



Introduction to Mentalisation

A Training Workshop



For further Information

- p.fonagy@ucl.ac.uk
- anthony@mullins.plus.com

- All slides available at:

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/psychoanalysis/unit-staff/staff.htm>

- Bateman, A and Fonagy, P (2006)
Mentalization Based Treatment – a practical guide OUP: Oxford
- Allen, J, Fonagy, P and Bateman, A (2008)
Mentalizing in Clinical Practice APPI
Washington

Exercise – mentalization or mentalizing?

- What is mentalization or mentalizing?
 - Give 3 key aspects of the psychological processes that the concept tries to encapsulate
 - Should we use mentalization or mentalizing?

Mindblindness

- Imagine what your world would be like if you were aware of physical things but were blind to the existence of mental things. I mean of course blind to things like thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, desires, and intentions, which for most of us self-evidently underlie behaviour

Baron-Cohen S (1995) Mindblindness

The Artful use of Science

- To do anything well you must have the humility to bumble around a bit, to follow your nose, to get lost, to goof. Have the courage to try an undertaking and possibly do it poorly. Unremarkable lives are marked by the fear of not looking capable when trying something new.

Epictetus, *Manual*



Mentalizing:

A new word for an ancient concept

Implicitly and explicitly interpreting
the actions of oneself and other as
meaningful on the basis of
intentional mental states

(e.g., desires, needs, feelings,
beliefs, & reasons)



Introduction to theory of mentalisation

- The normal ability to ascribe intentions and meaning to human behaviour
- Ideas that shape interpersonal behaviour
- Make reference to emotions, feelings, thoughts, intentions, desires
- Shapes our understanding of others and ourselves
- Central to human communication and relationships
- Underpins clinical understanding, the therapeutic relationship and therapeutic change

Mentalizing: further definitions and scope

- To see ourselves from the outside and others from the inside
- Understanding misunderstanding
- Having mind in mind
- Past, present, and future
- Introspection for subjective self-construction – know yourself as others know you but also know your subjective self

Characteristics of mentalising

- Central concept is that internal states (emotions, thoughts, etc) are opaque
- We make inferences about them
- But inferences are prone to error
- Overarching principal is to take the “inquisitive stance”

=

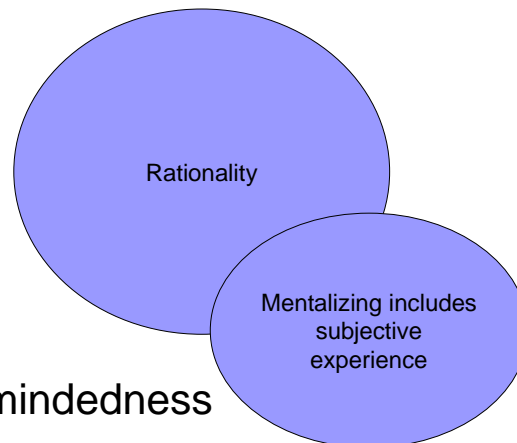
Interpersonal behaviour characterised by an expectation that one's mind may be influenced, surprised, changed and enlightened by learning about another's mind

Multiple dimensions of mentalizing in psychodynamic psychotherapy

- Differentiating **self and other** in psychotherapy
 - Adopting the perspective of the other to the self
 - Reducing the impact of the other on the self
- Moving from **implicit - automatic** mentalization to **explicit – controlled** mentalization
 - Challenging automatic assumptions
- Elaborating internal representations of mental states of self and others - **external and internal** mentalizing
 - Challenging superficial judgements based on 'appearances'
- Connect feelings with thoughts (**affect and cognition**)
 - Overcoming splitting of affect and cognition (the feeling of feelings)

Mentalizing and rationality

- Rationality
- Thinking
- Deliberating
- Reflecting
- Anticipating
- Reasoning
- Psychological mindedness



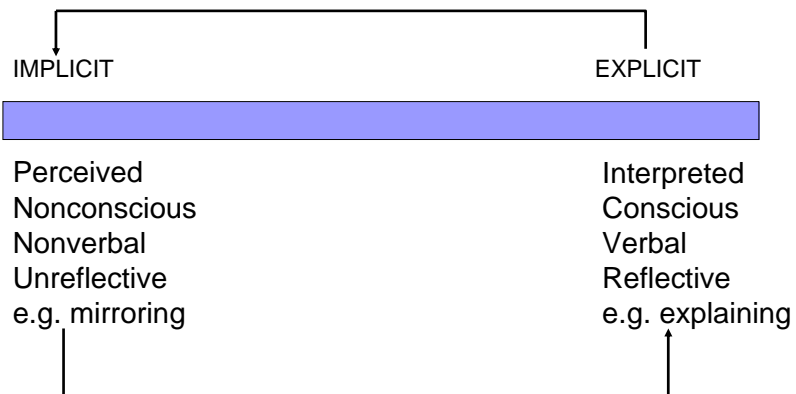
Mindfulness

- Keeping one's consciousness alive to the present reality
- Observing and describing one's own experience whilst participating non-judgementally
- Two domains
 - Attention regulation
 - Acceptance and openness to experience
- Four Skills
 - Observing
 - Describing
 - Acting with awareness
 - Accepting without judgement

Mentalisation and conceptual cousins

Component	Mindfulness	Psychological Mindedness	Empathy	Affect consciousness
Implicit	No	No	Yes	No
Explicit	yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Self-orientated	Yes	Yes	Minimal	Yes
Other orientated	No	Minimal	Yes	Yes
Cognitive/Affect	Cog=Affect	Cog=Affect	Affect>Cog	Affect>Cog

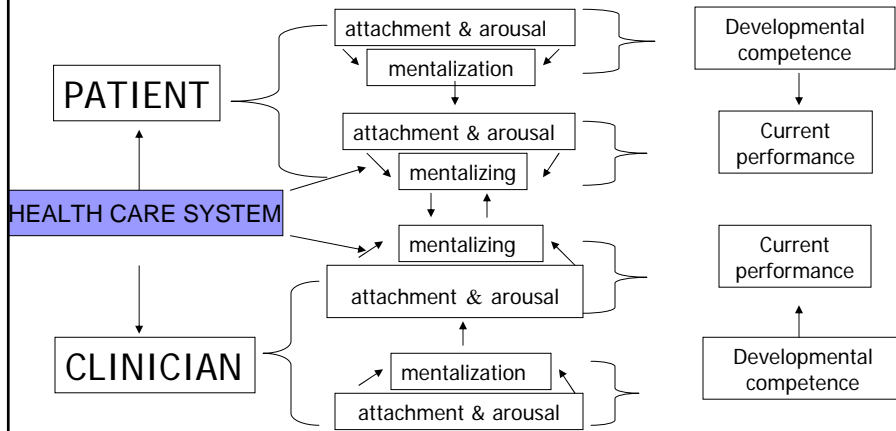
Mentalizing: Implicit 'v' Explicit



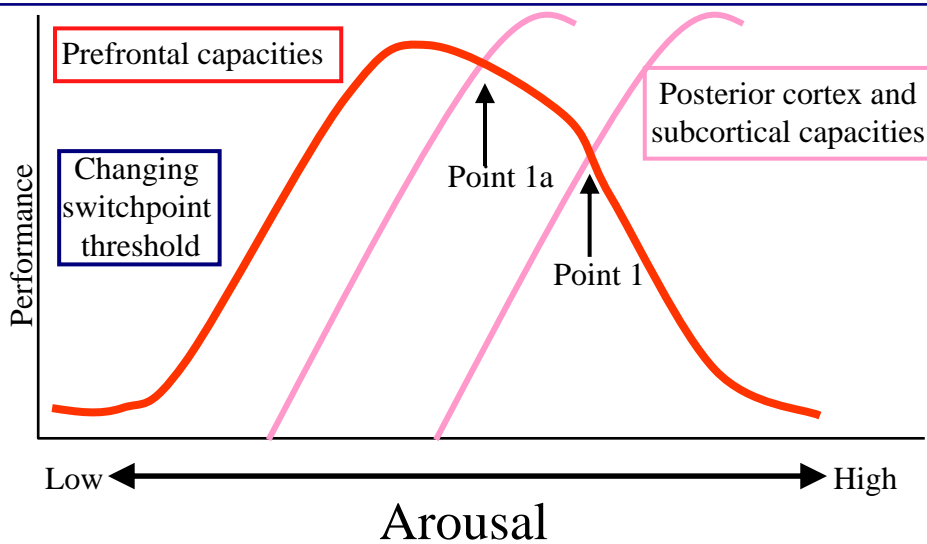
Why mentalize?

- Instrumental value
 - We are all folk psychologists
 - We predict and influence the interpersonal and intrapersonal world operating subjectively
 - To obtain desired goal
- Intrinsic value
 - Meeting of minds
 - Sense of connection and shared attention

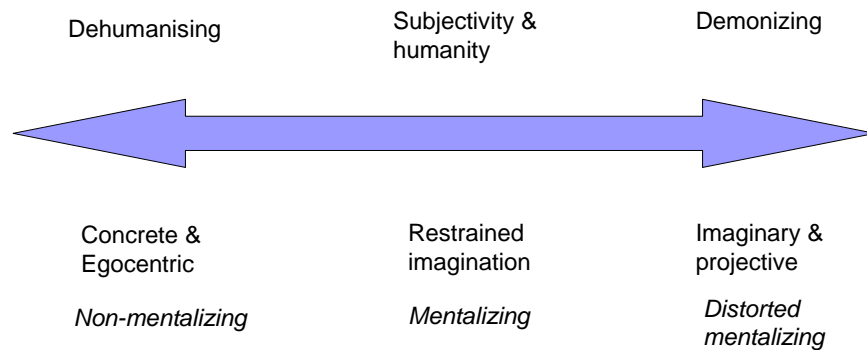
Parallel contributions to mentalizing: Meeting of minds



Mayes' (2001) Adaptation of Arnsten's Dual Arousal Systems Model: Implication of the Hyper-activation of Attachment



Failures of imagination in mindblindness



Mentalizing interactively and emotionally

- **Mentalizing interactively**
 - Each person has the other person's mind in mind (as well as their own)
 - Self-awareness + other awareness
- **Mentalizing emotionally**
 - Mentalizing in midst of emotional states
 - Feeling and thinking about feeling (mentalized affectivity)
 - Feeling felt

Example of mentalizing interactively and emotionally

The appetite which we call LUST is a sensual pleasure, but not only that; there is in it also a delight of the mind: for it consisteth of two appetites together, to please, and to be pleased; and the delight (we) take in delighting, is not sensual, but a pleasure of joy of the mind, consisting in the imagination of the power (we) have so much to please.

