

**MENTALIZING AND ANTISOCIAL  
PERSONALITY: A PERSONAL JOURNEY  
AVOIDING NOISE AND ADDRESSING DISTRUST**

**Anthony Bateman**

**Nordisk mentaliserings konferanse 2026**

**Bergen**

*The nature of trauma is  
isolation from ones social  
group.*

*Recovery requires reconnection  
with a social group*



TRAUMA

## MENTALIZATION BASED DEFINITION OF TRAUMA

- Adversity becomes traumatic when it is compounded by a sense that **one's mind is alone**
- Normally an accessible **other mind** provides the **social referencing** that enables us to frame a frightening and otherwise overwhelming experience.



# BUILDING A SOCIAL NETWORK IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE AND ADULTHOOD



When the capacity to form bonds of trust is shaky and tends to break down...



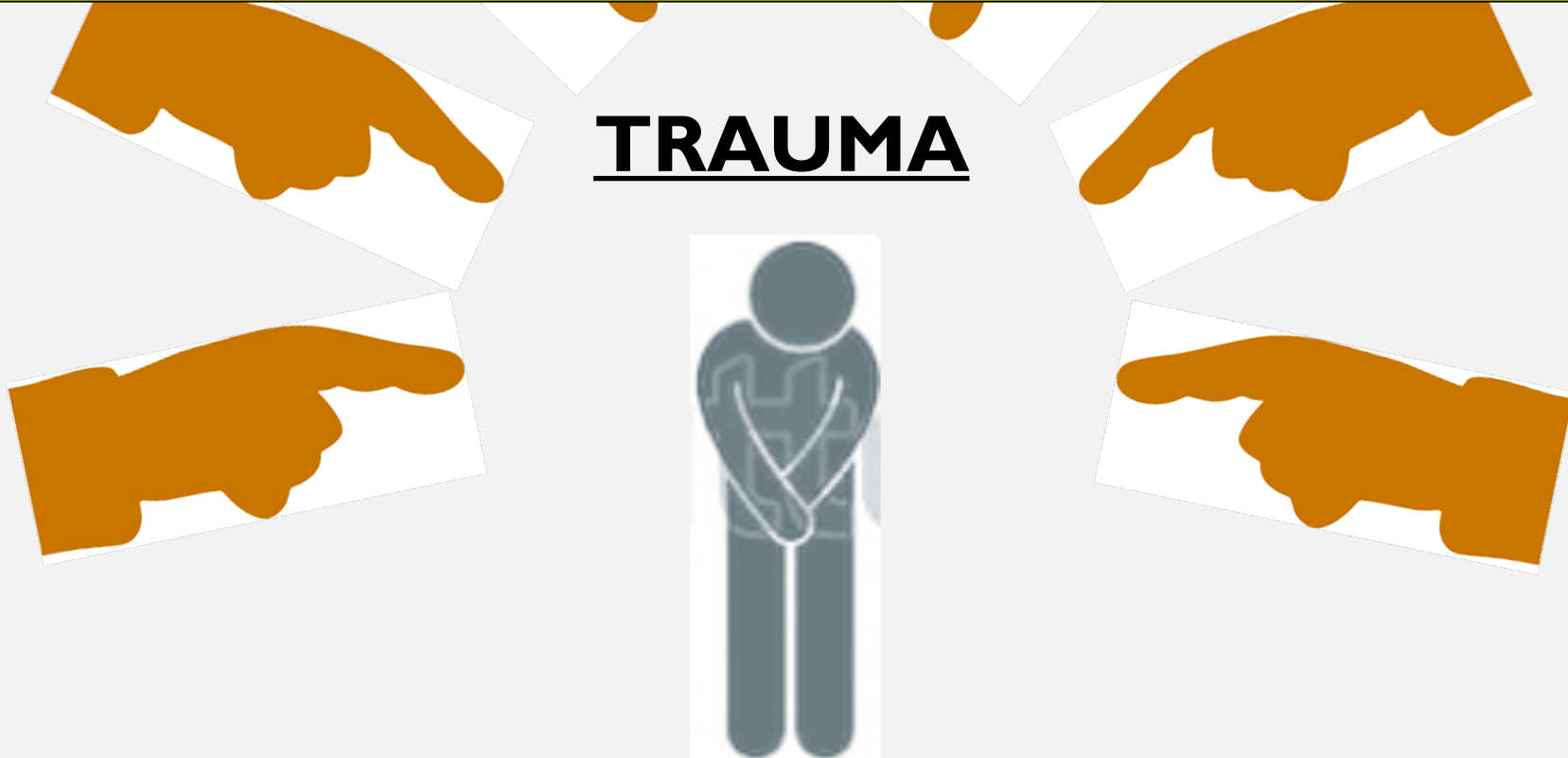
...WE **LOSE** OUR **MENTALIZING NETWORK** AND  
ADVERSITY IS PROCESSED IN ISOLATION → TRAUMA



NOT THE EVENT; THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EVENT

**Shame following adversity prevents the self-healing that comes with the feeling of belonging**

**TRAUMA**



A NEW HARBINGER SELF-HELP WORKBOOK

The  
**Mentalization  
Workbook**

How to Understand Yourself and Others  
When Your Thoughts and Emotions Get in Your Way



MOVE BEYOND PAST TRAUMA · OVERCOME SELF-DOUBT  
REDUCE EMOTIONAL REACTIVITY · CONNECT MORE DEEPLY WITH OTHERS

**Anthony Bateman**, FRCPsych | **Peter Fonagy**, FMedSci, FBA

Foreword by Patrick Luyten, PhD

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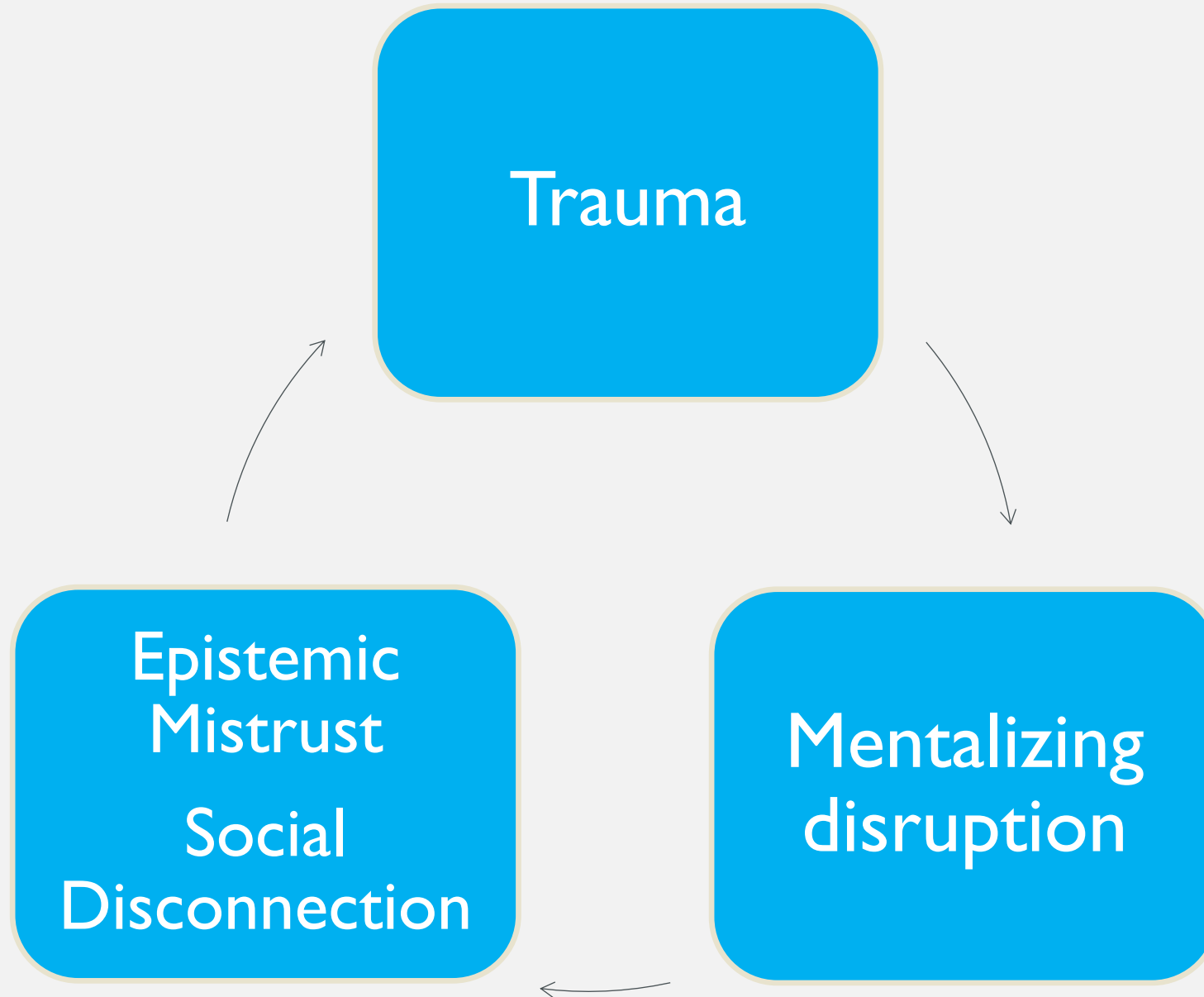
When the capacity to form bonds of trust is shaky and tends to break down...



