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Regulating the Spaces of Sex Work in the EU

WORKING PAPER

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Regulation of sex work in Sweden

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1. Introduction

In the context of a Europe where sex work laws have undergone considerable revision in the last decade (Kilvington et al, 2001), the reforms in Sweden have excited much comment because of the unique prohibitionist stance adopted by the Swedish government, which has criminalised the purchase (but not the sale) of sexual services (see especially Ekburg, 2004; Svanstrom, 2004). For example, in the context of the Home Office and Scottish Executive reviews of prostitution policy, it has been the Swedish 'model', together with the regulatory approach adopted in the Netherlands, that has been most frequently discussed as offering a basis for legal reform. Significantly, the Swedish and Dutch approaches have been depicted in both policy and media debates as diametrically opposed, with Sweden's prohibitionism contrasted with the liberalisation of sex work in the Netherlands, ignoring some of the obvious similarities in the way that the laws in both nations focus on the protection of women and the prosecution of male exploiters (see, for example, the Norwegian Working Group on the legal regulation of sexual services, 2001).

In this report, we examine the Swedish approach and examine its impacts on the spaces of sex work. We argue here that the law banning the purchase of sexual services (introduced as part of the Kvinnofrid laws of 1998, and enforced from 1999 onwards) can only be understood against the background of growing national concern about trafficking, and in a context where a strong feminist lobby has identified all sex work as gendered violence. We also note that the law was introduced at a time when Sweden was seeking to differentiate itself from its European neighbours by pursuing a strong and nationally-focused approach in which concerns about immigration and European integration were not incidental (Pred, 1997; Gould, 2003). As such, it is a law that has significant symbolic import, and its central role in redefining national moral values should not be underestimated.

We accordingly follow Babbitt (2007, 2) by arguing that 'prostitution and trafficking laws construct internal moral boundaries with the goal of securitizing the state and preserving the nation.' Yet we concern ourselves here not so much with the symbolic role of the law but its more immediate and practical ramifications for commercial sex in Sweden. Focusing on the example of Stockholm, we begin to trace some of these effects, demonstrating

that while the law has been publicly proclaimed as successful, it has been implicated in a spatial switching of sex work from street to off-street modes of working (rather than eradicating or reducing the incidence of sex work to any significant extent). In noting this spatial shift we nonetheless stress that the incidence of sex work is relatively low in Sweden, with an evidential data deficit hampering both official and unofficial appraisals of the extent of sex work in the city.

2. Context

As in many other European nations, Sweden adopted a system of regulationism in the nineteenth century informed by the idea that prostitution was a necessary yet undesirable social phenomenon, with sex workers pathologised as a significant vector of disease transmission. Municipal systems of surveillance and medical examination were instigated in the larger cities by the Royal Health Committee, with a royal circular of 1812 codifying the idea that all women who worked in bars, restaurants and inns (as well as all 'loose women') should be subject to medical examination every three months to contain the spread of venereal disease.

Meanwhile, those accused of harboring infection were sent to lock hospitals (the 'kurhus'), and, in Stockholm at least, prostitution police were established in 1859 to prevent prostitute women soliciting on the streets in areas where they might provoke moral panic or offense. At the same time, Stockholm introduced weekly inspections of prostitute women, with all brothels becoming state registered. Lacking such police resources, smaller towns nonetheless enforced by-laws criminalizing prostitutes under 'vagrancy' and 'fornication laws', with the depiction of sex workers – but not their clients – as venerally-diseased allowing for humiliating and degrading treatment (Svanstrom, 2000). Opposed for this double-standard (by groups that included the Federation, which argued for the total eradication of prostitution), the singling out of prostitutes continued to underpin VD policies between 1859 and 1918.

In the twentieth century, however, Sweden's approach moved gradually from regulation to an abolitionism in which the emphasis was placed on reducing public nuisance as much as containing public health problems. Indeed, the gendered assumption that it

was women who spread venereal disease, and not their clients, disappeared following the 1918 *Lex Veneris* which identified both men and women responsible for spreading sexually transmitted diseases. This new law – which Baldwin (1990) identifies as the keystone of a ‘Scandinavian Sonderweg’ – was acclaimed as heralding a new era of gendered and welfare equality, with the law making it mandatory for all cases of VD to be reported.

The abandonment of the demeaning compulsory medical inspections for prostitutes did not mean that systems of medical surveillance were enacted in a gender-neutral manner, and Blom (2006) argues that much prejudice remained against prostitutes. This suggests that prostitutes continued to be seen as a moral threat – if not a health problem – with the 1885 Vagrancy Laws subsequently used by the police to control street prostitution given they allowed them to arrest prostitutes for simply being in a public place. Enforced until 1964 despite periodic attempts at parliamentary reform, the use of these laws was ultimately abandoned on the basis that they were discriminatory and pathologising (Svanstrom, 2006); it was not that prostitutes were being punished for vagrancy per se (for the majority were not homeless), but for pursuing a way of life in which women engaged in sexual relations ‘out of wedlock’ (Kinberg, 1933). Post-1964, much of the attention switched to pimping and living off immoral earnings, although it was apparent that levels of pimping were lower than those noted in the rest of Western Europe. Laws passed in 1984 provide the basis of the current prohibition of procuring (‘financially exploiting casual sexual relations for payment’), and make it an offence for anyone to promote prostitution. Letting a premise be used for the purposes of prostitution is also an offence, while street work could be prevented through public order legislation designed to prevent noise and nuisance (see Appendix One).

Nonetheless, prostitution was not illegal in Sweden through most of the twentieth century. Yet it was reported to be less common in Sweden as other Nordic nations (Scoular, 2004). A nationwide survey of social services completed in 1998 (NBHW, 2000) revealed that in only 44 of the 201 municipalities that replied to the questionnaire, social services reported they knew of the existence of female prostitutes in their districts in 1998. The number of municipalities claiming awareness of female prostitutes in 1999 was marginally larger: 48 municipalities, but this still corresponds

to only 17 percent of the country's municipalities (NBHW, 2000). The conclusion of this survey was that sex was for sale in only a minority of Swedish towns and cities. Moreover, the absolute numbers of sex workers reported tended to be low in most cases, with higher numbers reported only in Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö.

Official reports have suggested it is not possible to calculate the total number of known female prostitutes in Sweden since there is no way of checking for overlapping enumeration between the municipalities that surround larger urban centres: the suggestion here is of occupational and geographical mobility among prostitute women. Nonetheless, in a nation with a population of 8.5 million, the figure of 1000 street prostitutes across the entire country was often cited – certainly much lower than is the case for some cities across the EU. Street prostitution has tended to be overwhelmingly encountered only in the larger cities – the National Board of Health and Welfare (NBHW, 2000) survey reported that there were 280 street workers active in Stockholm over the course of a year, 286 in Gothenburg and 160 in Malmö. Collectively, this constituted over three-quarters of known street activity in the country, with street work only reported in a handful of other locations (e.g. Skane, Karlstad and Jonköping).

Off-street work has also existed in Sweden in a variety of forms, but appears to have been little debated given the evident lack of data about this sector (and an assumption it includes 'upmarket' forms of sex work requiring less careful scrutiny by social services). It is significant, perhaps, that the phrase 'off-street' is not widely used, with this form of sex work more usually referred to as hidden or concealed. Nonetheless, a common assumption in writing about Swedish prostitution is that roughly one-third of all prostitution consists of street prostitution, with two-thirds takes place in 'concealed' forms (SOU 1995). This leads to typical estimates of around 1000-1500 women in the off-street sector, though social services or police data on this is very patchy, and problematised by different understandings of what constitutes prostitution. Some estimates therefore exclude escort work on the assumption that this does not necessarily involve the selling of sexual services, but do include women working from their own premises and advertising on the Internet, those working in bars, hotels and restaurants and also those women working as prostitutes in massage parlours (although in Sweden the vast

majority of massage parlours are simply saunas/parlours which do not offer sexual services).

There are also around 10-15 sex clubs in Sweden where sex is known to be sold, with as many as 40 women working in some of these clubs. However, some sex clubs offer just striptease or show pornographic movies, and have no spaces where 'private dances' can be performed or private sexual transactions can be negotiated. Women are generally self-employed as dancers at the premise, and are required to pay their own tax. This means that the clubs cannot be accused of offering or profiting from the sale of sexual services. There is also mixed evidence that women are encouraged to offer sexual services by those who run the clubs, with most commentators suggesting that women employed in the clubs as dancers may slowly gravitate towards prostitution. Nevertheless, SOU's (2001) report claims there may be as many as 500 women in Sweden's sex clubs, the majority in Stockholm and Gothenburg.

The rise in prostitution mediated via the Internet is a widely noted phenomena throughout the urban West, and the phenomena of sex being sold online is one that has been noted in Sweden, with personal contact sites, chat rooms and forums being used by both buyers and sellers to solicit sex (Mansson, 2001). Yet the number of sites which explicitly offer sex for sale is relatively small. In a 1998 Internet survey by the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, several searches were carried out to identify prostitution on the Internet. The number of hits during the search months amounted to 2,668, but of these, only 27 involved direct offers to provide sexual services. Moreover, most of the sellers were men, and in the majority of cases, they were addressing female purchasers. It is difficult to tally this with the figure of 100 women advertising on the Internet claimed by Mansson and Hedin (2001): however, any lesser figure would be suspicious given long-standing traditions of offering 'secretarial services' in the personal ads section of Swedish papers.

In a more recent estimate of the extent of sex work in Sweden, Magnusson et al (2005) suggest the total number of sex workers advertising via the Internet remains just 100 (and they make no mention of male sellers). However, their estimates of sex work are generally conservative, with 425 on the street, one hundred via the Internet and 500 from sex clubs giving a total of 1025 sex workers

in the whole country. This total is much lower than the 2500 typically cited elsewhere: the difference appears to result from their unwillingness to acknowledge that flat, brothel, massage parlour, hotel or bar work exists in any significant amount.