Thomas Hobbes, quoted in Simon Blackburn (2004) Lust

Mentalizing and psychopathy: Compart-mentalization

- Psychopathy entails elements of intact mentalizing

- Partial mindblindness:
 - Failure of imaginative empathy
 - Failure to identify with victim's distress
 - Mind uninfluenced and unchanged easily – control and protection of self from shame/humiliation paramount
 - Distorted mentalizing – paranoid demonizing e.g. interpreting the child's frustrating behaviour as intended to torment the parent

Mentalizing objects and others

- Our relations with other people do not have the same structure as our relations with inanimate objects, plants or machines. We do not deal with our family members, friends, colleagues or fellow citizens, as we do with volcanoes, fields of wheat or kitchen mixers, namely, by trying to figure out the nature and layout of their innards so that we can predict and perhaps control them.

What we hope of another with whom we interact is not that he or she will go through some gyrations which we have already planned in detail, but that he or she will make some contributions to moving forward the joint and co-operative enterprise in which we are both, more or less explicitly, engaged

Heal, J (2003) *Mind, Reason and Imagination: Selected Essays in Philosophy of Mind and Language*
CUP: Cambridge.

Being misunderstood

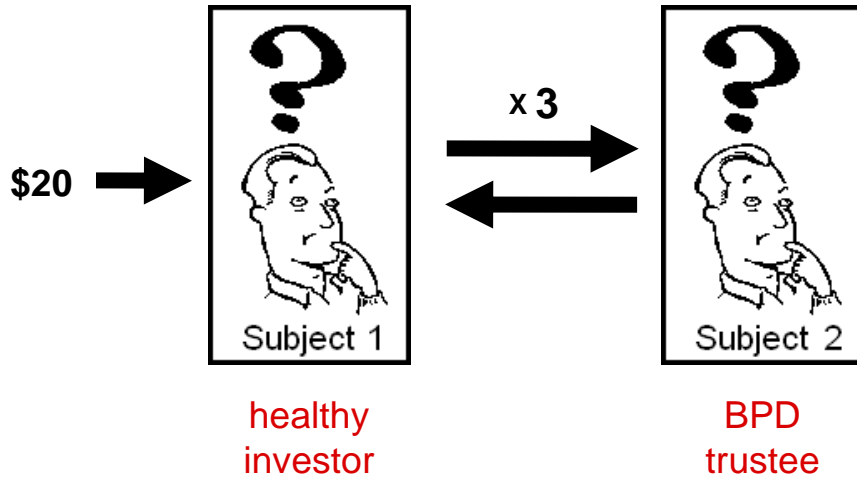
- Although skill in reading minds is important, recognising the limits of one's skill is essential
- First, acting on false assumptions causes confusion
- Second, being misunderstood is highly aversive
- Being misunderstood generates powerful emotions that result in coercion, withdrawal, hostility, over protectiveness, rejection

Some theory

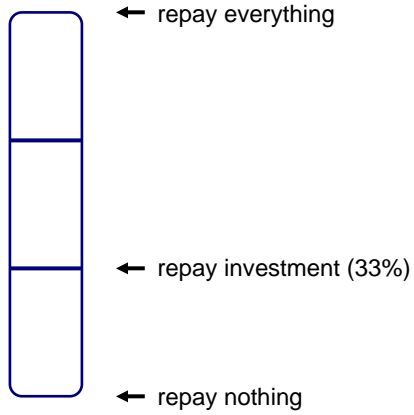
Clinical Features of Borderline Personality Disorder (DSM-IV: 5 of 9)

- a pattern of unstable intense relationships,
unstable relationships
- inappropriately intense, unstable, and
- frantic efforts to avoid abandonment
- affective dysregulation,
affective dysregulation
- impulsive actions,
impulsivity
- recurrent self-harm & suicidality,
aggression
- chronic feelings of emptiness or boredom (dysphoria),
- transient, stress-related paranoid thoughts
- identity disturbance severe dissociative symptoms

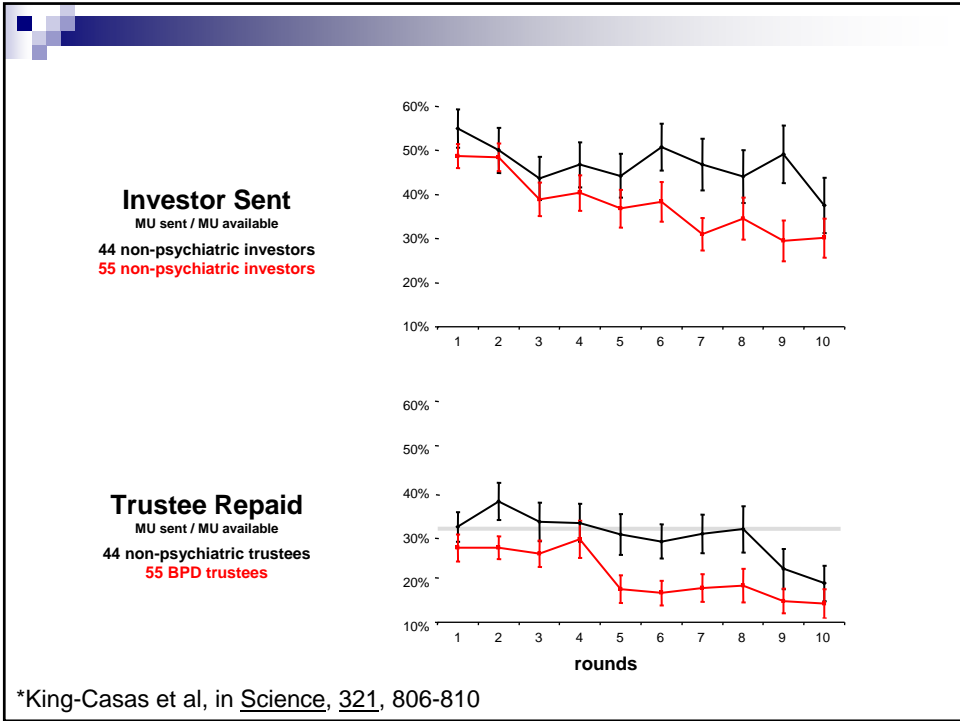
Disordered Social Exchange?



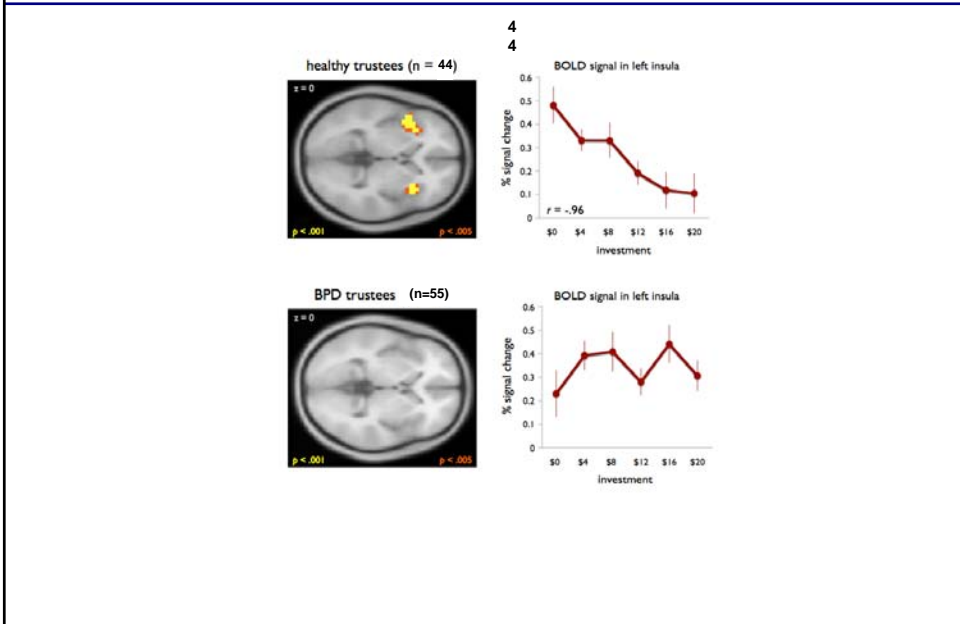
Average Repayment:

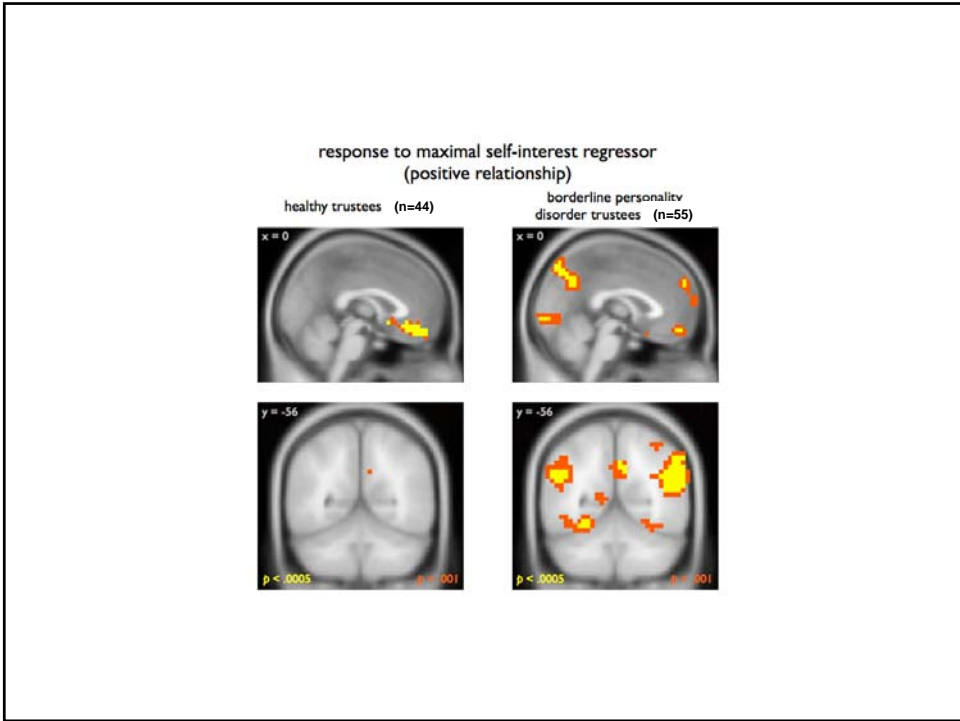


*King-Casas et al, in *Science*, 321, 806-810



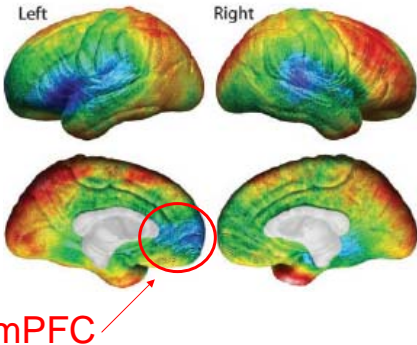
A Neural Signature of 'Borderlineness' in Trust Task





The social brain

- 1. Medial prefrontal cortex
 - Mentalising proper
 - Implicit ability to infer mental states such as beliefs, feelings and desires

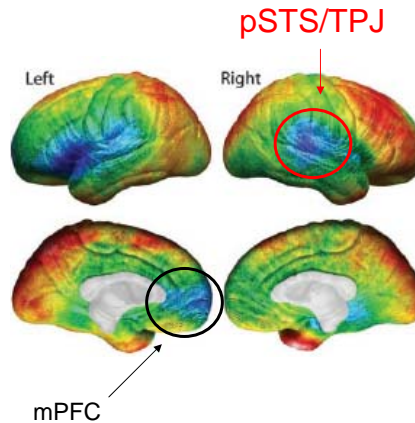


Fletcher et al., 1995; Gallagher et al., 2000;
Gilbert et al., 2006 (meta-analysis)

The social brain

2. pSTS/TPJ

- Prediction
 - Biological motion, eye gaze
- Perspective-taking
 - Different physical points of view

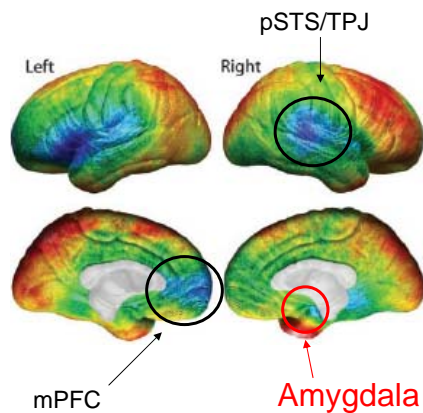


Pelphrey et al., 2004a,b; Kawawaki et al., 2006 (review); Mitchell 2007

The social brain

3. Amygdala

- Attaching reward values to stimuli
 - 'Approach' vs. 'avoid'
- Facial expressions

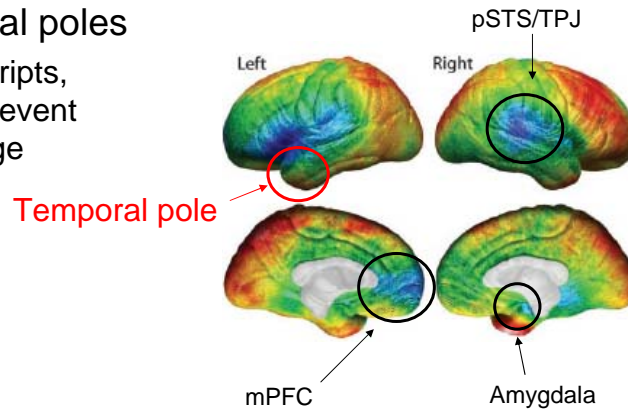


Dolan 2002; LeDoux 2000; Winston et al., 2002; Phelps et al., 2000, 2003

The social brain

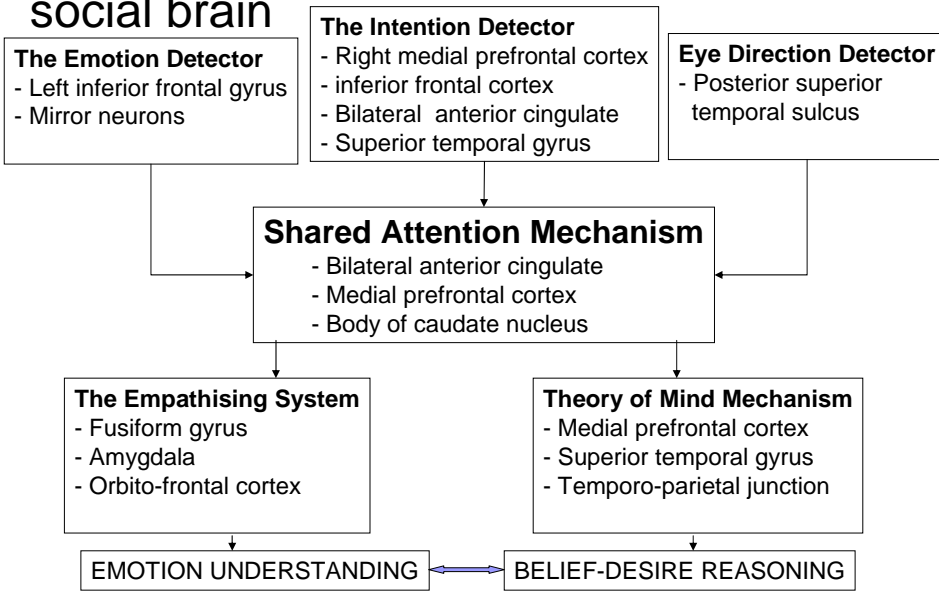
4. Temporal poles

- Social scripts, complex event knowledge



Funnell, 2001; Damasio et al., 2004;
Moll et al., 2001, 2002, 2005 (review)

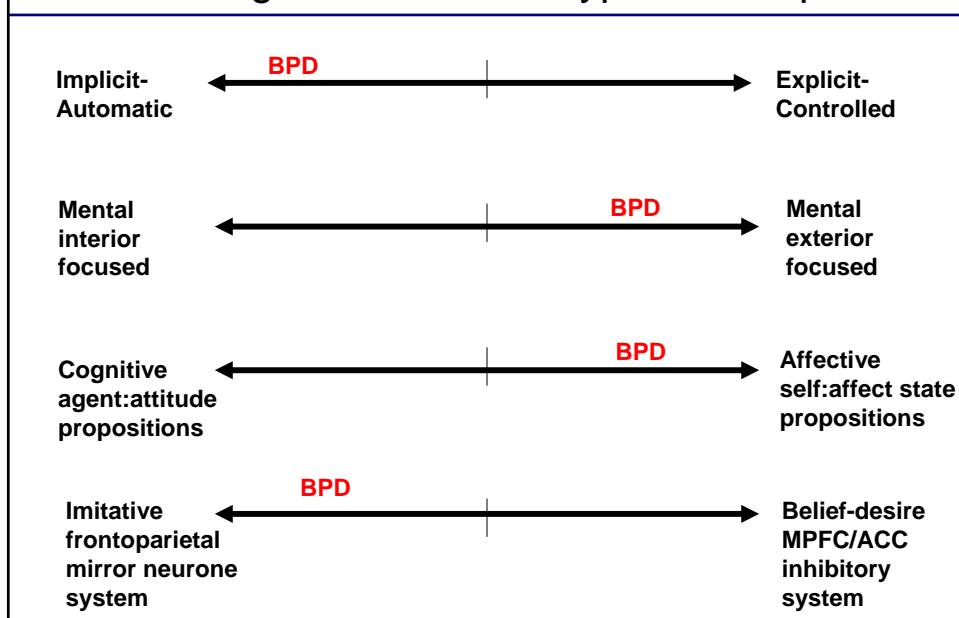
Baron-Cohen's (2005) model of the social brain



Mentalizing as a multidimensional neuroscience construct

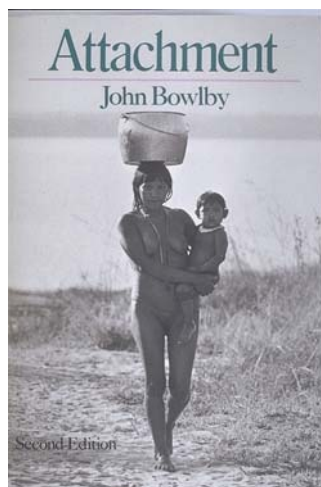
- Implicit - automatic versus explicit - controlled mentalization (Satpute & Lieberman, 2006)
- Mentalization based on internal versus external features of self and others (Satpute & Lieberman, 2006)
- Cognitive versus affective mentalization (Shamay-Tsoory, Aharon-Peretz, & Perry, 2008)
- Two distinct neural networks are shared by self-knowing and knowing others (Lieberman, 2007; Uddin et al., 2007)
 - frontoparietal mirror-neuron system (Keysers & Gazzola, 2006; Rizzolatti, Ferrari, Rozzi, & Fogassi, 2006).
 - the medial prefrontal cortex, ACC, and the precuneus (Frith, 2007; Frith & Frith, 2006; Uddin et al., 2007)

