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# What explains attitudes toward prostitution?

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## Abstract

Using a larger and more representative sample than previous studies, we assess people's attitudes toward prostitution in Norway and Sweden. Compared to previous statistical analyses in this field, the present study is the first to use sophisticated statistical methods that can shed further light on attitudes toward different aspects of prostitution while controlling for other confounding factors. The main findings are that men and sexual liberals are more positive toward prostitution, and that conservatives and those who support gender equality are more negative. Holding anti-immigration views is correlated with more positive attitudes toward buying, but not toward selling, sex. Norwegians are more positive than Swedes toward prostitution. It is also found that supporting gender equality has more explanatory power in Sweden than in Norway, and it is argued that this may be due to the more gendered nature of the Swedish debate.

*Keywords:* attitudes; norms; prostitution

*JEL classification:* I28; J88; K14

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## 1. Introduction

Prostitution is seen as a problematic issue in most countries. States have tried to control prostitution in various ways, and most have adopted some sort of policy to support the efforts (Outshoorn 2004). In Norway and Sweden, prostitution is clearly perceived as a challenge (Holmström and Skilbrei 2008). It has been illegal since 1999 to buy, but not to sell, sex in Sweden. In January 2009, Norway followed the example of its Nordic neighbor and went from a situation where it was legal to both buy and sell sex to making buying illegal. As these two countries are the first in the world to implement this kind of law, investigating the attitudes toward prostitution among Swedes and Norwegians is of great interest.

Comparing Norway and Sweden is important for several reasons, not least since their policy histories regarding prostitution are divergent. The Scandinavian welfare states are often grouped together in comparative welfare state research (e.g., Esping-Andersen 1990; 1999). However, while this may be fruitful in comparative research across many countries, it may be dangerous in that intra-regime differences are downplayed or ignored (Ellingsæter 1998; Kautto et al. 2001). Analyzing differences between regimes we can point to crucial differences overlooked in analyses of many countries.

What shapes people's attitudes toward prostitution? Is there a difference between their attitudes toward buying and selling sex? Do views on gender equality play a role? These questions are central in this paper, which focuses on people's attitudes toward prostitution. An understanding of these attitudes will make it easier to understand the mechanisms structuring the market for prostitution. Also, comparing attitudes in two similar countries will give clues on how differences in policy regimes may interact with attitudes. Using a large dataset including Swedish and Norwegian respondents, we are able to study attitudes toward both buying and selling sex in a controlled regression setting.

Several authors simply follow Outshoorn (2004) (e.g., Della Guista et al. 2008) and identify abolitionism, prohibitionism, and regulation as the only three different policy regimes in connection to prostitution. Abolitionism refers banning of prostitution and a criminalization of *third parties* only. Prohibitionism makes *all parties* liable to penalties, and regulation

concerns state intervention in the market. Looking at the different regimes, it is clear that the current Swedish and Norwegian systems do not fit, since not only third parties are criminalized but also the buyer. We therefore do not find the typology satisfying, and by analyzing the Swedish and Norwegian law, we add a fourth policy regime that criminalizes buyers of sexual services but not sellers. In this way, the present paper fills an important gap in the prostitution policy literature.

The economics literature on prostitution is still small, although economists have focused more attention on the issue in recent years. Edlund and Korn (2002) model prostitution as a female choice between marriage and earning a high wage as a prostitute. Using data from Ecuador and Mexico, Raj and Shah (2008) find an earnings premium from sex work, but no support for the idea that this is due to decreased marriage possibilities. Instead they argue that the premium is due to high risks for sex workers. Levitt and Venkatesh (2007) use observational transaction data and official police force data to study prostitution in Chicago. Although street prostitutes earn about four times as much per hour as low-skilled workers, the wage compensation is argued to be low considering the risks they face. Cameron et al. (1999) study the market for male prostitution in the UK by looking at escort advertisements. It was found that prostitutes in different branches differ on individual attributes such as attractiveness and age. Cameron and Collins (2003) use UK data to estimate male decisions to consume prostitution services and find that there seems to be a strong deterrent effect from perceived risk of sexually transmitted diseases. Della Guista et al. (2008; 2009) model the market for prostitution and estimate the demand for prostitution among arrested male clients, and find that the demand increases if the client has a full-time job, is non-white, or is not married. Value judgment variables also seem to play a role for demand: the more a client accepts gender violence and the more he is against sex work, the less he demands, and the more he believes that sex workers like their job, the more he demands. Albert et al. (2007) divide the prostitution market into four different segments (escorts and call girls, brothels, house prostitution, and street prostitution) and argue that a single legal response to these four segments is not warranted from a social welfare point of view since the different segments differ in price, quality, asymmetric information, and negative externalities. Moffat and Peters (2004), Gertler et al. (2005), and Rao et al. (2003) all look at the pricing of sex in general and the pricing and use of condoms in particular.

These previous studies try to assess supply and demand in the market for prostitution, and scholars have to some extent also studied attitudes toward prostitution. When attitudes have been considered, however, the focus has been on clients and not on the general population. Studying attitudes toward buying and selling sex in the general population is important since the market is embedded in a broader societal context. The social structures and legal setting under which it functions is probably affected by, and also affects, people's attitudes. Understanding the attitudes toward this market is important in order to be able to assess the possibilities of implementing different legal structures, and to assess the effects these structures may have. Attitudes are also likely to affect the demand for prostitution. To decrease the demand for prostitution is very important since many countries perceive prostitution to be a problem. In Norway and Sweden this is especially important since one of the main aims in both countries is to change attitudes (Proposition 1997/98:55; Holmström and Skilbrei 2008; Norwegian ministry of justice 2008; and Skilbrei 2008). To credibly evaluate this aim, knowledge about attitudes before the reform is crucial. Hence, this paper has clear policy relevance.

A few previous studies within other branches of social sciences do however look at attitudes toward prostitution among the general public. Basow and Campanile (1990) use a sample of 89 undergraduate psychology students in the US and argue that attitudes toward rape and attitudes toward prostitution are related, as are attitudes toward women in general. Since their sample is relatively small and only consists of students, and since other factors that may affect attitudes toward prostitution are not controlled for, the results are difficult to generalize and not completely reliable. Cotton et al. (2002) use a sample of 743 university undergraduates at four US universities and find a link between acceptance of "rape myths" (e.g., agreeing with "to dress in challenging clothes makes women who become sexually abused co-responsible") and attitudes toward prostitution. Their study has the same flaws as Basow and Campanile's, except that the sample size is larger.

The most comprehensive study to date of attitudes toward prostitution was carried out by Kuosmanen (2008). His survey was sent out to a random sample of 2,500 Swedes aged 18--74. Only 45.4 percent responded, leading to a final sample of 1,134 people. He finds more

support for the current Swedish law among women and younger respondents, and that higher education only seems to affect women's attitudes. Before Kuosmanen's (2008) study, there were three others (in 1996, 1999, and 2002) that looked at attitudes toward prostitution in Sweden (for a comprehensive review of these, see Kuosmanen 2008). To sum up their results, there seems to be more support for criminalization of both buying and selling sex following the introduction of the law, and women are more positive toward criminalization than men. There have also been a few investigations of attitudes toward prostitution in Norway ordered by the press (for full coverage and a discussion, see Jahnsen 2008). However, it is hard to assess the reliability of these studies since it is often unclear what the exact questions were, how many respondents they involved, and how the respondents were selected. Nonetheless, Jahnsen (2008) finds some interesting regularities. Women, as well as those living in the capital region, seem to be more in favor of a criminalization of buyers. The correlation between age and views on criminalization is ambiguous. It is also found that feminists, left-wing sympathizers, and Christians are more in favor of criminalization than market liberals. The main problem with these studies on Sweden and Norway, however, is that they only consist of descriptive summary statistics. Hence, no attempt is made to control for other factors that may affect attitudes toward prostitution, and the reader does not even know the variation in the responses, making it impossible to assess, e.g., significant (statistical as well as "practical") differences between groups.