Ultimately, there are wide variations in estimates of the amount of sex work in Sweden, and much of this appears related to the lack of clear knowledge about off-street concealed work. That said, estimates of between 1000-2500 prostitutes in Sweden (between one per 8500-3400 population) do underline that this is a much less significant phenomena than in other parts of the EU (the rates in both the Netherlands and the UK are roughly 1 per 700 people). The reasons for these relatively low numbers have been the subject of much conjecture, and revolve around assumptions about the quality of social services, the prevalence of well-paid part-time employment for women and relatively low levels of drug abuse and destitution in Sweden. The idea that the Swedish state offers excellent support for women exiting sex work is particularly important here, and often claimed as a positive feature of the Swedish model. There is also a frequently made claim that in the Swedish cities, tight-knit and relatively well-established street prostitutes will inform the police about newcomers, regarding them as unwelcome competition. This was an issue especially noted in the early 1990s, when 'Baltic' women were regularly ostracised by the street workers for offering services at below the established market rate. Most reports also note an absence of underage sex work in Sweden, with the relative age of street workers in the major cities giving some credence to the idea that new entrants are discouraged from entering the street scene. Another cited factor that may discouraged women from working as prostitutes in Sweden is the way that they are 'pursued' by the tax services: even though prostitution has been legal, prostitutes have often had their tax claims rejected on the basis that their claimed income is too low. It appears that the tax authorities seek to maximise revenue by working with guideline figures that do not reflect the types of incomes made by many in the sector.

The suggestion here is that number of women employed in sex work is relatively small in Sweden because there is little necessity or incentive for women to do so, with the stigmatization that still attaches to prostitution a significant factor in a country where there is little pro-sex work discourse. Another option, of course, is that data about prostitution is wholly unreliable, and seriously

underestimates the extent of sex work in the country. Data on client behaviour provides a useful point of comparison here, and although there has been little documented evidence on purchase, a much-cited Swedish National Institute of Public Health Survey in 1996 revealed one in eight (or 400,000) Swedish men over the age of 18 had paid for sexual services at some time in their life, with 30% having purchased sex more than 5 times and 5% more than 100 times (Table One).

Paid for sex	Men	Women	Figures averaged
'No'	82.5	96.9	89.5
'No, but have fantasised about it'	1.9	0.2	1.1
'Yes'	12.7	0.0	6.7
'No answer'	2.6	2.9	2.8
Total	100	100	100
	n=1475	n=1335	N=2810

Table One: Percentages of men and women who responded they had 'paid to be together with someone sexually' (source: *den Kopta Sexualiteten*, 1998, 236)

The report – published as *Sex in Sweden* (1998) – interestingly records no women having paid for sex (Kulick, 2005). It is also based on a relatively small sample. Yet the fact that 400,000 men have bought sex – some regularly - implies that the figure of 1000-2500 sex workers across Sweden may be a gross underestimate. Against this, 79% of all purchases reported by Swedish men were made overseas, suggesting an important tradition of sex tourism or sex recreation during business tourism that may be significant in explaining the low numbers of female sex workers in the country (Mansson, 2004).

In all this, it is evident that prostitution is regarded as synonymous with female prostitution (i.e. a female seller and a male purchaser). The NBHW (2000) report stated that at least twelve municipalities knew of men selling sexual services to men, but that 'all information available suggests that it is highly unusual in street prostitution, and it might be assumed that this is at least partly a result of the work of the social services and the police'. There appear to be no reliable estimates of the overall extent of male sex work in Sweden, with laws introduced largely on the basis that

men routinely exploit women through prostitution, and the police most concerned with pimping and trafficking offences in relation to female sex work (see also Section 4).

3. Legal reform

Throughout the twentieth century, Sweden adopted an essentially abolitionist stance in which prostitution was not illegal, but remained stigmatised through the criminalisation of many of the acts associated with it. That said, there was a gradual change in the regulation of prostitution, with increased emphasis placed on the provision of social services providing legal and health support. One leading academic commentator suggest that this shift occurred in the 1970s:

You have different spheres of interventions and action, and, up to then in Sweden, the issue of prostitution had been sort of located within the framework of criminology and criminal policy... What we began to say was that prostitution was part and parcel of a certain gender system which is structured, you know, in it's meaning, you know, in it's implications, and it has social consequences and let's look at them you know, for a change, let's shift focus. And so this was done in the mid-seventies and it is very difficult for foreigners to understand the while development of this issue in Sweden if you don't take into account the history of the introduction of social policy and the introduction of gender policy into the issue of prostitution you see (interview, 2007).

It has been suggested elsewhere that it was 1976 report into the nightclub culture of the city of Malmö, *Svarta affärer* ('Black Markets') that first questioned the state's approach to prostitution and began to argue for an approach that addressed gender inequality and sexual violence within the 'entertainment economy' (Jacobsson, 2002, 23). Following this, the government commissioned its first investigation into prostitution in 1977, which was riven by disputes between the politician appointed to chair the commission and the rest of the expert panel, which consisted of academics and expert witnesses. This split was manifest in the differences between the official report - *Prostitution: Description, Analysis, Solutions* (1980) - which identified prostitution as part of

normal gender relations, and hence acceptable in a liberal society, and the report completed by the expert panel which suggested it embodied the exploitation of women (published as Borg et al, 1981). During the 1980s, this view became more common in Sweden as women's groups and feminists began to view prostitution as merely one element of the broader problems of women's status in society and the goal of gender equality. Significant here was the emergence of a new concept (*jamstalldhet*) in public debate, which distinguished gender/sex inequalities from other inequalities. In effect, the *jamstalldhet* discourse critiqued widespread assumptions of gender difference, and argued women and men should have equal positions in all walks of life (Elman, 1993).

The idea that sex work was unacceptable exploitation hence became widespread among academic commentators and 'state feminists' in the 1980s (Svanstrom, 2004; 2006). The call for the reversal of the traditional abolitionist stance – where prostitute women are criminalised because of the way they sell sex, but male clients are granted impunity – thus became common, with criminalization of clients first mooted in the 1980s. By 1987, the National Organization for Women's Shelters and Young Women's Shelters in Sweden (ROKS) made the demand for criminalization of clients part of its yearly Plan of Action, and this proposal was explored by two commissions of inquiry - the Commission on Prostitution (under Inga-Britt Tornell) and the Commission on Violence Against Women – both of which reported in 1995. The former bought forward the proposal for criminalization as a parliamentary Bill, with its report (SOU, 2005) stressing the psychological and physical damage caused by sex work (Gould, 2003).

The assertion that prostitution is indistinguishable from rape as a form of sexual violence has become a powerful discourse informing the reform of prostitution law throughout the West (Kantola and Squires, 2001). In Sweden, however, this discourse became particularly dominant and met little counter-argument from groups arguing that prostitution is a legitimate form of sex work. Significant here was the conflation of prostitution and trafficking in media debates, with stories detailing the forthcoming 'invasion' of 'Baltic women' and 'Eastern girls' widespread by the time these commissions reported in the 1990s (Kulik, 2003; Gould, 2001; 2003; Babbitt, 2007). Though there was little clear evidence of

trafficking into Sweden in the 1990s, accounts of 'Eastern women' overwhelming 'native' sex workers in other European nations bolstered discourses in which immigrant prostitutes were depicted as victims of a new 'white slave trade'. As Berman (2003) details, a key element of this discourse was the description of young, east European girls forced into prostitution:

From 'Nicoleta, 17, a 'beautiful Moldovan student' to Daniela, a Czech '18-year-old student and beauty contestant' to 'Mia, a 14-year-old Hungarian girl...in a skinny jumper and miniskirt', media accounts detail in emotive, graphic and titillating language crimes of trickery, kidnapping, physical and sexual violence and forced prostitution perpetrated against young, white women as they clandestinely and illegally cross state borders (Berman, 2003, 39)

Berman continues by suggesting traffickers figure prominently in such stories as *active* perpetrators while the women remain *passive* victims. Further, Doezenia (2005) argues this emphasis on the youth of trafficked women reinforced an image of innocent passivity, with the boundaries between child and adult blurred in order to portray the victim as young and helpless. The media accordingly described criminal gangs luring 'tens of thousands of young women from Eastern Europe' into 'a heinous underground of modern-day enslavement in foreign countries' (Kulick, 2003, 205). The plight of these was illustrated in the celebrated 2002 Swedish film "Lilja 4-ever", inspired by the story of Dangoule Rasalaite, a 16-year-old Lithuanian teenager who jumped out of a Stockholm window to her death in June 2000, after being smuggled into the country a year earlier and forced to work as a sexual slave.

Horrible stories of rape, incarceration and humiliation of trafficked women thus supported arguments for the prosecution traffickers, and making a clear argument for increased control of sex work in the interests of disrupting trafficking rings. In 1996 the report of the Commission on the Sex Trade was accordingly followed by a Bill proposing the criminalization of the buying of sexual services. This proposal was ultimately passed as part of the Violence Against women (*Kvinnofrid*) Act, approved by a majority of 181 in favour to 92 against in July 1998. Along with the prohibition on the purchase of sexual services, this act included an expanded definition of what constitutes rape, criminalized the 'gross violation of a woman's

integrity', increased penalties for genital mutilation, increased social support for woman who have been abused, introduced more rigorous provisions on sexual harassment in the workplace, gender neutralised the penal code so that all offences apply to both men and women, and established a Commission on Sexual Offences.