Mentalizing Profile of Prototypical BPD patient



Other possible polarities

- Ambiguous vs. unambiguous
- Belief vs. preference
- “here and now” vs. “there and now”
(allocentric perspective)



*The Nature of
Attachment*

Environmental Influences on the Development of Social Cognition

- **Maternal disciplinary style** (Ruffman, Perner, & Parkin, 1999; Vinden, 2001)
- **Other features of the emotional climate within the family** (e.g., Cassidy et al., 1992; Denham, Zoller, & Couchoud, 1994)
- **The inclination of mothers to take the psychological perspective of their child, including *maternal mind-mindedness* and *reflective function* in interacting with or describing their infants** (Fonagy, Steele, Steele & Holder, 1996; Fonagy & Target, 1997; Meins et al., 2003; Meins, Fernyhough, Wainwright, Das Gupta, Fradley, et al., 2002; Peterson & Slaughter, 2003; Slade, 2005; Sharp, Fonagy; & Goodyer, 2006)

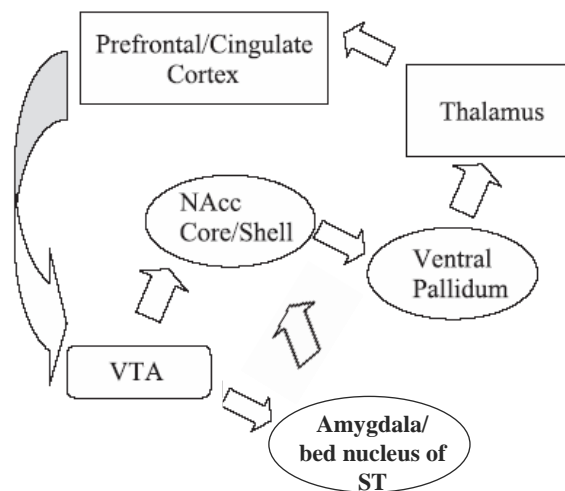
Range of Environmental Influences on the Development of Social Cognition

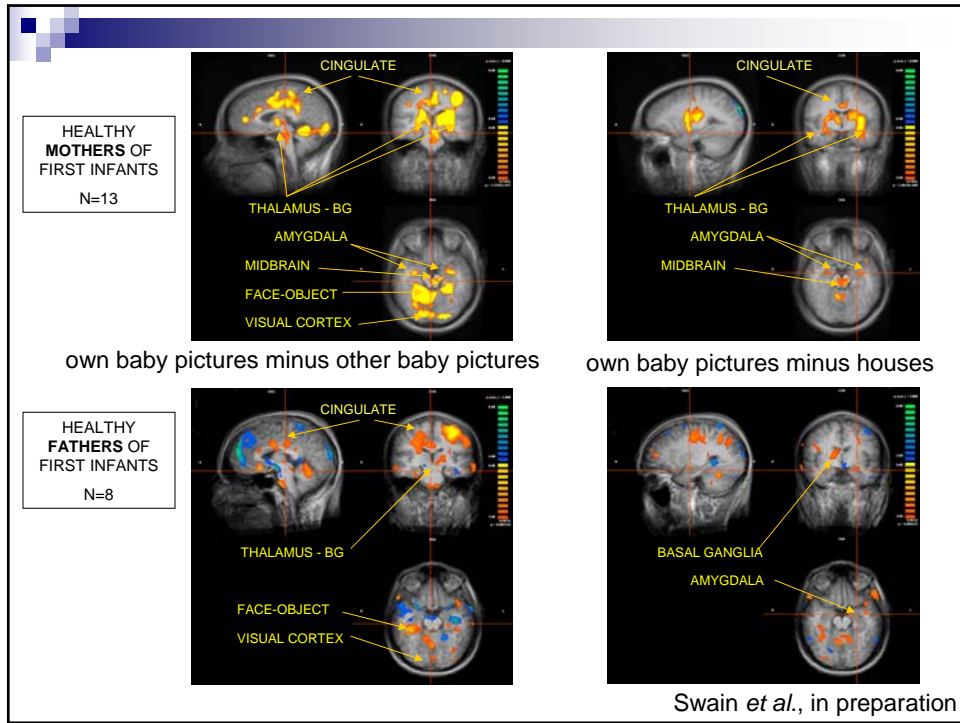
- **The quality of children's primary attachment relationship *facilitates theory of mind development*** leading to passing standard theory of mind tasks somewhat earlier (e.g., de Rosnay & Harris, 2002; Fonagy & Target, 1997; Fonagy, Redfern, & Charman, 1997; Harris, 1999; Meins, Fernyhough, Russell, & Clark-Carter, 1998; Raikes & Thompson, 2006; Steele, Steele, Croft, & Fonagy, 1999; Symons, 2004; Thompson, 2000; Ontai & Thompson, 2002)
 - Not all studies find this relationship and it is more likely to be observed for emotion understanding than ToM

Attachment as an Addiction

- MacLean (1990) speculated that substance abuse and drug addiction were attempts to replace opiates or endogenous factors normally provided by social attachments
- Panksepp (1998) a common neurobiology to
 - mother–infant,
 - infant–mother, and
 - male–female attachment
- Insel (2003) “Social attachment is an addictive disorder?”

The mesocorticolimbic dopaminergic reward circuit in addiction process



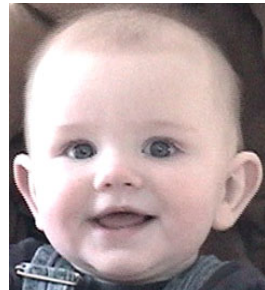
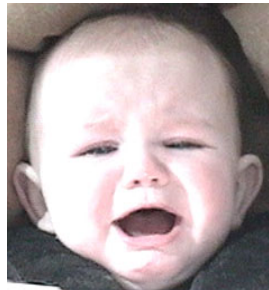


Do Different Affective States Trigger the Attachment System Equally?

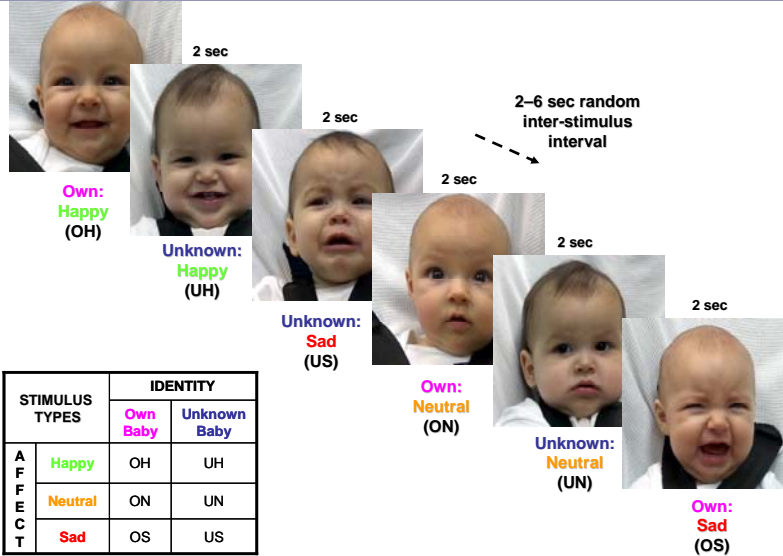
Crying

Neutral

Smiling

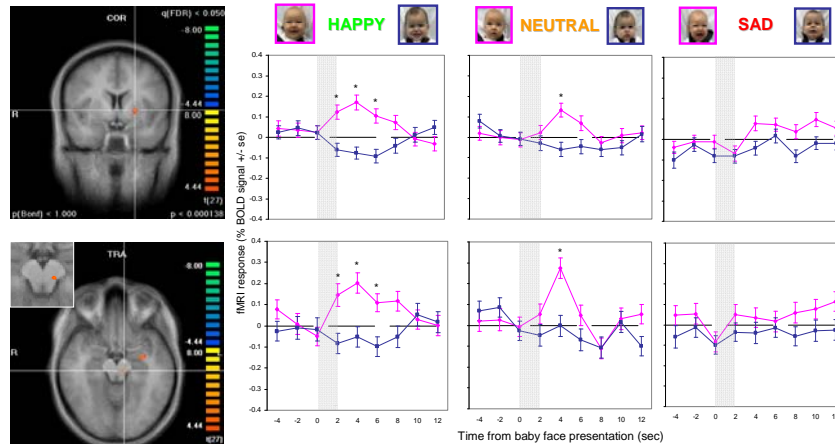


What's in a Smile? Maternal Brain Responses to Infant Facial Cues (Strathearn L, Li J, Fonagy P, Montague PR, submitted)



