



Comparative Criminology

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Abstract: *What is comparative criminology? It is the application of the comparative method in the science of criminology.² Many criminologists use comparisons. Just think of a study comparing one group with another group, a control group. But this is not what we mean by comparative criminology; it requires comparison across cultures or nations. Typical of comparative criminology is research on "Transnational crime and comparisons of crime and criminal justice systems across nations", as it is stated in the mission statement of the International Division of the American Society of Criminology. We would like to elaborate this definition by calling comparative criminology the cross-cultural or cross-national study of crime and crime control. Comparison is something all human beings do every day. In choosing a home, for example, you compare such elements as number of rooms and price, location, access to transportation, shopping and recreation, age of the structure, beauty of the surroundings, and so on. This comparison can become a science if it is done in a systematic manner.*

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1. The History of Comparative Criminology

When the Romans had a crime problem in the fifth century B.C., they sent a delegation to the more advanced nation of Greece to learn better techniques for dealing with crime, such as the codification and publication of laws. A thousand years later, the still relatively backward Germanic tribes - among them our legal ancestors, the Angles and the Saxons - learned how to draft legal codes from the Romans. In the late Middle Ages and during the Renaissance (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries), all of continental Europe became a vast comparative laboratory as laws that had developed in the

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² The term "comparative criminology" appears to have been coined by Sheldon Glueck. See Sheldon Glueck, *Wanted: A Comparative Criminology*, in *Ventures in Criminology*, ed. Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck (London: Tavistock, 1964), pp. 304-322.

various principalities and cities were compared against the rediscovered laws of the old Roman Empire.

Unhappily, it was also during this era that crime-control methods became ever more brutal. The situation was not to change until the eighteenth century, when - again through comparison, cooperation, and transfer - the work of the classical school began to introduce rationality and humanitarian principles into crime control in Europe and America. In the nineteenth century, as communications improved, policy makers and scholars of criminology compared approaches and introduced into one another's systems what seemed to work. Such ideas as the penitentiary, the reformatory, probation, and parole gained worldwide acceptance as a result of comparison. Yet the comparisons of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lacked scientific rigor; they were impressionistic and often emotional. For example, the juvenile court, first established in Chicago in 1899, seemed such a good idea that it gained acceptance in many parts of the world. But as later experience showed, it did not necessarily work everywhere.

The founders of criminology, including those of American criminology, were, for the most part, comparatists. They would gather at international meetings and trade ideas; they would visit each other and stimulate criminological thought. But truly comparative studies, measuring up to scholarly standards, could not be done until criminology itself became a science. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century internationalism met resistance from isolationism. Comparatists were regarded as dreamers, and the comparative approach was seen as not very practical.

1.1. The Global Village. Advantages

Now circumstances have changed drastically. Comparative criminologists have become a necessity, simply because the world has become a "*global village*".

World economies have become totally integrated and interdependent. The Japanese car you own was probably manufactured in the United States, and your American car may have parts made in more than 30 countries. Your shirt may come from Hong Kong, your shoes from Italy, and your Swiss watch from the American Virgin Islands. The situation is no different abroad, where Coke and Pepsi and American fast-food chains are only the most visible aspects of economic globalization.

Communications likewise have become global. Sitting in your living room before a TV, you participate in world events as they happen. Phone and fax

and computer networking have made instant personal and business communications possible. Transportation advances, especially since the introduction of jumbo jets, together with the easing of frontiers, have made it possible for millions of people to move across oceans within hours.

1.2. The Global Village: Disadvantages

All these developments have been greatly beneficial. Yet they have also brought great problems. Instant communication promotes not only the spread of benefits, in goods, lifestyles, and useful knowledge, but also the dissemination of dysfunctional ideas and values - like the skinhead phenomenon. Economic globalization, as much as it promotes useful commerce, also aids organized crime and fosters the global spread of frauds that were once confined to smaller localities or single countries.

Jet planes transport not just legitimate travellers but also illegal aliens, criminal entrepreneurs, drug dealers, money launderers, and terrorists. Airlines themselves have become the targets of international criminals. Moreover, the industrialization of the world brings not just economic benefits but threats to the world ecology so severe that, unless they are checked, they could compromise the food, water, and clean air supply for all people. It is little wonder, then, that criminologists too must look across borders to study crime and crime-control efforts, and to search for internationally acceptable solutions to common problems.