# BUILDING A SOCIAL NETWORK IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE AND ADULTHOOD



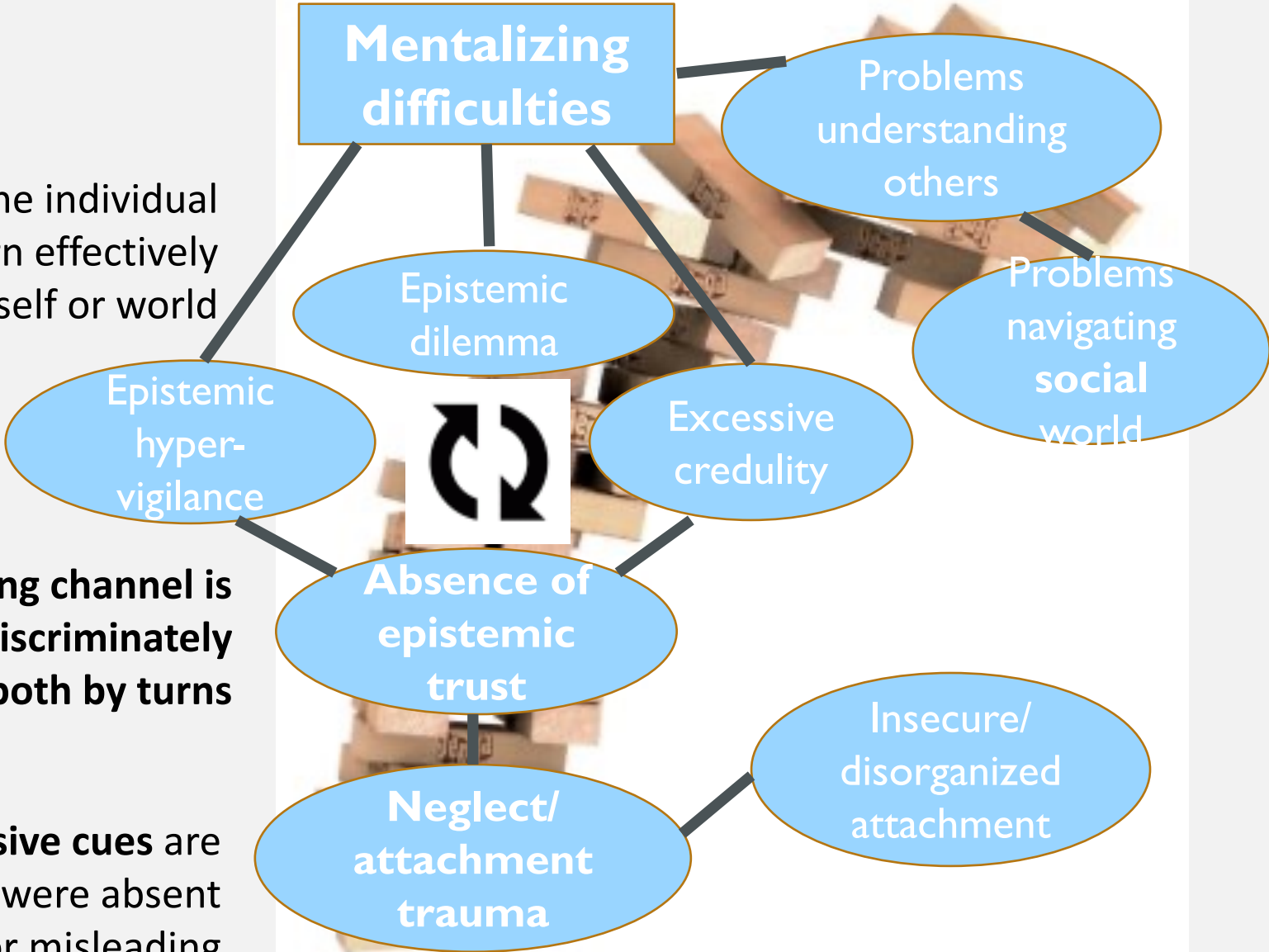
# OVERALL SUMMARY



In all 3 cases, the individual struggles to learn effectively about either self or world

**Learning channel is closed, indiscriminately open or both by turns**

**Ostensive cues are not processed, were absent or misleading**



# ANTISOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

- Distrust of unthinking systems
- Rebellious and non-conformist
- Subversive in power dynamic/Insubordinate
- Not being what some system wanted me to be
- Adolescent attempts to find and protect an identity that was self and not alien self
- Creation of 'gang' supportive network – music and academic
- University encouraged freedom of thought and expression

ON MY WAY  
TO THE  
OFFICE





# PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL GROUP



## THREE PILLARS OF MBT-ASPD



Personality



Aggression



Social adaptation

# ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY/DISSOCIAL

## • Antisocial

- **Nonconformity:** Repeatedly breaking laws or social norms.
- **Deceitful:** Lying, conning, or alias for profit/pleasure.
- **Impulsive:** Failing to plan ahead/disregard consequences
- **Aggressive:** Frequent fights or assaults.
- **Reckless:** Disregard for safety of self/others.
- **Irresponsible:** Inconsistent work or financial behavior
- **Lack Remorse:** Indifference to or rationalizing harm to others.

## • Narcissism

- **Disregard** for the feelings and rights of others - self-centeredness and lack of empathy
- **Entitlement,** expecting others to admire them. Having rights that are not respected
- **Centre** of other people's attention.
- **Rage:** If others do not respond as they wish they may dramatically express their dissatisfaction
- **Disregard** of the importance of others  
**Focus** in social interaction on their own needs, desires and comfort.