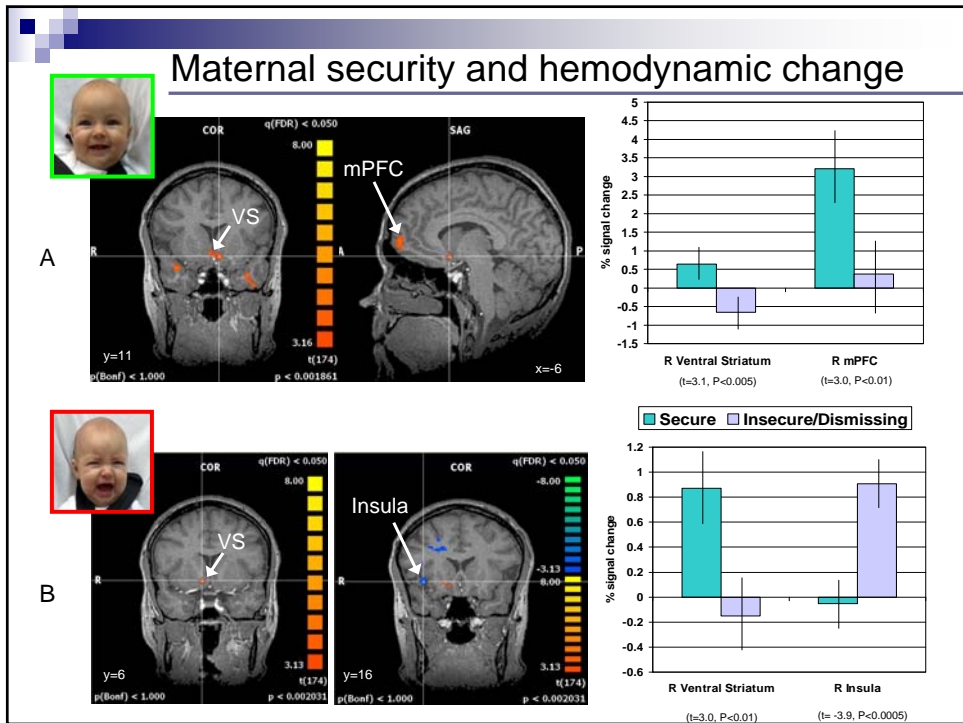
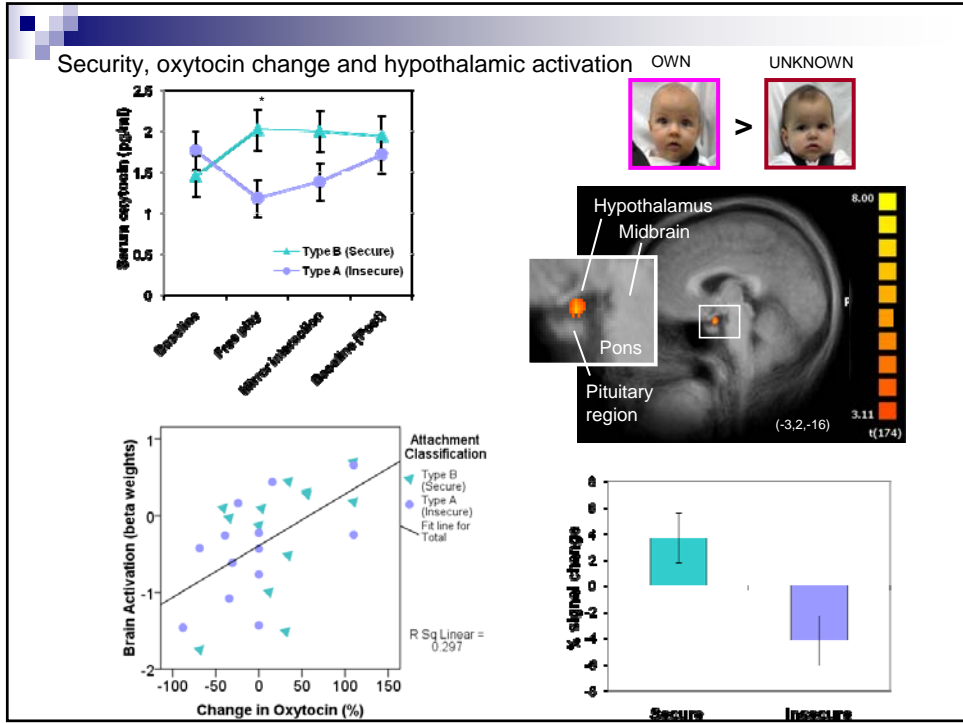
Brain response of mothers viewing their own baby's face

A. Dorsal putamen



B. Substantia nigra

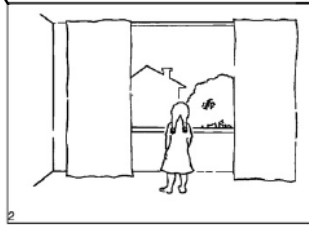




Background to Oxytocin Story

- OT (a neuroactive hormone) directly synthesized in the hypothalamus and projects to brain areas that are associated with emotions and social behaviors (e.g., amygdala and cingulate cortex)
- OXT plays a role in attachment and prosocial behavior in animals (Insel & Young, 2001);
- OXT associated with trust, generosity and watching emotional videos in humans (Kosfeld et al, 2005; Bazzara & Zak, 2009)
- Moreover, negative early care-giving experiences impact the OXT system in monkeys and humans:
 - Lower CFS OXT levels in nursery vs. mother-reared monkeys (Winslow et al, 2003)
- The dual role of OXT in attachment (Heinrichs & Domes, 2008)
 - Activating reward /attachment system (push mechanism)
 - Deactivating neurobehavioural systems involved in mediating social avoidance thus promote approach (pull mechanism)

Adaptation of the Adult Attachment Projective Picture System (Bucheim et al. 2009)

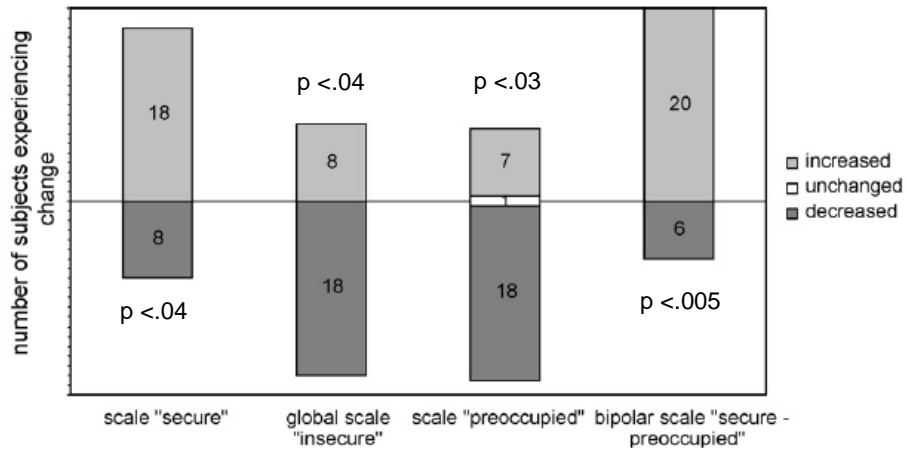


Which of the following statements characterize this picture most appropriately for you?

- A. *The girl does not know what to do with her time and stares outside. She wants to play outside or be by herself.*
- B. *A girl did something wrong and her mother punished her with house arrest. She goes into her room and distracts herself reading something.*
- C. *A girl is looking out of the window. She is ill and has to stay inside and thinks about herself. Then her mother comes in and embraces her.*
- D. *This girl seems somewhat desperate, maybe deserted by someone. She just wants to hide and to disappear from the world.*

[Psychoneuroendocrinology /j.psyneuen.2009.04.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psyneuen.2009.04.002)

The effect of oxytocin on rating of AAPP pictures (Bucheim et al., 2009)



Psychoneuroendocrinology/j.psychoneu.2009.04.002

Simple test of mind-mindedness

Friendly - A

Sad - B



Surprised - C

Worried - D

Simple test of mind-mindedness

Surprised-A

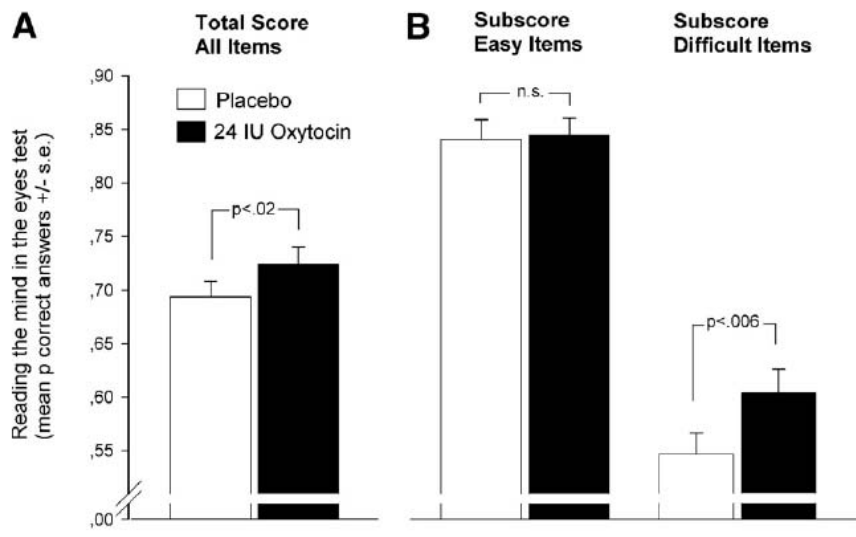
Sure about something-B



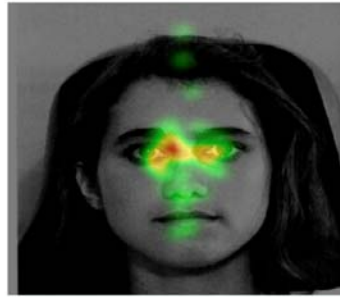
Joking-C

Happy-D

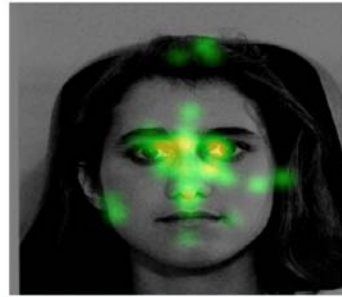
Oxytocin and performance on Mind in the Eyes test (Domes et al., 2008)



