

The effectiveness of restorative justice – Changes in reflective functioning following a victim-offender-mediation

Summary

Restorative justice is a widespread intervention on criminal behavior in the anglo-american justice systems. Due to a different legal system in Germany restorative justice still has a marginal role. Contrary to community based networks to reintegrate offenders, restorative justice in Germany has been narrowed to a short-term-intervention: The victim-offender-mediation has been established since the 1990es and is integrated in the formal justice system. For juvenile delinquency a victim-offender-mediation can lead to a closing of the proceedings at any case, adult offenders can reach a mitigation of the sentence in case of serious crime. Especially victims and offenders of criminal assaults participate. Despite of the legal possibilities, sexual offences are rarely mediated because of the underlying principles of a face-to-face contact between victim and offender. The intervention in general is supposed to be more effective in strengthening an offender's insight in his or her unethical behavior than traditional sanctions do. In a pilot study the effects of victim-offender-mediation on insight and recidivism are studied in a group of adolescent offenders with serious violent behavior. Insight is measured in a pre-post-design using discourse analysis and the concept of reflective functioning.

Keywords: restorative justice, reflective functioning, violence, recidivism

Introduction

Since the 1990es victim-offender-mediation is part of the criminal law in Germany and therefore a common intervention of the legal system especially on juvenile criminality. It was established as a product of local initiatives in a process of bottom-up criminal policy (cf. Schreckling 1991, p. 13). Even though the procedure victim-offender-mediation and mediation in non-criminal-law fields have structural similarities and common grounds, both were initiated seperately in Germany and developed as two different branches. Whereas US-American mediation programmes engage in civil as well as in penal cases, up until now there is a splitting due to the german legal system in comparison to countries with anglo-american legal traditions

(Wright/Galaway 1988; Rössner 1998). This leads to an abbreviation of restorative justice programmes in Germany which focus on reparations to the victims in the frame of a victim-offender-mediation, but not on reintegration of offenders in community networks. There only exist a few exceptions in terms of community based mediation centers that in spite of the legal system do not separate between civil and penal claims and who even offer conflict resolution in non-reported cases (Winter 2003; Trenczek/Pfeiffer 1996). For juvenile delinquency a victim-offender-mediation can lead to a closing of the proceedings at any case, adult offenders can reach a mitigation of the sentence in case of serious crime.

A victim-offender-mediation is defined as an attempt to reach an amicable agreement between victim and offender with the help of a professional and noncommitted mediator. The agreement shall be suitable for retrieving or at least minimizing the problems, burdens and conflicts that follow a criminal act (Trenczek, 1992). The mediator talks to both parties separately, a face-to-face dialogue is aimed for but voluntary. Due to this implicit goal of a face-to-face contact, the victim-offender-mediation in case of sexual assaults is off-limits in Germany so far. The focus of conversation is working up the criminal deed from the different perspectives and developing reparations from the offender to the victim. Only criminal acts with distinct personal responsibilities are suitable for a mediation. Within the process the deed is seen as a conflict between two or more parties. Contrary to legal interventions that aim for punishment to restore law and order, the key features of mediation imply a participating, restorative and informal process which respects interests of all parties involved (Pelikan, 1998). Victim-offender-mediation itself shall empower the victim and help the offender to recognise the consequences of the criminal act for the victim. With about 25.000 victim-offender-mediations per anno, it is the biggest area of application of mediation in Germany (Delattre, 2002). Due to different terms and conditions, the field of victim-offender-mediation is very inhomogeneous (Kerner & Hartmann, 2005; Wandrey & Weitekamp, 1998). Research on mediation pleads for the integration of therapeutical concepts to reach long-term effects in terms of psychological change: „[.L]ong-term success is not a simple function of reaching agreement or the quality of the agreement in community mediation. [.T]he remedy is to spend more time so that deeper issues can be explored and better agreements reached“ (Pruitt et al. 1993, S. 325). Therefore, therapeutically orientated settings seem to be especially promising for long-term effects on offenders.