REJECTED BY HEALTH

ENTER CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

# SOCIAL DISCONNECTION

- Failure to generate prosocial connection
  - Protective social learning systems decrease aggression perhaps by interacting with affective and cognitive developmental systems
- No reward from prosocial relationships
- Social connection becomes Subversive/Hostile/Distrustful/Coercive

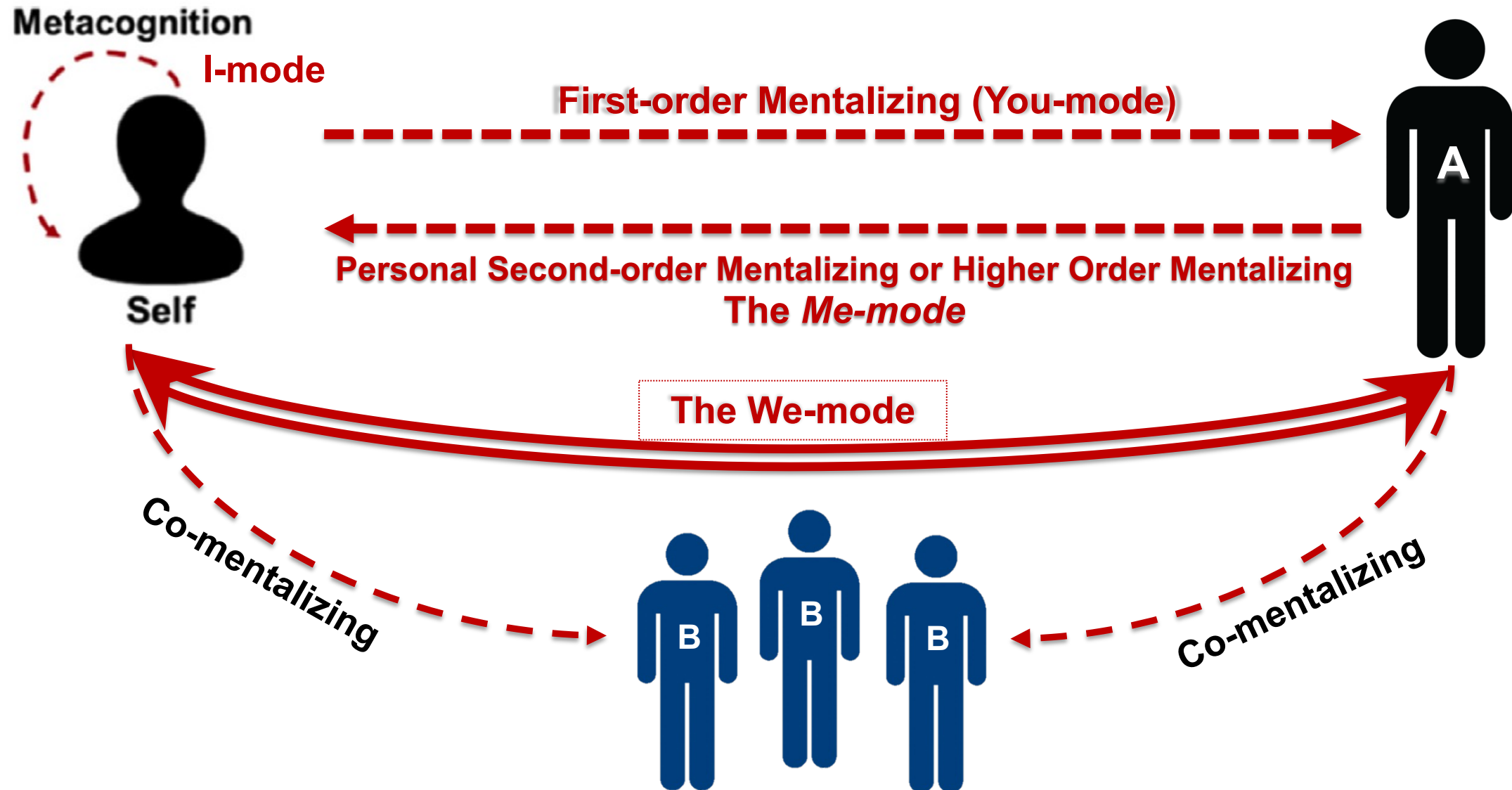


Risk taking/Physical Excitement/Gangs

SOCIAL RECONNECTION

**MODULE 2**  
**SOCIAL MENTALIZING**

# Mentalizing in Social Inter-Action: The 4 Mentalizing Modes



## WE-MODE

- Coordination of perspectives
- Appreciate the distinction between the subjective (one's own view) and the objective (actual physical reality "out there")
- Coordinate knowledge (content) of another individual's mental state: quite a complex triangulation
- Cooperation is immeasurably advanced by being able to compare and coordinate different perspectives on the same situation
- Experience of being part of a set of thoughts and feelings that are beyond their own.
- In treatment
  - **Shared picture of reality that clinician and patients can examine together.**

# SOCIAL MENTALIZING IN NARCISSISTIC ANTISOCIALITY

- Reliance on I-mode
  - Limited affective differentiation
  - Embodied mentalizing with limited representation
- Reduction in You-mode
  - Deactivation of representation of other states of mind
  - Inhibition of emotional empathy
  - Potential cognitive empathy
- Imbalance of dynamic Me-mode
  - Other becomes an impediment rather than a vehicle for interactive learning
- We-mode generated as 'faux' We-mode or Alien Self interpersonal experience
  - Creation of mental state in other experienced by other as representing self-state but is in reality non-contingent with self-state – hiding of mental states

***Aim of treatment:***

*Optimise conditions for Social Learning*

*Via*

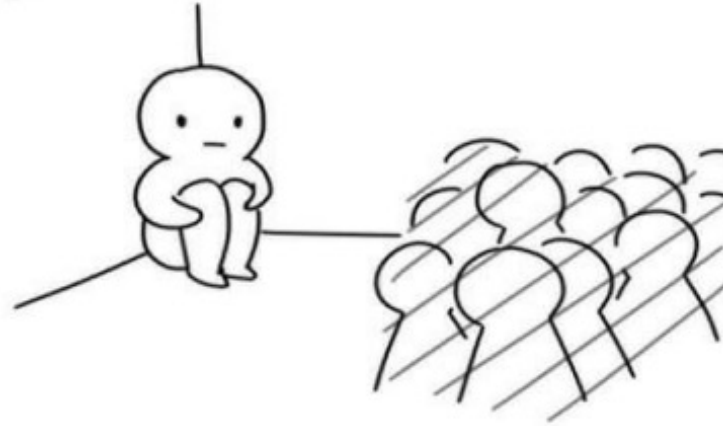
*Social Reconnection:*

*Moving Epistemic Distrust to everyday Epistemic  
Vigilance*

antisocial

?

asocial



## INITIAL MEETINGS



Involvement



Engagement



Agency



M

B

T

Do you see the **red** mist?  
Do you react with a fist?



Talk to your Offender  
Manager if you would like  
more information.

Do you want a safe place to  
share your problems?

This helpful treatment is based on the idea that we all want to be understood. It is for men who:

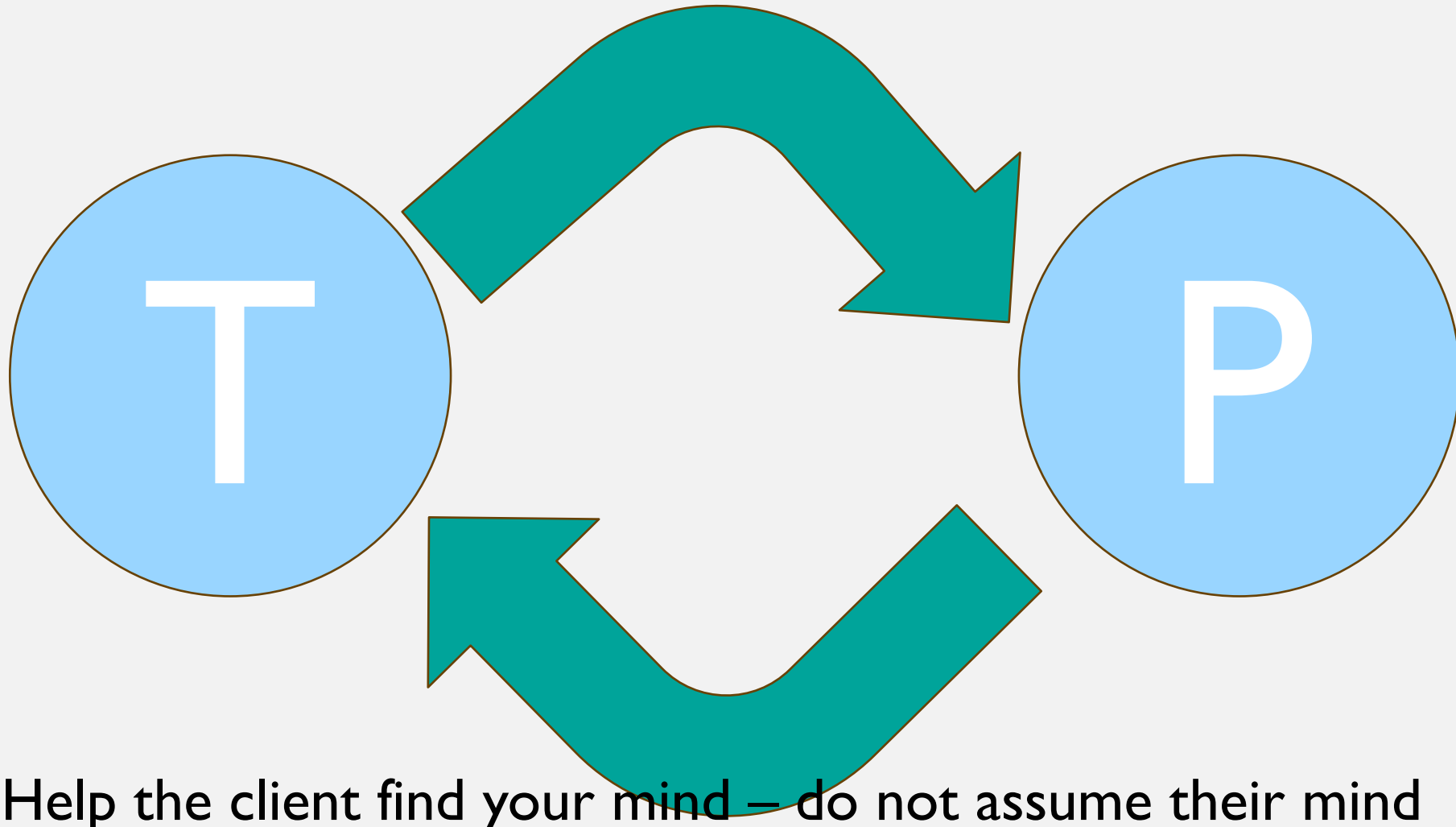
- are aged 21 or over
- are being supervised by the National Probation Service
- have at least six months remaining of their licence or community sentence
- have a history of violent offences

MBT can help you manage difficult feelings and situations. It won't be right for everyone but there will be an assessment process before joining the group. We have an ex-offender with similar experiences to you on the team.

*Train Clinicians  
And  
Non-clinicians*

# MBT Fundamentals

Find the client's mind



Help the client find your mind – do not assume their mind works like your mind

# SEQUENCED MENTALIZING STIMULATING QUESTIONS FOR CLINICIAN IN GROUP

- **First-order mentalizing:**
  - Starts with a set of questions which focus on **mentalizing self**
- **Second-order mentalizing questions:**
  - Centre on **mentalizing reaction(s)** to and understanding of others mind
- **Third-order mentalizing questions:**
  - Mentalizing/Reflecting on the **reactions of others** to one's own **states of mind**.

Be a person  
Tell them who you are?  
Find out who they are?

Generate discussion about their relationships to  
systems/society/family/friends


Identify relationship(s) that are important to them

ENGAGEMENT

Scaffold client self-identity  
Seek prosocial identity



Empathically validate client perspective  
Do not try to change client mind/perspective  
initially



Begin to define mental state aims alongside  
concrete aims

ENGAGEMENT

## CLINICIAN THEMES

Katharina T.E. Morken, Morten  
Ovrebø, Charlotte Klippenberg,  
Therese Morvik, Elisabeth Lied  
Gikling Antisocial personality  
disorder in group therapy, kindling  
pro-sociality and mentalizing. doi:  
*10.4081/ripppo.2022.649*

Gaining safety by getting to know them better,

Establish cooperation through clear boundaries and a non-judgmental stance

Shifting inner boundaries – clients do not follow social norms in terms of content

Timing interventions in a high-speed culture.

## CLIENT THEMES

“What you see is what you get”, indicating a reliance on observable behaviours as indicators of personal characteristics

“You are on your own”, reflecting a pervasive sense of isolation and self-reliance

“Fear of losing control”, suggesting that feelings and particularly aggression is perceived as uncontrollable and that participants fear their own emotions’ effect on their behaviour = ENGAGE PRETEND MODE

“The system screws us”

# OVERVIEW OF CLINICAL TRAJECTORY

Individual		Group			
2-4 sessions		6-8 sessions	40 sessions		
Assessment	Formulation →	MBT-I →	Exploratory Phase →	Ending →	F/U
General Psychiatric	Introduction to model	Psychoeducation	Go-around/Synthesis/Focus/Closure	Review Group	
Forensic History/Risk History	Treatment Focus Relational Passport	Agreements	Exercises to promote MZ	Review initial formulation and explore time-line of change	
Mentalizing profile	Contact agreement e.g. text/phone	Confidentiality	Agreed measures	Plan follow-up	
	Confidentiality	Values	Initiate new patient entry when necessary		
	Risk and Crisis Plan		Review client formulations 3 monthly		
	Meet EbE		Review Group values and formulation 3 monthly		

# GENERIC MENTALIZING PROCESS

Self-narrative matched by other mind –  
therapist/group member



Create joint attention with focus on  
narrative



Generalize to broader social environment

# *Clinical Summary*

# Facilitating the development of epistemic trust (1)

## Clinician Attitude and Personal characteristics:

- Honesty, transparency, humour, relatable (**ordinary**)
- Searching for synchrony (**elasticity**) rather than rigidity
- Egalitarian stance (**not knowing stance**) and **minimise power differential**
- **Professional deference**
  - **disarming** interpersonal **boundaries (self-disclosure)** e.g. about no similar personal experience

## Increasing bi-directionality – learning from client

- **Enable** client to **feel** that their perspective is **being understood – they are teaching you**
  - recognition of the **client as the knower** of their story
  - client's perspective is valued and believed
  - Client giving information relevant to clinician so they feel moments of being 'in charge'
- **Joint exploration** not just delivering truths and information
  - offer opportunity for **active shaping of narrative** (give **tools to solve** problems rather than solving problems for the patient)
- Also **addresses** power **differential**
  - openness to achieving **we-mode function** (searching for common ground of shared intent)

# Facilitating the development of epistemic trust (2)

## Engage in a process towards epistemic trust (not destination)

- **Walk along** with the mind of client and validate rather than aim to fix- see it through their eyes
- **Positive feedback loop** – to and fro - cycle of **exchanges** between client and therapist **generating** more **progress**

## Enabling self-control, decision making and agency

- **Holding** but not taking over the **process of decision making** – interest in **how** rather than what
- Encouraging other activities that give **agency outside of therapy**
- **Recognising** patient has priorities **beyond therapy** and deferring to them
- Giving advice in a collaborative way, letting client **come to conclusion**, not dictatorial

## Trust in the model being used

- Based on **evidence** and experience of success – engagement through peers and experts by experience
- Has a **structure** that tells you where you are but can use with elasticity
- Provides **content** that **optimizes** making use of **self-change**, change in **circumstances** (a job), family and social **support** and **fortuitous events, faith, persistence, community** involvement
- Creating optimal conditions for social learning, not just from therapists but also from peers and other socializing agents (Group)

*Research*



Mentalization for  
Offending Adult Males

FUNDED BY

**NIHR** | National Institute for  
Health and Care Research

# MOAM collaborators:

Prof Peter Fonagy  
Prof Anthony Bateman  
Dr Elizabeth Simes  
Dr Karen Yirmiya  
Dr Elizabeth Allison  
Prof James Wason  
Dr Barbara Barrett  
Dr Jessica Yakeley  
Prof Stephen Butler  
Dr Paul Moran  
Prof Mike Crawford  
Prof Steve Pilling  
Prof Mary McMurrin  
Dr Alison Frater  
Dr Zoe Hoare  
Angus Cameron

- The Anna Freud National Centre for Children and Families
- Portman Clinic Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust
- University of Nottingham
- University of Bristol
- Imperial College
- King's College London
- University of Cambridge
- National Probation Service London Division
- The Offender Personality Disorder Pathway
- User Voice

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# OUTCOMES

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## Primary Outcome

Reduction in the frequency of aggressive acts

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## Secondary Outcomes:

Criminal: other (re)offending behaviour

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Mental Health : anxiety and depression, drug and alcohol use, self-harm and suicidal behaviour, impulsivity, and beliefs

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Health: quality of life, health and functioning

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Service use: services including A & E and use of social services during the treatment and follow-up period.