The argument for criminalising the purchaser holds that the seller (constructed as female) is weaker and being 'used' by the purchaser (Kasparsson, 2004). The core issue of prostitution in Sweden is thus considered to be men's power and men's sexuality' (Svanström, 2003, 15) and the legislation a landmark in relation to the double standard characterising patriarchal society (Månsson and Olsson, 1995), as governmental statements stressed:

It [*prostitution*] is officially acknowledged as a form of exploitation of women and children and constitutes a significant social problem, which is harmful not only to the individual prostituted person but also to society at large... This objective is central to Sweden's goal of achieving equality between women and men at the national level as well as the international. However, gender equality will remain unattainable so long as men buy, sell and exploit women and children by prostituting them... Prostituted persons are considered as the weaker party, exploited by both the procurers and the buyers. It is important to motivate persons in prostitution to attempt to exit without risk of punishment. By adopting the legislation Sweden has given notice to the world that it regards prostitution as a serious form of oppression of women and children and that efforts must be made to combat it. (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, 2003, 1)

It has been reported that social workers have traditionally been sceptical about the use of repressive measures as a means to change people's attitudes and their behavior in Sweden. Further, some of those providing support to prostitutes argued the law would be counterproductive as it would force many clients and prostitutes 'underground', undermining the efforts of social workers to help them. Ultimately, such arguments were overwhelmed by those that suggested the law would send out a strong message that prostitution was an unacceptable form of gendered exploitation, with clients forced to confronted the social and human

implications of their actions.

The passing of the law thus owed much to the coherence of the feminist message that 'any country that claims to defend principles of legal, political, economic, and social equality for women and girls must reject the idea that women and girls are commodities to be bought, sold, and sexually exploited by men' (Ekberg, 2004, 1204). Opinion polls suggested that at least 80% of Swedes supported the criminalisation of clients, with a significant number also favouring policies that would criminalise selling (Holli, 2004). This appears related to the high degree of cooperation among female politicians, many who have strong connections to women's organisations: women constitute 40% of the Riksdag and 50% of government ministers (Scoular, 2004, 197). As previously stressed, it also appears due to the appeal of a particular articulation of national identity in which the moral, modern Swedish state is contrasted with a liberal and immoral Other (Gould, 2003); the law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services can be read as an attempt to secure the nation-state not only from foreign bodies, but also foreign practices and ideas (such as the prostitution policies in evidence elsewhere) (Babbitt, 2007). Kulick (2003, 203) pushes this further, arguing that the political success of the Kvinnofrid legislation was directly tied to anxieties about possible 'infection' from other EU member states: prostitution 'became a reason for staying out of the EU, with some journalists arguing it ...was necessary for Sweden to stand against this wave of European liberalism'. Margerita Winburg (women's minister) argued 'that efforts to combat prostitution and trafficking in women can only succeed if we refuse to be the stooges of the international prostitution industry...Instead of adopting the superficial and individualised arguments put forward by advocates of legalisation, we must take a stand against a society in which women and children are regarded as commodities for trade.'

The law took effect from 1st January 1999, despite the protestations of those who argued that prostitution was not a criminal problem but a social one, and that the proposed legislation would infringe the rights of the individual (for example, one male MP referred to the Act as 'moral penalising', indicative of a 'new puritanism' - see *Riksdagsprotokoll* 1997/8,144). On the passing of the Bill, it was hailed internationally as a pioneering approach to regulating sex work, antithetical to the notions of legalization or

decriminalization being explored elsewhere in Europe. Translated, the law states:

A person who procures a temporary sexual relation in return for payment will be sentenced – unless the act is punishable under the penal code – for the purchase of sexual services to a fine or a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months (SFS, 1998: 408).

Several aspects of this wording are worthy of note. For example, the question of what is regarded as a temporary (or ‘casual’) sexual relation is open to debate, as this might preclude long-standing relations between worker and client; likewise, the suggestion that purchasing sex does not include payment in kind promoted considerable debate (Kulick, 2004), and a subsequent proposal to amend the Act to include third party payment was in fact carried in 2001 to penalise those men regularly purchase sex from the same woman and on behalf of others be criminalised. Supporters of the amendment argued that this would ‘plug the gap’ in the original Act that meant that agencies or escort services could potentially act as go-betweens negotiating the purchase of sex on behalf of clients whilst remaining immune from prosecution (Ekberg, 2004, 1203-4).

The Act set the minimum level of punishment as 50-days imprisonment or an equivalent fine (set in proportion to the offender’s salary); in cases where prostitution buyers have purchased sexual services more than once, the courts were empowered to impose fines of up to 150 days (Penal Code, chapter 25, section 1). The penal code also suggests that there is no difference between attempting to buy sexual services and actually consuming those services. In practice, however, Swedish law requires a high burden of proof, with no room for grounds of reasonable doubt. This means that the police require clear evidence of physical sexual contact having occurred with sexual relations defined in subsequent governmental reports as ‘intercourse and activities that involve the touching of the other’s genitals or the other’s body with one’s own genitals...to satisfy the sexual urges of the perpetrator’ (SOS, 2001: 296). In this sense, proposing a worker or kerb-crawling *per se* are not the offence: rather it is obtaining the service that is the crime. Ekburg (2004) also states that ‘the offence comprises all forms of sexual services, whether they are purchased on the street, in brothels, in so-called

massage parlors, from escort services, or in other similar circumstances'. However, given the above definition, sexual services have not been widely interpreted as including stripping or 'virtual' sexual services.

When the new law came into force in January 1999, the Swedish government allotted the national police SEK\$7million (£500000) for police enforcement and, in 2003, another SEK\$30million (£2000000) to combat prostitution and the trafficking of human beings. The majority of this was spent on very visible programmes of CCTV surveillance in known areas of street work, with national publicity campaigns used to inform potential clients of the legal consequences of buying sex.

Between 1999-2005, 1300 men were cautioned under the legislation, with a major rise in the numbers in 2002 because of a major investigation into a trafficking gang that advertised on the Internet (Figure Two). Though the figures do not differentiate between offences relating to street and off-street working, the majority of cautions in 1999-2002 were for clients caught kerb-crawling: the low numbers of cases proceeded against here underlines that Swedish courts require high standards of evidence, and in instances where men were caught picking up or meeting with street workers, it required the worker to confirm it was for money as well as evidence the sex had been transacted. This meant the police would have to observe the client picking up the prostitute, follow them to the place where sex was transacted, catch them 'in the act' and get the sex worker to testify that she had received money. Of the 94 cases in 2002, only 7 proceeded to court (with one of those acquitted) because of the lack of evidence that had been compiled. In part consequence, since 2002 there has been less attention devoted to street prostitution, and more to indoor work where it is believed sex is being sold in flats and brothels by immigrant sex workers under the control of pimps.

	Cautioned	Fined	Summary	Other
1999	94	5	5	
2000	92	22	7	
2001	86	20	18	
2002	110	14	21	2
2003	300	23	49	
2004	156	22	26	
2005	460	47	46	1

Figure Two: Crimes against the law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services (source: compiled from annual crime statistics, 1999 onwards, bra.se)

In 2005 there were also 44 prosecutions for trafficking and 12 for procuring. Although the gender of those cautioned for buying sexual services are not reported in crime statistics, Kulick (2004) suggests all involve male clients purchasing sex from female workers. Reviewing both the 1999 law and subsequent government evaluations of its impacts, Kulick (2004) identifies a constant refrain that the law is aiming to achieve gender equality. Kulick shows, however, that none of the documents make a case that preventing male prostitution will help achieve greater gender equality. Considering the principal positions which sex workers and their clients are understood to occupy, he hence notes that male sex workers and their clients are understood in different ways than female sex workers, who are pathologised as possessing some 'psychosexual deviancy'. These differences noted, he underlines the Fac. that the law makes no distinction between purchasing sex from a man or from a woman.

Since passage of the Act, there have been a number of reports assessing its impact. One year after the law was passed, the National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet), conducted a survey of the practice of the new law and what problems had been encountered (BRA, 2000). The National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) also published a report one year after the law was introduced (NBHW, 2000), documenting the known extent of prostitution; this was repeated four years later (NBHW, 2004). The National Police Board (Rikspolisstyrelsen) also published a report based on information

from the first two years of enforcement of the new law, making suggestions as to new methods in police work against prostitution.

The NBHW (2000) report collated responses from municipalities, concluding that the overall number of female prostitutes did not decline significantly in the year following the introduction of the new law, but that street prostitution exhibited a fairly dramatic and instant reduction on the introduction of the new law. Indeed, one police district reported that street prostitution had completely disappeared in the year following the introduction of the law; another three authorities and one police district stated that street prostitution disappeared at first, but later returned in diminished quantities. In absolute terms, however, the majority of the decline was accounted for by reduced amounts of street prostitution in the three largest cities. Furthermore, this decline was attributed directly to the increased media attention and additional police resource devoted to street prostitution.

The conclusions reached in the 2000 report have been echoed in subsequent reports, although it has been suggested that there has been a slow return to the streets by both clients and workers as the initial 'crackdown' on purchase subsided (see Section Four). That said, estimates of the extent of prostitution remain vague: the National Council for Crime Prevention argues that the exact number of streets prostitutes in the largest cities has been hard to estimate because police enforcement has resulted in geographical displacement on a micro-scale, with workers and clients moving to other streets and over a larger area than before.

Yet the fact overall levels of prostitution are thought to have remained constant while street prostitution has declined has lead most reports to conclude that many street workers have not simply re-located to new street beats, but moved 'to other arenas and modes of contact, such as the Internet and mobile phones'. Nonetheless, it is questioned whether this displacement was caused by the law, or whether it just represented the continuation of existing tendencies:

There are responses from authorities and districts indicating that other types of prostitution - such as Internet-based prostitution and prostitution carried out in apartments, restaurants and hotels - have increased. This last item of information on changes in types of prostitution requires

certain caution in its interpretation. Similar results appear regarding changes in prostitution during 1998. In other words, it is uncertain whether the changes regarding forms of prostitution that respondents mention knowledge of, are solely the result of the legislation (NBHW, 2000: 20)

The suggestion here is that the move to 'hidden' prostitution was part of a process where women with a stable clientele, no longer feeling the need to work the street, took advantage of 'enabling technologies' like mobile phones and the Internet.