2. The Goals of Comparative Research

Prior to the 1970s there was very little literature on comparative research in criminology. Since then, however, it has been growing rapidly. An annotated bibliography by Piers Beirne and Joan Hill, published in 1991, listed 500 publications in the field. This increase in the literature, according to Beirne and Hill, is attributable to two facts: (1) a realization "*that the explanatory power of theories can be enhanced considerably if they are tested under as diverse temporal and cultural conditions as possible*"; and (2) the breaking of the American monopoly on criminological research, which "*has led to renewed interest in the cultural specificity of one's own theories, in the criminology of other countries, and in trying to discover if, how, and what one can learn from the other*".¹

We may regard these two explanatory factors as goals, or purposes, for comparative criminological studies. The former is a more theoretically

¹ Beirne Piers and Hill Joan, *Comparative Criminology, An Annotated Bibliography*, New York and Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1991, pp. vii-viii.

oriented purpose, the latter a more practical one. If we were to add to the 500 scholarly books and journal articles listed by Beirne and Hill the many studies produced under the auspices of international organizations, we might come to the conclusion that the practical goal is gaining the upper hand in comparative criminology, in a double sense. There is, first of all, a justified interest in learning from the experience of others, so that no nation need repeat costly mistakes made elsewhere. Second, there is a vastly increased need for establishing international measures to deal with dangers that threaten all human beings.

Thus, there now seem to be two purposes for engaging in comparative criminological research:

1. the theoretical goal of testing criminological theories in a broader cross-cultural setting.
2. the very practical goal of learning from programs, policies, and experiences in crime control around the world.

Research may be done simply to create improvements in one's own crime-control policy. It also may be done on a larger scale: to construct international crime-control and criminal justice policies that deal with internationally induced local crime problems and the various forms of transnational and international crime.

Before we can address the implementation of any of these goals, we must look at the methods used by comparative criminologists.

3. Engaging in Comparative Criminological Research

Comparative research requires special preparatory work to ensure that research data and information are in fact comparable. Empirical research presents additional obstacles.

Preparatory work

Studying Foreign Law

Before beginning a comparative study, the researcher must become familiar with the laws of the country or culture to which the comparison extends. Every country belongs to one or more of the world's three great families of law, or legal systems.

The common law system: Common law originated in England and then spread to the various English colonies. Today it is the legal system of the United States, Canada (except Quebec), Australia, New Zealand, India,

many of the Caribbean islands, and African countries that were once English colonies. Although common law is now to be found in written form, it originated from case law, and case precedents still play a determining role.

The civil law system: This system grew out of the Roman legal tradition, was refined by scholars, and was codified under Napoleon in the early nineteenth century. Today it is found in systematic codes of law. The countries of continental Europe belong to this family of law, as do their former colonies in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, including Japan and China, which chose the civil law system when they modernized.

Indigenous or customary legal systems: Among these is the largely written and highly developed Islamic law of countries in the Middle East, which is also found in a few African and Asian countries. Other societies govern themselves largely by tribal law, tradition, and custom. This customary law is generally unwritten.

Having identified the legal system to which the country under study belongs, the comparatist studies the applicable law and its precise interpretation. Foreign legal systems, just like that of the United States, contain penal codes, codes of criminal procedure, constitutions, and case reports. But they also include special legislation on such topics as environmental protection and money laundering. In federal countries both federal and state legislation may have to be studied.

Then there is the problem of finding the country's laws. For the English-speaking researcher this need not be an insurmountable task. The laws, court decisions, and textbooks of English-speaking countries, for the most part, are accessible in libraries. The constitutions¹ and codes of criminal procedure² of many other countries are available in English. For a number of non-English-speaking countries there are English-language texts about their criminal law or procedure³. But since there is always a gap between the law on the books and the law in action, the comparatist must also consult the criminal justice research literature.

¹ Blaustein P. Albert and Flenz G. H., (1971) *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*, 21 vols. (updated), Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Oceana.

² Mueller, G. O. W., (1970) *Comparative Criminal Law in the United States*, *Comparative Criminal Law Project Monograph Series*, vol. 4, South Hackensack, N.J.: Fred B. Rothman.