This paper is an important contribution to the prostitution literature since it uses a larger and more representative sample than previous related studies (to our knowledge). It is also the first paper to use appropriate statistical methods when looking at attitudes toward prostitution among the general public. Using regression analysis, we can reduce the bias inherent in other comparisons by controlling for confounding variables. As opposed to the previous statistical analyses in this field, we can hence shed further light on attitudes toward different aspects of prostitution (moral attitudes toward buying and selling, as well as attitudes toward criminalization). Our main findings are that men and sexual liberals are more positive toward prostitution, that both conservatives and those supporting gender equality are more negative toward prostitution, and that holding anti-immigration views is correlated with more positive attitudes toward buying sex. This is also the first paper to compare attitudes toward prostitution in Norway and Sweden, and a main finding in this

regard is that Norwegians are more positive than Swedes toward prostitution. This is also true when controlling for other factors that may affect attitudes toward prostitution. It is argued that this difference may be due to the different legal histories, i.e., Swedes may be more negative toward prostitution than Norwegians since they have lived under a law prohibiting the purchase of sex for several years. It is also found that promoting gender equality has more explanatory power in Sweden than in Norway, which may be due to the more gendered nature of the Swedish prostitution debate.

Section 2 describes the survey and the descriptive statistics. Section 3 reports the empirical results, first on moral attitudes toward buying and selling sex, then on attitudes toward criminalization, and finally on differences and similarities in attitudes in Norway and Sweden. Section 4 concludes the paper.

## 2. Data and descriptive statistics

We use survey responses from an Internet-based survey sent out in August 2008 to a random sample of 2,500 Norwegians and 3,000 Swedes aged 15–65. By the end of the survey period, 1,716 Norwegians (68.6 percent) and 1,815 (60.5 percent) Swedes had responded.<sup>1</sup> The survey included four main questions on people’s attitudes toward prostitution. More exactly, the respondents were asked whether they feel it is morally acceptable or morally unacceptable to buy sex and to sell sex respectively. They responded on a 0-10 scale, where 0 implied *morally acceptable* and 10 implied *morally unacceptable*. The respondents were also asked whether they think it should be illegal to buy sex and sell sex respectively; here the possible answers were *yes* and *no*.

Figures 1 and 2 show the variation in the responses to the questions on attitudes toward prostitution with histograms for each country separately. As can be seen, there is variation in the expressed attitudes, not only within each country but also between the countries, with Swedes being more skeptical toward prostitution.<sup>2</sup> Figures 3 and 4 show the variation in whether it should be illegal to buy and sell sex. A difference between Norwegians and

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<sup>1</sup> TNS Gallup was hired to conduct the survey.

<sup>2</sup> A Wilcoxon rank-sum test gave at hand that the difference between Norway and Sweden is statistically significant at the 1 percent level regarding moral attitudes toward buying sex, and at the 5 percent level regarding moral attitudes toward selling sex.

Swedes is evident here as well: In Sweden, 62.6 percent feel it should be illegal to buy sex, while in Norway 53.2 percent do. Also, in Sweden 54.2 percent feel it should be illegal to sell sex, while in Norway 47.9 percent do.<sup>3</sup>

[Figures 1-4]

In addition to these questions, we also asked for the respondents' attitudes on issues linked to equality between the sexes, immigration, sexual conservatism, religious activities, and political views. We also have information on the respondents' age, gender, income, cohabitation status, education, and region of residence. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the sample: 47.5 percent are men and the average age is 39 years, 46.0 percent have at least some university education, 13.3 percent have only elementary education or less, 11.2 percent of the Norwegians live in Oslo, and 21.4 percent of the Swedes live in Stockholm. Since our youngest respondents are only 15 years old they can not possibly have obtained the highest level of education and it is very unlikely that they have a high income. As discussed further below, excluding respondents under age 26 did not change our results. We also used different classification criteria for income, but the results remained robust to these changes as well.

[Table 1]

To assess the representativeness of our sample, let us compare the descriptive statistics of the respondents with the national statistics. In Sweden, 50.8 percent of the population are men, which corresponds well with our Swedish sample where 50.3 percent are men. However, only 44.5 percent of the Norwegian respondents are men, while the share of all Norwegians is 50.9 percent. The mean ages among 15--65 year olds are 40.1 in Sweden and 39.7 in Norway, while in our samples the mean ages are 41.6 and 37.2 years, respectively (Statistics Sweden 2008 and Statistics Norway 2008). What is more problematic is the representativeness of our sample with respect to education: While the share of Swedes aged 16--65 with higher education is 31.8 percent, the share in our sample is 43.4 percent. For

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<sup>3</sup> A Wilcoxon rank-sum test gave at hand that the difference between Norway and Sweden is statistically significant at the 1 percent level for both "*Illegal buying*" and "*Illegal selling*."



Norway, the percentages differ even more: 27.0 percent of all Norwegians aged 16—66 have university education, while the corresponding figure in our sample is 48.8 percent.

We conclude that our sample is fairly representative except in terms of education, where it is biased toward including highly educated people. While this should be considered when comparing raw correlations and mean values, the problem is somewhat alleviated in the regression analyses by explicitly controlling for education. Kuosmanen (2008) had the same problem, but in his case the problem is aggravated since no controlled regressions were carried out.

### 3. Empirical framework and results

To get a grip on what shapes attitudes toward prostitution, we first look at moral attitudes toward buying and selling sex respectively (3.1). Then we take a closer look at attitudes toward criminalization of buying and selling sex, respectively (3.2). Finally we take a closer look at the differences between Norway and Sweden (3.3).

#### 3.1 Moral views

In this section we investigate what factors are associated with moral views regarding prostitution. In order to do this we run OLS regressions although the dependent variable is not continuous nor normally distributed.<sup>4</sup> The specification in this setting is:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbf{x}_i + \beta_2 \mathbf{z}_i + \varepsilon_i, \quad (1)$$

where  $y_i$  is the attitude toward buying or selling sex (ranging from 0 for “morally acceptable” to 10 for “morally unacceptable”) for individual  $i$ .  $\mathbf{x}$  is a vector of socio-demographic control variables, and  $\mathbf{z}$  is a vector of variables reflecting attitudes on other issues (see Table 1).

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<sup>4</sup> This is done in order to ease the presentation of the results, and we also estimate ordered logit models with similar results. The results are available upon request.

We try to assess some previously suggested hypotheses in the prostitution literature. We also propose some additional hypotheses. In the international debate and research on prostitution, it is often suggested that opposition to prostitution is grounded in a conservative world view – specifically in the view that non-reproductive extramarital sex is immoral (e.g., Della Guista et al. 2008). We feel it is important to highlight this issue in a Nordic context since the gender equality debate differs radically in this respect from the international discourse (Östergren 2006). Within international feminist scholarship there is a division between those who see prostitution as harmful for a woman since she thereby contracts away freedom and sexuality, and those who see it as harmful because society generates a stigma via the double standards of sexual morality (Shrange 2007). These two positions render different normative conclusions on the legal framework surrounding prostitution, where the second one may imply that criminalization further stigmatizes sellers. Outshoorn (2004) identifies the two major opposing positions within the feminist debate on prostitution: One views prostitution as “sexual domination and the essence of women’s oppression” and the other, “the sex-work position,” views it as work (Outshoorn 2004: 9). These two positions are thought to lead to opposing policy aims; i.e., the first position wants criminalization of the third parties profiting from prostitution (prostitutes are seen as victims and thereby not liable) and the second calls for regulation. There are clear differences among countries in terms of the weights of these two positions in the prostitution discourse. In Europe, feminists in Germany and The Netherlands clearly favor the sex-work view, whereas feminists in the Nordic countries are generally found at the other end of the spectrum (Östergren 2006). There is a tendency to favor the sex-work view in the US as well, at least among academic feminists (Basow and Campanile 1990), yet maybe not among feminists in general. Basow and Campanile (1990) tested the hypothesis that pro-feminist students are more in favor of decriminalization and legalization, but found the opposite to be true.

