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The World's Oldest Profession? Employment-Age Profiles from the Transactional Sex Market

Nicholas Wilson*

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Abstract: Standard labor market models predict that the likelihood of employment increases, hours worked increase, and individuals transition from less-skilled and temporary jobs to more skilled and more stable employment as they age. I examine the association between age and transactional sex work using national household surveys from Zambia, one of the few settings with general population surveys asking women about transactional sex and a relatively high documented prevalence of employment in transactional sex. My results indicate that the likelihood of employment in transactional sex sharply falls with age. Increased employment opportunities outside of transactional sex do not appear to explain the transactional sex employment-age profile and marital status appears to explain only a portion of it. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that clients prefer younger females and suggest that interventions designed to reduce client demand younger females may be particularly effective at reducing transactional sex.

Keywords: age; employment; labor supply; transactional sex; Zambia
JEL codes: J10; J40; O10; R23

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"Lalun is a member of the most ancient profession in the world."[1]
– Rudyard Kipling (On the City Wall, 1888)

1. Introduction

Standard economic models of labor market outcomes predict that as individuals age the likelihood of employment increases, hours worked increase, and individuals transition from less-skilled and temporary jobs to more skilled and more stable employment (e.g., Blinder and Weiss 1976, MaCurdy 1981, Weiss 1986, Rupert and Zanella 2015, Gervais et al 2016). Research on labor market outcomes in the transactional sex market has examined labor supply on the intensive margin (e.g., Robinson and Yeh 2011, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Robinson and Yeh 2012, Cunningham and Kendall 2017) and earnings (e.g., Rao et al 2003, Gertler et al 2005, Arunachalam and Shah 2012, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Arunachalam and Shah 2013, Cunningham and Kendall 2017), yet there is little evidence on the relationship between age and employment in transactional sex. This paper provides unique evidence from national household surveys on employment-age profiles in the transactional sex market.

A major barrier to measuring determinants of employment in transactional sex is the dearth of data on female participation in transactional sex from general population surveys. The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), collected in over 90 low-and middle-income countries and often used in economic analyses of risky sexual behavior including participation in the transactional sex market (e.g., see De Walque 2008, Fortson 2009, Friedman 2016, Lucas and Wilson 2017), typically only ask males about participation in the transactional sex market. Few general population surveys from middle-and high-income countries appear to ask women about participation in transactional sex markets. Where general population surveys do exist (e.g., see Dunkle et al. 2010), they generally are single cross-sections, without information across time on labor supply in transactional sex markets and often include behaviors such as exchanging sex for gifts or

[1] The phrase "oldest profession in the world" (or "world's oldest profession") is used commonly (e.g., see Bilefsky 2008) and typically is attributed to Kipling.

favors.[2,3] Data from multiple points in time on labor supply in transactional sex markets are required to determine whether differences in labor supply across age groups are due to cohort differences or life cycle changes in labor supply.

To address these barriers, I use data from the Zambia Sexual Behavior Surveys (ZSBS), national household surveys that include information from female respondents on whether they exchanged sex for money in the past twelve months. In total, I use data for over 8,000 females age 15-49 from four rounds of the ZSBS. I conduct semi-parametric and parametric regression analyses to calculate employment-age profiles for transactional sex work.

My results suggest that younger females are more likely to engage in transactional sex work than are older females. For example, my point estimates suggest that women age 35-39 (age 40-49) are between 1 and 2 (2 and 4) percentage points less likely to engage in transactional sex in the twelve months leading up to the survey date than are females age 15-19. In relative terms, these are large differences, around 50 to 100% reductions relative to the mean likelihood of engaging in transactional sex.