The general goals of a victim-offender-mediation are to reach satisfaction and pacification for all conflict parties. A side effect on the offender can be rehabilitation from deviant behavior (Hassemer 1998, S. 402). Pelikan (1998) stresses out that rehabilitation can only be reached with the offender's basic will to be insightful. An offender's emotional insight, known as a key mechanism for change in psychotherapies, can be obtained by the confrontation with the victim's pain. This effect as a key factor for rehabilitation is rather not achieved by traditional penalties. In particular, psychoanalytical research showed that knowing a norm and rational convictions about the consequences of delinquency do not lead to an insight that changes behavior. Emotional insight is based on acknowledging and experiencing the mental and social consequences of a criminal act for both offender and victim (Taubner 2008). Psychic defence mechanisms prevent the reflection on criminal behavior by keeping certain thoughts and feelings unconscious. In the concept of mentalization Fonagy and colleagues describe an individual's preconscious ability to understand his or her own behavior and the behavior of others in terms of mental states due to an attribution of intentionality (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002). An individual's capacity for mentalization influences the emotional insight as an antagonist of unconscious defensive operations who protect a person against unbearable feelings and thoughts. Thus, mentalization is necessary to reach emotional insight. On the one hand, it is essential to reach an emotionally based agreement in a victim-offender-mediation, because without mentalization the agreement will be of formal character without recognizing the other. On the other hand, the victim-offender-mediation can advance mentalization abilities. The latter can be especially productive if the mediators allocate as subjects with a sufficient mentalization along the lines of the development of mental abilities.

Violent adolescents and mentalization

The clientele of victim-offender-mediation in Germany consists mainly of adolescents involved in criminal assaults. Criminology has proven that most of the adolescents show deviant behavior, mostly unreported. Thus, juvenile delinquency is seen as normal, ubiquitary (from all walks of life) and temporarily because it ends when adolescents become adults, e. g. start a family (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Official statistics show that the prevalence of deviant behavior peaks at the age of 17 years

and after that descends continually until 85% of the former delinquents act legally at the age of 28 years (Farrington, 1986). But in a recent follow-up of the New Zealand Dunedin-Study the prevalence of adolescence limited delinquency still occurred at the age of 26 years (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002). This result of an increasing period of time of adolescence-limited delinquency was explained by the influence of a beginning adulthood which has the same conflict potential as adolescence (Arnett, 2000). The normal, ubiquitary and temporary adolescent criminality is characterized by non-violent bagatelle-crime, e. g. shoplifting or driving without a driver's licence. In contrast, criminal assaults are committed by a small group namely male adolescents (Fonagy, 2006). Especially these violent adolescents are in danger to enter life-long criminal careers but there are no suitable diagnostic criteria to distinguish between temporary and life-long delinquency (Moffitt, 1993). Noticeable problems like anxiety, depression, defiant behavior or outbursts of fury could be either symptoms of a personality disorder or an adjustment to mental and physical changes in adolescence (Kernberg, 2006). To diagnose an adolescent offender, it is necessary to consider the personality structure, which is often discrepant to the actual age, as well as adolescence-typical psychodynamics. Clinicians and psychotherapy researchers (Streck-Fischer, 2006; Westen, Shedler, Durrett, Glass, & Martens, 2003) developed diagnostic instruments like the Shedler-Westen-Assessment-Procedure for adolescents (SWAP-200-A) as well as the Operationalised-Psychodynamic-Diagnostics for children and adolescents (OPD-CA) that refrain from imposing adult concepts of psychic illness on youth and therefore include developmental potentialities. Target and Fonagy propose that the rise of psychopathological phenomena in adolescence is connected with the development of mentalization because mentalization is a key factor to cope with the integrative requirements of adolescence (Target & Fonagy, 1996). For them, adolescent breakdowns are not explained by the normal inner turmoil in this phase but a consequence of developmental deficits that have been hidden so far. Thus, they define affective disturbances as an insufficient consolidation of symbolization (Fonagy et al., 2002). The inhibition to harm other people depends probably on the ability to anticipate the mental states of a potential victim, because this anticipation is painful (Fonagy et al. 1997, S. 255). Former studies proved that violent offenders do not have the ability to mentalize a victim's desperation (Blair 1992) and show reduced mentalization abilities in comparison to non-violent offenders and persons