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Cost-benefit analysis to determine the actual cost of service delivery in both treatment conditions and whether MBT-ASPD leads to reduction in costs compared to PAU.

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M

B

T

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# PEER RESEARCHERS (PR)

## Advantages

- Break down barriers to engagement and
- Research 'with' and 'by' public rather than 'to', 'on' or 'about'
- Reduced power differential
- Improved data collection – quality, depth, validity

## Potential problems

- PR needs support and training e.g.
  - may enter probation and prison settings where they themselves were
- Seen as being part of the system
- Identified as the 'enemy'
- May have different offending behaviour
- Suspicion from other professionals



# Mentalisation-based treatment for antisocial personality disorder in males convicted of an offence on community probation in England and Wales (Mentalization for Offending Adult Males, MOAM): a multicentre, assessor-blinded, randomised controlled trial

*Peter Fonagy, Elizabeth Simes, Karen Yirmiya, James Wason, Barbara Barrett, Alison Frater, Angus Cameron, Stephen Butler, Zoe Hoare, Mary McMurrin, Paul Moran, Mike Crawford, Stephen Pilling, Elizabeth Allison, Jessica Yakeley, Anthony Bateman*

## Summary

**Background** Antisocial personality disorder is a major health and social problem, but scepticism about its treatability has restricted development of the evidence base for psychological treatments. Mentalisation-based treatment (MBT) tailored for antisocial personality disorder (MBT-ASPD) can address problematic behaviours by improving the ability to understand and regulate the negative effects of thoughts and feelings. This study aimed to evaluate the clinical and cost-effectiveness of MBT-ASPD compared with probation as usual in reducing aggressive behaviours from baseline to 12 months of follow-up.

*Lancet Psychiatry* 2025;  
12: 208–19

See [Comment](#) page 166

Research Department of  
Clinical, Educational and  
Health Psychology, University  
College London, London, UK