I analyze possible mechanisms underlying the transactional sex employment-age profile, finding that two leading hypotheses appear to not fully explain this pattern. First, controlling for employment outside of transactional sex does not eliminate the negative and statistically significant association between age and transactional sex work, suggesting that employment outside of transactional sex increasing with age is not the mechanism underlying my main result. Second, controlling for being married somewhat attenuates the association between age and transactional sex work, although the general relationship remains. These results suggest that life-cycle changes in marital opportunities may be part of the

[2] The DHS for Guinea (1999), Niger (1999), and Madagascar (2003) ask females about exchanging sex for money. Two rounds of the Kenya DHS – 1998 and 2003 – ask females about exchanging sex for "money, gifts, or favours". In contrast, the surveys I use in the current analysis, the Zambia Sexual Behavior Surveys (ZSBS), ask respondents, "in the past 12 months, have you paid for sex or been paid to have sex?".

[3] The 1991-2016 survey rounds of the General Social Survey (GSS) asks respondents, "Thinking about the time since your 18th birthday, have you ever had sex with a person you paid or who paid you for sex?" Fewer than 1% of females answer yes to this question.

explanation for my main result and are consistent with a third hypothesis – that client preference for younger females drives a substantial part of the observed (unconditional) transactional sex employment-age profile.

My results are robust to controlling for district fixed effects, survey year fixed effects, and individual-level covariates. Robustness of my results to survey year fixed effects suggests that the observed employment-age profiles reflect systematic life-cycle variation and not differences in birth cohorts.

By providing large-scale evidence on labor market outcomes for a major sector of economic activity in many countries (Shah 2014) – transactional sex work – I contribute to the literature on labor markets and age (e.g., Mincer 1974, Blinder and Weiss 1976, Lazear 1981, MaCurdy 1981, Weiss 1986, Murphy and Welch 1990, Rupert and Zanella 2015, Gervais et al 2016).[4] Existing economic analyses of transactional sex markets primarily use data from surveys of transactional sex workers (e.g., Rao et al 2003, Gertler et al 2005, Cunningham and Kendall 2011a, Robinson and Yeh 2011, Arunachalam and Shah 2012, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Robinson and Yeh 2012, Arunachalam and Shah 2013, Logan and Shah 2013, Cunningham and Kendall 2017) or use indirect measures such as population STI incidence (e.g., Cunningham and Shah 2015), precluding analysis of how employment in transactional sex varies with age. I overcome this barrier by using general population surveys to provide the first economic analysis of transactional sex employment-age profiles.[5] In studying labor supply in the market for transactional sex, this paper complements the large body of economic literature on demand for transactional sex (e.g., Gertler et al 2005, Della Giusta et al 2009a, Cunningham and Kendall 2011b, Arunachalam and Shah 2012).

The rest of the analysis is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a conceptual framework for examining employment-age profiles and outlines existing evidence on age and labor market outcomes and on age and transactional sex markets. Section 3 describes the data and statistical methods. Section 4 presents the results. Section 5 discusses these results and concludes.

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[4] Part of this literature studies earnings-age (and earnings-experience) profiles (e.g., Mincer 1974, Lazear 1981, Murphy and Welch 1990). The ZSBS do not include data on earnings, so I am not able to provide evidence on transactional sex earnings-age profiles.

[5] Arunachalam and Shah (2008) pool two different datasets: (i) surveys of transactional sex workers, asking about transactional sex work and, (ii) surveys of all women, asking about employment outside of transactional sex work.

2. Conceptual Framework and Existing Evidence

Standard economic models of labor market outcomes predict that the likelihood of employment increases, hours worked increase[6], and individuals transition from less-skilled and temporary jobs to more skilled and more stable employment as they age (e.g., Blinder and Weiss 1976, MaCurdy 1981, Weiss 1986, Rupert and Zanella 2015, Gervais et al 2016). One main mechanism underlying these predictions is that individuals acquire more skills as they age, increasing their productivity and employability.

