barrier to pursuing this dream was **“I have to provide for my family.”** She is the youngest of three girls and is the sole financial provider for her mother and family back in her home province.

Beyond insufficient income, the most commonly cited reason for leaving prior employment for work in an entertainment establishment was a broken relationship, with 20 percent of SIPs specifically citing this as the main reason for the change. This supplements research conducted in the 1990s showing that the majority of brothel workers had been previously married, and many of these women entered the industry following the failure of their marriage (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1998). For many, the broken relationship led to a financial crisis of single parenting or otherwise providing for immediate or extended family members in light of the broken relationship. For others, it led to an emotional crisis sought to be remedied by a major lifestyle change.

### **Broken Family, Broken Relationship... Why Not Find a Foreigner?**

A 29-year-old from Udon province working in Pattaya was the youngest of 12 children and a single mother of two. Coming from a broken family herself, she is the head of her household and cited her reason for entering bar work as: **“Our family has no leader and is poor. I wanted to find a foreigner to care of my family.”** When asked to elaborate why she sought a relationship with a foreigner over a Thai husband, she answered, **“Foreigners are better - they work better and take care of us well. Thai men don't work, drink and have a lot of women.”**

Similarly, a 27-year-old from Chayaphum also from a broken family, separated from her husband and working in Pattaya, cited as her reason for entering bar work: **“I had no father. I have to take care of myself and my mom. I want to find a foreign husband.”**

### **Spite Life**

A 35-year-old from Khon Kaen province had worked at a sewing factory making 9,000 baht per month (including overtime) before seeking a bartending job in Pattaya upon separation with her husband. Though she was fully aware that she may earn less money at the bar (averaging 5000 baht per month) she confessed to changing employment to *“brachote cheewit”* which roughly translates to ‘spite life’.

A 36-year-old from Korat province working in Bangkok’s Nana district shares financial responsibility for her family with her father and her ex-husband. When asked the main reasons for deciding to work in her current place of employment, she stated: **“I broke up with my [husband]. I wanted to try something fun so that I could forget. It’s a good salary that can compete with factory work and a good opportunity to find a new, good husband.”**

For many it is a messy, complex combination of socio-economics and life circumstances that appear to pave the way to few alternative options and increase the probability of participation in the sex industry. In an overly simplified form, it seems to take the form of some combination of three elements: economic pressure to provide for immediate and/or extended family; past or current relational brokenness; and socio-economic circumstances

of poverty, low education and decreased motivation (often revealing itself in the form of boredom).

The following three stories taken together paint a picture of the stories commonly heard by those working in the field – women with inadequate education from undeveloped communities citing “no options” in their hometowns; severely limited economic or employment options for single mothers with familial financial responsibilities and no social safety net; and women with a history of severe brokenness (i.e. victims of domestic violence or sexual abuse).

#### **What Else Would I Do?**

A 21-year-old working in Patpong was the only daughter and youngest of three children. She comes from a rice-farming family in Udon, where her father is the head decision maker of the family but her mother is the primary financial provider. She completed only six years of formal education and is now separated from her husband, though she has no children. Prior to migrating to Patpong she had helped on the farm at home. When asked the reason she made the move, she stated, **“There was no [other] work to do. I didn’t study, and everyone at home is poor.**

#### **Single Mom with Low Education... Single Option?**

A 34-year-old from Sakon Nakhon working in Patpong is the youngest of three daughters and a single mom with two daughters of her own. She is the sole financial provider of her immediate and extended family, with only four years of formal education. **“I can make money fast, comparable to people that studied higher, and I still have the chance to visit home.”**

A 31-year-old from Surin working in Soi Cowboy, single mother of three with only six years of formal education, dreams of opening a small shop in her hometown. She identified the biggest barrier to her pursuing her dream as, **“My family had no money so I couldn’t study. I don’t have enough knowledge to start my own business.”**

### **Extreme Brokenness**

A 23-year-old mother of three from Surin whose husband is in jail has worked in the sex industry off and on between childbirths from the age of 14.

**“When I was eleven, my neighbor raped me. I didn’t want to study anymore after that. It was like my soul wasn’t with my body anymore.** I felt embarrassed; everyone looked at me at school. When I was 12, I quit school and went to [work in Bangkok]... My aunt let me stay with her and I could make 2000 baht per month as a housekeeper. After a while, I ran away and went back home, but I couldn’t stay there. I knew another aunt that worked with her daughter at a restaurant in Bangkok. She said I could work with them and make 3000 baht per month at the restaurant. I went when I was 14. **When I got there, I was shocked (*dtok jai*) that it wasn’t just a restaurant. For a while I just served and helped wash dishes, and I would run and hide whenever the police came.**

I started going with customers when I was 15. I felt scared all the time. The picture of what happened before and at school would come back all the time. But I told myself: don’t worry, you have to be patient. You need the money. I didn’t like the work, but I thought it didn’t matter because I was already *tuk* (abused).”