with accompanying personality disorders (Levinson & Fonagy, 2004). An absence of mentalization is explained within a developmental paradigm as crucial for survival in a traumatizing early environment and basically reversible (Fonagy et al., 2002). The development of mentalization needs at least one secure attachment relationship, which is also known as key factor for resilient teens (Hauser, Allen, & Golden, 2006). Hence, the development of mentalization might be a criterion to differentiate between different types of juvenile offenders. Moreover, mentalization could be a key to understand and treat violent behavior. Fonagy and colleagues invented an operationalization of mentalization abilities in the concept of reflective functioning (RF) (Fonagy, Target, Steele, & Steele, 1998) that enables empirical research on this matter.

The study on the effectiveness of victim-offender-mediation

The pilot-study on the effectiveness of victim-offender-mediation (Taubner, 2008) was possible due to the cooperation with a local institution that engages in community-based mediation with a psychoanalytical therapeutical concept (Taubner & Frühwein, 2004; Winter, 1990). The study focused on the development of violent adolescents' reflective functioning and its relevance for gaining emotional insight during a victim-offender-mediation. Changes in reflective functioning were defined as outcome measures which were assessed in a prospective pre-post-design. Recidivism was included as a second outcome measure. Reflective functioning (RF) was coded according to the reflective-functioning-scale (Fonagy et al., 1998) from Adult-Attachment-Interviews (AAI) (George, Kaplan, & Main, 1984/1985/1996) before and 1,5 years after the victim-offender-mediation. The interview was partly reduced, questions concerning the punishable act, the feelings and thoughts about the victim, and the victim-offender-mediation were added. The reflective-functioning-scale (Fonagy et al., 1998) is subdivided in 11 levels, starting with -1 (negative RF) ending with level 9 (extraordinary RF). The authors describe two main areas: negative to low vs. average to high, with the level of 4 as borderline. Moreover, social problems of the participating adolescents were assessed by the Inventar of Interpersonal Problems (IIP) (Horowitz, Strauß, & Kordy, 2000). Attachment representations were also measured with the Adult-Attachment-Projective (AAP) (George, West, & Pettem, 1997/1999).

The sample consisted of 19 subjects (1 drop-out in the post-interview) from age 18 to 21 years at the pre-interview who were charged with an act of violence (assault or robbery). The success rate of the victim-offender-mediation was very low, 58% of the cases failed to reach an agreement between the parties. As expected, the reflective functioning of the group was below average (mean=3,32) in comparison to normal samples with a population mean at level 5 (Fonagy et al., 1998). Half the group was characterized by absent or low RF, 2 subjects were coded with negative RF. The highest score was level 6, reached by 2 probands. The results of the Adult-Attachment-Projectives showed a very high rate of unresolved traumata in the attachment representations (70%). These results correlated with migration in early childhood reported in the interviews (Spearman: $p = .016$). Moreover, with the exception of 2 subjects, they described further potentially traumatic experiences, e. g. violent family background (68%) or a parent's mental illness (36,8%) known as risk factors for the development of delinquent behavior (Lewis 1984). Considering the committed acts of violence, the low reflective functioning abilities, the accumulation of potentially traumatic stressful life-events and the unresolved attachment traumata, the sample can be diagnosed as high-risk group for future violence and mental disorders.