Economic models of transactional sex work have not explored employment-age profiles for transactional sex work. These models have focused on labor supply on the intensive margin (e.g., Robinson and Yeh 2011, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Robinson and Yeh 2012) and on earnings (e.g., Edlund and Korn 2002, Rao et al 2003, Gertler et al 2005, Arunachalam and Shah 2012, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Arunachalam and Shah 2013). These studies find that transactional sex workers engage in riskier sex with clients in response to economic shocks (Robinson and Yeh 2011, Dupas and Robinson 2012, Robinson and Yeh 2012) and are compensated for engaging in riskier sex (Rao et al 2003, Gertler et al 2005, Arunachalam and Shah 2013). At least one study (Edlund and Korn 2002) argues that transactional sex workers are compensated for forgone marriage market opportunities. Other studies (Della Giusta et al 2009a, Della Giusta 2009b, Immordino and Russo 2015) emphasize that transactional sex makes employment outside of transactional sex more difficult because of stigma costs.

Connecting these two sets of theories yields three insights about relationship between transactional sex employment and age. First, if the return to skill is greater (lower) outside of transactional sex work than in transactional sex work[7], then transactional sex employment may decrease (increase) with age. Second, if marriage or employment outside of transactional sex raises the cost of engaging in transactional sex, then transactional sex employment may decrease with age. Third, client preferences for sex worker age may affect transactional sex employment outcomes.

[6] At higher ages, hours worked begin to decrease with age (Weiss 1986, Rupert and Zanella 2015).
[7] Edlund and Korn (2002) note that transactional sex work is relatively low-skilled compared to other employment.

There is limited empirical evidence on these predictions. Arunachalam and Shah (2008) pooled data from surveys of transactional sex workers asking about transactional sex work and data from surveys of all women asking about employment outside of transactional sex work. They found that earnings decline with age, both among transactional sex workers and among women employed outside of transactional sex. Wilson (2012) provided a simple analysis of group means by age without including any controls. In a study of 248 transactional sex workers in The Gambia, Pickering et al (1992) found that younger transactional sex workers (e.g., under age 25) charged higher prices on average than did older transactional sex workers, yet was not able to examine how the likelihood of employment in transactional sex work varied with age. In a study of 70 clients of transactional sex workers in Glasgow, Scotland, McKeganey (1994) found evidence of a stated preference for younger females (e.g., age 16-25).

3. Data and Methods

3.1 Data

Data for this analysis come from the Zambia Sexual Behavior Surveys (ZSBS). These are repeated, cross-sectional national household surveys. I use the 2000, 2003, 2005, and 2009 survey rounds, the rounds that include information on female participation in the transactional sex market. All of these rounds survey females age 15-49 and yield a combined total of 8,359 females age 15-49.

I construct two main measures of labor market outcomes. First, I construct a measure of employment in transactional sex that is equal to one if the respondent reported engaging in transactional sex in the twelve months leading up to the survey date and zero otherwise. All four rounds of the ZSBS ask respondents "in the last 12 months have you paid for sex or been paid to have sex?" and I interpret female respondents who answer "yes" to this question as reporting having been paid to have sex.[8] Second,

[8] Gersovitz et al (1998) demonstrates that females in knowledge and behavior surveys (e.g, the DHS or the ZSBS) under-report risky sexual behavior and/or males over-report risky sexual behavior. If the probability of under-reporting risky sexual behavior (e.g., employment in transactional sex) is not correlated with respondent age, then under-reporting should bias me against finding a large and statistically significant association between age and transactional sex employment.

I construct a measure of employment outside of transactional sex that is equal to one if the respondent was employed outside of transactional sex and zero otherwise. All four rounds of the ZSBS ask respondents "what kind of work do you mainly do?" and I use this question to construct the measure of employment outside of transactional sex.[9] The household surveys include individual-level information on marital status and educational attainment and I use these as control variables.

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for female respondents age 15-49 in the pooled 2000-2009 ZSBS. The average age is almost thirty years old, approximately two-thirds of the respondents are married, slightly more than one-half have completed primary school, 3% have exchanged sex for money in the twelve months leading up to the survey date, and approximately two-thirds are employed outside of transactional sex. The prevalence of exchanging sex for money is consistent with evidence from elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa as collected in national general population surveys and in sub-national studies (Vandepitte et al. 2006, Konstant et al. 2015).