In Sweden, support for the view that prostitution is patriarchal oppression of women was strong among feminists within the ruling political parties. The sex-work view did not have any influence on Swedish parliamentarians although the position was heard in the media debate. It is clear that the Swedish discourse has centered on the radical feminist position with prostitution seen as patriarchal oppression (Svanström 2004). We thus hypothesize that

opposition to prostitution can be based on very different world views. A feminist can for instance see prostitution as violence against women in a patriarchal society, and we propose that this group is inclined to view buying sex as immoral. Following previous research, moral conservatives are expected to be against both buying and selling sex (Albert et al. 2007), which is also suggested by the fact that the Christian Democrats in Sweden wanted a criminalization of both buyers and sellers (Svanström 2004). While we are not able to completely isolate all moral conservatives in our data, we do include religiosity as a proxy variable. Testing the hypothesis that attitudes regarding gender equality are important is more straightforward since we can identify different strands by using answers to the question: “Do you think that gender equality is an important issue?”.

It has also been argued that racism is a key factor in explaining different perceptions about prostitution (Della Guista et al. 2008; Farley and Kelly 2000). The usual hypothesis is that racists have a different view of (foreign) prostitutes and that this “othering” is used to justify buying sex. Note that we have no hypothesis on the relationship between racism and attitudes toward selling sex. The hypothesized attitudes of racists can be explained in at least two possibilities ways: (i) Racists may be against people coming to the country they live in to sell sex, and/or (ii) the “othering” mechanism might imply that racists feel that foreign prostitutes are different and they (racists) therefore tend to care less about, or even legitimize, the possibly deprived situations that prostitutes often find themselves in. We did not ask people whether or not they are racists, but we do have a proxy for anti-immigration views via the question “Do you think that there are too many foreigners in Norway/Sweden?”. We expect a positive correlation between this variable and thinking it is morally acceptable to buy sex as well as not wanting to criminalize buying sex.<sup>5</sup> This issue will be discussed further in Section 3.2.

Moreover, previous research (e.g., Cotton et al. 2002) has suggested that “rape myths” are important in explaining attitudes toward prostitution. “Rape myths” are a collection of opinions that are said to normalize violence against women (Basow and Campanile 1990). While we do not include all the questions from previous research that signal acceptance of

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<sup>5</sup> We also conducted a sensitivity analysis using the question, “Do you think increased immigration would be positive or negative for the Swedish/Norwegian society?”, and this yielded similar results.

these myths, we do include one (*Responsibility*): “Do you think that women who dress challengingly are partly co-responsible if they get sexually abused?”. As suggested by previous literature, we expect there to be a positive correlation between *Responsibility* and thinking it is morally acceptable to both buy and sell sex.

Besides that we have low internal validity, i.e. we do not capture all proposed attitudes related to the “rape myth” concept, and that the *Antiim* variable is not a perfect proxy for racism, a problem with our tests of both the racism and the “rape myth” hypotheses is that our questions may cause an endogeneity problem due to omitted variables. Both of these concepts can be seen as antisocial values and antisocial views in general affecting both views on prostitution and racism/”rape myths.” Since we are not able to fully control for antisocial views, we propose some caution in judging the coefficients for these variables.

We expect there to be a difference between Sweden and Norway reflected in, or possibly due to, their different legal histories, and we propose that Swedes are more negative toward buying sex than Norwegians; i.e., Sweden may have made buying sex illegal earlier than Norway as a result of being more negative toward buying sex. Alternatively, living under this law for several years may have made them more negative toward buying sex. We can not distinguish between these two possibilities, but we can shed light on the issue by informed reasoning. This will be discussed further in Section 3.3.

Table 2 shows the results from OLS regressions with moral views regarding buying sex (Columns 1-2) and selling sex (Columns 3-4) as dependent variables. Column 1 includes only socio-demographic variables. We note that higher education is positively correlated with believing that buying sex is morally unacceptable. It is obviously a concern that our age span includes people who can not possibly have achieved the highest level of education. However, restricting the sample to those over 25 does not change the results presented in this paper.<sup>6</sup> Males think it is more morally justifiable to buy sex than females, which is expected since this has been found in previous studies as well. Cotton et al. (2002) argue that “men might support prostitution because men are more likely to believe that male sexual urges are an imperative” (p. 1793). At least in our data this is not a valid explanation since we have more

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<sup>6</sup> The results are available upon request.

women than men answering affirmative to the question “Do you think men have greater sexual needs than women?”. Furthermore, running separate regressions for men and women does not show big differences in the determinants of attitudes toward prostitution.<sup>7</sup> Compared to others, older people believe it is more morally unacceptable to buy sex, although this effect is diminishing. Cohabitation (including marriage) is also positively correlated with believing it is immoral to buy sex. Compared to Swedes, Norwegians feel it is more morally justifiable to buy sex, as hypothesized. The difference between the countries is thoroughly explored in Section 3.3.

[Table 2]

Column 2 includes the variables used to analyze more of the hypotheses discussed above. We note that the significance of the effects of cohabitation and age disappears when including more variables. However, we still observe a positive effect for those younger than 26 when 10-year cohort dummies are included.<sup>8</sup> As predicted, both those who are religious and those who believe that gender equality is important feel it is immoral to buy sex. Being right wing is negatively correlated with feeling it is immoral, albeit this is only significant at the 10 percent level. Those who want to increase the size of the public sector also feel it is more morally unacceptable to buy sex. A variable that has been used by other researchers to signal “rape myths,” *Responsibility*, is also negatively correlated with feeling it is morally unacceptable to buy sex, although this is also only significant at the 10 percent level. As hypothesized, those who think there are too many immigrants in their country are more inclined to feel it is morally justifiable to buy sex, and so are sexual liberals. It can further be noted that the coefficient for the Norway dummy increases when we include the attitude variables.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Gendereq* is more important for male attitudes toward buying sex, and being sexually liberal has a more positive association for women than for men regarding buying and selling sex. Low income women (as compared to middle income women) feel that selling sex is more morally unacceptable while low income men feel it is more morally acceptable. These results are available upon request.

<sup>8</sup> The results are available upon request.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, this is driven solely by the *Sexlib* variable, and as shown later this variable has more explanatory power in Norway than in Sweden.

Columns 3 and 4 reveal the corresponding results for views on selling sex. As can be seen, most results point in the same direction as those for buying sex. The coefficient for being right wing is now negative and statistically significant at the 5 percent level. Having higher education, thinking there are too many immigrants in the country, and the responsibility variable are not statistically significant, however. We can therefore conclude that the hypotheses outlined above are supported, except for the “rape myth” hypothesis.