Each of these stories depict elements of a broken economic system (farming providing insufficient income to support an entire family and few other available jobs), education system (completing only four to six years of education) and socio-cultural system (broken relationships and strong pressures placed on individuals to provide economically); the combination of which seems to leave individuals with few options but sex work.

Clearly not all individuals facing the similar Bermuda triangle of life circumstances will enter sex work. However, these case studies do imply that those a) without an economic safety net (i.e. someone to share in family financial obligations or a social structure to help in times of crisis); b) unable to create their own through opportunity for further education and higher income opportunities; and c) have otherwise faced some form of relational brokenness (i.e. abuse, a broken family or have themselves faced a broken relationship) have a high probability of becoming candidates to participate in the sex industry.

In contrast, the following case underscores the fact that individuals without an economic safety net are, in fact, able to withstand such crises if one or two of the other elements of higher education or lack of relational brokenness are present. Though the sudden financial demands associated with her father's death and the transfer of sole responsibility to her caused a form of economic crisis, she was able to withstand the crisis due to the 'safety net' created by her education (and therefore her ability to view the crisis with reason as well as come up with creative and healthy solutions to it) and the relative lack of relational brokenness she experienced due to the strength of her family unit led by a father of strong character and work ethic.

**It Doesn't Have to Be That Way**

A 28-year-old single woman comes from a healthy family unit of small-holder rice farmers in Khon Kaen and is the oldest of three children. Her father was the head of the family and primary financial provider and recently began construction on a new concrete house after saving for many years. He became suddenly ill and passed away within a matter of months.

As the oldest daughter, both financial responsibility and family decision-making falls on her shoulders with the death of her father. She now faces a partially constructed house, untended rice fields, funeral costs reaching 200,000 baht, a teenage sister still in school and health bills not only for her deceased father but also for her sickly, grieving mother and her nephew unable to be supported by her brother addicted to *lao* (rice alcohol).

Though these sudden financial demands outweighed her earnings (and would easily outweigh the earnings of any single, working class salary) she was able to leverage her graduate education and healthy social network to find ways to slowly work on meeting financial and familial obligations through healthy and creative means.

Though sex work was identified as an available "quick fix" to her financial crisis, it was not considered as a reasonable option due to her values, the values of her concerned mother, and her clear goals for the future.

## **CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Summary**

This research sought to identify the factors that distinguished the rural women who have migrated to Bangkok for the purpose of enhancing their economic wellbeing by engaging in the sex industry and those who have stayed in their rural communities and are not engaged in the sex industry. Previous research has not focused in on understanding the relative strength of certain socio-economic characteristics in influencing sex industry participation or non-participation. Through understanding the statistical strength of factors influencing participation or non-participation, insight was given into development of policies and strategies that can most effectively address the problem of migration to sex industry employment.

The research used primary quantitative and qualitative data collected through 100 interviews conducted in the red light districts of Bangkok and Pattaya and in villages in the rural provinces of Buriram, Udon Thani, Sakon Nakhon, Chayaphum and Khon Kaen in Thailand. The data were analyzed using logit regression modeling as well as statistical analysis. The analysis contributed to understanding the demographic and psychographic variables with varied probabilities of influencing participation in the sex industry.

Basic statistical analysis illustrated a number of socio-economic factors differentiating sex industry participants (SIPs) and non-participants (NPs). Statistical differences in marital status (87.3 percent of SIPs were unmarried in contrast to 24.5 percent of NPs) and familial financial responsibility (71 percent of SIPs claimed being the sole financial provider for their family compared to 40 percent of NPs) were two of note. These statistics supported



existing literature related to gender roles and responsibilities among Thai families, but also offer insight into the strength of these pressures with respect to entry into the sex industry.

Regression analysis gave strength to the findings of the statistical analysis and provided some additional insights. The base logit model used included characteristics of age, marital status, number of male and female siblings respectively, birth position, number of children, education, financial responsibility and average monthly wage. The second regression model included a teen mother binary variable which reduced the sample size slightly by excluding non-mothers, but increased the overall fit of the model.

The model results indicated that marital status exhibited a strong influence on probability of sex industry participation, as a change in unmarried to married decreased sex industry participation by about 35 percent. An increase in female siblings by one person decreased probability of participation by 9 percent, significant at the one percent level. A 1000 baht increase in monthly wage led to a marginal .01 percent decline in the probability of sex industry participation, but each additional year of education decreased the probability of participation by 2.5 percent.