3.2 Methods

My main methodology is regression analysis. First, I use weighted local polynomial smoothing and the Epachenikov kernel to estimate semi-parametric employment-age profiles. In parallel, I use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to estimate the parameters of the following equation:

$$employed_{idt} = \alpha + \beta_1 age_{idt} + X'_{idt}\Pi + \gamma_d + \delta_m + \mu_t + \varepsilon_{idt} \qquad (1)$$

where $employed_{idt}$ is an indicator variable for employment in transactional sex, age_{idt} is the respondent's age in years, X'_{idt} is a vector of covariates (including indicator variables for primary school completion and for secondary school completion), γ_d are district fixed effects[10], δ_m are survey month fixed effects, μ_t are

[9] In a study of the association between neighborhood characteristics and pre-marital sex, Kayeyi et al (2013) also uses employment data from the ZSBS.
[10] There are 72 districts in Zambia.

survey year fixed effects, and ε_{jdt} is an idiosyncratic error term. In all my regression analyses, I estimate heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors and cluster the standard errors at the district level. I also explore using indicator variables for five-year age group instead of age_{idt}.

4. Results

4.1 Transactional Sex Employment-Age Profiles

Figure 1 displays the results of a locally-weighted semi-parametric regression of employed in transactional sex on age. The relationship between the likelihood of employment in transactional sex and age is approximately linear. Between the youngest age (i.e. 15 years old) to the oldest age (i.e. 49 years old), the likelihood of employment in transactional sex falls from over to 4% to 1%.

Table 2 presents ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates of transactional sex employment-age profiles. In Columns (1)-(3), I measure age in years. Column (1) includes no controls, Column (2) controls for district, survey month, and survey year fixed effects, and Column (3) adds individual-level controls (i.e., indicator variables for primary school completion and secondary school completion). The results reveal a large, negative and statistically significant association between age and the likelihood of employment in transactional sex. In the linear specifications, the coefficient estimates of -0.001 (p-value<0.01) indicate that a one-year increase in age is associated with a 0.1 percentage point reduction in the likelihood of employment in transactional sex. Controlling for district and year fixed effects and for individual-level characteristics (i.e., indicator variables for primary school completion and for secondary school completion) does not affect the association between age and employment in transactional sex.

Columns (4)-(6) repeat this analysis using indicator variables for five-year age group instead of a single age variable. The specifications that use indicator variables for five-year age group suggest some non-linearity in the association between age and the likelihood of employment in transactional sex, with females age 35-39, age 40-44, and age 45-49 all approximately equally less likely than the excluded age group (i.e. females age 15-19) to be employed in transactional sex. Controlling for district and year fixed effects and for individual-level characteristics (i.e., indicator variables for primary school completion and

for secondary school completion) does not affect the association between age and employment in transactional sex.

4.2 Mechanisms

Table 3 explores possible mechanisms underlying the observed transactional sex employment-age profile: (i) employment opportunities outside of transactional sex increase with age leading to substitution of labor supply away from transactional sex and toward other employment, and (ii) marital opportunities increase with age which raises the cost of supplying labor in transactional sex. In Column (1), I control for employment outside of transactional sex, in Column (2) I control for being married, and in Column (3) I include both of these controls. Columns (4)-(6) repeat this analysis using indicator variables for five-year age group instead of the linear specification in Columns (1)-(3).

The results from the linear specifications in Table 3 suggest that neither outside employment opportunities nor marriage are the mechanisms underlying the transactional sex employment-age profile. The coefficient estimate for age, between -0.001 and -0.002, is as large in absolute value as in Columns (1)-(3) of Table 2, and is statistically significant at the 1% level.

The results from the semi-parametric specifications in Table 3 indicate that marriage may be driving part, but not all, of the decline in the (unconditional) likelihood of employment in transactional sex with age. In the specifications that control for being married (i.e. Columns (5) and (6)), the coefficient estimates for Age 20-24 are close to zero and statistically insignificant. Furthermore, the coefficient estimates for Age 25-29 and Age 30-34 are approximately one-third of the magnitude when not controlling for being married and are not statistically significant at conventional levels. For older ages (e.g., Age 35-39), the coefficient estimates are approximately one-half of the magnitude when not controlling for being married and are statistically significant at the 5% (or, in many cases, the 1%) level.