Since the variable *Religious* does not capture conservatism exactly (it probably captures some moral conservatives but not all), the variable *Sexlib* can be seen as a complement. Moral conservatives should score low on this variable, and the fact that this coefficient is negative further indicates that conservatives are more likely to think prostitution is immoral. The variables *Publicsec* and *Right* can also help us get a better grip on respondents with different ideologies. Belonging to the political right has a relatively small effect, although these respondents are actually less likely to feel it is immoral to buy and sell sex. That the effect of being right wing is not very strong may be due to that there are at least two groups of people captured by this variable: market liberals and conservatives. These two categories can be expected to have opposing views on the issue as suggested by previous studies (Jahnsen 2008; Marttila 2008). Market liberals are to some extent captured through the variable *Publicsec*, and respondents who score low on this variable, i.e., they want to decrease the public sector, are less likely to think it is immoral to buy and sell sex, respectively.<sup>10</sup> We are therefore quite confident that we have captured these different groups, and the influences of different ideological strands seem to be as expected.

### 3.2 Attitudes toward the law

In this section we try to assess which factors are important for the respondents’ attitudes toward criminalizing buying and selling sex. The variables regarding attitudes toward the law on buying and selling sex are binary, and the estimations are therefore performed using probit regressions<sup>11</sup> with the following specification:

$$\Pr(y_i = 1 | \mathbf{z}_i, \mathbf{x}_i) = F(\boldsymbol{\alpha}\mathbf{x}_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}\mathbf{z}_i), \quad (2)$$

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<sup>10</sup> Excluding *Publicsec*, makes the coefficient on *Right* larger and more statistically significant in the buying case.

<sup>11</sup> The results are similar using logit regressions.

where  $y_i = 1$  indicates that individual  $i$  feels it should be illegal to buy or sell sex respectively,  $F$  is the standard normal cumulative density function, and the vectors  $\mathbf{x}$  and  $\mathbf{z}$  contain the same variables as in specification 1.

Table 3 shows attitudes on actual regulation of buying sex. If we include only socio-demographic variables (Column 1), we see that being male and living in Norway are highly associated with not wanting to criminalize buying sex. We expected the male coefficient to be significant since this has been indicated in previous research (e.g., Basow and Campanile 1990; and Kuosmanen 2008). Being older is also associated with not wanting to criminalize buying sex, while having higher education increases the probability of wanting to criminalize buying sex. When we in Column 2 also include seven value judgment variables, the marginal effects and significance levels of the previously included variables remain very much the same. The difference between Norway and Sweden is still highly significant: Living in Norway implies a 18 percent lower probability of wanting to criminalize buying sex. Being religious, wanting to increase the public sector, and supporting gender equality are also associated with a higher probability of wanting to criminalize buying sex. Having anti-immigrant views and being sexually liberal decrease the probability of wanting to criminalize buying sex, while the opposite holds for belonging to the political left. Belonging to the political right and thinking that women who dress challengingly are co-responsible if they become sexually abused are not statistically significantly associated with attitudes toward making buying sex illegal.

[Table 3]

Concerning attitudes toward regulation of *selling* sex (Column 3, Table 3), we see that the coefficients on male, age, Norway, and high education are very similar to the buying case (Column 1) when we include only these and a few other socio-demographic variables. Also as in the buying case, the magnitudes and significance levels of the socio-demographic variables remain more or less intact when we include the value judgment variables (Column 4). Living in Norway implies a 17 percent lower probability of wanting to criminalize selling sex. Being religious, wanting to increase the public sector, and supporting gender equality are

also associated with having a higher probability of wanting to criminalize selling sex, although these effects seem to be somewhat smaller than in the buying case (i.e., compared to the effects in Column 2). Belonging to the political right and being sexually liberal decrease the probability of wanting to criminalize selling sex. Belonging to the political left, having anti-immigrant views, and believing that women who dress challengingly are co-responsible if they become sexually abused are not statistically significantly associated with attitudes toward criminalizing selling sex. As mentioned before, right-wing individuals are expected to be either conservative or market liberals. We expect conservatives to be more inclined to want to criminalize both buyers and sellers and market liberals to be more inclined to not want to criminalize either buying or selling. Comparing the odds from a multinomial logit regression, we see that these two alternatives are more likely for right-wing people.<sup>12</sup>

Those who are negative toward immigration are less likely to want to criminalize buying sex, which is in line with our hypothesis. Respondents who support gender equality are more likely to also support a criminalization of buying and selling sex. This is also true for respondents who attend religious activities at least once a month and those who do not have liberal views on sex (i.e., those who do not feel it is appropriate to have sex with unknown people). These results are also in accordance with our hypotheses. It is also interesting to note that those who are male, older, live in Norway, and/or have liberal views on sex are more reluctant toward regulating prostitution even if they perceive it as immoral. These results are not presented here but were obtained using probit regressions where we restricted the sample to those who answered 6-10 on the moral attitude questions.<sup>13</sup>

One of our hypotheses has not been confirmed; i.e., there is no support for the possibility that respondents who believe that women who dress challengingly are co-responsible if they become sexually abused have different attitudes toward regulation of prostitution. There may be several reasons why we do not find this effect. For example the hypothesis from earlier literature suggests a correlation between beliefs in so-called “rape myths” and attitudes toward prostitution. First, while we do not measure the “rape myth” concept, we do measure

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<sup>12</sup> The results are available upon request.

<sup>13</sup> The results are available upon request.



one of several notions included in that concept. Second, we control for other factors which may be the ones driving the attitudes. Earlier research (Basow and Campanile 1990; Cotton et al. 2002) simply looked at correlations in samples of students, which is not a satisfactory way to assess the relationship. It should also be mentioned that previous research has not proposed a hypothesis regarding regulation, but only regarding moral attitudes. We retained the hypothesis since it is not obvious why it should differ (however, the support for a link between the responsibility variable and attitudes toward prostitution is weak when it comes to moral attitudes as well, as was shown in Section 3.1).

Another interesting finding is that although the factors that are of importance for attitudes toward criminalization of buying sex are very similar to those that are of importance for attitudes toward criminalization of selling sex, it is clear that people's opinions about the preferred legal combination are divergent. 3,496 of the respondents have opinions on criminalization of both buying and selling sex. 49.3 percent of these want to criminalize both buying and selling sex, 40.1 percent do not want to criminalize either buying or selling, 8.6 percent want to criminalize only buying sex, and 1.9 percent want to criminalize only selling. 96.3 percent of those who would like to criminalize selling sex also feel it should be illegal to buy sex, and 85.1 percent of those who feel it should be illegal to buy sex also feel that it should be illegal to sell sex.

### **3.3 A comparison between Norway and Sweden**

Since the Norway dummy in the pooled regressions indicates large differences between Norway and Sweden, since the countries have had different legal histories, and since Swedes and Norwegians differ on several important variables (see Table 1), a deeper comparison between the two countries is clearly motivated. Furthermore, previous research indicates that there are important differences in the institutions surrounding the markets for prostitution between the two countries.

Concerning the differences between Norway and Sweden, we have two specific hypotheses. Jahnsen (2008) analyzes the Norwegian media debate (about 500 newspaper articles) on criminalization of sex buyers in 2006 and 2007 and find that there are clear differences compared to the Swedish debate in that the Norwegian debate was not framed in a discourse

of gender equality. We therefore hypothesize that those supporting gender equality should have more negative attitudes toward prostitution in Sweden. Regarding the market structure, an important Norwegian feature is the larger share of street prostitutes who are foreigners (especially Nigerian), at least before the Norwegian law was implemented and at the time our data was collected (Tveit and Skilbrei 2008). These foreign women have also been central in the Norwegian prostitution debate (Jahnsen 2008), and we therefore hypothesize that the link between anti-immigration views and attitudes toward buying sex is more pronounced in Norway than in Sweden.