The study evaluated a number of qualitative factors motivating participation through analysis of individual perspectives on decisions to participate or not participate in the industry. It became clear that introduction to sex industry work was strongly related to some degree of social or family influence, and could be roughly classified on a spectrum ranging from pure coercion to complete voluntary entry. The majority of sex industry participants interviewed in the red light districts catering to Western customers as targeted in this study fell somewhere in the middle of the spectrum, illustrating the strong influence

of friends, family and acquaintances in either pressuring, directly introducing or indirectly exposing individuals to the attractive material gain offered by the sex industry. This exposes the prevalence of introduction or exposure to sex work without adequate information regarding the social, physical and psychological implications of employment in the industry or an accurate understanding of the risks associated.

Through evaluation of a series of case studies of stories provided by survey respondents, the study shows that individuals entering the sex industry will often cite “Bermuda triangle” type life circumstances, revealing elements of a broken economic system (limited available employment options and no economic safety net), inadequate education (further limiting job opportunities and decreasing autonomous decision making ability) and difficult socio-cultural circumstances facing women in Thailand (including high rates of relational separation or abuse and strong familial economic pressure). It reveals the interconnected nature of the three elements of economic, education and societal challenges, and reveals that addressing a single leg may not be effective in solving the underlying issue.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

The strength of marital status as an indicator draws attention to the need for efforts to increase focus on family education and development, particularly among at-risk populations. Women appearing most at risk are those expected to be the sole financial provider of the family (particularly those with fewer female siblings or without a parent as financial provider) without adequate education or developed job skills, and without an alternative economic safety net within or outside the family.

The effect of income and education on sex industry employment, particularly among women with children, provides insights and policy direction. An increase in average monthly wage would need to be relatively high in order to create adequate incentive or change in probability (1000 baht, which translates to roughly 10 percent of the average monthly wage of an SIP, results only in a one percent change in probability) therefore simply providing “competitive wages” may not be enough of an incentive to decrease likelihood of participation in the industry. However, investment in education appears to show strong influence in decreasing participation, as an increase by one year of education decreases the likelihood by 2.5 percent. This would imply that proper investments in education of women would help reduce the likelihood of their participation in the industry.

The results also showed the strength of influence of family and friends in employment decisions made by individuals. Whether through familial or social pressure, the two groups appear to have strong influence in introducing and/or ‘encouraging’ certain types of employment decisions. This leads the author to believe that strategies should be focused on influencing and educating not only the individuals at risk of participation in the industry, but those with an influence in their lives, especially including parents and peer groups.

Lastly, the results showed that participation in the industry appeared to be influenced by complex combinations of life circumstances including but not limited to the following elements:

- a) a change in financial need and corresponding lack of economic safety net (i.e. a family member became ill, a father or other breadwinner passed away, or a change in marital status or number of dependents);

- b) a change in felt need (possibly a financial/material need driven by exposure to higher standard of living enjoyed by neighbors or other more developed areas);
- c) limited alternative employment based on the socio-economic structure of the hometown, the education level of the individual, and her relationship status (i.e. single motherhood); or
- d) some combination of the above.

The first may be addressed by further discussion of development of an economic safety net for working class individuals or those living below the poverty line. When faced with adverse life circumstances, these individuals are left with few options and will often resort to unhealthy life decisions driven by desperation such as withdrawal of high interest loans or prostitution. A social safety net provided either through government or non-government means may help provide some immediate relief while longer-term systemic issues are addressed.

The second may be addressed through further discussion and adoption of Sufficiency Economy thinking as espoused and made famous by Thailand's beloved King Bhumibol Adulyadej. The Sufficiency Economy is promoted within Thailand as a practical philosophy to achieve the goals of human development. Carefully distinguished from "self-sufficiency", it promotes moderation, wisdom or insight, and the need for built-in resilience against the risks that arise from internal or external change. The focus shifts from wealth to well-being, and brings sustainability to the core of thinking as well as understanding the need to build capabilities and develop potential (UNDP, 2007).

Sufficiency Economy thinking was developed largely in response to recognized constraints to success in development efforts in rural Thailand, having specifically identified growing inequality and breakdown in family and community as two of them. To date, however, implementation and adoption of the philosophy has been meager in the rural regions to which it has been targeted. It appears that the current social and economic development strategies in Thailand's rural areas are proving insufficient in aiding individuals and families to satisfy their felt needs either through increasing contentment (ie through Sufficiency Economy thinking) or through increasing local means of economic generation.