³ Andenaes, J. (1965) *The General Part of the Criminal Law of Norway*, *Comparative Criminal Law Project Publications Series*, vol. 3, Littleton, Colo., Fred B. Rothman.

Comparative Research

Up to this point we have reviewed the general approach to doing comparative criminological research: studying foreign law, criminal justice systems, cultures, and available data. Comparative criminological research begins only after these requirements have been met. It is at this point that the comparatist sets sail for uncharted seas. The comparatist meets two problems right at the outset: the interdependence of all crime and criminal justice phenomena, and culture specificity.

Interdependent Phenomena

Think of an elaborately assembled mobile hanging from the ceiling. All the parts are in perfect balance. If you remove a single part, the whole mobile will completely shift out of balance. It is the same with problems of crime and justice in any society: the existence of each is related to all the others and is explainable by reference to the others. Bicycle thefts may exist in countries like China, Denmark, and the Netherlands - all of which rely heavily on bicycle transportation - as well as in the United States or Mexico. But such theft plays a different role in the various countries, generates different responses, and leads to different consequences.

Is the bicycle theft problem comparable around the world? What could be learned from a comparison, and what factors must be considered? Would it be more useful to compare the Chinese bicycle theft problem with the Italian automobile theft problem? How do these problems fit in their countries' respective crime and justice mobiles?

Culture-Specific Phenomena

The task of a comparative criminologist is like that of a surgeon about to transplant a heart or a liver. The surgeon studies a great variety of factors to be sure the donor's organ is compatible with the recipient's body. If we want to compare Japan's low crime rates with the high crime rates in the United States, we must consider many factors, such as the role of shame in Japanese society. Misconduct brings shame not only on individual Japanese wrongdoers, but also on their families, schools, and companies: could shaming, as a sanction, play a role in American criminal justice, or is it too culture-specific?

It is easier to ask such questions than it is to answer them, since research experience in comparative criminology is still limited. In fact, the first book entitled "Comparative Criminology" appeared as recently as 1965. Its

author, the late German-English scholar Hermann Mannheim, relied on his vast cross-cultural experience in criminology but offered no guide to the comparative method.¹ More in the nature of a true comparative exercise - yet also without much guidance regarding the comparative method - to the Polish scholar Brunon Holyst's *Comparative Criminology* (1979), which systematically compares the incidence and causes of crime and the features of criminal justice around the world.²

4. Theory Testing

As we noted earlier, the cross-cultural testing of criminological theories has become one of the major goals of comparative criminology. Recent studies have extended to several of the crime causation theories discussed in this book; recent research has also explored the development of crime worldwide.

Validation of Major Theories

After Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck had completed *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1960),³ their work was criticized as too culture-specific because it was based on a sample of American children. In response, scholars replicated the Glueck research in different cultural settings— Puerto Rico, Germany, and Japan. As the Gluecks themselves put it. "*All these [studies] ... have provided the most definite of all proofs, that of applicability to other samples by other researchers*".⁴ These cross-cultural validations of the Gluecks' delinquency-prediction system are some of the earliest empirical, comparative criminological studies.

More recently, criminologist Obi Ebbe has reviewed the Gluecks' studies and found their theories applicable to juvenile delinquents in Nigeria.⁵ He has also examined the cross-cultural validity of other American theories, such as differential association, urban conditions, economic conditions, social control, and culture conflict theories.

¹ Mannheim, H. (1965). *Comparative Criminology*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

² Holyst Brunon (1979). *Comparative Criminology*, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.

³ Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1950). *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

⁴ Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1974) *Of Delinquency and Crime - A Panorama of Tears of Searchand Research*, *Publications of the Criminal Law Educationand Research Center*, vol. 8, Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, p. 332;

⁵ Ebbe N. I. Obi, (1992) *Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria: The Problem of Application of Western Theories*, *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 16, p. 353-370.

During the last few years American and foreign criminologists have engaged in a number of cross-cultural validations of prominent criminological theories. Studies have tested opportunity theory¹ situational characteristics of crime,² routine-activities theory, differential opportunity theory, social control and strain theory, the synomnie explanation of low crime rates, and Durkheim's anomie theory³. Somewhat surprisingly, most of these studies have shown the theories to have moderate to significant validity.⁴

5. Practical Goals

Developing international Policies

Internationally induced Local Crime Problems

The skinhead phenomenon is a prime example of the simultaneous appearance of a similar type of crime in various parts of the world.⁵ As yet little is known about what causes such simultaneous appearances, although instantaneous reporting in the mass media may aid the process and some international organizational connections also may play a role. Yet neither of these factors was present in the simultaneous reoccurrence of piracy in several widely separated waterways of the world in the mid-1970s, perpetrated in large part by rootless young offenders.⁶ The skinheads are part of the broader problem of crimes of discrimination against minorities and of the worldwide spread of violence.