We start the comparison by looking at the moral views and the results are shown in Table 4.<sup>14</sup> In Columns 1 and 2, the dependent variable is holding a moral attitude against buying sex. There are some differences in magnitudes between the Swedish and Norwegian samples, and there are also differences when it comes to statistical explanatory power. Regarding our hypotheses, we see that there is a link between anti-immigrant views and thinking it is immoral to buy sex in Sweden only, and this difference is statistically significant at the 1 percent level.<sup>15</sup> Note that this contradicts our hypothesis of a stronger link between anti-immigration views and prostitution in Norway. A possible explanation to this is that holding anti-immigrant views is more common in Norway (as shown by a ranksum test), which may lead to a selection effect in Sweden. It may also be linked to the endogeneity problem imposed by the omission of anti-social views in general that may affect views on both prostitution and immigration. Since anti-immigration opinions are less common in Sweden, the variable might capture (via the selection) anti-social views rather than some type of othering/racism. Furthermore, those who support gender equality in Sweden are not statistically significantly more likely to believe it is morally unacceptable to buy sex, which is not in line with our hypothesis. The differences between the countries are also statistically significant regarding *Male*, *Higbed*, and *Sexlib*: *Male* has a larger negative effect in Sweden, *Higbed* has a positive effect in Norway only, and the negative effect of *Sexlib* is larger in Norway. Although there seems to be a difference regarding *Left*, it is not statistically significant according to the test.

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<sup>14</sup> Again running ordered logit regressions yields qualitatively the same results (available upon request).

<sup>15</sup> All the tests concerning difference in coefficients in the different samples are performed using a pooled sample estimation with all explanatory variables interacted with Sweden. The results are available upon request.

[Table 4]

With respect to selling sex (Table 4, Columns 3 and 4), the gender equality variable has larger explanatory power in Sweden than in Norway (statistically significant at the 5 percent level). This is in line with our hypothesis, possibly indicating that prostitution has been a more gendered issue in the Swedish debate than in the Norwegian. Again we find that the correlation between anti-immigration views and attitudes toward prostitution is significant only in Sweden (statistically significant at the 1 percent level). As in the buying case, being sexually liberal is associated with a larger coefficient in Norway than in Sweden (statistically significant at the 1 percent level). This might be due to the fact that being sexually liberal is more common in Sweden (as shown by a ranksum test), and hence it has less impact on its association with prostitution attitudes there. The difference between the countries is also statistically significant regarding *Age*: younger Norwegians are more positive toward selling sex (this is driven by those under 26).

In order to compare the attitudes toward regulation of prostitution between Norway and Sweden, we again run probit regressions. The marginal effects are shown in Table 5. A noteworthy difference that supports our hypothesis is that supporting gender equality has more explanatory power regarding wanting to criminalize both buying and selling sex in Sweden than in Norway (statistically significant at 5 percent and 1 percent respectively), possibly indicating effects of the gendered debate in Sweden. As in the case with moral attitudes toward buying sex, there is a link between anti-immigrant views and wanting buying sex to be illegal in Sweden but not in Norway. This difference is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. Regarding *Illegal selling*, there is actually a statistically significant positive effect of *Antiimm* in Norway. There is also a significant difference between the countries in terms of the effect of *Highed* on *Illegal buying*. There is a positive effect only in Sweden. The effect of being sexually liberal on attitudes toward selling sex illegal is more negative in Norway

[Table 5]

To summarize the differences in the weights of the explanatory variables between Norway and Sweden, we can see that our hypothesis of gender-egalitarian attitudes being more important in Sweden is largely confirmed. The difference is statistically insignificant only for the variable that indicates how morally acceptable/morally unacceptable the respondents perceive buying sex to be. This may come as a surprise since the Swedish law focuses only on buying sex. However, as put forth in the Norwegian debate (especially by Pro Sentret<sup>16</sup> whose position is that the stigmatization of sellers will increase as a result of the recently implemented law), a law that criminalizes buyers is likely to affect attitudes toward selling as well, since it puts focus on the issue and signals that there is a problem. Regarding our second hypothesis, that the link between anti-immigration views and attitudes toward buying sex is more pronounced in Norway than in Sweden, we find the opposite.

We know that there are considerable differences between Norway and Sweden regarding attitudes toward prostitution, which persist even after controlling for other relevant factors. Furthermore, in general there seem to be the same underlying individual-level explanatory variables at work in the two countries. If we have controlled for the relevant individual-level factors, it is plausible that the reason for the country differences lies at the macro level. As previously mentioned, there are for example differences between Norway and Sweden in terms of media coverage of prostitution and market structure.

There are other differences between the countries as well that may be of importance in this setting, the most important being those linked to gender discourses and gender practices, since, as Outshoorn (2004) argues, prostitution is intimately linked to sexuality and the prevalent gender order. That attitudes toward gender equality seem to differ between the two countries is a common finding (although this is partly contested by Jakobsson and Kotsadam 2009) that has been explained by macro-level factors such as history of urbanization, industrialization, and the demographic transition (e.g., Ellingsæter 1998). This highlights the importance of controlling for gender equality, but since we have only controlled for this at the individual level, we can not disregard the possibility that there is a macro-level gender ideology that influences individual values related to prostitution. The most plausible way in

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<sup>16</sup> Pro Sentret is an NGO that works with prostitutes and provides information on prostitution.

which this influence would work is through the way gender equality is talked about and understood in a country, i.e., through national gender discourses.

The differences in gender discourse between Norway and Sweden have been analyzed by, e.g., Teigen and Wängnerud (2009) and Langvasbråten (2008). Teigen and Wängnerud (2009) show that Norwegians more often use liberal feminist explanations for why societal top positions are dominated by men, while Swedes are more prone to using radical feminist explanations.<sup>17</sup> Langvasbråten (2008) finds a similar gender discourse difference between the countries when studying governmental action plans for gender equality. This division also seems to be present when it comes to discourses on prostitution. For example, in Sweden the point of departure has been that prostitution is violence against women, which is a common argument in the radical feminist discourse (Siring 2008). This tendency has also been clear in Swedish research that has looked at prostitution in light of unequal relations between the sexes. In Norway, on the other hand, the focus has rather been on personal problems and economic inequalities (Holmström and Skilbrei 2008). It has also been suggested that the difference in views on criminalization that has existed between the Swedish and Norwegian left parties (both the Social Democrats and the Left Party in Norway were against a criminalization of the buyer until the mid 2000s) has to do with different perceptions of gender equality (Skilbrei 2008). As Kuosmanen (2008) argues, however, the Swedish public seems to perceive prostitution more as a general problem than as patriarchal oppression since so many want to criminalize selling sex as well. This does not imply, however, that the radical feminist discourse has not affected the extent to which prostitution is seen as a problem.

A final important macro-level difference is that Swedes have lived under a law that criminalizes buying sex for 10 years. As discussed earlier, it may be the case that the law was implemented earlier in Sweden than in Norway simply because Swedes were already more skeptical than Norwegians toward prostitution. As shown, however, the negative attitudes toward prostitution in Sweden were much less pronounced before the law was implemented

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<sup>17</sup> Liberal feminism focuses on changing individual female behavior to advance gender equality, while radical feminism centers around the proposition that men dominate women and that this power relation must be eliminated (Teigen and Wängnerud 2009).