The third issue appears even more dynamic and complex than those previous. It includes a myriad of constraints to healthy economic generation or decision making to address real or felt needs generated in the above two areas. Lack of employment options, inadequate education levels (or lack of quality education in general) and history of abuse, neglect or other family or relationship brokenness are only a few of the possibilities. This reveals the need for policy making and strategy development to take into consideration these economic constraints in tandem and not expect one to solve the issue independently. For example, an educated woman with average-wage employment options may be unable or unwilling to make a healthy employment decision based on an incident or history of relational brokenness: a cheating husband, a history of sexual abuse. Likewise, a woman with a healthy family unit that worked hard to ensure she got a good education may be offered limited employment opportunities in her hometown, necessitating often risky migration to urban centers; a challenge not necessarily unique to Thailand, but posing a rural and social development policy conundrum to individuals all around the world.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Most social programs related to decreasing sex industry participation are based on assumptions that women enter the industry due to poverty, lack of marketable skills or because they are coerced or tricked in some way into entering (Boonchalaksi & Guest, 1994). This study reveals insights indicating that these assumptions do not tell the entire story.

The study shows that families, and men in particular, play a key role in determining likelihood of entry into the industry. It illustrates the relative strength of marriage in decreasing probability of participation, leading to the recommendation that focus be given to development of family units and male figures in particular – a demographic largely ignored in studies on the subject.

The study also supports the notion that increasing educational opportunities for women will decrease their probability of participation. Increased education is expected to increase their economic situation by improving the ability to secure ‘better’ employment and decrease levels of desperation risk. This does not detract from the need for additional skill training, job creation and otherwise increasing income-earning opportunities for women, particularly single mothers. However, the study shows that if these activities are not accompanied by development of stronger family units including a focus on the role of males in families and society, they may not be effective in curbing sex industry participation over the long term.

In addition, due to the strength of influence of family and friends on sex industry participation, education strategies should be developed to better inform both youth and parents (particularly those in at-risk communities exposed to the ‘perceived positive’

effects of migration for sex industry employment) of the true costs of this form of migration. The ability of family and friends to influence behavior can be viewed as a positive opportunity to quickly facilitate changes in attitudes and behaviors in rural communities as, once a proven positive change is adopted by one, it is likely to quickly spread to others.

### **5.3 Limitations of Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

The study included a number of limitations, including the amount of primary data able to be collected in the available timeframe. The sample size ended up being quite small with only 100 total participants and those being split between two very different populations.

The model was also limited by a finite number of explanatory variables that cannot fully explain the variation in difference between sex industry participants and non-participants. Though the possibility of other variables is nearly endless, a number of other variables were uncovered throughout the course of the study that would be of particular interest to evaluate. For example, education and marital status of parents may have improved the study's ability to more completely explain the impact of parental influence on individual's employment decisions. Likewise, in further explaining factors related to relational brokenness or self-esteem issues, a variable including a history of being a victim of sexual abuse or domestic violence may have proven to be an insightful variable in the model.

In addition to adding explanatory variables that may strengthen the model or provide additional insight, a potential continuation of this study could be conducted by moving from a binary dependent variable model to a multinomial model. Additional insight may be drawn by breaking out the classification of SIPs into those that are in the industry by

choice (i.e. those that would not leave even if given the choice) and those not by choice (i.e. those that would leave if given an alternative) and determining the relative influence of those same socio-economic factors on the three or more classifications of individuals.

The study also brought forward the following questions that, if answered, may help to decrease the probability of life circumstances leading rural women to seek employment in the sex industry:

1. What are the 'true' costs and benefits to individuals, families and communities of migration to sex industry employment over the short and long term? Would education related to true net economic impact to individuals and society reduce the occurrence of migration for sex industry employment or pressure by families and society to migrate for such purposes?
2. What types of jobs can be created for single mothers facing family pressure to provide for more than immediate dependents? In addition to job creation, what sort of economic safety net would be required to prevent adverse life circumstances such as a family health issue from leading working class individuals to make drastic and often unhealthy economic decisions such as withdrawal of high interest loans or the alternative of sex work?
3. What are the barriers to adoption of the Sufficiency Economy approach advocated by the King? Can this model be effective in curbing increased appetites for material goods resulting from exposure/comparison to the relative wealth of others, or help individuals satisfy those appetites through more legitimate means?
4. What gaps remain in investment in rural community development in Isaan with respect to a) economic generation and b) stronger education systems?



5. If self-esteem or loosely defined 'relational brokenness' issues appear to increase probability of participation, how can these issues be classified and better understood with respect to their root causes and potential areas of intervention?
6. How does the current legal structure impact future possibilities of social change, particularly with respect to those falling in the category of participation by choice?
7. What are the forces driving demand for sex industry services? How would changes in those demand forces impact the dynamic system of factors contributing to sex industry participation?