Results

The pre-post-change in RF correlates significantly with the RF in the pre-interview before victim-offender-mediation (regression analysis, $p=.034$). Therefore, the sample was subdivided by a split-half-procedure in a „non-reflective“ group (RF-scores from -1 to 3, $N=10$) and a „reflective“ group (RF-scores from 4 to 6, $N=9$). The means of pre-post-change in RF from both subsamples differentiate significantly (u-test, $p=.009$). Statistical analysis shows that the reflective subsample decreased in RF whereas at the same time the non-reflectives improved (see figure 1 and table 1).

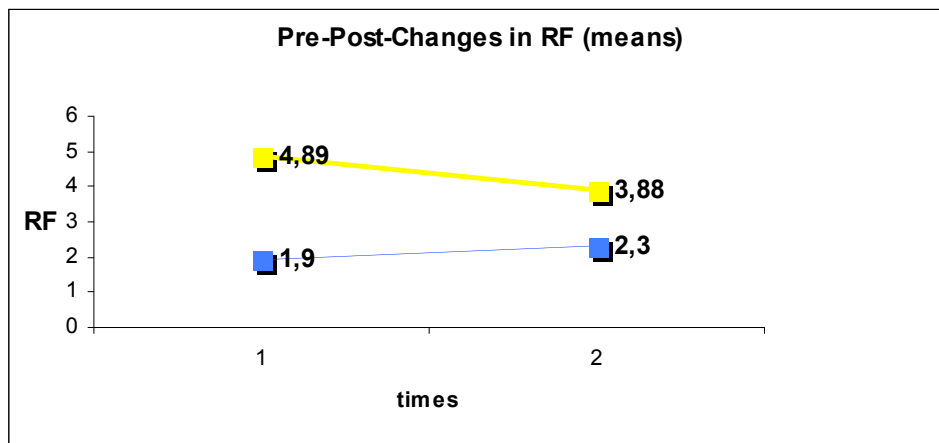


Figure 1: Pre-post-changes in reflective functioning of the reflective and the non-reflective group

	Non-reflective (N=10) M (s)	Reflective (N=8) M (s)	Significance u-test (p)
Changes in RF	0,40 (0,70)	-0,88 (0,99)	p < .01

Table 1: Changes of RF in the reflective and the non-reflective subsample (means)

The quantity of sessions was included as a moderating variable. The number of sessions varies in a victim-offender-mediation depending on the complexity of the case. There was a correlation between the number of sessions and the level of RF in the pre-interviews: The lower the RF, the more sessions were held in the victim-offender-mediation. Improvements in RF occurred only when subjects had at least 10 sessions. This could be an explanation why the reflective subsample decreased because they had only up to 6 sessions.

The extent of interpersonal problems of the IIP predicted the succes of the mediation. Results of the IIP were projected onto the underlying personality modell to locate the main focus of the interpersonal problems in the dimensions predominance vs. submissiveness and friendliness vs. hostility (Horowitz, Rosenberg, & Kalehzan, 1992). The sample was again subdivided in 4 groups along the medians (in brackets the pattern of distribution):

- 1) dominant-hostile (16,7 %)
- 2) dominant-friendly (33,3 %)
- 3) submissive-hostile (33,3 %)
- 4) submissive-friendly (16,7 %)

Figure 2 shows the correlation between the main focus of interpersonal problems and mediation success. Dominant interpersonal styles lead to a failure of agreements (Spearman, $p=.018$). It is as well known from psychotherapy research that interpersonal problems in hostile dominance have a negative influence on outcomes after shorttime-interventions (Horowitz et al., 1992; Strauß, Eckert, & Hess, 1993).