4.3 Employment-Age Profiles Outside of Transactional Sex

Figure 2 displays the results of a locally-weighted semi-parametric regression of employment outside of transactional sex on age. The relationship between employment outside of transactional sex and age is approximately linear, although the rate of increase in the probability of employment decreases somewhat at older ages. Between the youngest age (i.e. 15 years old) to the oldest age (i.e. 49 years old), the likelihood of employment outside of transactional sex rises from approximately 30% to roughly 80%.

Table 4 presents OLS estimates of employment-age profiles for employment outside of transactional sex. Columns (1)-(6) use age in years and Columns (7)-(12) use indicator variables for five-year age group. Throughout Table 4, the coefficient estimates indicate a large, positive and statistically significant association between age and employment outside of transactional sex. For example, the coefficient estimate in Column (1), 0.015 (p-value<0.01), indicates that a one year increase in age is associated with a 1.5 percentage point increase in the likelihood of employment outside of transactional sex.

4.4 Mean Age by Occupation

Table 5 presents mean age and standard deviation of age (in years) by occupation. I list transactional sex work, the four specific occupations with employment shares (outside of transactional sex work) of at least 2%, and aggregate the remaining occupations into "other". These calculations confirm that transactional sex work is the youngest major occupation, approximately 6 years younger than the next youngest occupation, and has the lowest variance in age.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Four stylized facts emerge from my empirical analysis. First, the likelihood of engaging in transactional sex declines sharply with age. Second, controlling for employment outside of transactional sex does not substantially affect the transactional sex employment-age profile, and controlling for being married somewhat attenuates the transactional sex employment-age profile. Third, these patterns are robust to including geographic, temporal, and other individual-level controls. Fourth, for all of the occupation

categories outside of transactional sex work, the likelihood of employment increases sharply with age, making transactional sex the youngest occupation.

These results are consistent with the hypothesis that client preference for younger females may be driving much of the observed (unconditional) transactional sex employment-age profile. Although controlling for being married somewhat attenuates the transactional sex employment-age profile, the general relationship of declining likelihood of transactional sex employment with age remains.

At least three main implications follow from these findings. One main implication of my findings is that interventions designed to reduce demand for transactional sex with younger females, such as penalties levied on the clients of younger transactional sex workers, may be particularly effective at reducing transactional sex. A second implication is that policymakers should continue targeting younger women (e.g., age 15-24) for risk reduction programs associated with transactional sex work. Third, as the age structure in sub-Saharan African countries shifts toward older ages, the population prevalence of transactional sex may decline.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Standard deviation
	(1)	(2)
Panel A: Demographic characteristics		
Age	27.94	9.16
Age 15-19	0.22	0.41
Age 20-24	0.21	0.41
Age 25-29	0.18	0.39
Age 30-34	0.14	0.35
Age 35-39	0.11	0.31
Age 40-44	0.08	0.28
Age 45-49	0.06	0.24
Married	0.60	0.49
Primary school completion	0.52	0.50
Secondary school completion	0.12	0.32
Panel B: Employment outcomes		
Employed in transactional sex	0.03	0.16
Employed outside of transactional sex	0.60	0.49
Employed in agriculture	0.36	0.48
Employed in sales	0.15	0.35
Employed in crafts	0.02	0.14
Employed in protective services	0.02	0.13
Employed, other	0.06	0.25
Observations	8,359	

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses. All variables except "Age" are indicator variables.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level, ** Significant at the 5 percent level, * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Table 2: Employment-Age Profiles, Employment in Transactional Sex