Gaze duration during oxytocin exposure



Oxytocin

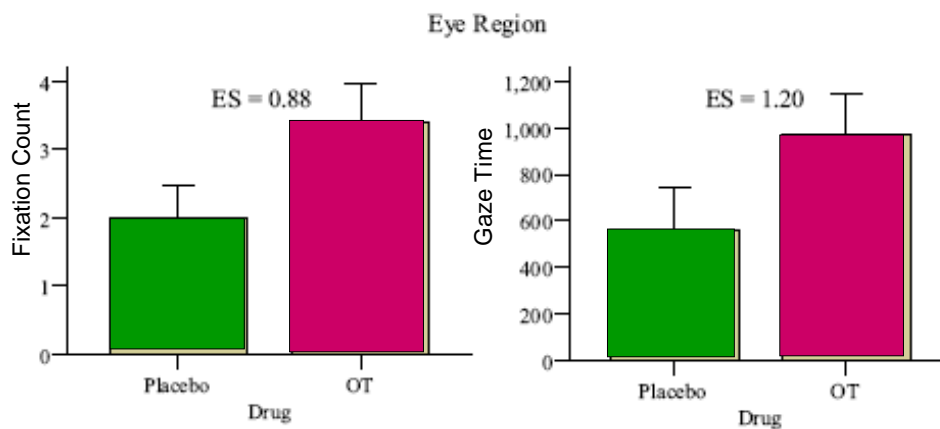


Placebo

Guastella, Mitchell, Dadds, 2008

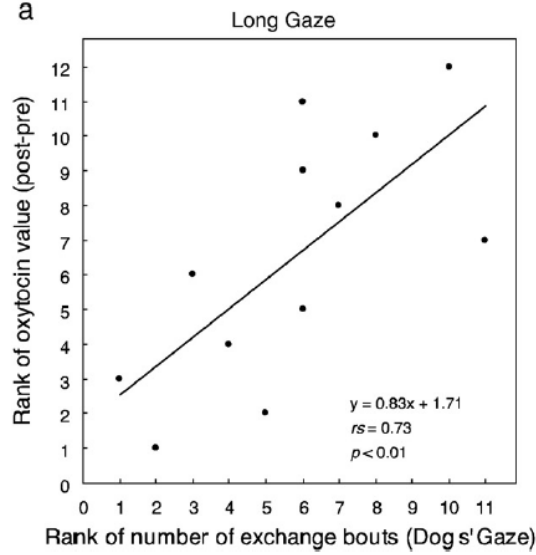
BIOL PSYCHIATRY 2008;63:3-5

Gaze duration during oxytocin exposure (Guastella, Mitchell & Dadds, 2008)

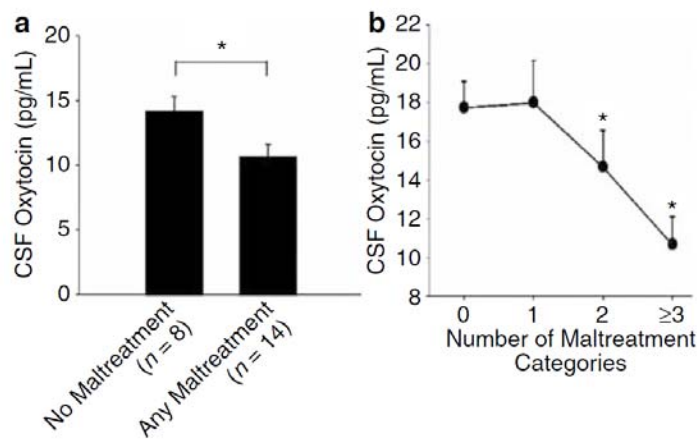


BIOL PSYCHIATRY 2008;63:3-5

A dog gazing at its owner increases urinary oxytocin (Nagasawa, et al., 2009; Hormones & Behavior, 55, 434-41)

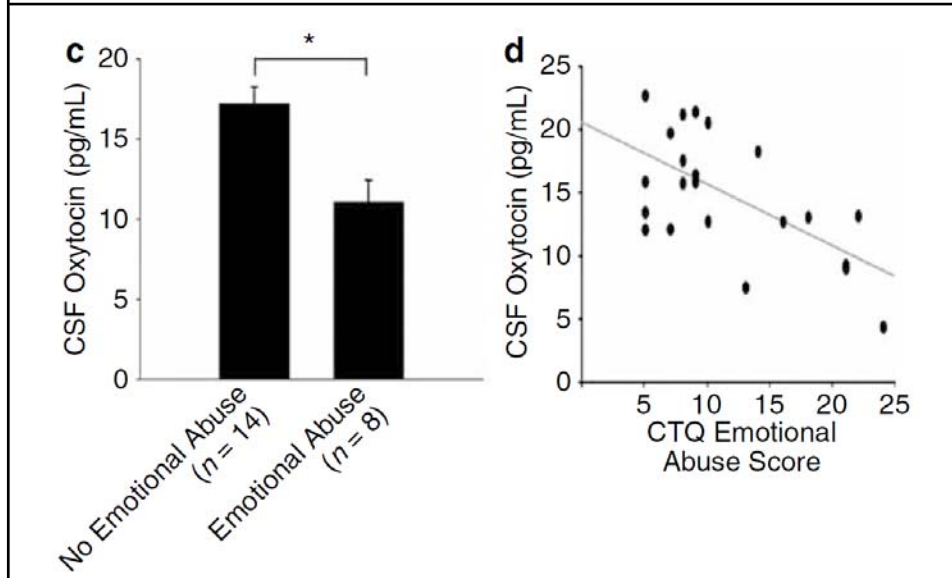


CSF OT concentrations and maltreatment (Heim, Young, Newport, Mletzko, Miller & Nemeroff, 2008, Molecular Psychiatry)

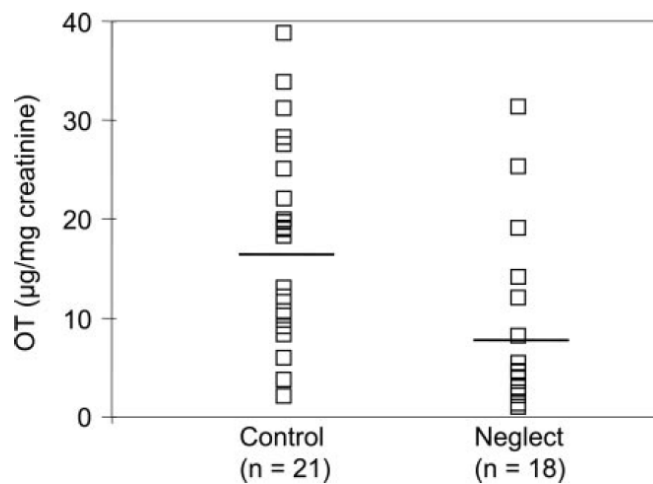


CSF OT concentrations and emotional abuse

(Heim, Young, Newport, Mletzko, Miller & Nemeroff, 2008, *Molecular Psychiatry*)



Oxytocin levels of children brought up in orphanages (Wisner et al., 2005)

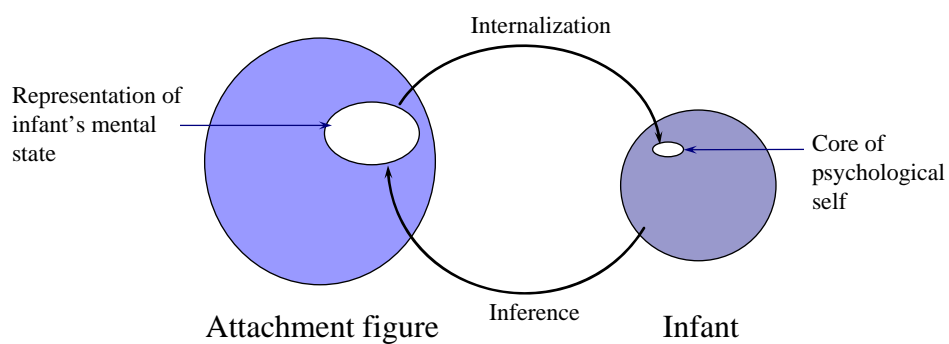




Intersubjectivity and Affect Regulation

Theory: Birth of the Agentive Self

Attachment figure "discovers" infant's mind (subjectivity)

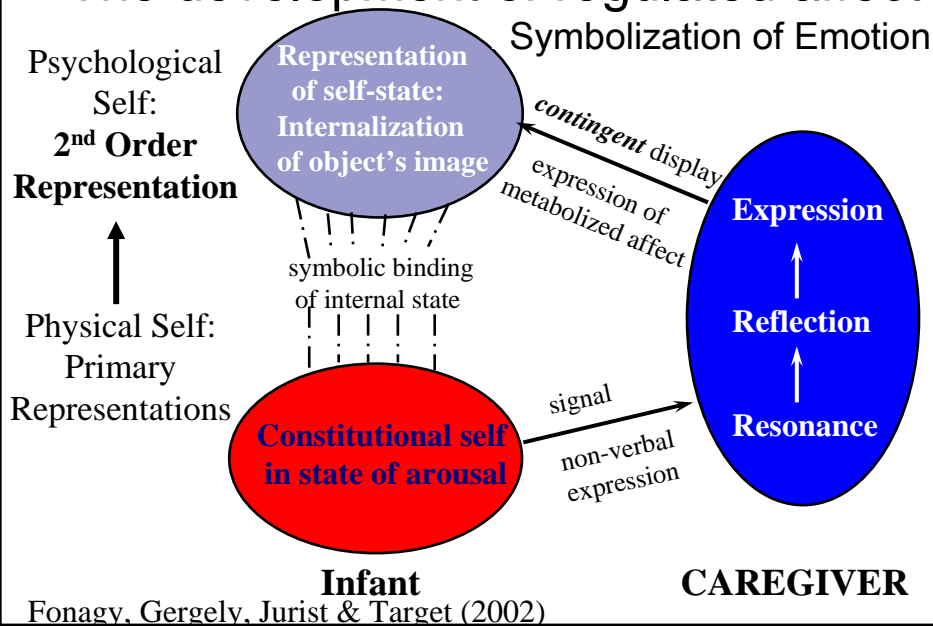


*Infant internalizes caregiver's representation to form psychological self
Safe, playful interaction with the caregiver leads to the integration of primitive
modes of experiencing internal reality → mentalization*