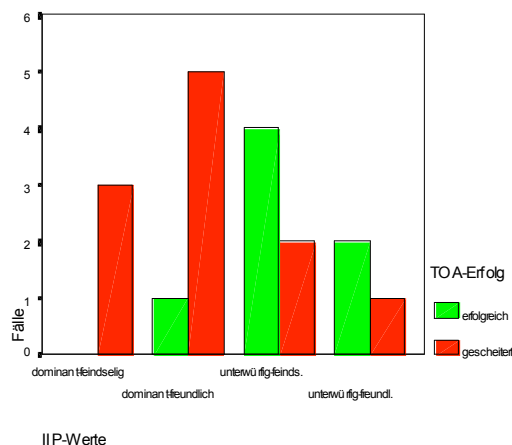


Figure 2: Mediation success and the main focus of interpersonal problems

Two years after the victim-offender-mediation, recidivism of the sample was measured via consulting the federal central criminal register which collects all officially registered criminal acts. The register showed that 13 subjects remained legally (68,4%), 6 subjects (31,6%) committed another act of violence. Only subjects with a RF-Score of level 3 and lower and unresolved attachment representations reoffended. The reflective-functioning in the post-interviews correlated with the recidivism (Chi-Quadrat-Test, Kendall-Tau= .003, Spearman, $p=.014$, u-Test, $p=.026$). A discriminant analysis revealed that RF could predict 83,3% of recidivism ($p=.046$).

Development of emotional insight after a victim-offender-mediation

In addition to statistical analysis, the interviews were examined on the basis of qualitative diagnostical research (Frommer, 1996), that combines strategies of discourse analysis (Mayring, 1983) and comparative casuistics (Jüttemann, 1990). The qualitative method focuses the text until the whole dataset is reduced to single statements. In a second step, the single statements are grouped together. Similar statements get a superscription with a number of occurrence which is named category. A superscription includes at the most one single statement of a subject.

Therefore the number of occurrence shows how many subjects made statements in one category. Only the answers from the modified questions relating to the criminal act, the victim and the victim-offender-mediation were chosen for qualitative analysis.

As a main result for all subjects, the discourse analysis revealed a role reversal between victim and offender because the delinquents saw themselves as victims of the legal system and the victims' revenge. The handling of responsibility for the criminal act was determined by splitting processes: On the one hand the subjects spoke of remorse and on the other hand they refused responsibility and tried to shift the blame on others, preferably the victim or complice. Splitting mechanism are defensive operations to protect an individual from unbearable feelings and therefore inhibit insight. According to the levels of RF, the discourse analysis showed 3 qualitatively different processes of insight that will be presented in the following and support the statistical results:

1) Absent and negative RF: „They won't catch me next time.“

This small group with negative or absent RF scores (N=3) identifies deeply with the criminal act and plans new criminal offences very openly during the interviews. Furthermore, due to insufficient social perception they miss the ability to be insightful. For example one proband threatened to shoot the victim of his robbery because he was furious about her wish to talk to his mother. Another subject described that the serious assault almost happened again during the face-to-face meeting because the victim did not show remorse. Thus, they are not capable to attend a victim-offender-mediation. For these exceptional offenders a therapeutical program to activate mentalization is highly recommended but not a confrontation with the victim that might endanger retraumatization for everyone involved.

2) Low or questionable RF: „I am an offender but I don't feel guilty.“

Comparably to the results of statistical analysis, the discourse analysis documented positive processes for the subsample of low or questionable RF (N=7). On the one hand projections decreased, e. g. perceptions that the victim was dangerous and the criminal act therefore self-defence, and gave way for more realistic convictions. On the other hand the subsample showed more empathy for the victim's pain and

anxiety as a consequence of the criminal act after a victim-offender-mediation. One explanation of this positive outcome seems to be that this group describes the alliance with the mediator as helpful. In table 2 is a list of single statements on the victim-offender-mediation as an example for a category that highlights the offenders' conclusions on the mediation process and the mediators.

<p>•VOM positive (8X)•The VOM was useful to get to know the feelings of the other side.•During the sessions I found courage. •The VOM was good and helpful (2X).•The mediator achieved the closing of the proceedings.•The mediator was interested in my feelings.•The mediator stood up for me. •I could talk about the difficulties after the criminal act.</p>
--

Table 2: Single statements on the victim-offender-mediation of the subsample low RF

The process of insight in general is due to the rather limited reflective abilities flawed and focused on behavior rather than elaborating mental states of the other.