Dependent variable:	Employed in transactional sex					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***			
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Age 20-24				-0.015*	-0.014*	-0.013*
				(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Age 25-29				-0.031***	-0.028***	-0.028***
				(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 30-34				-0.031***	-0.029***	-0.029***
				(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 35-39				-0.038***	-0.034***	-0.034***
				(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 40-44				-0.039***	-0.038***	-0.038***
				(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Age 45-49				-0.039***	-0.038***	-0.038***
				(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)
District and survey year/month fixed effects	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Individual-level controls	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
Observations	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359

Notes: Parameters estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. "Employed in transactional sex" is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent reported exchanged sex for money in the past twelve months and zero otherwise. In Columns (4)-(6), excluded age category is "Age 15-19". Individual-level controls are indicator variables for primary school completion and secondary school completion.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level, ** Significant at the 5 percent level, * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Table 3: Possible Mechanisms Underlying Transactional Sex Employment-Age Profiles

Dependent variable:	Employed in transactional sex					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	-0.002***	-0.001***	-0.001***			
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Age 20-24				-0.014*	0.002	0.001
				(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 25-29				-0.029***	-0.009	-0.010
				(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Age 30-34				-0.030***	-0.009	-0.011
				(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 35-39				-0.035***	-0.016**	-0.017**
				(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Age 40-44				-0.040***	-0.021***	-0.023***
				(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 45-49				-0.039***	-0.021***	-0.022***
				(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Employed outside of transactional sex	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
Married	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
District and survey year/month fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Additional individual-level controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359

Notes: Parameters estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. "Employed in (outside of) transactional sex" is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent reported employment in (outside of) transactional sex and zero otherwise. In Columns (4)-(6), excluded age category is "Age 15-19". Additional individual-level controls are indicator variables for primary school completion and secondary school completion.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level, ** Significant at the 5 percent level, * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Table 4: Employment-Age Profiles, Employment Outside of Transactional Sex

Dependent variable:	Employed:											
	Outside of transactional sex	Agriculture	Sales	Crafts	Protective services	Other	Outside of transactional sex	Agriculture	Sales	Crafts	Protective services	Other
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Age	0.015***	0.006***	0.005***	0.001***	0.0003*	0.003***						
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.0001)	(0.001)						
Age 20-24							0.286***	0.121***	0.112***	0.013***	0.017***	0.023***
							(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Age 25-29							0.401***	0.136***	0.160***	0.020***	0.017***	0.068***
							(0.027)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.012)
Age 30-34							0.411***	0.136***	0.148***	0.025***	0.024***	0.078***
							(0.032)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.016)
Age 35-39							0.456***	0.141***	0.178***	0.024***	0.014**	0.099***
							(0.032)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.018)
Age 40-44							0.484***	0.202***	0.177***	0.018***	0.014***	0.072***
							(0.038)	(0.028)	(0.037)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.018)
Age 45-49							0.452***	0.188***	0.129***	0.031***	0.017**	0.088***
							(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)
District and survey year/month fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual-level controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359	8,359

Notes: Parameters estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. "Outside of transactional sex" is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent reported employment outside of transactional sex and zero otherwise. "Agriculture", "Sales", etc. defined similarly. "Other" refers to other occupation outside of transactional sex. In Columns (7)-(12), excluded age category is "Age 15-19". Individual-level controls are indicator variables for married, primary school completion, and secondary school completion.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level, ** Significant at the 5 percent level, * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Table 5: Age Distribution by Occupation

	Mean age	Standard deviation of age	Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Transactional sex	23.41	7.67	218
Protective services	29.37	8.02	142
Agriculture	30.01	9.09	2,977
Sales	30.53	8.28	1,223
Crafts	31.25	8.74	166
Other	31.42	8.06	543