The idea that women 'chose' to leave the street ignores the possibility that women were *forced* to leave. Since 1999, the situation on the street has been described as more difficult due to more intensive policing, a drop in custom leading to lower prices, less choice of clients, a need for quicker transactions and greater risk-taking (Nord and Rosenberg, 2001, 408). Ostergren (2004) claims this leads to the sex workers selling sex without protection of condoms for a higher rate, and encourages them having to accept more customers than before (since the prices are lower) She also argues that buyers are now 'worse; and more dangerous, and the women who cannot stop or move their business are dependent on these more dangerous men, since they cannot afford to turn them down as before. The absence of information on client attitudes means it is difficult to corroborate these claims or summarise the impacts of the law on their behaviour, but it is generally assumed that many men have been put off kerb-crawling by the threat of arrest, with clients in southern Sweden said to be travelling to legal brothels and street prostitutes in Denmark (Kasparsson, 2004). This lack of clients is a major factor that is encouraging the shift off-street.

The Swedish government publicly concedes 'both positive and negative experiences of the effects of the prostitution law are expressed in interviews with key informants within the police and social services' (NNHW, 2004: 50). Yet the law has been proclaimed as a major success on the basis that it was 'mostly symbolic', not intended to improve conditions for prostitutes but to send out a message that it is not acceptable to buy sex (Kulick, 2003). Moreover, both police and prosecutors have gone on record to state that they believe that the regime deters traffickers, with arrested clients providing valuable evidence that has helped assist in the break-up of trafficking networks. The fact that the numbers

of women trafficked into Sweden are low compared with neighbouring countries is hence taken as evidence of the success of the law: between two and five hundred women are trafficked into Sweden each year, compared with an estimated 17,000 to Finland (Holli, 2004). One government advisor explained:

Police were initially concerned about the new legislation, but soon realised that it could help them gather evidence against traffickers. Because they were able to arrest and question the customers of trafficked women, they could build a better picture of the crimes committed that could corroborate the victim's story (interview, 2007).

Initial police concerns about the law compromising trafficking investigations by criminalising customers, and making them reluctant to provide evidence, therefore appears to have given way to a more supportive stance in which the law is used to target trafficking. In 2005, there were 44 cases of trafficking noted (NCID, 2006), continuing an upwards trend in cases since the law was introduced.

Ekberg's (2004, 1199) claim that 'there are clear indications that the Law has had direct and positive effects in limiting the trafficking in women for prostitution to Sweden' has been disputed, with Clausen (2007) arguing that the NCID does not suggest any overall reduction in levels of trafficking in Sweden, despite increased prosecution of traffickers. Additionally, Clausen (2007) argues that the law *may* have discouraged traffickers from establishing their operations in Sweden, but that the overall level of criminalisation in Europe has not diminished (i.e. displacement may have occurred). In any case, legislation against trafficking (introduced in 2002, and amended in 2004 to bring Sweden into line with the Palermo protocol) is clearly distinct from legislation relating to purchase, with the authorities' frequent conflation of trafficking and organised prostitution highly problematic:

From my point of view as a researcher looking into these policies, there is a discrepancy between policy on prostitution and the state policy on trafficking because the prostitution policy makes it clear that even if you voluntarily sell sexual services you won't be accused of anything and, I mean it's a mire. Whereas in trafficking, they...didn't make a division between...forced and non-forced prostitution, so these

different laws are not working together and...from my point of view, it's obvious that the first one is something that can come below from feminist MPs and the other one is adjustment to the EU (interview, 2007).

Given this, it is highly debatable whether any particular claims should be made about the impact of criminalisation of the purchase of sexual services; Clausen (2007) concludes the failure of the authorities to differentiate between trafficking and organised transnational prostitution, or for that matter, forced and unforced prostitution, means that any conclusions about the role of the law in relation to trafficking can only be provisional.

Overall, it appears that the law prohibiting purchase of sexual services cannot be said to have made any significant impact on the overall levels of prostitution, whether organised or otherwise. Claims that the number of sex workers in Sweden have reduced from 2500-2000 before the law to 1000-1500 in 2004-05 appear to be based on the assumption that published numbers of street prostitutes relate to the total number of sex workers in the country. Reviewing most sources, it appears the most direct impact of the law has been a spatial switching from street to off-street, with much more sex work now occurring in hidden sectors which are not monitored by the police. For those that sex workers that remain, the environment is much less conducive:

As a result of the new legislation, the sexworkers say it is now harder for them to assess the clients. The clients are more stressed and scared and negotiation outdoors must be done in a more rapid manner. The likelihood of ending up with a dangerous client is thereby greater. Due to the law, sexworkers feel hunted by the police, social workers, media and sometimes even anti-prostitution activists on the streets. They find this unacceptable. One sexworker commented that no other vocational group would accept that the police "patrolled their workplace" (Ostergren, 2004, 65).

Another cited consequence is that sex workers may now be more apprehensive about seeking help from the police when they have had problems with an abusive customer. In all of this, however, we should note a remarkable absence of data relating to male sex work (and absolutely no suggestion that trafficking could involve men smuggled for the purposes of prostitution.' Writing as a male

sex worker, Jacobssen (2004) argues that while Sweden is extremely tolerant of gay sexuality, it is extremely intolerant of prostitution. He claims that the message sent out by the new law is that prostitution does not constitute work, and that all prostitutes are victims. In his estimation, this reproduces a sense of social stigma among male sex workers, discouraging unionisation. This is also the case for female sex work, with Sweden lacking a powerful union or advocacy group, and although some sex workers are members of the International Union of Sex Workers, sex work organisations in Sweden (e.g. *Riksorganisation for sex och erotikarbetare*) have a low profile and small membership. Given this, opposition to the law has been relatively muted, and articulated principally by journalists such as Petra Osteregren, (though the escort worker Isabella Lund, based in Skane, has also been involved in recent public debates that have discussed the legal status of sex workers in Sweden. At time of writing, there appears little political enthusiasm for revisiting the prostitution law, with the issue relatively low on the political agenda given the generally positive appraisals of the law given by the police and social services.

4. Case study - Stockholm

Though Stockholm consists of twenty-seven separate communities scattered over nearly 400 islands, in this report we focus on central Stockholm (innerstaten), which has a population of 282,831 (2004 official population estimate). As the nation's capital, and self-proclaimed centre of Scandanvian night-life, it might be expected that sex work has been important to the economy of the city. To the contrary, sex work appears to have been of relatively lesser importance in Stockholm than in Malmo, whose proximity to Denmark, as well as the Baltic states, seems to be significant in attracting clients and workers. Nonetheless, the figures in Appendix Two on procuring, buying sex and sex trafficking indicate that Stockholm accounted for over one-third of recorded prostitution offences in 2005. In the process of this research, we identified few key informants and completed just eleven interviews. These included interviews with the majority of social workers providing on the ground support to sex workers in the city; city police; governmental advisors and academics based in the city who have contributed to policy debates. A number of requests for interviews with councillors and planners were turned down on the

grounds that the issue of prostitution was incidental to the work of the individual. The city has no agreed prostitution policy, and there is no clear policy on the location or acceptability of sex clubs and sex shops, which are few in number.

Svanstrom's (2004) account provides a detailed account of the geographies and histories of prostitution in Stockholm in the nineteenth century. Since then, prostitution has undergone various changes in response to wider social as well as legal changes, as this lengthy quote from a key commentator on Swedish prostitution testifies:

I mean, it was basically the old type of prostitution, meaning you know connected to poverty, drugs and drinking. Then, suddenly, there was a change in the beginning of the seventies when the Swedish law was changed on a very important point, mainly pornography. Pornography began legal to display and sell and distribute in Sweden and that meant the growing of sex clubs and things like this – other venues for selling sex – and then prostitution began to grow, but the recruitment to prostitution in those days did not come from sort of the traditional groups of problematics [sic], it was young kids entering prostitution in order to make a buck... So in a few years, the whole scene changed and, in a city like Stockholm you had thirty to forty sex clubs with a lot of people doing sex work in these clubs so there was a raise, you know, in the number of prostitutes, and then the awareness of society that this was something changing in a bad direction meant that the police and the social services started to work with the problem...the police started to do systematic raids of these clubs and so on and suddenly, within a few years, the whole scene had changed again you know so the number of prostitutes went down. So it went, you know, for quite a few years, and then there was a raise again, then came the law against the buying of sexual services and it had an immediate effect on the situation in the streets. So if you look at it over a period of a hundred years you see, you know...the numbers are going down but in certain decades, there have been significant upturns (interview with agency worker, 2007).

This quote hints that recent decades have seen new forms of sex work emerging off-street in Stockholm, but these have

supplemented rather than supplanted street working. Stockholm's main area of street working for at least fifty years has been Malmskillnadgatan and adjacent streets, which has attracted car-borne clients as well as those on foot (see Figure Four). A largely non-residential street with no night-time businesses (at least not until the recent opening of one restaurant-bar), street prostitution in this area has been largely accepted and provoked little controversy or opposition (even though much soliciting occurred visibly during daylight hours). In contrast, when street work became apparent in significant amounts in parts of the Ostermalm in the 1980s, it provoked complaints from residents who began an organised action to remove it. Most women who work Malmskillnadgatan transact with clients well away from the area (at hotels or in industrial areas where clients can park up), though it is not unknown for sex to be transacted in the churchyard off Joheannespan (famously in the case of one Swedish judge).