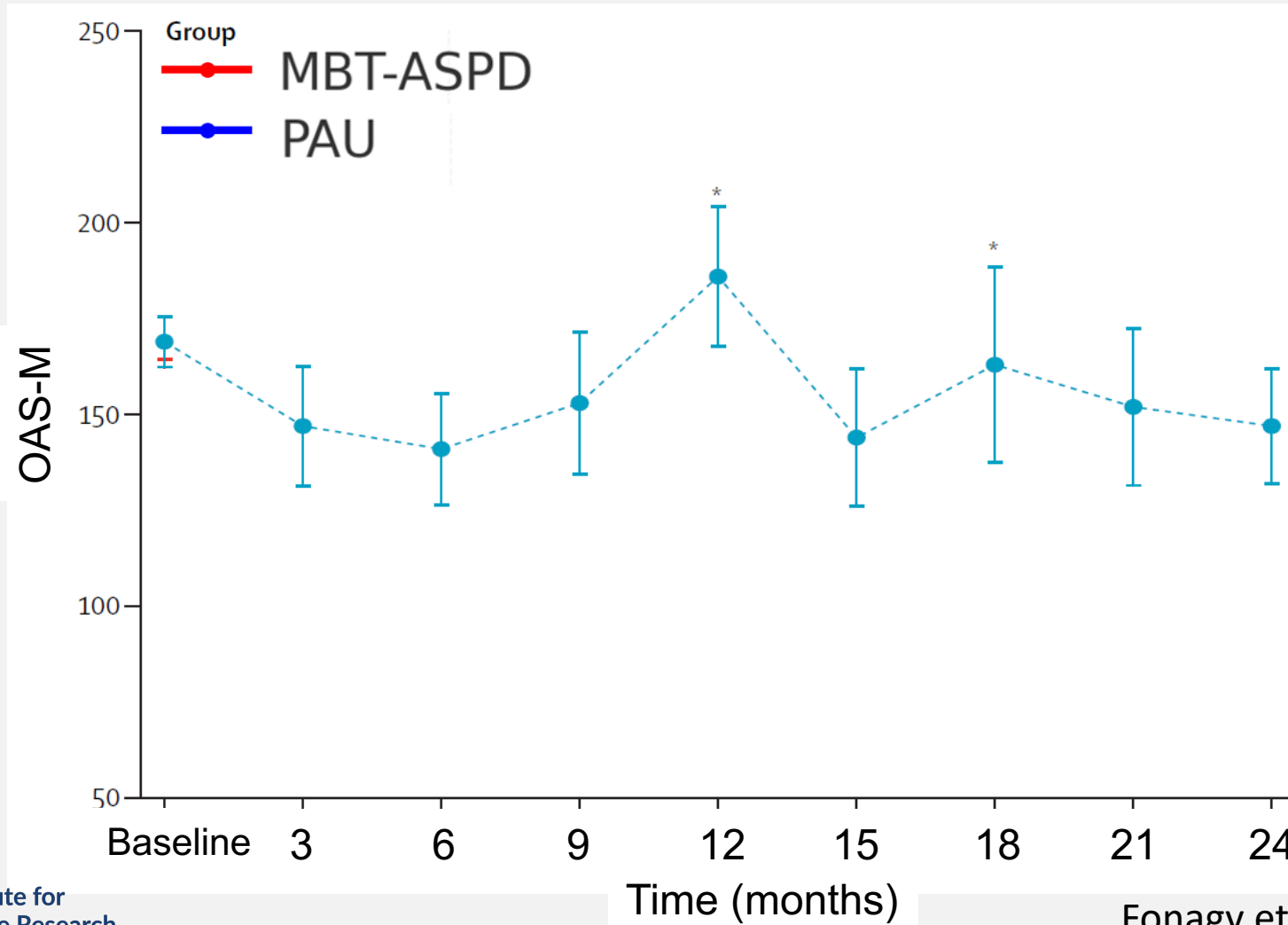
# Primary outcome

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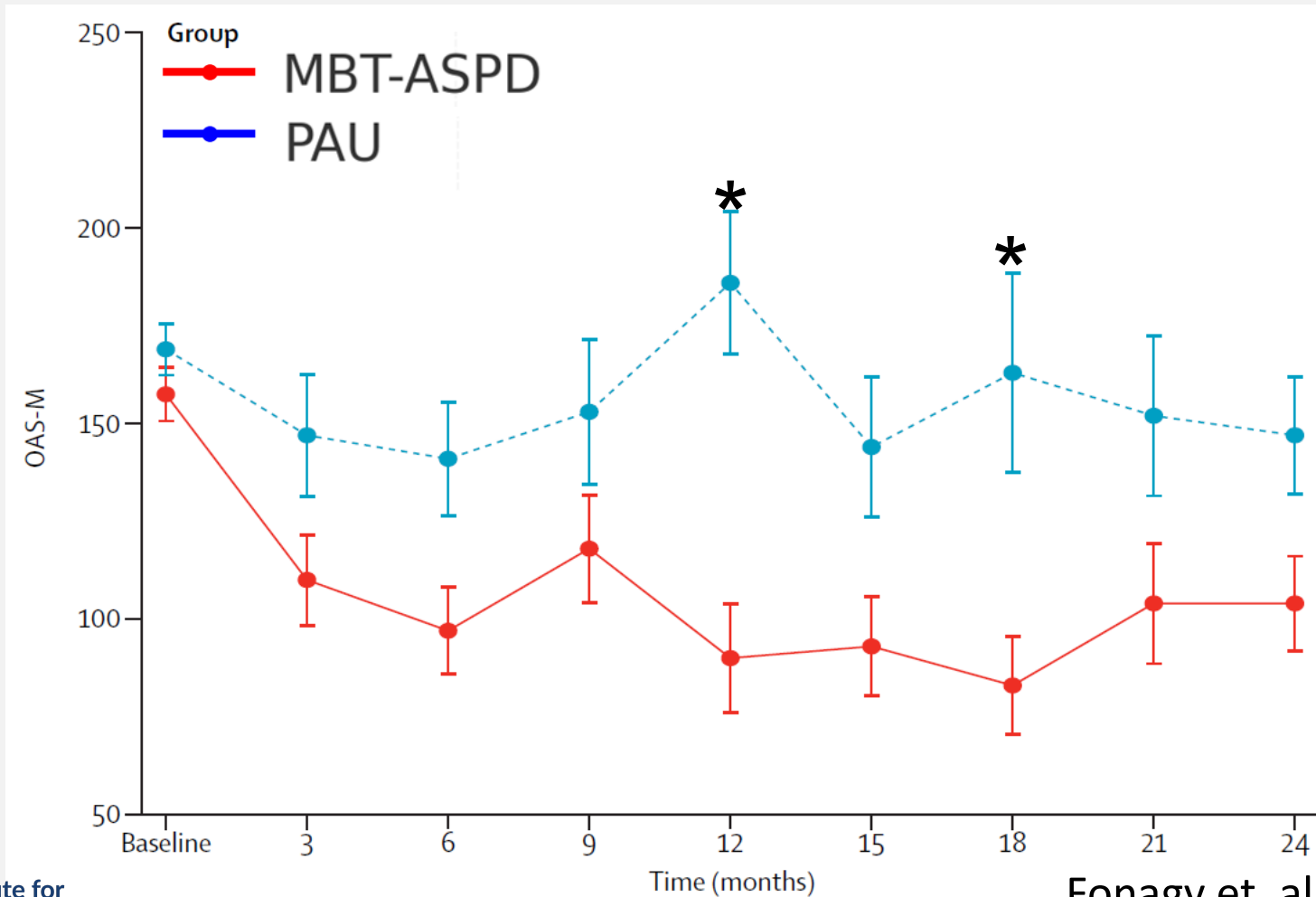
**MBT SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED OVERALL AGGRESSION  
(OVERT AGGRESSION SCALE MODIFIED; OAS-M)**

Overall Adjusted Mean: -38.6 (95% CI: -62 to -15.3),  $p = 0.0015$ , Effect Size = -0.39



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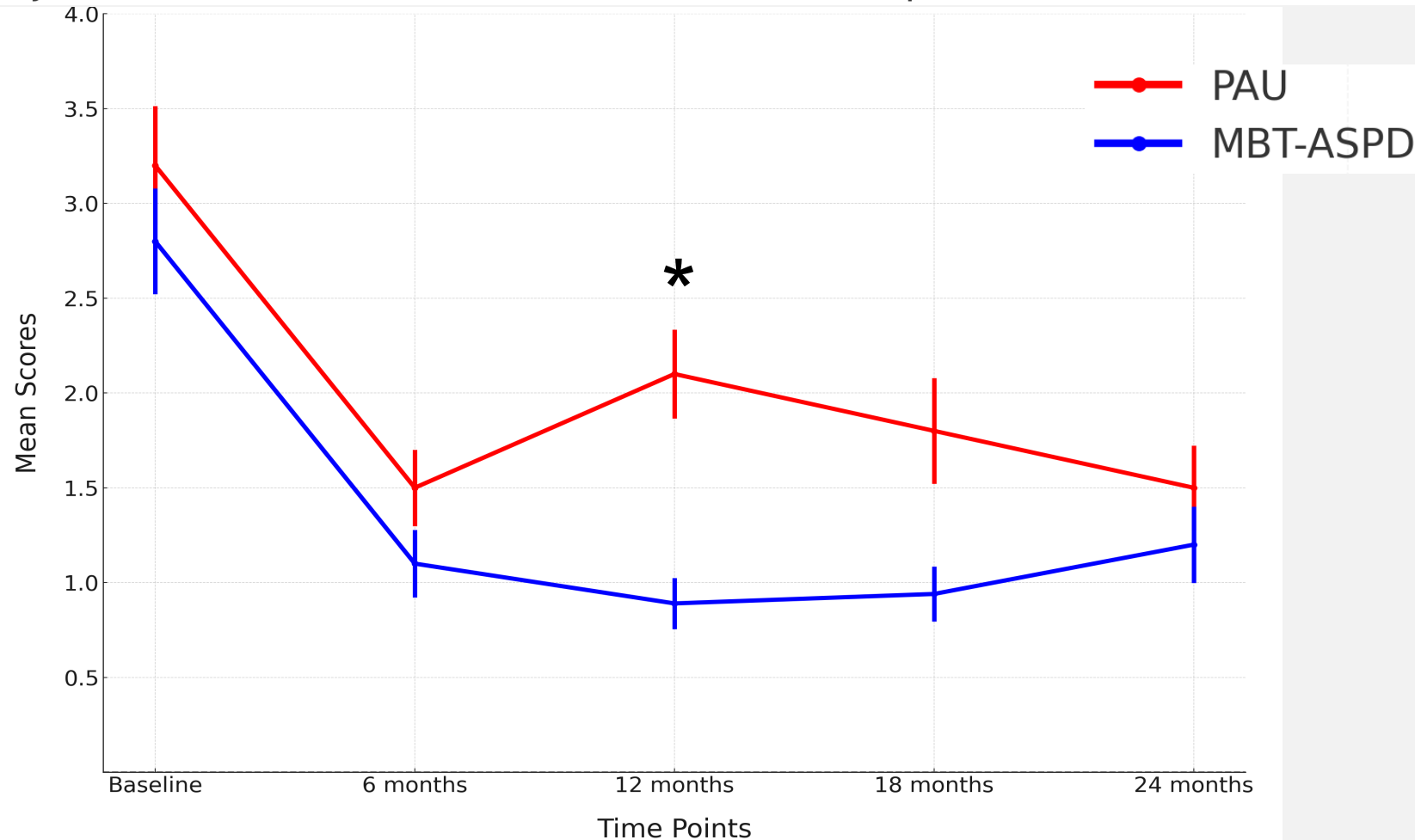
# Secondary outcomes