(Kuosmanen 2008), which indicates that the law itself may have changed people's attitudes. Sjöberg (2004) argues that institutions may influence world views and can be seen as normative orders. Similarly, Svallfors (2007) claims that norms in society may be altered by institutions since certain social phenomena are rendered visible and normative values of what is fair and just are embedded in the institutions. Legal philosophy often discusses the normativity of law, and it is argued that non-instrumental reasons for rule-following are important in that the law can signal what is morally unacceptable and thereby affect values (e.g., Cserne 2004). Similar arguments are found in political science scholarship, especially among neoinstitutionalists who argue that institutions in general, and the law specifically, entail a logic of appropriateness (e.g., Peters 2005). Economists as well have started to look at this issue (e.g. Carbonara et al. 2008) and argue that laws affect norms, although much more research is needed in this field. In our dataset, it is not possible to explicitly test for the effect of any of these macro-level explanations, but we nevertheless believe them to be important, and therefore encourage future research in order to shed light on the issue.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Using a larger and more representative sample than previous studies, the present paper assesses people's attitudes toward prostitution in Norway and Sweden. The analysis is unique since other studies on the general population have only looked at pair-wise correlations and summary statistics. In contrast, we use sophisticated statistical methods to shed further light on attitudes toward different aspects of prostitution (moral attitudes toward buying and selling sex, as well as attitudes toward criminalization) while controlling for other confounding factors. This is essential for an actual understanding of attitudes toward prostitution and how they are shaped, which has clear policy relevance since one of the main aims in Swedish and Norwegian prostitution policy is to change these attitudes.

Looking at our main findings, we can confirm the hypotheses that conservatives and those who support gender equality are more negative toward prostitution in general. As also suggested, those who hold anti-immigration views believe it is more morally acceptable to buy sex. We find no support, however, for the hypothesis that people embracing "rape myths" are more positive toward prostitution. Large differences are found between Norway and Sweden. For instance, Norwegians are 18 percent more likely to not want to criminalize

buying sex, and gender egalitarian attitudes have more explanatory power in Sweden. Contrary to our expectations, however, anti-immigration views do not seem to be more strongly associated with a desire to legitimize buying sex in Norway.

The clear differences in attitudes between Sweden and Norway (which persist also when controlling for other factors) may be reflected in, or may be due to, the different legal histories of the two countries. Sweden may have made buying sex illegal earlier than Norway since Swedes are more negative toward buying sex. Alternatively, Swedes may be more negative toward buying sex because they have lived under this law for several years. As discussed in the introduction, Swedes' attitudes toward criminalization of buying sex seem to be different before and after the law was implemented. This finding, combined with the fact that clear differences do exist between Norway and Sweden that can not be explained by any remarkable differences in the weights of different individual-level explanatory variables, indicates that the law has actually changed Swedes' perceptions about prostitution. To shed light on this issue, future research will be able to take advantage of investigating the January 2009 implementation of the same law in Norway.

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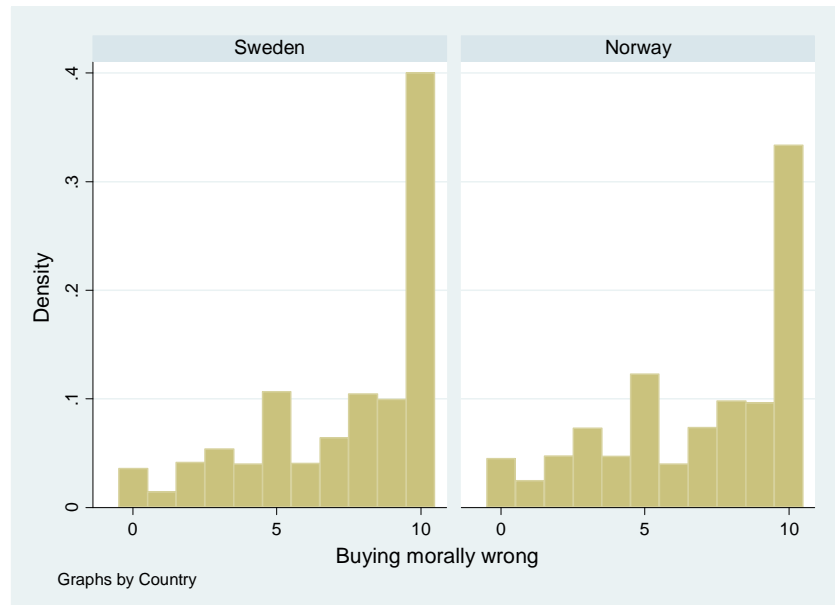


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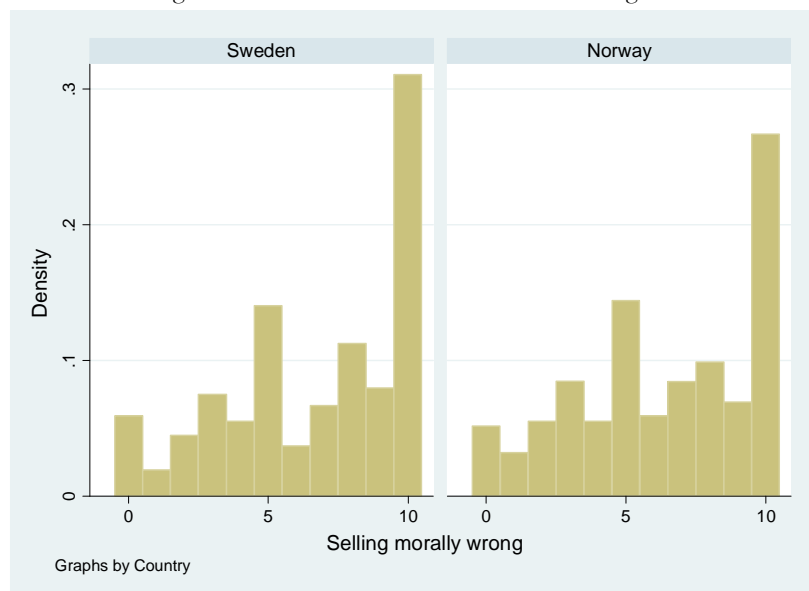
## Figures and tables

Figure 1. Distribution of attitudes toward buying sex



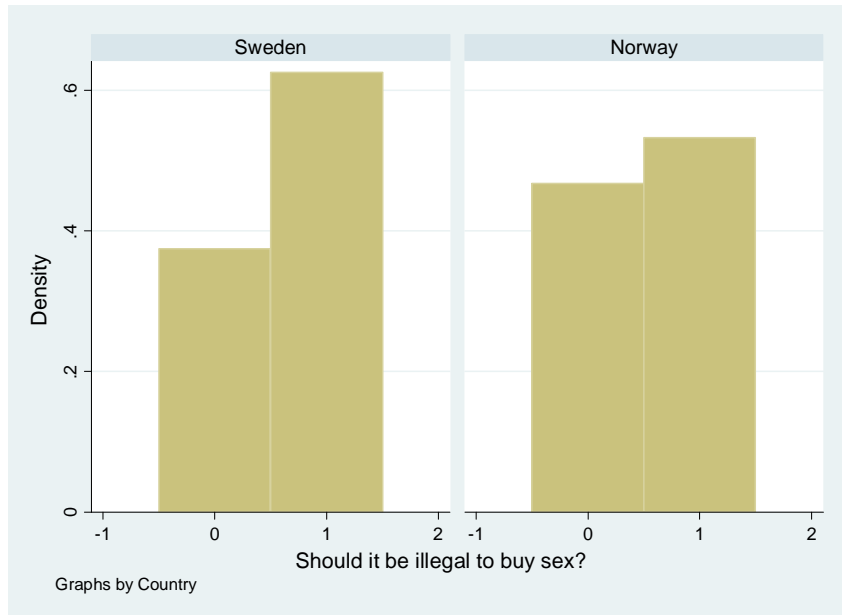
Attitudes toward buying sex is measured by the answer to the question “*In your opinion, is it morally acceptable or morally unacceptable to buy sex?*” ranging from 0 for *Totally morally acceptable* to 10 for *Totally morally unacceptable*.