One consequence of the prostitution law is that women are now not concerned about being conspicuous on the street; before the prohibition on buying sexual services, the police would threaten women with 'breach of the police' under public disorder legislation, but now their attention has switched to clients, meaning women solicit quite openly (though their dress is quite discrete and suited to the local climate). Women's lack of anxiety about being seen by the police means they are also visible to the outreach services provided by the city. These services date back to the 1970s, when the social prostitution (SPIRAL) project was established; the numbers of workers has never justified the establishment of a living room or van on-site, with outreach workers encouraging street workers to visit the central clinic provided by PROS-Centrum in Sodermalm which is open 24 hours a day. This service provides medical support (including screening services) and psychiatric advice, recognizing that street sex workers often have issues revolving around exploitation, sexual abuse and depression (there are 14 sex workers currently undergoing long term psychiatric treatment with the project). Drug use among street sex workers has always been lower than in some nations, with around 40% reporting reliance on drugs, mainly anti-depressants, tranquilisers and prescription heroin (the latter being easily obtained on the black market) (information provided by support workers, 2007).

Social services (specifically the PROS-centrum service) suggest there were around 225 women who worked on the street over the

course of 2006 who made contact with them either through their outreach services or calling in to their Sodermalm base on round (a decline of one-third on the number of women working in 1998). Their weekly outreach lead them to conclude there are 6 or 7 women working at any given time in the city centre:

Well, as we could see...when you are in, walking around the area where the prostitutes used to walk, street prostitution, it's almost non-existent I mean you can see them, of course, they are there and the legal ones, there are very few of them (interview, 2007).

The police concur with this, and agree numbers on the streets on any given evening are small, but suggest only fifty or so women may now be engaged in street work in Stockholm (information provided by police, 2006). Previous reports from the Stockholm County Police Authority suggest that the number of women engaged in street prostitution in Stockholm City decreased from 250-300 in 1998 (before the law prohibiting came into force) to 110 in 2001; the cited figure of 50 suggests that the amount of street work has declined by four-fifths since the law was introduced, but there appear to be grounds for doubting the accuracy of police figures given they have largely shifted their attention off-street. In any case, such discrepancies indicate the difficulty of estimating the number of women involved in street prostitution, with a police official stating:

Our duty is not actually to map out the prostitution of the native prostitutes, because it is not criminalized to sell sexual services, it is not criminalized to be a prostitute, and here we deal with, you know, organised crime, which is trafficking in human beings. We tried very hard the first year, especially [because] the media wanted to know exactly how many women, has there been an increase or a decrease, and we are very very careful, reluctant to talk about figures, because if you have say err say many convictions regarding trafficking and procuring one year, it doesn't say anything about the increase actually, it tells you more that the police have been active in this area (interview, 2007)

All parties suggest, however, that the law has been significant in reducing the number of purchasers, and it has been estimated the numbers of clients on the streets of Stockholm have decreased by

around 75% since 1999 (interviews with both police and social services, 2007).

What is also apparent is that clients are preoccupied with appearing inconspicuous, and seek to negotiate more quickly on the street (typically arranging to pick up workers on other streets at an agreed time because they fear being observed). Some leave their car to stroll the area thinking they will attract less attention, as they may have to drive around the area repeatedly to locate women:

I think it's much more difficult for them to find women in the way that most buyers did before and, like they do in England, and that is like leaving when you go home from your office or your work, whatever you do. If you're a construction worker you go home at four, if you are an office worker you go home at five, and they used to pass by the street where women are to buy a blow job or a quick whatever, and then they went home. Now, you can't do that. So what I call the 'occasional buyer', which I argue...are the majority of the buyers, those you eliminate quite quickly because they are really afraid of getting caught. They don't want to, even if it's a low fine, it's very embarrassing and the wife will find out and it's just disturbing all over, so I think that, through that, we have got rid of a lot of buyers. And then, of course, there are buyers who would do anything they can to find a woman. I think we also have seen, if I look at some of the studies that have been done here, the men further down in age, younger men, are more inclined today to purchase over the internet (Interview, social services, 2007).

While the threat of being caught by the police appears a significant deterrent, in practice the likelihood of being caught appears quite small: the temporary CCTV cameras installed in Stockholm in 2001 to dissuade kerb-crawling have now been removed, with the need to catch clients purchasing rather than just soliciting sex having meaning that the police now devote limited resource to the street scene.

This shift in policing has occurred because the numbers engaged in the street scene are relatively small, with little or no evidence that trafficked women are present (all of the workers were identified by informants as 'native'). The social services also report

that pimping is rare in Stockholm's street scene, with the majority of street prostitutes long-established and working independently. With very little street prostitution now apparent in Stockholm, the assumption of some commentators has been that the decline in client numbers means that those working on the streets are the more desperate 'addicted women...often in a bad shape' (interview, 2007). Drug-use is certainly apparent among such street workers, with the police claiming they are 'mainly addicts' (interview, 2007). The social services, though, are unable to provide exact figures of the numbers of their contacts who are drug-users:

Well, the critics of the law say that the women in the streets are more into drugs and, I mean, those that are the worst off from the start that are still here but I wouldn't know. I mean, as I said before, the numbers and the data, nobody's dealing with studies on the exact numbers (interview, 2007)

When pushed, social services do suggest that the majority of their street contacts have some addiction issues, whether alcohol, pain-killers or prescription heroin (which is bought and sold through illegal drug markets).

It has also been suggested that another consequence of the law is lower prices on the streets since there are fewer customers and more competition (Clausen, 2007). This implies that women are more likely will engage in unsafe sex and sexual activities they usually would not perform. Since the number of sex workers on the streets has decreased, with enhanced competition, it may be that previous informal networks amongst the sexworkers have weakened. The result is that they are no longer able to warn each other about dangerous clients or give each other the same support. Ostergren (2004) makes the claim that women working on the streets in some bigger cities encounter a greater percentage of 'perverted' customers and that the 'nice and kind' customers have disappeared (a 'perverted' customer defined by Ostergren as someone who demands more violent forms of sex, and who is more prone to humiliate, degrade and violate the sexworker). The Stockholm social services do not provide workers with 'dodgy punter' or 'ugly mugs' reports (as is the case in Amsterdam, London and Edinburgh, for example), and were unable to comment on whether there is more demand for unsafe sex than was the case a decade ago. The lack of data on this makes it

difficult to draw any conclusions about the long-term impact of the law on street-working women's health or working conditions in Stockholm. It was noted that there had been a series of rapes in and around the Humelgaten that one informant believed were associated with the sex industry and had involved the rape of at least one street sex worker (though it was suggested that when rapes were reported, it would not be recorded if a woman was a sex worker).

Off-street, the situation in Stockholm pre-1999 is difficult to determine with any certainty. Certainly, prostitution occurred in strip clubs, massage parlours and private flats, but few seem able to give any precise estimates of the numbers involved. Most advertised massage parlours provided massage only, although there were instances where private masseurs have negotiated the sale of sexual services with clients, and 3-4 parlours in Stockholm were well-known as spaces where sex is sold. Prostitute women were also reported to work in hotel lobbies and in clubs/bars, but again with little regularity, and often this was just seasonal as temperatures drove women and clients off-street. Other forms of off-street work no doubt occurred in Stockholm and its suburbs pre-1999, but both police and social services focused on the street scene.

Today, all informants agreed that the majority of sex is sold off-street, but are uncertain about its extent:

In Stockholm, we used to...count, err the street prostitution before the law, of course, and err we got three hundred and fifty three people in different counts. And err nowadays it is about one hundred and fifty, on the streets. And we know that the biggest part of the prostitution is the hidden part and we really can't count them (police interview, 2007)

The PROS Centrum project makes contact with about 250 different women from the hidden sector per year, the majority from Stockholm city centre, but also some from the surrounding districts. Most of these seek out the centre's services, and there appear to have been only limited attempts to reach sex workers through Internet and phone 'outreach';

Because the hidden part is the biggest part, it's always been, and the biggest part...err...they know how to seek help (interview, social services, 2007)

Project workers conceded that they are unsure what proportion of off-street workers in Stockholm they make contact with, though they note a general increase in the proportion of off-street workers they are seeing since the prohibition in 1999. Overall, there appears little possibility of comparing the numbers off-street in Stockholm today with those before the law as there was little attempt to survey or regulate off-street work at that time.

What is certain is that there was no sex sold on the Internet before the law was introduced, as Internet access was still very limited in Sweden:

At the same time as we got this law, the internet exploded you know, all over the world as the new venue for contact between buyers and sellers and this would have happened anyway, even if the law had not been launched, so that development is really hard to really connect in any clear way to the introduction of the law. What you can see on the Internet is, of course, that it is a market and but you have to be careful the way you deal with numbers on the Internet. We did a study a few years ago where we went through hundred and twenty five, I think, different homepages that were contact for prostitution on the internet and when we scrutinised the advertisements on these pages, it was very clear that it was the same women who advertised on different pages (interview, social services 2007).

There appears to have been no major increase in sex advertising on the web in Sweden in recent years, and most informants argued this sector is fairly stable. The consensus is that there are around eighty to a hundred prostitutes advertising on the Internet who list themselves as being located in the Greater Stockholm area, though some of these may be located elsewhere and travel to work in the city. The Internet is hence widely regarded as an enabling technology that has allowed for a more dispersed pattern of sex working as it moves away from the traditional city centre street beats:

One of the things that seems to have happened, which I haven't studied myself systematically...is that thanks to, or due to the Internet, prostitution or prostitutes are more evenly distributed throughout the country today than about ten or fifteen years ago when it was concentrated mainly to the metropolitan areas. Because you can see, this is what I was saying, if you cater to people who travel a lot, businessmen, truck drivers or whatever, you can just as well be a prostitute in a small town along one of the big highways between Malmö and Stockholm as having to go to Stockholm and selling sex on the streets...The traffickers and pimps would sell the women wherever they can get an apartment if that is downtown or if that is in the suburbs, wherever they can get a hold of an apartment...