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## APPENDIX 1: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

### FROM RICE FIELDS TO RED LIGHT DISTRICTS: AN ECONOMIC EXAMINATION OF FACTORS MOTIVATING RURAL MIGRATION IN THAILAND

จากนาข้าวสู่สถานบริการ(ย่านบริการ) : การวิเคราะห์ปัจจัยทางเศรษฐกิจที่กระตุ้นการจ้างงานในการขายบริการในประเทศไทย

The purpose of this research is to develop a better understanding of the socio-economic factors that influence rural women to seek employment in the entertainment districts of Bangkok and Pattaya rather than in their home provinces. The results should help both government and non-governmental organizations in the formulation of policies that could contribute to creating competitive alternatives for employment in the countryside vis-à-vis what are perceived to be economically lucrative options in the red light districts.

วัตถุประสงค์ของการวิจัยนี้เพื่อพัฒนาความเข้าใจต่อปัจจัยทางเศรษฐกิจที่มีอิทธิพลต่อการตัดสินใจทำงานของสตรีชนบทที่มาแสวงหางานขายบริการ ในกรุงเทพฯ และพัทยา มากกว่าที่จะทำที่บ้านเกิดของคนเหล่านี้ ผลที่ได้การวิจัยนี้จะช่วยทั้งรัฐบาลและองค์กรที่ไม่แสวงหาผลกำไร (NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS)

ในการกำหนดนโยบายที่สามารถช่วยในการสร้างทางเลือกที่หลากหลายในการแข่งขันสำหรับการจ้างงานในต่างจังหวัดที่ซึ่งเกี่ยวข้องกับความเข้าใจว่าเป็นทางเลือกต่างๆ ในการสร้างรายได้ทางเศรษฐกิจในเขตพื้นที่ขายบริการ

We invite you to participate in this research to help us identify the socio-economic factors that motivate employment in the city and determine factors that would create competitive alternatives in other provinces. You are under no obligation to participate in this research, and no harm will come to you nor will you experience any loss of service if you choose not to participate. The information you provide is anonymous and will be treated with utmost care. We shall also keep all the information you provide confidential and shall not use it any way that reveals your identity.

พวกเราขอความร่วมมือท่านในการตอบแบบสอบถามการวิจัยนี้เพื่อจะช่วยให้พวกเราในการระบุถึงปัจจัยทางเศรษฐกิจที่กระตุ้นการจ้างงานในการขายบริการในตัวเมือง และกำหนดทางเลือกเพื่อจะสร้างทางเลือกที่หลากหลายในการแข่งขันในจังหวัดอื่น ท่านจะไม่มีข้อผูกมัดใดๆ ทั้งสิ้นเมื่อท่านให้ความร่วมมือกับเราในการตอบแบบสอบถาม และจะไม่อันตรายใดๆ เกิดขึ้นกับท่านหรือการสูญเสียสิทธิในการได้รับบริการต่างๆ เมื่อท่านตัดสินใจตอบแบบสอบถามนี้ เราจะไม่ใช่ชื่อหรือนามสกุลจริงของท่าน และข้อมูลที่ได้จากท่านทั้งหมดจะเก็บเป็นความลับสูงสุด และเราจะไม่ใช่ข้อมูลเหล่านี้ในการเปิดเผยท่านไม่ว่าจะด้วยกรณีใดก็ตาม

Please feel free to contact Cori Wittman at Kansas State University by email (cwittman@ksu.edu) or by phone (087 080 0817) or Dr. Vincent Amanor-Boadu at Kansas State University by email (Vincent@ksu.edu) or by phone (+001 785 532 3520) if you have any questions about the survey. In case you need to discuss any aspect of this research with a Kansas State University official, you may contact Dr. Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, Institutional Review Board, or Dr. Jerry Jaax, Associate Provost for Research Compliance by phone at 785-532-3224 or by mail at 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506. Thank you.

ท่านสามารถติดต่อ Cori Wittman ซึ่งกำลังศึกษาอยู่ที่มหาวิทยาลัยแคนซัสสเตต (Kansas State) ทางอีเมลล์ (cwittman@ksu.edu)

หรือทางโทรศัพท์ที่เบอร์ 087-080-0817 หรือ ติดต่อ ดร. วินเซนต์ อมานอร์-โบอาดู (Dr. Vincent Amanor-Boadu) ณ มหาวิทยาลัยแคนซัสสเตต ทางอีเมลล์ (Vincent@ksu.edu) หรือเบอร์โทรศัพท์ (+001-785-532-3520) หากท่านมีคำถามเกี่ยวกับการวิจัยนี้

ในกรณีที่ท่านต้องการจะอภิปรายเกี่ยวกับประเด็นต่างๆ ในการวิจัยนี้ ท่านสามารถติดต่อกับ สำนักงานของ ดร. ริค ชีด (Dr. Rick Scheidt)