3) Average to high RF: „I am not an offender.“

The subsample of average to high RF (N=9) shows empathy already before a victim-offender-mediation. In general, insight in the consequences of the criminal act remained equal or changed for the worse. The victim's anxiety was perceived less, some offenders resented their victims due to their perception of negative experiences during victim-offender-mediation. Especially this group declared that the agreement failed because of the victim's attitude. At the same time, the subsample with average to high RF generally refused being a delinquent and judged the criminal act as "gaffe" under bad circumstances respectively. The subjective judgements revealed that the probands were rather disappointed by the alliance with the mediator and just pretended to be insightful (see table 3).

<p>•VOM positive (2X)•A penal case would have enlarged my rage that's why the VOM was a good alternative.•I have learned to stand up for my deed. •VOM negative (7X)•During VOM I just told them what they wished to hear. •I only agreed with the victim to finish the VOM quickly (2X).•The VOM was exhausting.•The VOM failed because the victim did not see my point.•The mediator alleged me being in a gang.•My mediator thought, I was a dealer.</p>

Table 3: Single statements on the victim-offender-mediation of the subsample average to high RF

Discussion

Levels of reflective functioning influence the quality of agreements in victim-offender-mediation especially concerning the development of insight as well as the later recidivism. Hence, reflective functioning could be a diagnostic criterion to distinguish between adolescence-limited and life-long delinquency. In the study sample the group of low RF - in contrast to the group with average abilities - was paradoxically more likely to reach an agreement and to develop insight. They gained from the relationship with the mediator and improved in mentalization. This unexpected result does not contribute studies predicting positive outcomes by the levels of RF (Muller, Kaufhold, Overbeck, & Grabhorn, 2006). The study revealed the implicit strength of victim-offender-mediation to enhance reflective function after at least 10 sessions in the low-level group. The enhancement of RF becomes even more important if the result of this study can be replicated that recidivism is more unlikely at a level of average RF.

Despite the hypotheses, the subsample with average RF disapproved of the victim-offender-mediation because of their conflicts with the role of an offender which is probably explained by the considerable inner consequences. Due to a higher level of RF the victim's pain is mentally represented and might cause unbearable guilt and shame that threatens the offenders' self concept and coherence. The victim's view and inner experience is reported and represented by the mediator and therefore transforms the offender's inner conflict between offender and mediator. In a more psychoanalytically orientated setting with more sessions this could be the change to work through this conflict. But instead as the study showed, there were fewer sessions due to the subjects' ability to pretend to be insightful. The fewer sessions resulted in the denial of responsibility for the criminal action accompanied by an activation of defence mechanisms (decrease of RF). A successful agreement between parties of violent offending involves the dealing with very complex feelings of rage, hate, guilt, shame, and remorse. On a basis of psychoanalytical theory the criminal act is understood as an unconscious repetition of early traumatic experience. An offender's psychic integration of an assault might result in realising his own experience in what he has done to the victim. If an offender becomes aware of his own unconscious motives there is a change to start anew instead of projecting unbearable feelings in the opponent and fight them there (Bindrich, 2001; Reinke, 1999). The actual procedures of restorative justice in Germany seem to focus too strongly on the legal process with a clear distinction between victim and offender and a form of reparation

that is seen like a punishment by the offenders. In this setting reflective offenders feel they have to apologize or get punished which leads to a refusal of responsibility instead of learning and developmental processes. It seems necessary to apply process features of mediation like recognizing the pain of the victim and empowerment of the victim also on the offender.