Transnational Crime

When criminologists speak of transnational crime, they are referring to crimes, criminal transactions, or criminal schemes that break the laws of more than one country or have an impact on a foreign country. It may be hypothesized that the number of transnational crimes increases in direct proportion to the number of legitimate international transactions and

¹ Gartner Rosemary (1990) The Victims of Homicide: A Temporal and Cross-National Comparison, *American Sociological Review*, 55, pp. 92-106.

² LaFree Gary and Birkbeck Christopher (1991). *The Negicted Situation. A Cross-National Study of the Situational Characteristics of Crime*, *Criminology*, 29, pp. 73-98.

³ Leavitt C. Gregory (1992). *General Evaluation and Durkheim's Hypothesis of Crime Frequency: A Cross-Cultural Test*, *Sociological Quarterly*.

⁴ Freda, Adler (1983). Nations Not Obsessed with Crime, *Comparative Criminal Law Project Publications Series*, vol. 15, Littleton, Colo., Fred B. Rothman.

⁵ Levin Jack and McDevitt Jack, (1993). *Hate Crimes - The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed*, New York and London: Plenum.

⁶ Schwind Hans-Dieter et al., (1990) Causes, Prevention and Control of Violence, *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, 43, pp. 395-520.

activities. Contemporary transnational crimes fall into the following basic categories¹: Drug crimes; Terrorism; Economic crimes; Organized crime; Ecological crime.

What these categories of crime have in common is an international complexity that makes it virtually impossible for any one government to deal with them, especially inasmuch as governments, under international law, do not have the right or power (the jurisdiction) to take law enforcement measures in any other country's territory. It therefore becomes necessary for concerned countries to perfect a system of cooperation or even to create an international criminal justice system.

Equally difficult is the problem of researching transnational crime. Data are difficult to obtain, research has to take place in many countries, and the nature of transnational crime makes it almost impossible for one researcher, or even a team, to cover it adequately. Much of the literature on transnational crime is "gray" - hard-to-find agency-generated information - or can only be found, if at all, in the internal archives of national or international agencies. Little empirical cross-cultural research is available.

Drug Crimes

Three United Nations agencies - the Division on Narcotic Drugs, the International Narcotic Control Board, and the Fund for Drug Abuse Control - constitute the United Nations International Drug Programme. Located in Vienna, Austria, the Programme has worldwide responsibility for coordinating policy to deal with the problem of international traffic in narcotics. The legislative network for drug control was recently enlarged by the adoption, in December 1988, of a U.N. drug-trafficking convention. Some drug-control strategies are carried out on a regional level. For example, a recent U.S. General Accounting Office report has compared U.S. drug policies with those of Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The successful unification of Europe will undoubtedly increase opportunities for international drug traffickers.²

Terrorism

Over the years the close connection between the drug trade and terrorism has become clear. Terrorist groups have financed their activities through

¹ Carter L. David (1992) A Forecast of Growth in Organized Crime in Europe: New Challenges for Law Enforcement, *Police Studies*, 15, pp. 62-74.

² Clutterbuck, Richard (1990) *Terrorism, Drugs and Crime in Europe after 1992*, London, Routledge.

funds obtained in drug dealing, a connection referred to as "*narco-terrorism*." Several studies have documented the extent of narco-terrorism.

Terrorism also has an existence quite apart from the narcotics trade. Comparatists have done considerable cross-cultural research on terrorism, most of which can be found in the journals *Terrorism* (New York), *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (London), and *Violence, Aggression, Terrorism* (Danbury, Connecticut).

There is enough information to conclude that terrorism is a worldwide problem, that even governments have engaged in terrorism¹ and that the international machinery to combat terrorism is fragmented and incomplete. The bombing of the World Trade Center by a group of international terrorists brought home the message of our vulnerability and underscored the need for cross-cultural research.