ท่านเป็นประธานกรรมการทำวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับหัวข้อมนุษยศาสตร์ (Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, Institutional Review Board)

หรือดร. เจอริ แจ็กซ์ (Dr. Jerry Jaax, Associate Provost for Research Compliance) เบอร์โทรศัพท์ 785-532-3224 หรือที่อยู่ 203 Fairchild Hall,  
Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506. ขอขอบคุณค่ะ

## A. Demographic Information ข้อมูลส่วนตัว

In this section, we will ask you to provide some information about yourself. ในส่วนนี้ เราจะถามคุณเกี่ยวกับข้อมูลส่วนตัวของคุณ

- How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years      คุณอายุเท่าไร? \_\_\_\_\_ ปี
- Please list your home province      กรุงเทพมหานครของคุณ \_\_\_\_\_

2.1. Amphur อำเภอ \_\_\_\_\_

- Please indicate (X) which of the following best describes your current marital status.

โปรดใส่เครื่องหมายกากบาท ลงในช่องที่อธิบายเกี่ยวกับสถานภาพการสมรสปัจจุบันของคุณมากที่สุด

Single โสด	Married แต่งงาน	Co-Habiting อยู่ก่อนแต่ง	Separated แยกกันอยู่	Divorced หย่าร้าง	Widowed เป็นม่าย

- How many siblings do you have and what are their genders? (Including yourself)

ในครอบครัวคุณมีพี่น้องผู้ชายกี่คน พี่น้องผู้หญิงกี่คน (รวมถึงตัวคุณด้วย)

Number จำนวน	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
(M) เพศชาย	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>										
(F) เพศหญิง	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>										

- Please circle your birth position in your family? วงกลมว่าคุณเป็นคนที่เท่าไรของครอบครัว?

คนที่	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+

- How many children do you have and what are their genders? คุณมีลูกชายกี่คน ลูกสาวกี่คน

จำนวน	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
(M) เพศชาย	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>										
(F) เพศหญิง	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>										

- If you have children, what is the age of your oldest child? ลูกคนโตอายุเท่าไร \_\_\_\_\_ years ปี      \_\_\_\_\_ months เดือน

- If you have children, what is the age of your youngest child? ลูกคนเล็กอายุเท่าไร \_\_\_\_\_ years ปี      \_\_\_\_\_ months เดือน

9. Please indicate with whom your children are living in the table below. โปรดระบุว่าลูกของคุณพักอยู่กับใคร ในตารางด้านล่างนี้

With whom they live เด็กพักอยู่กับใคร	Number of Children จำนวนของเด็ก
a. Live with me พักอยู่กับฉัน	
b. With their father who is not living with me เด็กพักอยู่กับพ่อของเขา ซึ่งไม่ได้อยู่กับฉัน	
c. With my parents (or either of them) อยู่กับตาและยาย (หรืออยู่กับตาหรือยาย) ของเขา	
d. With their father's parents (or either of them) อยู่กับปู่ย่า (หรืออยู่กับปู่หรือย่า) ของเขา	
e. With other relatives on my side อยู่กับญาติคนอื่น ๆ ของฉัน	
f. With other relatives on their father's side อยู่กับญาติฝ่ายพ่อ	
g. With non-relatives อยู่กับคนอื่นไม่ใช่คนในครอบครัว	

10. Who is considered the head of your family? ใครเป็นหัวหน้าครอบครัวของคุณ \_\_\_\_\_

11. Who is the primary financial provider for your family? ใครเป็นคนดูแล ส่งเสียทางบ้านของคุณ \_\_\_\_\_

12. How many years of formal education have you received? คุณจบการศึกษาระดับใด? \_\_\_\_\_

## B. Employment History ประวัติการทำงาน

13. Please indicate which describes your current profession and the person that introduced you to this work. (Check all that apply.)

โปรดระบุสิ่งของที่อธิบายเกี่ยวกับอาชีพของคุณในปัจจุบัน เลือกได้มากกว่าหนึ่งข้อ ใครแนะนำให้คุณทำงานนี้

(x)	Profession อาชีพ	Who introduced you to this work? ใครแนะนำให้คุณทำงานนี้					
		Parent พ่อแม่	Grandparent ปู่ย่าตายาย	Sibling พี่น้อง	Other Relative ญาติ	Friend เพื่อน	Other (specify) อื่น ๆ (อย่างเจาะจง)
	a. Construction worker ก่อสร้าง						
	b. Factory worker ทำงานโรงงาน						
	c. Farmer เกษตรกร						
	d. Salesperson ค้าขาย						
	e. Sex worker ขายบริการ						
	f. Student นักศึกษา						
	g. Other อื่น ๆ _____						

13.2. Which of the above do you consider your primary source of income? (Circle in table above.)

วงกลมข้างบนว่าอาชีพไหนที่ทำให้มีแหล่งรายได้มากที่สุดในสิ่งที่คุณทำในตอนนี้ (NOTE: Please refer to circled profession when answering all following questions.)