Due to the high percentage of desorganized attachment representations and low reflective functioning abilities, the sample is at high risk to fail age-appropriate tasks like leaving the family and coping the transition from school to profession. Levy et al. showed a strong connection for borderline-personality disorders between impulsivity, emotional instability and low levels of reflective functioning (Levy et al., 2006), which contributes to the assumption to interpret the delinquent behavior also in the framework of attachment-desorganisation and mentalization qualities. Therefore, the study contributes to the close connection between violent offending in adolescence and low levels of mentalization (Levinson & Fonagy, 2004). Due to the missing mental buffer (mentalization) emotions overwhelm the individual and are overcome by action like violent offending. On the other hand the absence of mentalization in half of the sample might refrain them from coping with trauma concerning migration, mentally disordered caregivers and domestic violence, reported during the AAls. There from, interventions are highly recommended that enhance metacognitive abilities in an modified mentalization-based therapy which was already developed for the treatment of borderline personality disorders (Bateman & Fonagy, 2004). A structural change in mentalization would be of benefit in several areas: Mentalization reinforces inhibitions to attack another person and therefore prevents recidivism, and is a key factor to overcome own traumatic experience manifold in these high risk groups.

Literatur

- Arnett, J. (2000). Emerging adulthood. *American Psychologist*, 55, 469-480.
- Bateman, A., & Fonagy, P. (2004). *Psychotherapy for borderline personality disorder. Mentalisation-based treatment*. Oxford: University Press.
- Bindrich, E. (2001). Psychologische und psychoanalytische Aspekte im Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich mit Jugendlichen und dessen Supervision- das theoretische und das emotionale Verständnis des Täters. In F. Winter (Ed.), *Glücksversprechen, Volksjustiz oder rechtsstaatliche Methode? - Kritische*

- Bestandsaufnahme der TOA-Praxis an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert.* (Vol. 47, pp. 21-31). Köln: DBH-Materialien.
- Delattre, G. (2002). Prolog. *TOA-Infodienst*, 16, 3.
- Farrington, D. P. (1986). Age and crime. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), *Crime and justice: An annual review of research* (Vol. 7, pp. 189-250). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fonagy, P. (2006). Persönlichkeitsstörungen und Gewalt - ein psychoanalytisch-bindungstheoretischer Ansatz. In O. Kernberg & H. Hartmann (Eds.), *Narzissmus. Grundlagen - Störungsbilder - Therapie* (pp. 486-540). Stuttgart: Schattauer.
- Fonagy, P., Gergely, G., Jurist, E., & Target, M. (2002). *Affektregulierung, Mentalisierung und die Entwicklung des Selbst*. Stuttgart 2003: Klett-Cotta.
- Fonagy, P., Target, M., Steele, H., & Steele, M. (1998). *Reflexive Kompetenz-Skala. Manual zur Auswertung von Erwachsenenbindungsinterviews*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Frommer, J. (1996). *Qualitative Diagnostikforschung*. Berlin: Springer.
- George, C., Kaplan, N., & Main, M. (1984/1985/1996). *The Berkeley Adult Attachment Interview*. Unpublished manuscript, Berkeley.
- George, C., West, M., & Pettem, O. (1997/1999). *Adult attachment projective protocol and classification scoring system*. Unpublished manuscript, Oakland.
- Hauser, S., Allen, J., & Golden, E. (2006). *Out of the woods. Tales of resilient teens*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Horowitz, L., Rosenberg, S., & Kalehzan, B. (1992). The capacity to describe other people clearly: A predictor of interpersonal problems and outcome in brief dynamic psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy Research*, 2, 43-57.
- Horowitz, L., Strauß, B., & Kordy, H. (2000). *Inventar zur Erfassung Interpersonaler Probleme - Deutsche Version*. Stuttgart: Beltz-Test.
- Jüttemann, G. (1990). *Komparative Kasuistik*. Heidelberg: Asanger.
- Kernberg, O. (2006). Die narzisstische Persönlichkeit und ihre Beziehung zu antisozialem Verhalten und Perversionen - pathologischer Narzissmus und narzisstische Persönlichkeit. In K. O & H. P (Eds.), *Narzissmus. Grundlagen - Störungsbilder - Therapie*. (pp. 263-307). Stuttgart: Schattauer.
- Kerner, H.-J., & Hartmann, A. (2005). *Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich in der Entwicklung. Auswertung der bundesweiten Täter-Opfer-Ausgleichs-Statistik für den Zehnjahreszeitraum 1993 bis 2002*. Berlin: Bundesministerium der Justiz.
- Levinson, A., & Fonagy, P. (2004). Offending and Attachment. The relationship between interpersonal awareness and offending in a prison population with psychiatric order. *Canadian Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 12, 225-251.
- Levy, K. N., Clarkin, J. F., Yeomans, F. E., Scott, L. N., Wasserman, R. H., & Kernberg, O. F. (2006). The mechanisms of change in the treatment of borderline personality disorder with transference focused psychotherapy. *J Clin Psychol*, 62(4), 481-501.
- Mayring, P. (1983). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- Moffitt, T. (1993). Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy. *Psychological Review*, 100, 674-701.
- Moffitt, T., Caspi, A., Harrington, H., & Milne, B. (2002). Males on the life-course-persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways: Follow-up at age 26 years. *Development and Psychopathology*, 14, 179-207.
- Muller, C., Kaufhold, J., Overbeck, G., & Grabhorn, R. (2006). The importance of reflective functioning to the diagnosis of psychic structure. *Psychol Psychother*, 79(Pt 4), 485-494.