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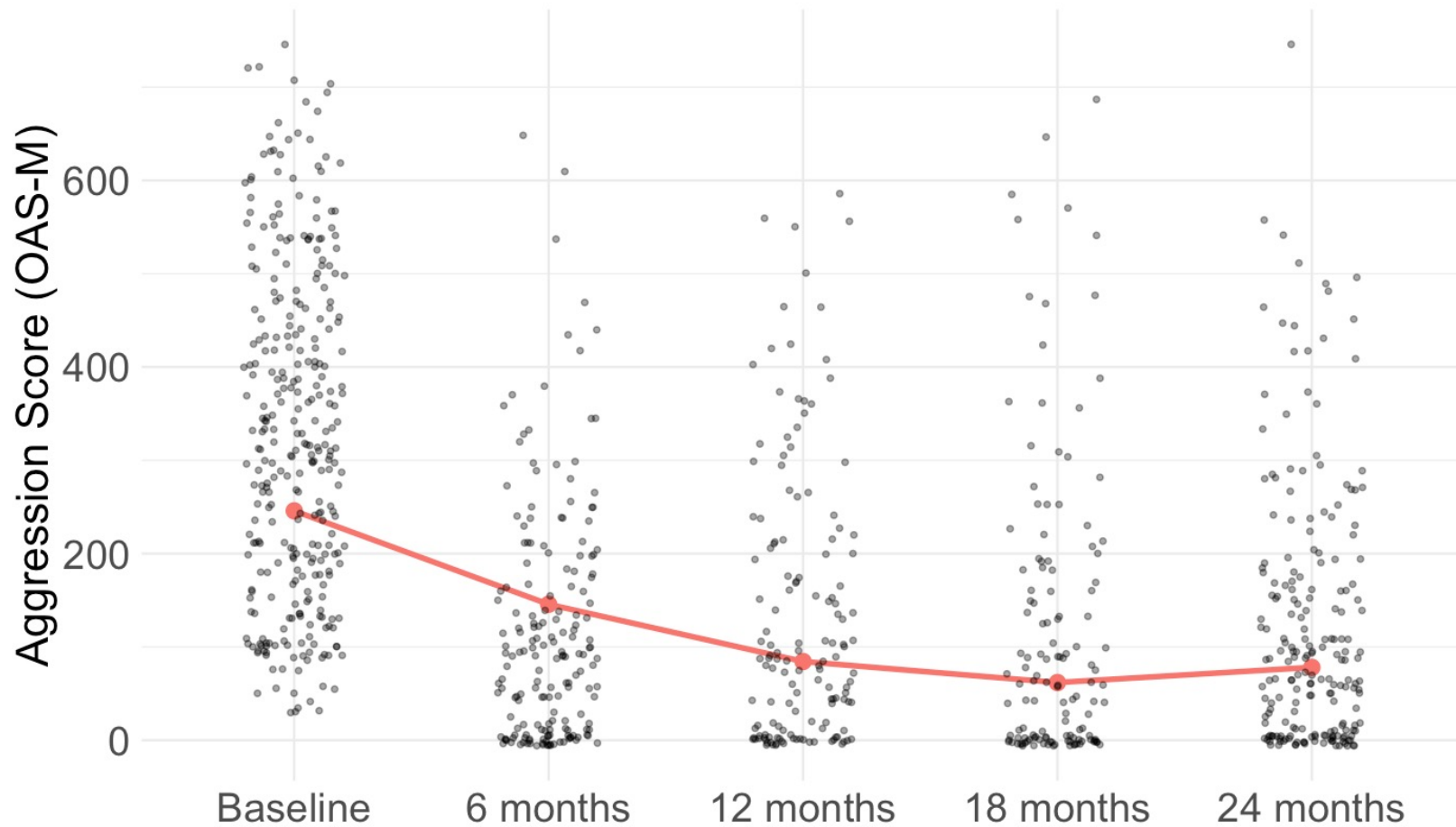
**NIHR** | National Institute for  
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MBT SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED VIOLENCE LEVELS AT 12-MONTHS  
(MACARTHUR COMMUNITY VIOLENCE SCREENING INSTRUMENT; MCVSI)

Overall Adjusted Mean: -0.28 (95% CI: -0.58 to 0.013),  $p = 0.06$ , Effect Size = -0.21



# LONGITUDINAL RESULTS SUPPORT THE ROLE OF REFLECTIVE FUNCTIONING IN PREDICTING AGGRESSION FOR THE ENTIRE MOAM POPULATION