I: [Interrupting] That wouldn't have changed very much, no?

R: I would say erm [pause] oh, that's difficult to erm comment but sometimes I get the impression that some of these suburbs where we have a lot of immigrants in these areas, you could say they have a very small increase but that is just my own opinion when you look into addresses that we get information from (interview, 2007)

Such observations back up the claims made by critics that Swedish legislation has resulted in a spatial displacement that has made it harder for social services to access women and generally made life worse for the women. While it might be assumed that making contact via Internet is safer than street soliciting, in an era where purchasing sex is illegal, some commentators allege that they 'may suffer more perversity and violence on a daily basis (see also Hughes, 2003). Again, informants were unable to corroborate this, with several simply acknowledging that there is simply not enough known about this. Informants were unable to recount instances where off-street workers had been subject to attacks, and suggested the incidence was low:

Off street low violence? Erm I think it sometimes most of the buyers of sexual services, they want this done secretly, hidden, discreetly and quick and no wonder. If they start to beat up and rape these women, you know, they would be reported because they don't hesitate to report them for beating them up, or for rape, or for purchasing sexual

services, they have no problems for reporting them (interview, 2007).

The idea that the law has changed both the behaviour and means by which clients contact sex workers was widespread, and although some stated the dominant mode of contacting workers had shifted from kerb-crawling to phone contact, others suggested clients now fell into one of two groups:

Well you have, basically I would say, two groups of clients, I mean you have the more sort of middle-class, well-behaved, well-composed type of clients that would be using prostitutes as part and parcel of their daily, again when they are travelling on business or whatever and today they would have an easier way of combining this travelling and being on the road using prostitutes with their work because they can use the internet to make appointments with prostitutes along the road, so to speak, they don't have to roam the streets to find a prostitute. That group is still there and that's what they do on the Internet. Then you have the people that roam the streets, the kerb-crawlers, and they would be, in this case it would be men who would be aware that the women they meet in the streets would be drug addicts, they will be people that would be, yeah, you know, in the lowest echelons (interview, 2007).

It was suggested by several informants that the latter group of clients would be 'looking for those type of women because they are cheap, they are accessible, and they don't take care of themselves, and there seems to be certain attraction in that to some men.' The implication here is of a divide between less wealthy, kerb-crawling clients and wealthier clients with access to the Internet. One study that examined the email correspondence of a Stockholm based escort worker (Nordvinter and Strom, 2000), concluded that Internet clients are indeed much younger and in a better socio-economic situation than the clients of street prostitutes. Both groups, however, are considered 'determined' sexual purchasers, who will continue to buy sex in spite of the law because they are addicted. The pathologisation of clients hence appears an important consequence of the law (see also Kulick, 2003), with some viewing the law's role as discouraging casual purchases while convincing long-term clients that their actions are undesirable and that they are in need of treatment:

The men who buy sex on a few occasions during their entire life...[are] the most responsive to legal measures. Most of the time, the risk of public proceedings has a discouraging impact on their behavior. We will call the other group habitual buyers. This group concerns men who regularly go and see prostitutes during more or less long periods of their adult life. They are very numerous but “consume” a large number of contacts...The sexual life style of this group of clients is “profoundly perturbed” and some of them suffer from serious problems of sexual dependence. The excessive commitment to prostitution and pornography creates many difficulties including financial, work, relationships as well as personal. This group is undoubtedly not very responsive to legal measures, which means that fines or prison do not prevent them from buying sex time after time. Working with these men and treating their problems is certainly the greatest challenge of social work (interview, 2007).

The implication in this quote is that the consumption of pornography and the purchase of sexual services are intimately connected (and there has been much publicity given to the studies Swedish Internet use which report high levels of pornography consumption among men). The social services clearly view one of their roles as ‘curing’ men of ‘sex addiction’: PROS-centrum currently has a handful of male clients who are undergoing therapy to these ends, and the phonenumber established in 1999 for sex workers has also been advertised as available to clients seeking help. Social workers in Stockholm also argued that to be more effective with long-term clients, fines or jail terms for the purchase of sexual services could be replaced with compulsory education sessions:

We support John’s schools, and it would be nicer to have this [in the] legislation, we also could try to, as I said, to discuss with these men about their – do they feel they have a problem or whatever? So that there should be something more educational. I really liked the San Francisco model when I heard about it many years ago (interview, social services, 2007)

Given repeat purchasers are seen to require considerable

education and therapy to break them out of the habit of buying sex, the prognosis offered by most is that the law has only really had an impact on the casual purchaser, and prevented young men from becoming clients (there was a consensus that there were very few clients less than 30, with the majority in the 35-55 age bracket).

One key consequence of the law in Stockholm is thought to be the prevention of 'casual sex tourism' whereby Swedish men (or foreign visitors) incorporate prostitution within a night out in Stockholm's clubs and bars:

Well it's over the cell 'phone I mean if their way of trying to reach clients has changed but then again I would say that both, I mean, it would be a much longer journey to actually get in touch with someone who's selling sex if they are off the streets to a greater extent and it's illegal, you wouldn't just go there on a Friday night just for fun, I think that's the main contribution of the law (interview, 2007).

Against this, Holgersson and Svanström (2007) argue prostitution is becoming more important in Stockholm's sex clubs, with business tourists seeking sexual services through the city's sex and strip clubs. They allege that the nine licensed clubs in Stockholm (see Figure Three) have become more corporate and geared towards international business tourists, with such clientele expecting that sex might be for sale in the clubs, something confirmed by our informants:

Dancing and strip tease and prostitution which were, at one time sort of separate, are now becoming part of a much more, you know, organised, you know, entertainment industry, particularly at a sort of corporate level (interview, 2007).

With the purchase of sex being illegal in Sweden, it seems reasonable to assume that tourists would not go onto the street, but might feel comfortable buying sexual services such as striptease in a club. Holgersson and Svanstrom suggest that this often leads onto the purchase of sex, with visitors confident that they will escape prosecution if the deal is brokered in a licensed venue (all of Stockholm's sex clubs are licensed, but not all for the sale of alcohol). The role of sex clubs as spaces of prostitution was

not widely acknowledged by our informants, but they have been the scene of protests by feminist groups who regard them as spaces of gendered exploitation, irrespective of their use as spaces of prostitution.

Given the evidential lack of data about the amount and type of sex sold in sex clubs as well as the Internet, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions about the changing nature of off-street sex work in Stockholm. There are also major question marks about how much sex is sold in restaurants and bars (only two of which are known to PROS-centrum as regular spaces of sex work) as well as whether prostitution is on the increase in massage parlours. Nonetheless in inner city (innerstaden) Stockholm there are few signs of significant expansion of the off-street sector (but neither is there evidence of significant decline). That said, most feel there has been an increase in off-street prostitution, with a decline in the number of street workers at the centre matched by a growth in the off-street sector in Stockholm's outer suburbs (where there is an undetermined amount of flat or brothel work as well as escort and Internet work). Informants were however divided as to whether this could be described as a direct consequence of the new law, given this shift off-street might have happened anyway:

Like I said, I don't know, I have no idea but I mean what I think is erm that's an issue that always come to, that you always discuss because then the law is the issue. Whereas...the same development can be seen elsewhere where women move off the streets and you contact them in other ways which obviously then there is a technical change and a societal change that is, I mean, probably would have happened anyway, regardless of the law (Interview, 2007).

Frequently, respondents suggested the key change in the Stockholm scene was in fact the increased use of the Internet and mobile telephone as a means of contacting sex workers, and that this was the key driver of spatial switching. In a context where the 'the penalty is ... ten years for procuring and trafficking, whereas it's a maximum of six months for erm buying prostitutes and sexual services which is...the equivalent of shoplifting' (interview, 2007), many commentators also assert that the law must be understood as primarily symbolic, with police efforts focusing on trafficking rather than prostitution per se.



Figure Three: Central Stockholm, indicating location of sex clubs/cinemas (circles), as well as the traditional area of female street soliciting

Even though levels of prostitution were assumed not to be declining to any significant degree, with the main change in the scene being a spatial switching and de-centring of sex work, all those we interviewed who worked with PROS-centrum and Stockholm police argued the law should be judged a success for a number of reasons. These included the fact that sex work had not increased in Sweden (though it had done so in neighbouring countries); that it was changing social attitudes towards prostitution and that it was allowing the police to tackle exploitation:

Umm...I don't think it is increasing in Stockholm, we are working err continually in Stockholm against trafficking in human beings, we have not had increasing number of prostitutes. We are on a constant level and it is going down and the procurer and the organisers of organised crime have been sentenced to prison, a lot of them, and this experience is a new experience for he organised crime outside. They are standing, but they are much more careful when they are going to Sweden again because they know they have had some long err sentencing terms, but err it's still a big market and a big income (interview, 2007)

The idea that the law might have helped regulate the conduct of clients was accordingly one that was regularly raised by supporters of the law:

I: So one of the arguments might be that one of the implications of this legislation is that it has a kind of controlling effect on clients?

R: Yes

I: ...because client don't want to be outrageous

R: They don't want any attention, no no no...But of course the traffickers, the pimps, they sometimes of course rape them, they sometimes try them and control them and also, but the purchasers, the buyers of the sexual services, we don't get much information about that (interview, police, 2007).