Economic Crimes

According to some cross-cultural researchers, an estimated \$85 billion is available for investment each year from narcotics trafficking. On a daily basis, \$233 million in drug money flows around the world, seeking secret investment opportunities. The process is called money laundering, meaning that "*dirty*" money is transferred out of the country of origin and into the banks of countries with lax banking laws. There, accounts may be opened (by number only) with no questions asked.

The governments of major drug-consuming countries (primarily the United States and Western European countries), gravely concerned about the drug-crime connection, have formed the Financial Action Task Force (FATE) to study the problem and find solutions.² Yet much transnational research remains to be done before the world can adopt a unified stand on money laundering. Legislative gaps among the laws of the various countries permit money laundering to flourish, and some countries openly invite "*dirty*" money investments in order to strengthen their economies.

Money laundering is but one of many types of transnational economic crimes. As border controls and customs barriers vanish, "*transnational enterprise crimes*" are on the increase. They resemble the economic crime that previously was limited to one nation. These crimes include many types of

¹ Alexander, George (1991) ed. *Western State Terrorism*, New York, Routledge.

² Gilmore, (1992) *International Efforts to Combat Money Laundering*, Cambridge, England: Grotius.

fraud, corruption, and business crimes in violation of local laws.¹ Again, the reach of these crimes can be vast: the BCCI banking fraud affected 73 countries. Research into the operations of transnational economic criminals is in its infancy and can be done successfully only by international teams of researchers with access to government and business documents.

Organized Crime

Organized crime, once a regional or national phenomenon, has become globalized. Comparatists have barely begun to scratch the surface in transnational organized-crime research. It is, of course, a form of economic crime (although often involving violence), but it differs from the economic crimes just discussed in that economic criminals operate with a mantle of legitimacy whereas organized criminals, on the whole, do not.

Research indicates that intra-European organized crime, Italy excepted, has not been as successful in infiltrating business and government as has American organized crime, although connections are dearly emerging. Russian organized crime, on the other hand, is developing rapidly along American lines. With the collapse of Russia's central market economy and the switch to capitalism, a change in the forms of economic crime and the development of organized crime were predictable, as some researchers have noted.

Ecological Crime

Worldwide advances in technology, especially in nuclear technology, have vastly increased risks to the environment. Criminally negligent construction and maintenance of industrial facilities are causing disasters for people all over the world. Tighter controls in some countries have led industries to relocate to countries where they can operate at greater risk to the environment.

The dangers, however, are not exclusively local. All water ultimately seeps into the same oceans, and polluted air can spread around the globe. A unified global policy to prevent ecological crime is emerging only now, in the wake of the U.N. World Congress on the Environment (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1993). Some criminologists have begun to study the approaches used by various countries in search of worldwide solutions.

¹ Martens T. Frederick (1991) *Transnational Enterprise Crime and the Elimination of Frontiers*, *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 15, pp. 99-107.

As we noted, the cross-cultural study of transnational crime and criminal justice policies has as one of its purposes devising transnational responses to such crimes. Increasingly, this task has fallen on intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the European Community. These bodies may agree on strategies and programs aimed at assisting individual countries with their problems and devising common approaches. Usually, their conclusions do not have the force of law; they are simply regarded as guides for national legislation and policy. But if agreed upon as a convention, they are binding on the signatories.

Of particular significance are the United Nations guidelines, which, in the sphere of transnational crime, include the following: Guiding Principles for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the Context of Development and a New International Economic Order (1985); International Co-operation for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the Context of Development (General Assembly resolution 45/107, Annex. Recommendations, 1990); Prevention and Control of Organized Crime (Annex. Guidelines, 1990); Terrorist Criminal Activities (Annex. Measures against international terrorism, 1990); Model Treaty on Extradition (General Assembly Resolution 45/116,1990); Model Treaty on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters (General Assembly Resolution 45/117,1990); Model Treaty on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters (General Assembly Resolution 45/118,1990; Model Treaty for the Prevention of Crimes That Infringe on the Cultural Heritage of Peoples in the Form of Movable Property (1990).