13.3. What was your expectation in taking this job? คุณคาดหวังอะไรกับงานที่ทำ \_\_\_\_\_

13.4. Has this job met your expectations? (0 = Not at all; 5 = Completely)

คุณได้รับในสิ่งที่คาดหวังแล้วทำไร จากหมายเลข 0-5 (0 = ไม่เลย , 5 = ได้แล้ว) ให้วงกลมที่เป็นจริงมากที่สุด 0 1 2 3 4 5

14. Please fill in the table below with information regarding your current profession. กรุณาเติมข้อมูลลงในช่องว่างสำหรับงานในปัจจุบัน

Age when you started working เริ่มทำงานตอนอายุ	Number of days per week ทำกี่วันต่อสัปดาห์	Number of hours per day ทำกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์	Days off per month หยุดงานกี่วันต่อเดือน	Highest wage (including tips) per month รายได้ที่ได้รับ (รวมทิปด้วย) สูงสุดต่อเดือน	Main responsibility ความรับผิดชอบหลัก

15. What was your job prior to this work? คุณทำงานอะไรมาก่อนที่จะมาทำงานนี้ \_\_\_\_\_

15.2. Why did you stop working at this job? และทำไมถึงเลิกทำงานนี้ \_\_\_\_\_

16. In your current living situation, how much do you spend on these activities in a typical month for you and your dependents?

ในสถานการณ์การเป็นอยู่ในปัจจุบัน แต่ละเดือนคุณใช้จ่ายมากเท่าไรในครอบครัวของคุณ

Rent (Housing) ค่าเช่าบ้าน	Food ค่าอาหาร	Clothing ค่าเสื้อผ้า	Health Care ค่ารักษาพยาบาล	Transportation ค่ายานพาหนะ (รวมน้ำมันรถ)	Entertainment เบ็ดเตล็ด	Savings เงินออม	Other Remittance Home ดูแลทางบ้าน

### C. Perceptions about Current Work Situation ความรู้สึกเกี่ยวกับการทำงานในปัจจุบัน

17. Do you agree with the following statements about your current work situation?

คุณเห็นด้วยมากแค่ไหนกับข้อความต่อไปนี้ที่เกี่ยวกับงานของคุณในปัจจุบัน

Statement ข้อความ (เห็นด้วยหรือไม่ที่)	Agree เห็นด้วย	Disagree ไม่เห็นด้วย	Don't Know ไม่ทราบ
a. I get time off whenever I need it ฉันสามารถหยุดงานได้เมื่อจำเป็น			
b. My work allows me to be close to my family and care for my children งานของฉันทำให้มีโอกาสดูแลดูกับครอบครัวและดูแลลูกได้			
c. I get adequate income to support myself and my family ฉันมีรายได้เพียงพอที่จะดูแลตัวเองและครอบครัว			
d. This job provides me with economic freedom to buy nice things I want for myself and my family งานนี้ทำให้ฉันมีอิสระในเรื่องเศรษฐกิจ และสามารถซื้อของดี ๆ เมื่อนั้นต้องการสำหรับตัวเองและครอบครัว			
e. My family supports me doing this work ครอบครัวสนับสนุนให้ฉันทำงานนี้			
f. I am very happy doing what I currently do in this work ตอนนี้ฉันรู้สึกมีความสุขมากที่ได้ทำงานนี้			