The assertion that banning the purchase of selling of sexual services might 'normalise' the behaviour of clients is an interesting

one that has not been raised in the literature, and though there is little evidence for this, this suggests that the law has served to send out a message about sexual exploitation that has been assimilated by clients.

What is particularly significant is that those respondents claiming the law on prohibiting sexual services has been a success made reference to the fact it may have helped in preventing trafficking. This is despite the fact that there is a separate law concerning trafficking, and there is little evidence that the overall level of prostitution has declined (Holli, 2004):

The law has made Sweden a very tricky place for traffickers to operate in. They want to make money off these women and it's pretty problematic to put them out there because there is no red-light district and it is really hard to find venues to contact the clients so, in that respect, erm I mean there hasn't been any raise in numbers when it comes to trafficking over the years. I think instead the numbers are really quite stable and it is not a very profitable business for the people doing it, so, on that respect, I think that the situation is about the same as it has been in the last ten, fifteen years (interview, 2007).

Supporters of the law claim it has also assisted by providing an effective mechanism for acquiring information about the off-street scene because it has heightened awareness of sexual exploitation and trafficking:

I mostly deal with the foreign women that had been brought to Sweden for prostitution businesses and these women are mostly today sold indoors, in apartments, in all kinds of locations indoors actually. First we thought maybe that will be difficult for us to map out the situation regarding these foreign women in prostitution but we get a lot of the information, intelligence information, about where prostitution takes place today...from the public, mostly neighbours complaining to the police they have seen things going on in some particular apartment or a particular house or address or something. We also get information from you know, various levels within the police (police interview, 2007).

The information provided by members of the public may be crucial in police operations collecting evidence of trafficking:

In Sweden err you can't err do, you can provoke evidence but not crimes, so we don't get police into some organisations in our cases, we don't need that, because we can use telephone surveillance, camera surveillance, we can call up the prostitutes and figure out where they are staying and so on, and then we start the surveillance. And then we have telephone, secret telephone surveillance, and we'll manage by that (interview, 2007).

Overall, our interviews with key stakeholders in Stockholm suggests all believed that the law banning the purchase sexual services had been beneficial, albeit some advocated the use of client rehabilitation schemes ('John's schools') as an alternative to fines and imprisonment (see above). However, trafficking and procuring legislation was seen as more problematic given the former is regarded as more serious than the latter, but procuring is easier to proof. Here, it was evident that the police felt that there was little case for discriminating between organised prostitution and trafficking, with the police having difficulty in distinguishing between trafficking and procurement, arguing for the punishment of both:

The pimps, they act like traffickers, they recruit women, they transport women, they err arrange for them, everything for them in Sweden, they end them out in prostitution, they do all these kinds of things...t has a character of being trafficking, but we can't prove the trafficking of human beings. So we want them to get severe punishment for procuring (interview, 2007).

Both social services and police respondents spoke in favour of the compulsory deportation of trafficked women:

Actually most women actually do not want to stay in Sweden. We think so highly of this country, but they want to go back home. We have a woman now from Kosovo, she was granted a permanent resident visa and she is threatened back in Kosovo, her brother has been beaten up, but she want to go home, she doesn't want to stay here...And most women want to go home, they don't even want to stay here

during the process, they want to wait at home and come back for the trial (interview, 2007).

Remarkably, several informants also argued that expansion of the EU was creating new problems for them as it meant they were now unable to deport women from 'Estonia and Poland, Hungary, Slovak Republic' in cases where they would wish to:

If you see the scenario that you break into the brothel and the women tells the police to go to hell, don't you know, interfere in our business, go and do something else, we can't do anything about them At least before we could deport them according to our Aliens Act....We can't do it anymore. I don't know for how it works for you in the UK but that is the difficulty actually if you want to prohibit crime to continue you should at least sometimes be able to deport these women back to their home countries to stop this business but err that is really a problem for us today and what would happen when Romania becomes a member of the European Union with this ethnic group...we will sit here and you know, watch. You hardly don't want to talk about it actually because you don't want to spread that kind of information to the criminals

The police's evident frustration that they will be unable to act when they suspect women have been transported within the EU for the purposes of sexual exploitation nonetheless exposes the conflation made between trafficking and prostitution, and a failure to concede that migrants might gravitate towards sex work voluntarily. That said, the police repeatedly claimed that the prostitution law was helping in their attempt to prevent trafficking, because 'if men don't buy it there wouldn't be any idea to bring these women for prostitution here...buyers support organised crime' (interview, 2007).

In sum, the prohibition on the buying of sexual services was seen as fulfilling dual purposes. On the one hand, it was regarded as defining 'the norms and values of society', creating 'the type of country which has the dignity to have that kind of law'. In this regard, it could be said that the manner of its enforcement is unimportant. In 1999, Gudrun Schyman, then the leader of the Swedish Left Party, argued the 'effectiveness of laws cannot only be judged by counting how many criminals have been convicted: legislation also...[has] standardizing effects and...a law that

criminalizes the purchase of sexual services will mark how the society shall look on unequal distribution of power between men and women'. On the other hand, there are those who see the law as providing an important instrument by which trafficking and exploitative prostitution can be disrupted, and believe that the law is working directly to reduce prostitution in Sweden at a time when it appears to be rising in neighbouring countries:

There are about four thousand prostitutes in Copenhagen and they are organised by international organised crime...In Oslo, you can't walk in the city alone or you are harassed by the prostitutes, they attack you, they are almost aggressive to you to that you should buy sex from them. Well I think what the law did, or the passing of the law did was total shift, from a culture of more or less accepting prostitution as something that's acceptable to a culture that's slowly changing into an understanding that prostitution is violence against women and young men, but women and girls are the majority of victims – and seeing it as violence, not seeing it as work or a choice or whatever the whole list of liberal arguments are

The lack of data on working conditions in sex work in Stockholm did not prevent commentators suggesting that adopting the Swedish model would result in lower rates of prostitution elsewhere, implying that some now feel the low rates of sex work in Sweden can be directly attributed to the law (in spite of the limited evidence for this):

The number of women who are a victim in Sweden are so much much lower than in countries where they don't have this legislation because there is no market. So that is also true, I think that is the most significant effect really, because that's measurable. Because at the same time as we have the law we have also put so much money in to implement it, so it's not just a law but it's actually showing the pimps that 'come here and it's going to be difficult...go to Germany and it's going to be much easier' (interview, 2007).

Regulator's appraisals of the law were therefore highly positive, although some did concede that the law could only succeed in its objectives if enforcement was backed up with adequate support packages to assist exit.

Finally, it must be noted that when talking of prostitution in Stockholm, few made any connection to male sex work. The police argued that this type of prostitution is invisible to the majority, and that even if they were informed of sites of male sex work, it is difficult to "interpret the code": as one police respondent recounted 'it's impossible to go down dark alleys, trying to work out who is the buyer and who is the seller'. The suggestion is that spaces of male sex work overlap significantly with public sex environments where men seek anonymous sex with other men, and that although prostitution may exist here, it is not exploitative or easy to detect. The idea that male sex workers might have been trafficked, or have exploitative pimps, was apparently discounted, justifying the police's lack of interest in surveying spaces of gay sex. Since 1998, suanas promoting gay sex have been banned nationally, meaning that the police also regard these as insignificant as sites of male prostitution.

Ericsson's (2004) sample of just six men who sell sex to men via the Internet is a rare examination of male sex work in Stockholm, and revealed high awareness of safe sexual practice. Aged 18-27, these men sold sex to men aged 35-55, mainly to supplement another income and not because of destitution. In two cases, men were selling to finance their university studies. Despite their generally well-educated backgrounds, all reported some degree of stigmatisation and raised concerns about the new law given both clients and sellers are forced to be less visible in society. Though all used the Internet as a medium for advertising their services, many reported being thrown out of Chat rooms and community sites because they were selling sex. These findings seem to suggest that the police's assumption that male sex workers are not pimped or trafficked, yet it should be noted that there are street workers. However, in a 2002 survey, it was noted that a number of those men making regular contact with other men in known cruising sites may have been selling sex on a regular or infrequent basis: all in all, it was thought 15-20 men may have been selling sex on the streets of Stockholm at that time (largely around the station but also in some public parks to the West of the city centre). Interestingly, the 2002 survey also identified some male prostitution in Malmskillnadsgatan, contrary to some earlier reports on female prostitute which suggested an absence of male workers and no overlap between male and female working (Liden and Keiseraas, 2004). While outreach workers claim only one offstreet

male brothel is known to them, it is thought that some bars and clubs are sites of male prostitution.

The fact the police do not focus their surveillance efforts on male sex work means that there have been no instances of the law being used to caution or prosecute men seeking to buy sex from men in Stockholm:.

In effect and in reality, in fact, is that really although the purchase of sexual services was criminalised, it's only criminalised for heterosexual men buying services from women (interview, 2007).

The lack of gender equality that exists in enforcement terms is interesting in so much that it reinforces that the law is predicated on a strong assumption that it is women who are sexually vulnerable to exploitation by men (Scoular, 2004; Eriksson, 2006). Regulators' lack of interest in using the prohibition law in relation to male sex work must therefore be seen as informed by certain assumptions about the lack of exploitation in male sex work: the lack of surveillance and attention given to the male scene means these prejudices are unlikely to be challenged.

5. Conclusion

The 1998 Kvinnofrid law has been heralded as unique, and is certainly a distinctive legal response to sex work (Martinell, 1995). Its direct impact can be discerned in a general decline in street prostitution across Sweden (admittedly from a low base), with a 30-50% decline in those working on the street noted after the introduction of the prohibition on buying sexual services. Kulick (2004) suggests that the impact on street work was likely to be only temporary, but the experience of Stockholm suggests a longer-term impact with fewer new entrants to the street scene observed (despite an evidential decline in the police's surveillance of known sites of street prostitution). The rise in prosecutions for the buying of sexual services since 2004, after a dip in 2001-02, appears to be related not to more kerb-crawlers returning to the street once the initial publicity concerning the law had died down (as some commentators suggest), but more use of the law in

relation to off-street locations identified in the midst of trafficking operations.