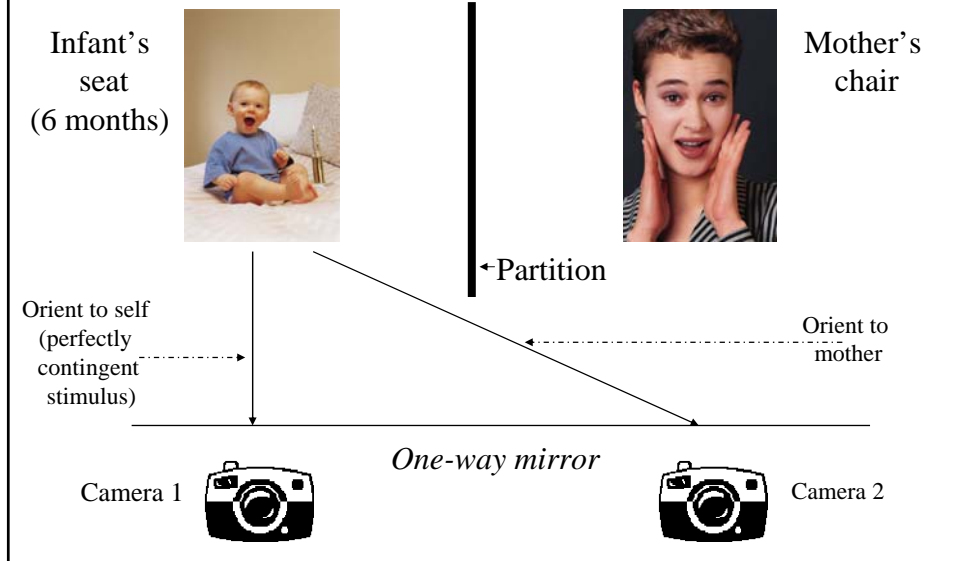
The Development of Affect Regulation

- Closeness of the infant to another human being who via **contingent marked mirroring** actions facilitates the emergence of a symbolic representational system of affective states and assists in developing affect regulation (and selective attention) → secure attachment
- For normal development the child needs to experience a mind that has his mind in mind
 - Able to reflect on his intentions accurately
 - Does not overwhelm him
 - Not accessible to neglected children

The development of regulated affect

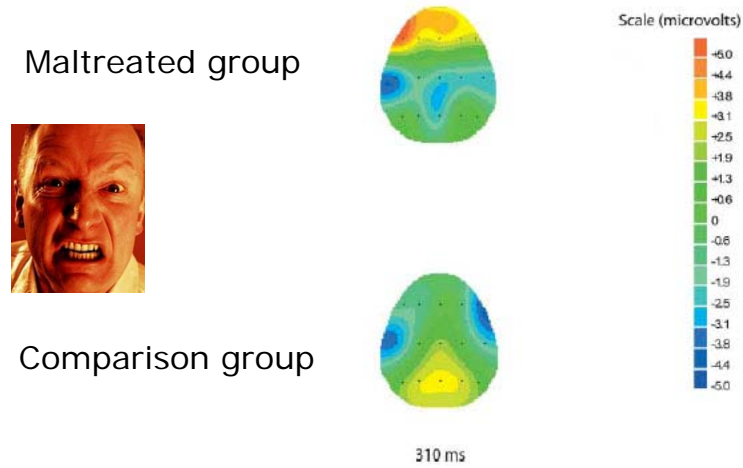


Experimental Arrangements for the Contingency Performance Modified Still Face Study (Koos et al, 2000)

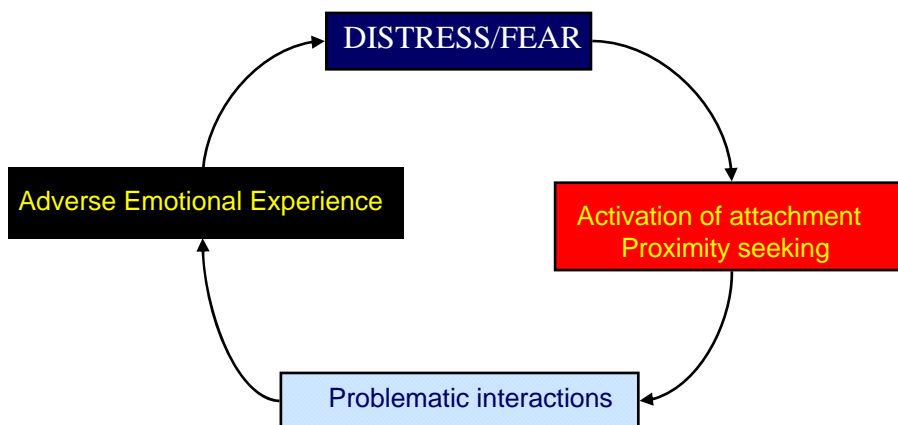


*Attachment
Trauma*

EEG study of the responses of maltreated and non-maltreated children to viewing an angry face (Cicchetti & Curtis, 2005 *Dev. & Psychopath.*)



Attachment Disorganisation in Maltreatment



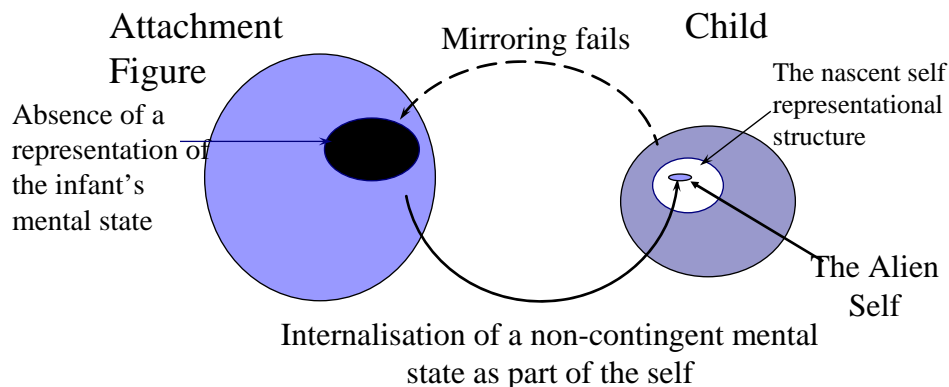
The 'hyperactivation' of the attachment system

The hyperactivation of attachment in BPD

- We assume that **the attachment system in BPD is “hypersensitive”** (triggered too readily)
- Indications of attachment hyperactivity in **core symptoms** of BPD
 - Frantic efforts to avoid abandonment
 - Pattern of unstable and intense interpersonal relationships
 - Rapidly **escalating tempo** moving from acquaintance to great intimacy

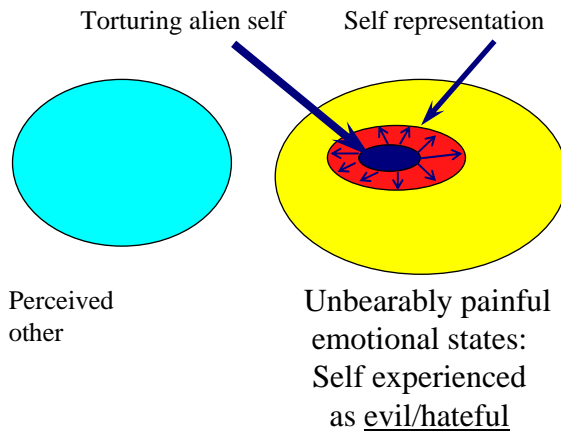
Theory: Birth of the “Alien” Self in Disorganized Attachment

The caregiver’s perception is inaccurate or unmarked or both



The child, unable to “find” himself as an intentional being, internalizes a representation of the other into the self with distorted agentic characteristics

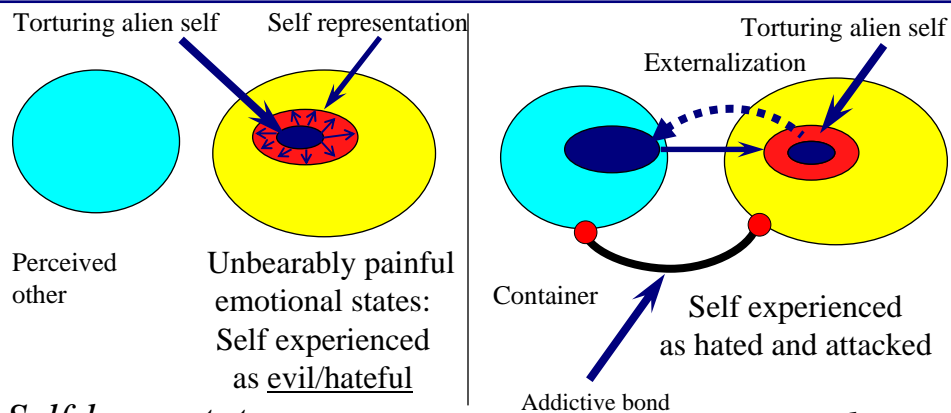
Theory: Self-destructiveness and Externalisation Following Trauma



Self-harm state

Attack from within is turned against body and/or mind.