Figure 2. Distribution of attitudes toward selling sex



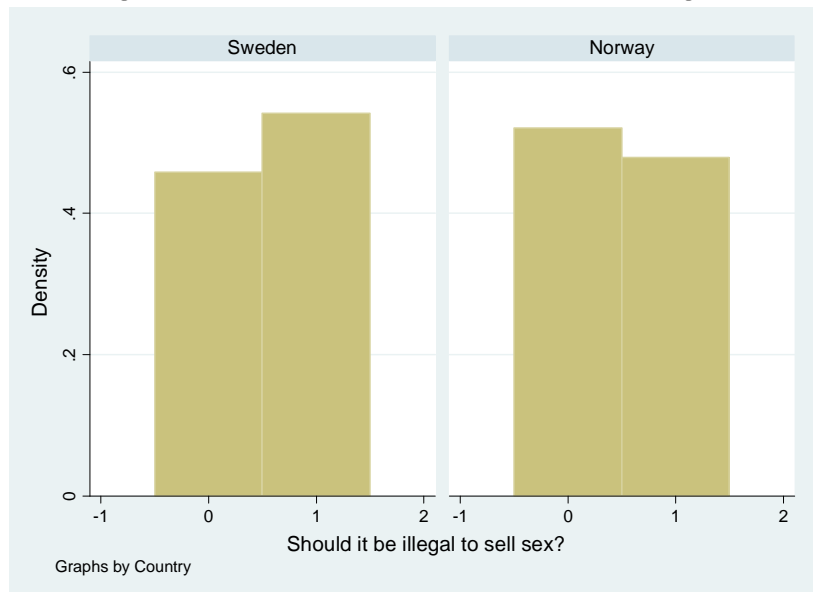
Attitudes toward selling sex is measured by the answer to the question “*In your opinion, is it morally acceptable or morally unacceptable to sell sex?*” ranging from 0 for *Totally morally acceptable* to 10 for *Totally morally unacceptable*.

Figure 3. Distribution of attitudes toward the law on buying sex



Attitudes toward the law on buying sex is measured by the answer to the question “Do you think it should be illegal to buy sex?” with 0 indicating *no* and 1 indicating *yes*.

Figure 4. Distribution of attitudes toward the law on selling sex



Attitudes toward the law on selling sex is measured by the answer to the question “Do you think it should be illegal to sell sex?” with 0 indicating *no* and 1 indicating *yes*.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Explanation	Pooled sample		Norway		Sweden	
		Mean	St. Err	Mean	St. Err	Mean	St. Err
<b>Selling wrong</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>In your opinion, is it morally acceptable or morally unacceptable to sell sex?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>Totally morally acceptable</i> to 10 for <i>Totally morally unacceptable</i> .	6.516	3.169	6.358	3.148	6.666	3.182
<b>Buying wrong</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>In your opinion, is it morally acceptable or morally unacceptable to buy sex?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>Totally morally acceptable</i> to 10 for <i>Totally morally unacceptable</i> .	7.132	3.075	6.877	3.140	7.372	2.994
<b>Illegal selling</b>	= 1 if respondent feels it should be illegal to sell sex	0.511	0.500	0.479	0.500	0.542	0.498
<b>Illegal buying</b>	= 1 if respondent feel it should be illegal to buy sex	0.580	0.494	0.532	0.499	0.626	0.484
<b>Law</b>	1 indicates that the respondent does not want buying <i>or</i> selling sex to be illegal; 2 indicates that the respondent only wants to criminalize buying sex; 3 only to criminalize selling; and 4 to criminalize both.	2.604	1.424	2.491	1.430	2.711	1.411
<b>Male</b>	= 1 if respondent is male	0.475	0.499	0.445	0.497	0.503	0.500
<b>Age</b>	respondent age	39.410	14.060	37.137	13.790	41.558	13.978
<b>Age<sup>2</sup></b>	= Age * Age	1750.734	1139.937	1569.198	1084.796	1922.368	1164.262
<b>Capital</b>	= 1 if respondent lives in the capital city	0.165	0.371	0.112	0.316	0.214	0.410
<b>Cohabit</b>	= 1 if respondent is married or cohabiting	0.658	0.475	0.651	0.477	0.664	0.472
<b>Highed</b>	= 1 if respondent has at least some university education	0.460	0.498	0.488	0.500	0.434	0.496
<b>Lowed</b>	= 1 if respondent only has elementary education or less	0.133	0.340	0.098	0.298	0.167	0.373
<b>Highinc</b>	= 1 if respondent earns >45,000 SEK per month, or >600,000 NOK per year.	0.052	0.221	0.075	0.263	0.031	0.173
<b>Lowinc</b>	= 1 if respondent earn <20,000 SEK per month, or <200,000 NOK per year.	0.333	0.471	0.260	0.439	0.399	0.490
<b>Norway</b>	= 1 if respondent lives in Norway	0.486	0.500				
<b>Sweden</b>	= 1 if respondent lives in Sweden	0.514	0.500				
<b>Religious</b>	= 1 if respondent participates in religious activities at least once a month.	0.088	0.283	0.096	0.295	0.079	0.270
<b>Publicsec</b>	Answer to the question <i>How large should the public sector be?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>Much smaller than today</i> to 10 for <i>Much larger than today</i> .	5.037	1.807	4.807	1.837	5.256	1.752
<b>Gendereq</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>Do you think that gender equality is an important issue?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>No, not at all</i> to 10 for <i>Yes, for sure</i> .	8.662	2.041	8.475	2.084	8.838	1.984
<b>Right</b>	= 1 if respondent answered 8-10 on a 0-10 scale where 0 indicates that the respondent is to the left politically and 10 that he/she is to the right.	5.037	1.807	4.807	1.837	5.256	1.752
<b>Left</b>	= 1 if respondent answered 0-2 on a 0-10 scale, where 0 indicates that the respondent is to the left politically and 10 that he/she is to the right.	8.662	2.041	8.475	2.084	8.838	1.984
<b>Responsibility</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>Do you think women who dress challengingly are co-responsible if they get sexually abused?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>No, not at all</i> to 10 for <i>Yes, for sure</i> .	1.928	2.728	2.113	2.784	1.753	2.664
<b>Antiimm</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>Do you think that there are too many foreigners in Norway/ Sweden?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>No, not at all</i> to 10 for <i>Yes, for sure</i> .	4.844	3.404	5.491	3.273	4.233	3.413
<b>Sexlib</b>	Answer to the question “ <i>Do you think it is okay to have sex with unknown people?</i> ” ranging from 0 for <i>No, not at all</i> to 10 for <i>Yes, for sure</i> .	5.415	3.562	4.757	3.451	6.039	3.554