- Pelikan, C. (1998). *Gutachten zur Entwicklung eines Projektes "Mediation bei Gewaltstraftaten in Paarbeziehungen" durch das Senatsamt für die Gleichstellung der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg*. Unpublished manuscript, Wien.
- Reinke, E. (1999). Wiederholung und Neubeginn. Überlegungen zum "szenischen Verstehen" (Alfred Lorenzer und Herrmann Argelander) als Erkenntnismöglichkeit im psychoanalytischen Prozess. In T. Resch (Ed.), *Psychoanalyse, Grenzen und Grenzöffnung* (pp. 43-62). Frankfurt: Brandes & Apsel.
- Sampson, R., & Laub, J. (1993). *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Strauß, B., Eckert, J., & Hess, H. (1993). Integration und Diskussion der Ergebnisse. *Gruppenpsychotherapie und Gruppendynamik*, 29, 286-294.
- Streck-Fischer, A. (2006). *Trauma und Entwicklung. Frühe Traumatisierung und ihre Folgen in der Adoleszenz*. Stuttgart: Schattauer.
- Target, M., & Fonagy, P. (1996). Playing with Reality II: The Development of Psychic Reality from a Theoretical Perspective. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 77, 459-478.
- Taubner, S. (2008). *Einsicht in Gewalt*. Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag.
- Taubner, S., & Frühwein, C. (2004). Was guckst du? - Szenen aus dem Alltag der Konfliktschlichtung - Theorie und Intervention. In F. Winter (Ed.), *Der Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich und die Vision von einer "heilenden" Gerechtigkeit. 4. Bremer Kongress zum Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich im Mai 2003* (Vol. 69-99). Worpswede: Amberg.
- Trenczek, T. (1992). Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich - Grundgedanken und Mindeststandards. *Zeitschrift für Rechtspolitik*, 4, 130-132.
- Wandrey, M., & Weitekamp, E. (1998). Die organisatorische Umsetzung des TOA in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - eine vorläufige Einschätzung der Entwicklung im Zeitraum von 1989 bis 1995. In D. Dölling (Ed.), *TOA in Deutschland. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven* (pp. 121-144). Bonn: Forum Verlag Godesberg.
- Westen, D., Shedler, J., Durrett, C., Glass, S., & Martens, A. (2003). Personality Diagnoses in Adolescence: DSM-IV Axis II Diagnosis and an Empirically Derived Alternative. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160, 952-966.
- Winter, F. (1990). *Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich. Konzeption und Informationsbroschüre*. Unpublished manuscript, Bremen.