Figure 1: Employment in Transactional Sex and Age

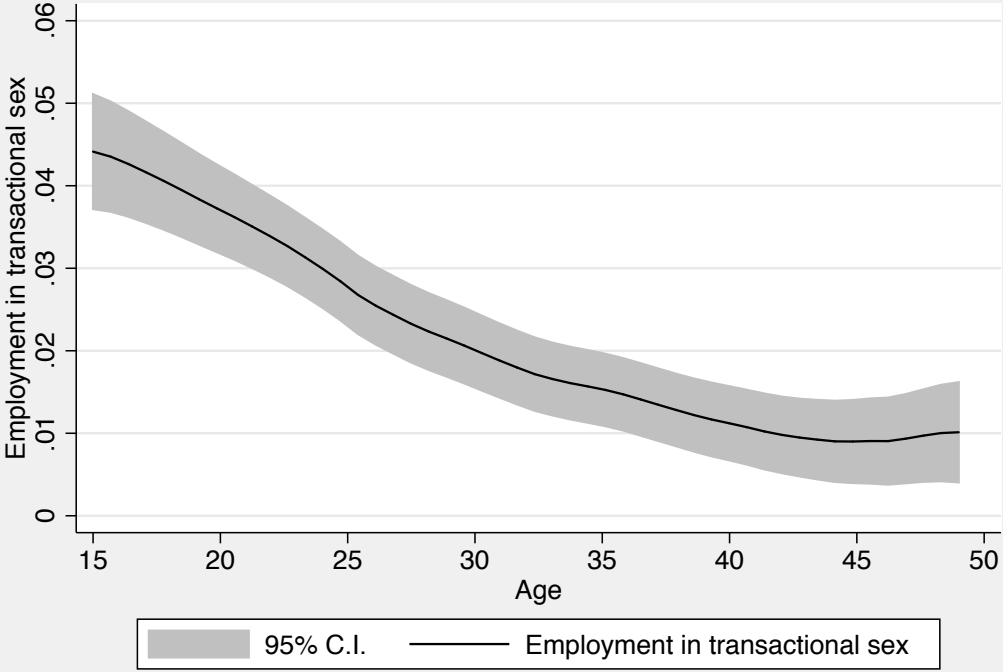
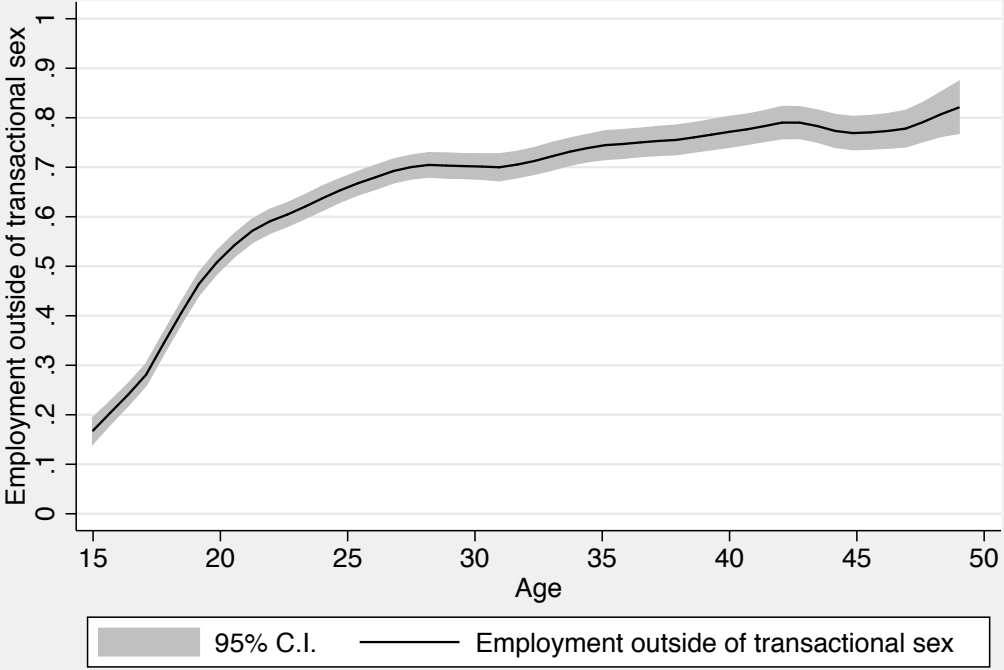
Figure 2: Employment Outside of Transactional Sex and Age