International Crime

International crimes are the major criminal offenses so designated by the community of nations for the protection of interests common to all humankind. They may be found in precedent (much like the Anglo-American common law of crimes) or in written form in international conventions. They can be tried in the courts of countries which recognize them, or they can be tried by international courts. The war crimes tribunals that tried German and Japanese war criminals after World War II were such courts. In 1993, the U.N. Security Council ordered the establishment of an international tribunal for war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This court now holds regular sessions in the Hague in the Netherlands and receives evidence that may eventually lead to indictments.

Which crimes are listed as international crimes? The Draft Code of crimes lists the following as crimes against the peace and security of mankind: **Aggression** (by one state against another); **Threat of aggression**;

Intervention (in the internal or external affairs of another state); **Colonial domination and other forms of alien domination**; **Genocide** (destroying a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group); **Apartheid** (suppression of a racial or ethnic group); **Systematic or mass violations of human rights**; **Exceptionally serious war crimes**; **Recruitment, use, financing, and training of mercenaries** (soldiers of fortune); **International terrorism**; **Illicit traffic in narcotic drugs**; **Willful and severe damage to the environment**.

These crimes occur in many forms. For example, "systematic or mass violations of human rights" may be organized, large-scale rapes of women in occupied territories, as in Bosnia in 1992 and 1993.

In addition to the listed international crimes, many others are recognized by convention; these include the cutting of undersea cables, the transportation of women for purposes of prostitution ("white slavery"), and fisheries offenses. There is now a considerable body of research and scholarship on international crimes.¹

Writing specifically on comparative research in the area of drug use, statistician Lane Harrison has stated: "There is much that could be learned from internationally comparative research on the interface of drug use and criminal behavior. ... In this time of increasing homogenization of societies, we need to engage in research that helps to determine the factors that contribute to both drug use and crime. This insight could be used to construct strategies to deal with these problem behaviors".²

Her comments are applicable to all the forms of crime that are currently spreading across borders, particularly those in violation of international law.

6. Globalization vs. Ethnic Fragmentation

Comparative criminologists view the new millennium with some trepidation. Globalization raises great hopes for a better future for all human beings. Yet it brings with it grave dangers in terms of the internationalization of crime. Comparative criminology has a significant role to play in the investigation of new forms of transnational crime. Researchers can apply the methods used when such crimes were strictly local or national, but using the sophistication of the science of comparative criminology.

The new millennium presents additional hazards arising from the trend toward "balkanization". Balkanization, the opposite of globalization, is the

¹ Cherif, Bassiouni (1986) M. ed., *International Criminal Law: vol. 1, Crimes*, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Transnational.

² Harrison D. Lane (1992) Editor's Introduction: "International Perspectives on the Interface of Drug Use and Criminal Behavior," *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 19, pp. 181-201.

breakup of nation-states into ethnic entities. Many ethnic groups are striving for independence and sovereignty denied to them when they were incorporated in larger nation-states, as in the former Soviet Union or Yugoslavia; or when they were joined arbitrarily with other groups in colonial times, as in Africa; or when other accidents of history included them within empires, as in Western Europe. Frequently such ethnic groups had to abide by laws and customs that were not of their own choosing and had to suppress their own languages and cultures. Now they are searching for identities, territories, and criminal justice systems of their own. Unhappily, the struggle has brought with it human rights violations, war crimes, and genocide on a massive scale. This is The latest challenge for criminologists and criminal justice specialists working on the international level.

7. Review

Comparative criminology, despite its historical antecedents, is a young science, a subspecialty of criminology. In view of the globalization of the world - brought about by recent technological advances and the enormous increase in international commerce, both legal and illegal - comparative studies in criminology have become a necessity. Comparatists are called upon to assist governments in devising strategies to deal with a wide variety of international and transnational crimes.

In this article we have traced the history of comparative criminology, sought to define it and attempted to identify its goals. These goals may be theoretical, like the cross-cultural testing of prominent theories of crime. They can also be very practical, like the search for transplantable crime-fighting strategies or for techniques to deal with specific transnational and international crimes.

There are a number of requirements for successful comparative research: studying foreign law, understanding foreign criminal justice systems, learning about a foreign culture, collecting reliable data, engaging in comparative research, and, when needed, doing cross-cultural empirical research.

The accomplishments of criminologists who have engaged in comparative studies form the foundation for further research. The tools of comparative criminology should prove useful in helping both individual nations and the United Nations solve some of their common crime problems. The United Nations and its agencies continue to do very practical work to help nations deal with crime on a worldwide basis.

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