Widespread claims that the law has resulted in an overall decline in sex work (and a wholesale displacement of prostitution to other European nations) (e.g. Ekburg, 2004) are unsubstantiated, and appear to be based on the assumption that a decline in visible street working equates to an overall decline in the sex industry (Clausen, 2007). In fact, the decline in street work appears to be matched by a rise in Internet working, flat working, bar work and work in sex clubs, and numbers of prostitutes today appear roughly equivalent to the numbers existing in the 1990s. As such, the current low rates of prostitution in Sweden cannot be attributed to the law, as they are much the same as two decades ago. Instead, the chief impact of the law seems to have been a displacement to off-street work, with the law exacerbating a de-centring tendency that was enabled by Internet and mobile phone technologies. It also seems likely that the criminalisation of purchase has been a significant driver of changes in client behaviour, with the stigma of being a client discouraging particular modes of contact, with only a 'hardened' group of clients continuing to kerb-crawl or make contact on street (Pettersson and Tiby, 2001). In our interviews with those responsible for providing support to sex workers, it was nonetheless evident that there was strong support for the 1999 law, and the idea that the law might have simply shifted prostitution off-street was downplayed given this shift may have happened anyway (and, in any case, the off-street sector has always existed, and cannot be said to be caused by the prohibition). Since 1999 the police focus has shifted gradually from street work to off-street work, targetting premises where trafficked or immigrant workers are believed to work. Whether or not the law makes it harder to get testimony from clients about violent or exploitative profiteers is a moot point, but the police certainly seem to believe that the law can be used to exert pressure on clients.

Yet the lack of data pertaining to sex work in Sweden makes it difficult to be precise about the impacts of the law and the degree of spatial switching that has occurred:

Swedish officials, you know, speaking at conferences all over the world are not able today to say anything based on more than well-founded guesses and it is about time that a

more systematic evaluation is done and that should be rather complex I think because it should also deal with all these trying to capture the normative process, what has been going on in relation to how people think and talk about prostitution and that could be interesting in relation to an international comparison (academic commentator, interview, 2007)

Our study of Stockholm certainly suggests that the description of off-street work as 'hidden' is apt, as regulators appear uncertain about the extent of sex work off-street: it only appears to be worthy of surveillance when it comes to the attention of authorities when there is suspicion of trafficking. The fact that the penalties for procuring and trafficking are now similar implies that it is not human smuggling per se that is the issue of major concern, but organised prostitution. The conflation of trafficking and prostitution is not uniquely a Swedish phenomena, but the assumption that all prostitution is exploitative, and that no woman would choose to work as a prostitute is certainly widespread in Europe. The notion of 'sex work' is in fact absent in Swedish policy discourse: all sex exchanged for money is described as prostitution, and regarded as sexual exploitation.

This given, the uneven enforcement of the prohibition of purchasing sexual services is worthy of note, not least in relation to male sex work, which is little spoken of. Swedish law makes no distinction as to the legality of sex work based on location, as purchase is illegal everywhere, yet, in practical terms, the police and social services lack the enthusiasm or resource to probe into the many spaces where sex is assumed or known to exist. In many cases (such as the adult entertainment sector and sex clubs) it seems to be assumed that the number of prostitutes selling sex is small, and hence not worth bothering about. In relative terms, this means that there is much sex work in Sweden that continues out of the sight of the state and the law. It should also be noted that there are only three cities (Stockhol, Gotenberg and Malmo) where the social services provide support to prostitutes and where there is significant police attention devoted to the issue, meaning any displacement of sex work beyond the three main police regions may not have been picked up in some recent official assessments.

Therefore, a key finding of our Stockholm study is that Swedish laws on prostitution currently enjoy widespread support among

regulators because they present a strong and cohesive message that prostitution is unacceptable gendered violence. As Scoular (2004) notes, this leaves little discursive space for representations of prostitution as legitimate work, and apparently obliges the police to regard all infringements of the law as equally important because all perpetuate a patriarchal sex industry. However, our consideration of Stockholm's sex scene suggests that even in a city with relatively low amounts of sex working, the police have prioritised their efforts so as to initially send out a message to kerb-crawling clients that their behaviour is immoral and latterly, to extract information from those who may have been clients of non-native prostitutes. Far from assuming all sex workers are exploited, the police seem to assume all non-native workers are trafficked, and all native workers work independently. While Kuiuick (2003; 2005) argues the key outcome of the law has been to simultaneously demonize clients (as psychologically disturbed 'perverts') and present sex workers as traumatized victims, our conclusion is that the enforcement of the law allows some clients and (native) workers to buy/sell sex in the hidden sector by effectively keeping that sector hidden: after all, bringing this sector to light might challenge prostitution policies underpinned by a *jamstalldhet* discourse because it would demonstrate that sex workers and clients alike occupy a variety of gender and class positions in Sweden.

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APPENDIX ONE: OFFENCES RELATING TO SEX WORK AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, SWEDEN

These offences are as described in the last English translation of the Swedish Penal Code (1999), except where the cited act post-dates that date. In such instances, there are multiple translations, but we have attempted to use the most commonly cited versions. The Penal Code sometimes uses gendered language, but it is stressed that all legislation is gender-neutral.

OFFENCE	ACT	MAXIMUM PENALTY	COMMENT
Purchasing sexual services	'Act prohibiting the purchase of sexual services', Swedish Code of Statutes (SFS 1998:408) (enforced from 1 Jan 1999 onwards) See Swedish Penal Code chapter 6, section 11	A fine or imprisonment for at most six months.	'A person who, in other cases than previously stated in this chapter, obtains a casual sexual relation in exchange for payment shall be sentenced for the purchase of a sexual service' (amended 1 April 2005: 'That which is stated in the first section also applies if the payment has been promised or made by someone else') (see note one)
Procuring	SFS 1984: 399, amended 1998: 393. See Swedish Penal Code chapter 6, section 8	Up to four years, or, if offence is gross, between two and eight years imprisonment (distinction is made largely on basis on extent of operations)	'A person who promotes or improperly financially exploits the casual sexual relations for payment of another person shall be sentenced for procuring'
Trafficking	Prohibiting Trafficking in Human Beings for Sexual Purposes Act, 2003 (SFS 2003) See penal code Chapter	Imprisonment for a minimum of two and a maximum of ten years or, in less serious cases, imprisonment for a maximum of four years.	Responsibility for the crime of trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes will apply to anyone who 1) by the use of unlawful coercion, deception or of any other similar improper means, induces another to go to

	Four, Section 1a		or to be transported abroad for the purpose of sexual offences, prostitution or other forms of exploitation for sexual purposes, 2) for such a purpose and by the use of such improper means as mentioned transports, harbors or receives someone who has arrived to a country under such conditions, and, 3) commits any such act against a victim who has not attained 18 years of age, even if no improper means have been used. (see note 2) Attempts, preparations and conspiracy to traffick as well as failure to reveal knowledge of such activity has also been criminalized (chapter 4, section 10 and chapter 23, section 6).
Public order	SFS, 1991:240 See Swedish Penal Code Chapter 16, section 16	Fixed fine	Section 16 A person who is noisy in a public place or who otherwise publicly behaves in a manner apt to arouse public indignation, shall be sentenced for disorderly conduct .
Purchasing a sexual act from a child	SFS, 1984: 399 updated 2005 See Swedish Penal Code Chapter 6, section 9	Fine or imprisonment for upto two years	'A person who, by promising or giving recompense, obtains or tries to obtain casual sexual relations with someone under eighteen years of age, shall be sentenced'
Allowing a premise to be used as a brothel	SFS 1984: 399, amended 1998: 393. See Swedish Penal Code chapter 6,	Up to four years, or, if offence is gross, between two and eight years imprisonment	'A person who, holding the right to the use of a premise, grants the right to use them to another in the knowledge that the

	section 8	(distinction is made largely on basis on extent of operations)	premises are wholly or to a substantial extent used for casual sexual relations for payment and omits to do what can reasonably be expected to terminate the granted right, he or she shall, if the activity continues or is resumed at the premises, be considered to have promoted the activity and shall be sentenced accordingly'
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NOTES

¹ It continues by noting that 'Attempts to purchase sexual services are punishable under Chapter 23 of the Swedish Penal Code' ('On attempt, preparation, conspiracy and complicity'). In practice, it appears that the evidence required to prove an attempt at purchase would be the same as for purchase per se.

² Attempts, preparations and conspiracy to traffick as well as failure to reveal knowledge of such activity has also been criminalized

**APPENDIX TWO: PROSTITUTION OFFENCES, SWEDEN, BY
POLICE AREA, 2005 (source: NCID, 2006)**

Region	Procuring	Buying sex	Trafficking	Total
Blekinge	1	0	0	1
Dalarnas	2	1	0	3
Jamtlands	0	0	0	0
Gotlands	2	1	0	3
Gavleborgs	6	1	1	8
Hallands	1	1	0	2
Jonkopings	0	1	1	2
Kalmar	0	1	0	1
Kronobergs	0	1	0	1
Norbottens	3	4	0	7
Skans	12	247	4	263
Stockholm	25	153	12	190
Sodermanlands	8	5	11	24
Uppsala	1	0	0	1
Varmlands	0	0	0	0
Vasterbottens	1	3	0	4
Vasternorrlands	2	0	0	2
Vastmanlands	2	0	0	2
Vastra Gotalands	24	28	8	60
Orebro	1	0	1	2
Ostergotlands	4	14	6	24
Total Sweden	94	460	44	598