Statement ข้อความ ( เห็นด้วยหรือไม่ที่ )	Agree เห็นด้วย	Disagree ไม่เห็นด้วย	Don't Know ไม่ทราบ
g. This job gives me opportunities to use and develop my unique talents and skills งานนี้ทำให้ฉันมีโอกาสที่จะใช้ความสามารถ เอกลักษณ์เฉพาะตัว ทักษะ และการพัฒนาตัวเองได้			
h. This job has a heavy tax on my physical health งานนี้หนักมากต่อร่างกายของฉัน			
i. This job has a heavy tax on mental/emotional health งานนี้หนักมากต่อสภาพจิตใจของฉัน			
j. I believe that more education would help me find better work ฉันเชื่อว่า การศึกษาต่อจะช่วยฉันหางานได้ดีกว่านี้			
k. I like the lifestyle this job allows me to have ฉันสามารถทำในสิ่งที่อยากทำเมื่อฉันทำงานนี้			
l. This job is much riskier than others I could do งานนี้เสี่ยงมากกว่างานอื่นๆ ที่ฉันสามารถทำได้			
m. I think the pay from this job is worth the risks ฉันคิดว่าค่าจ้างจากงานนี้ คู่กับที่ฉันควรจะได้รับ			
n. This job provides a relatively higher income than I can get from other jobs งานนี้ทำให้ฉันมีรายได้สูงกว่างานอื่น ๆ ที่ฉันสามารถทำได้			
o. If I could quit this job, I would do so immediately หากฉันสามารถเลิกทำงานนี้ได้ ฉันจะเลิก			
p. If I quit this job, I or my family might suffer hardship ถ้าฉันเลิกทำงานนี้ ตัวฉันเองและครอบครัวอาจจะลำบากทางร่างกาย			
q. If I quit this job, I would be able to find another job ถ้าฉันหยุดงานนี้ ฉันสามารถหางานอื่นได้			
r. I don't think I can make as much money in any other job ฉันไม่คิดว่า ฉันจะสามารถหาเงินได้มากเท่ากับงานนี้			
s. I would recommend this work to a friend ฉันจะแนะนำเพื่อนทำงานแบบนี้			
t. I would be supportive of my children doing this work ฉันจะสนับสนุนลูก ๆ ของฉันทำงานนี้			
u. I would be supportive of others in my family doing this work ฉันจะสนับสนุนคนอื่นๆ ในครอบครัวของฉันให้ทำงานนี้			

18. To what extent are the following factors important to you? ปัจจัยอะไรบ้างที่มีส่วนสำคัญต่อคุณในการทำงาน

- 1 = Very unimportant      ไม่มีมีความสำคัญแม้แต่น้อย  
2 = Unimportant            ไม่สำคัญ  
3 = Not applicable        ไม่เป็นประโยชน์  
4 = Important                สำคัญ  
5 = Very important        สำคัญมาก

Factors ปัจจัยต่างๆ (สำคัญเท่าไร)	1	2	3	4	5
a. Time off whenever I need it หยุดตอนไหนก็ได้ที่ฉันจำเป็น					
b. Close proximity to family and ability to care for my children มีโอกาสได้อยู่ใกล้ ๆ กับครอบครัว					
c. Adequate income to support myself and my family มีรายได้เพียงพอที่จะดูแลครอบครัว					
d. Economic freedom to buy nice things for myself and my family					

Factors บ้างอะไรบ้าง (สำคัญเท่าไร)	1	2	3	4	5
มีอิสระทางการเงินในการซื้อของสวยๆให้ตัวเองและครอบครัว					
e. Living out my personal beliefs and values อยู่ห่างจากความเชื่อและค่านิยมส่วนตัว					
f. Maintaining the support of my family in my work ยังคงได้รับการสนับสนุนจากครอบครัว					
g. Being happy at my work มีความสุขกับงานที่ทำ					
h. Having opportunities to use and develop my unique talents and skills มีโอกาสที่จะใช้ทักษะและความสามารถที่มีพัฒนาตัวเอง					
i. Maintaining physical health มีสุขภาพที่ดี					
j. Maintaining mental/emotional health มีสภาพจิตใจที่ดี					

19. If you could get your dream job, what would it be? หากคุณสามารถฝันถึงงานที่อยากจะทำ งานนั้นจะมีลักษณะเป็นอย่างไร

\_\_\_\_\_

19.2. Where would it be located? สถานที่ทำงานนั้นจะอยู่ที่ไหน?

a. Home Province บ้านเกิด       b. Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ       c. Other อื่นๆ \_\_\_\_\_

19.3. What is the biggest barrier keeping you from getting this job? อะไรเป็นอุปสรรคในการที่จะทำงานนี้

\_\_\_\_\_

20. What are the top five most important things that you look for in a job? อะไรเป็นสิ่งที่สำคัญที่สุดสำหรับคุณ 5 อย่างในการตัดสินใจทำงานนี้

20.2. \_\_\_\_\_

20.3. \_\_\_\_\_

20.4. \_\_\_\_\_

20.5. \_\_\_\_\_

20.6. \_\_\_\_\_

21. BONUS: Who (dead or alive) do you consider your greatest role model?

เพิ่มเติม: คุณคิดว่าใครเป็นแบบอย่างในชีวิตคุณ ได้ดีที่สุด(มีชีวิตอยู่หรือว่าเสียชีวิตแล้วก็ได้)

a. Family member สมาชิกในครอบครัว \_\_\_\_\_

b. Teacher ครู \_\_\_\_\_

c. Friend เพื่อน \_\_\_\_\_

d. Public or government official ทำงานเป็นข้าราชการ \_\_\_\_\_

e. Religious leader ผู้นำศาสนา \_\_\_\_\_

f. Famous person คนมีชื่อเสียง \_\_\_\_\_

g. Other อื่น ๆ

Thank you!! ขอขอบคุณค่ะ!!