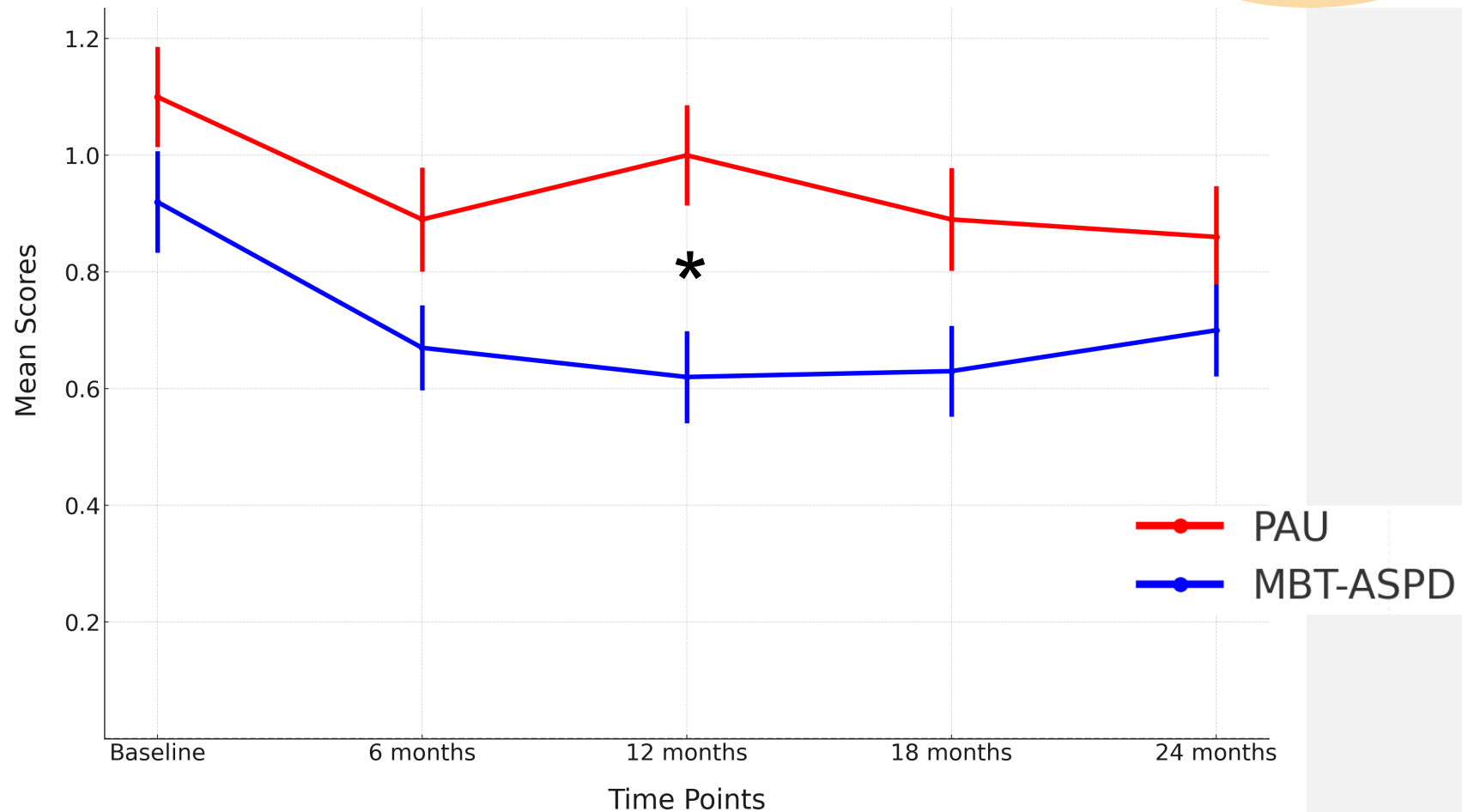


Estimate = 19.405,  $p = 0.001$  • Quadratic Growth

\*Reflective Functioning as a covariate influencing aggression levels over time

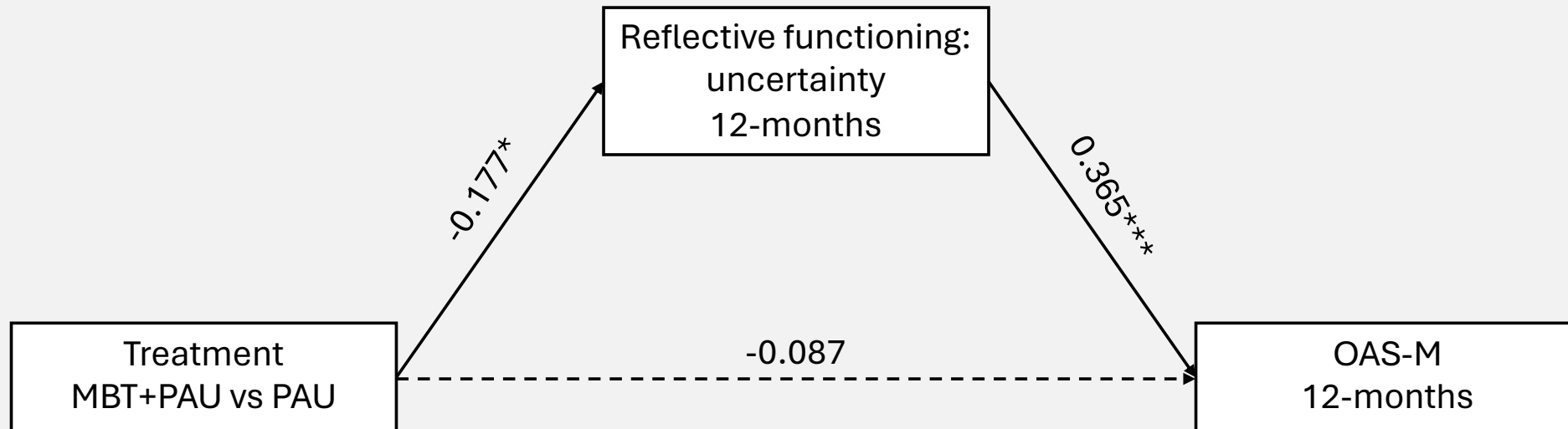
# MBT SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED OVERALL UNCERTAINTY IN REFLECTIVE FUNCTIONING (REFLECTIVE FUNCTIONING QUESTIONNAIRE; BRFQ)

Overall Adjusted Mean: -0.15 (95% CI: -0.3 to -0.0061),  $p = 0.04$



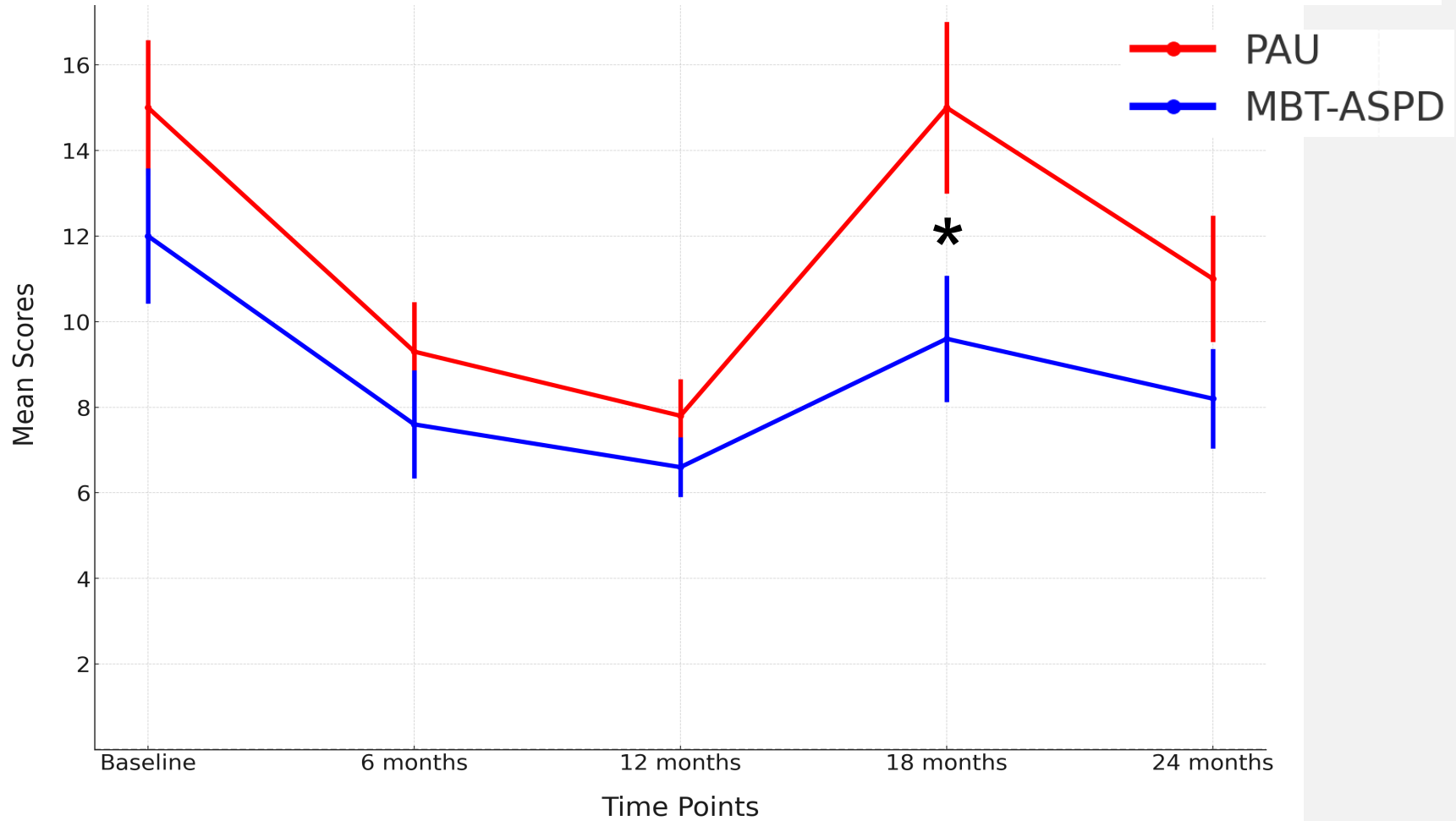
PRE-DESIGNATED POTENTIAL MEDIATORS BETWEEN TREATMENT EFFECT AND AGGRESSION

- Alcohol use (AUDIT)
- Drug use (DUDIT)
- Mood, assessed via the anxiety and depression subscales of the Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (SCL-90-R)
- **Mentalizing competence, measured by the Reflective Functioning score (RFQ)**



MBT SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED CONFLICT LEVELS AT 18-MONTHS  
(NEGOTIATION COGNITIVE SUBSCALE IN CONFLICT TACTICS SCALES;  
CTS2S)

Overall Adjusted Mean: -1.9 (95% CI: -4.5 to 0.84),  $p = 0.19$ , Effect Size = -0.16





CLINICIAN  
CONCERNS

Adequate emotional support for impact of work

Attrition rates and group formation/Attachment issues

Systemic issues of interface between Health and Criminal Justice. Re-organization of probation

Treatment intervention. Recall by Probation

Research design and Randomisation

*PLEASE  
STOP  
ANY  
RECORDING*

*Final words*  
*given to*  
*Client experience*

THANK YOU FOR MENTALIZING  
PEOPLE WITH ANTISOCIAL  
PERSONALITY

[anthony.bateman@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:anthony.bateman@ucl.ac.uk)

# MBT-ASPD WORKSHOP

*Identify*

*change processes*

*Clients suggest improved MZ*

# CHANGE PROCESS

- Recognise others as similar and so relevant to them
- Review own life trajectory **less dominated by cognitive rigidity and distortion**
- Extend to others outside with **increase in epistemic trust**
- **Change in identity** in I-mode through You/Me-mode and We-mode of group
  - What was important reduces in value and what was not important increases in value
  - Representation of a different future self
  - Finding prosocial 'hooks' in environment
- **Openness to social communication** rather than new attachments in current context