Table 2. OLS regressions. Buying wrong and selling wrong dependent variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Buying wrong		Selling wrong	
Male	-2.028*** (0.107)	-1.494*** (0.105)	-2.001*** (0.110)	-1.412*** (0.108)
Age	-0.059** (0.028)	-0.040 (0.027)	-0.058** (0.029)	-0.044 (0.028)
Age2	0.001** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001 (0.000)
Capital	0.082 (0.144)	0.206 (0.136)	-0.231 (0.148)	-0.077 (0.139)
Cohabit	0.239** (0.119)	0.183 (0.112)	0.349*** (0.122)	0.241** (0.115)
Highed	0.475*** (0.113)	0.327*** (0.109)	0.127 (0.116)	0.107 (0.111)
Lowed	0.167 (0.180)	0.198 (0.171)	0.272 (0.186)	0.238 (0.175)
Highinc	-0.063 (0.239)	0.205 (0.227)	-0.193 (0.246)	0.127 (0.232)
Lowinc	-0.064 (0.135)	-0.239* (0.129)	0.124 (0.139)	-0.054 (0.131)
Norway	-0.566*** (0.111)	-0.719*** (0.110)	-0.292** (0.114)	-0.678*** (0.113)
Religious		0.858*** (0.181)		0.966*** (0.185)
Publicsec		0.081*** (0.030)		0.088*** (0.031)
Gendereq		0.180*** (0.026)		0.148*** (0.026)
Right		-0.263* (0.137)		-0.300** (0.140)
Left		0.249* (0.145)		-0.168 (0.148)
Responsibility		-0.037* (0.019)		0.006 (0.020)
Antiimm		-0.082*** (0.016)		-0.018 (0.016)
Sexlib		-0.228*** (0.016)		-0.283*** (0.016)
Constant	8.899*** (0.592)	8.587*** (0.659)	7.782*** (0.611)	7.981*** (0.675)
Observations	3164	3143	3157	3137
R-squared	0.12	0.23	0.12	0.24

Standard errors in parentheses.

\* significant at 10 percent; \*\* significant at 5 percent; \*\*\* significant at 1 percent.

Table 3. Marginal effects after probit. Illegal buying and illegal selling dependent variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Buying illegal		Selling illegal	
Male	-0.332*** (0.018)	-0.276*** (0.019)	-0.289*** (0.018)	-0.233*** (0.019)
Age	-0.022*** (0.005)	-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.005)
Age2	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Capital	-0.014 (0.026)	0.005 (0.026)	-0.050** (0.026)	-0.034 (0.026)
Cohabit	0.036* (0.021)	0.034 (0.022)	0.054** (0.021)	0.043** (0.022)
Highed	0.076*** (0.020)	0.061*** (0.021)	0.041** (0.020)	0.050** (0.021)
Lowed	-0.013 (0.032)	-0.011 (0.034)	0.020 (0.032)	0.009 (0.033)
Highinc	-0.043 (0.043)	-0.002 (0.045)	-0.010 (0.043)	0.030 (0.045)
Lowinc	-0.020 (0.024)	-0.051** (0.025)	-0.003 (0.024)	-0.026 (0.025)
Norway	-0.145*** (0.020)	-0.177*** (0.021)	-0.099*** (0.020)	-0.165*** (0.021)
Religious		0.149*** (0.033)		0.121*** (0.035)
Publicsec		0.024*** (0.006)		0.014** (0.006)
Genderq		0.025*** (0.005)		0.020*** (0.005)
Right		-0.024 (0.027)		-0.056** (0.027)
Left		0.068** (0.028)		-0.033 (0.028)
Responsibility		-0.006* (0.004)		0.005 (0.004)
Antiimm		-0.010*** (0.003)		0.002 (0.003)
Sexlib		-0.036*** (0.003)		-0.038*** (0.003)
Observations	3157	3136	3145	3126

Standard errors in parentheses.

\* significant at 10 percent; \*\* significant at 5 percent; \*\*\* significant at 1 percent.

Table 4. OLS regressions. Buying wrong and selling wrong dependent variables.

	Buying wrong		Selling wrong	
	(1) Norway	(2) Sweden	(3) Norway	(4) Sweden
Male	-1.291*** (0.164)	-1.665*** (0.138)	-1.342*** (0.160)	-1.456*** (0.148)
Age	-0.060 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.039)	-0.113*** (0.038)	0.065 (0.042)
Age2	0.001 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.000)
Capital	-0.081 (0.240)	0.345** (0.163)	-0.202 (0.233)	-0.030 (0.175)
Cohabit	0.178 (0.166)	0.162 (0.151)	0.235 (0.161)	0.182 (0.162)
Highed	0.593*** (0.162)	0.182 (0.148)	0.249 (0.157)	0.052 (0.158)
Lowed	0.123 (0.281)	0.364* (0.218)	0.005 (0.272)	0.524** (0.233)
Highinc	0.336 (0.287)	-0.155 (0.385)	0.293 (0.278)	-0.239 (0.411)
Lowinc	0.028 (0.215)	-0.357** (0.160)	0.181 (0.208)	-0.124 (0.171)
Religious	0.698*** (0.260)	0.906*** (0.251)	0.795*** (0.253)	1.052*** (0.270)
Publicsec	0.058 (0.043)	0.091** (0.042)	0.075* (0.041)	0.077* (0.045)
Genderreq	0.142*** (0.037)	0.224*** (0.035)	0.089** (0.036)	0.215*** (0.038)
Right	-0.214 (0.203)	-0.351* (0.186)	-0.286 (0.197)	-0.337* (0.199)
Left	0.597** (0.237)	0.084 (0.183)	-0.094 (0.230)	-0.109 (0.195)
Responsibility	-0.013 (0.028)	-0.060** (0.027)	0.023 (0.027)	-0.019 (0.029)
Antiimm	-0.020 (0.025)	-0.122*** (0.021)	0.051** (0.024)	-0.070*** (0.022)
Sexlib	-0.286*** (0.024)	-0.183*** (0.021)	-0.333*** (0.023)	-0.240*** (0.022)
Constant	8.239*** (0.918)	7.678*** (0.935)	8.867*** (0.893)	5.243*** (1.001)
Observations	1502	1641	1499	1638
R-squared	0.23	0.24	0.27	0.23

Standard errors in parentheses.

\* significant at 10 percent; \*\* significant at 5 percent; \*\*\* significant at 1 percent.



Table 5. Marginal effects after probit. Illegal buying and illegal selling dependent variables.

	Illegal buying		Illegal selling	
	(1) Norway	(2) Sweden	(3) Norway	(4) Sweden
Male	-0.293*** (0.029)	-0.269*** (0.025)	-0.233*** (0.029)	-0.236*** (0.026)
Age	-0.024*** (0.008)	-0.020*** (0.008)	-0.020*** (0.008)	-0.011 (0.008)
Age2	0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Capital	-0.046 (0.047)	0.036 (0.031)	-0.053 (0.045)	-0.020 (0.032)
Cohabit	0.024 (0.033)	0.038 (0.030)	0.005 (0.032)	0.066** (0.030)
Highed	0.031 (0.032)	0.114*** (0.028)	0.052* (0.031)	0.065** (0.029)
Lowed	-0.021 (0.055)	0.046 (0.041)	0.019 (0.054)	0.036 (0.043)
Highinc	-0.001 (0.057)	0.007 (0.073)	0.006 (0.056)	0.064 (0.075)
Lowinc	-0.023 (0.042)	-0.059* (0.032)	-0.031 (0.041)	-0.016 (0.032)
Religious	0.187*** (0.048)	0.099** (0.048)	0.098* (0.051)	0.126** (0.050)
Publicsec	0.027*** (0.008)	0.021** (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.016* (0.008)
Gendereq	0.014* (0.007)	0.035*** (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	0.033*** (0.007)
Right	-0.037 (0.040)	-0.033 (0.037)	-0.047 (0.039)	-0.070* (0.038)
Left	0.160*** (0.044)	0.031 (0.036)	0.015 (0.045)	-0.049 (0.037)
Responsibility	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.004 (0.006)
Antiimm	0.002 (0.005)	-0.018*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)
Sexlib	-0.040*** (0.005)	-0.033*** (0.004)	-0.046*** (0.005)	-0.031*** (0.004)
Observations	1499	1637	1496	1630

Standard errors in parentheses.

\* significant at 10 percent; \*\* significant at 5 percent; \*\*\* significant at 1 percent.