Theory: Self-destructiveness and Externalisation Following Trauma

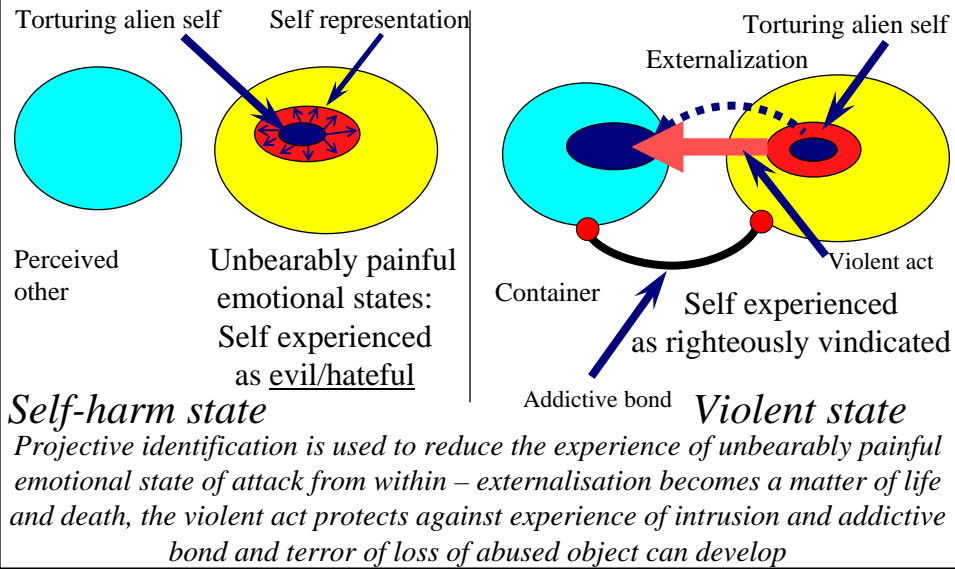


Self-harm state

Victimized state

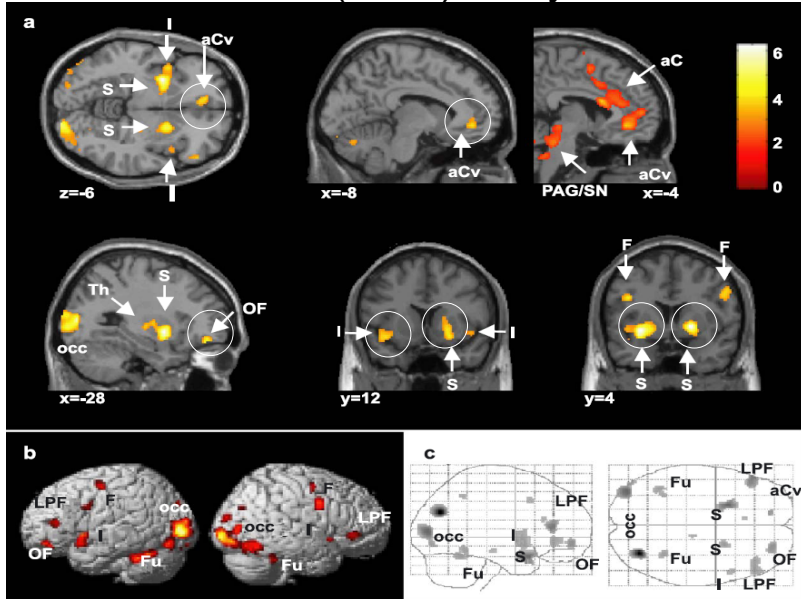
Projective identification is used to reduce the experience of unbearably painful emotional state of attack from within – externalisation becomes a matter of life and death and addictive bond and terror of loss of (abusing) object develops

Externalisation & Violence Following Trauma

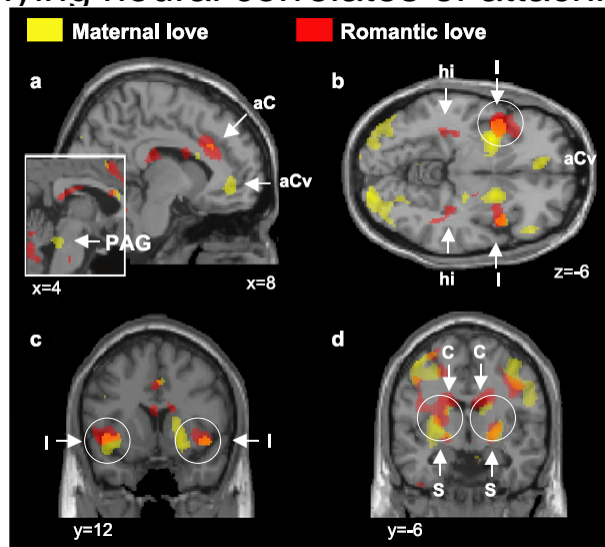


*Hyperactivation
of Attachment
and Social
Cognition*

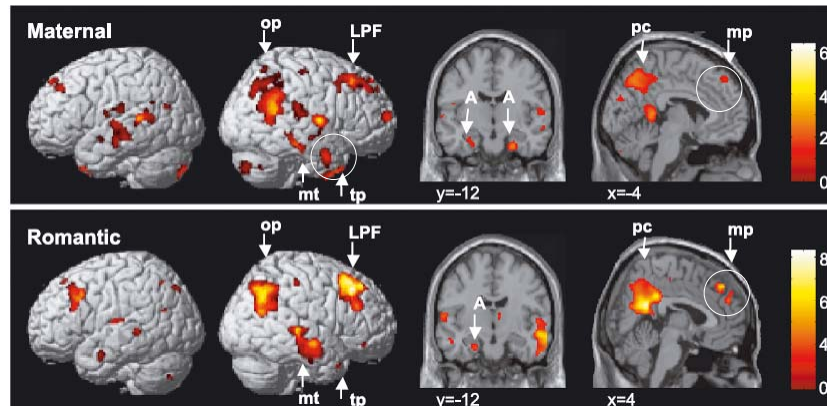
The Bartles & Zeki (2004) study: Maternal Love



The Bartles & Zeki (2004) study of overlap implying neural correlates of attachment



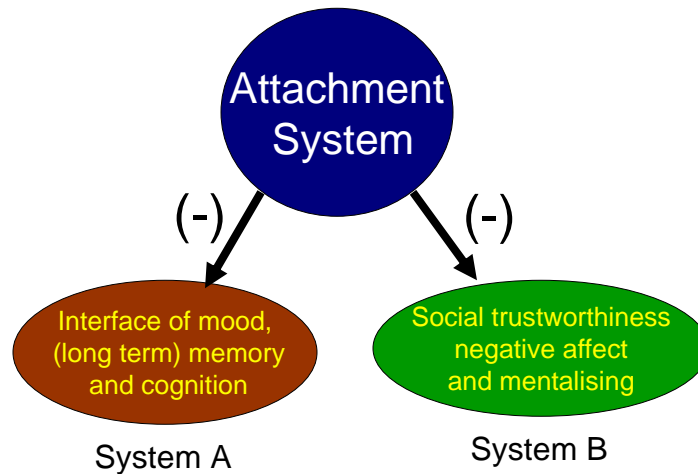
Common regions of deactivation with maternal and romantic love (Bartels & Zeki, 2004)



Both maternal and romantic love elicit an overlapping set of deactivations

- middle prefrontal, inferior parietal and middle temporal cortices mainly in the right hemisphere, as well as the posterior cingulate cortex →
 - attention, long-term memory, variable involvement in both positive but mainly negative emotions →
 - underpin interface of mood related memory & cognition
- temporal poles, parietotemporal junction and mesial prefrontal cortex →
 - social trustworthiness, moral judgements, 'theory of mind' tasks, solely negative emotions, attention to own emotions
 - underpin determining other people's emotions and intentions

Schematic Representation of Attachment Related Brain Activation

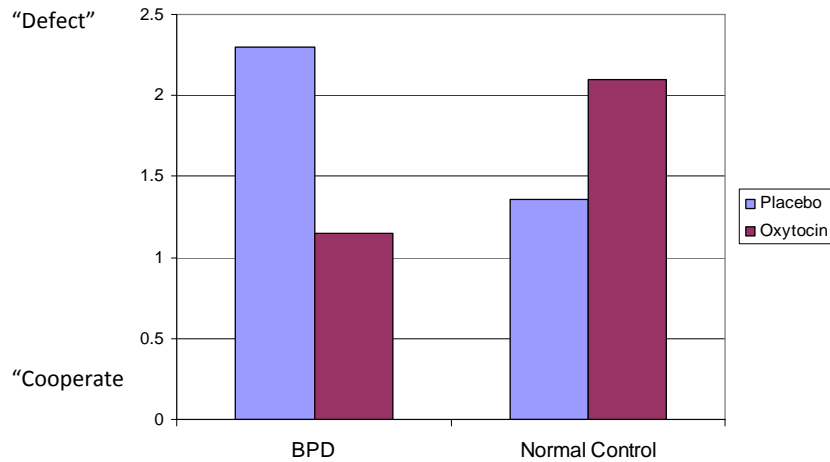


AG Payoff Matrix

Partner	Participant	
	Strategy A (cooperate)	Strategy B (defect)
Strategy A (cooperate)	You get \$6 Your partner gets \$6	You get \$4 Your partner gets \$0
Strategy B (defect)	You get \$0 Your partner gets \$4	You get \$2 Your partner gets \$2

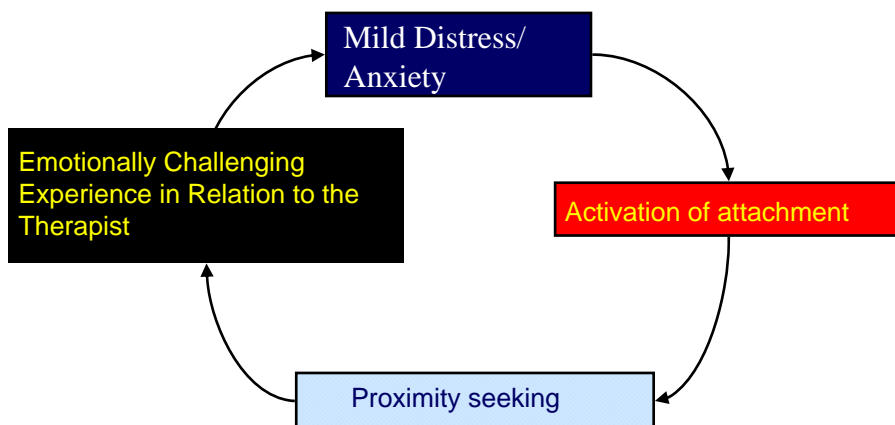
(Kollock, 1998; Kelley et al., 2003)

Response to partner's hypothetical cooperation in Assurances Game

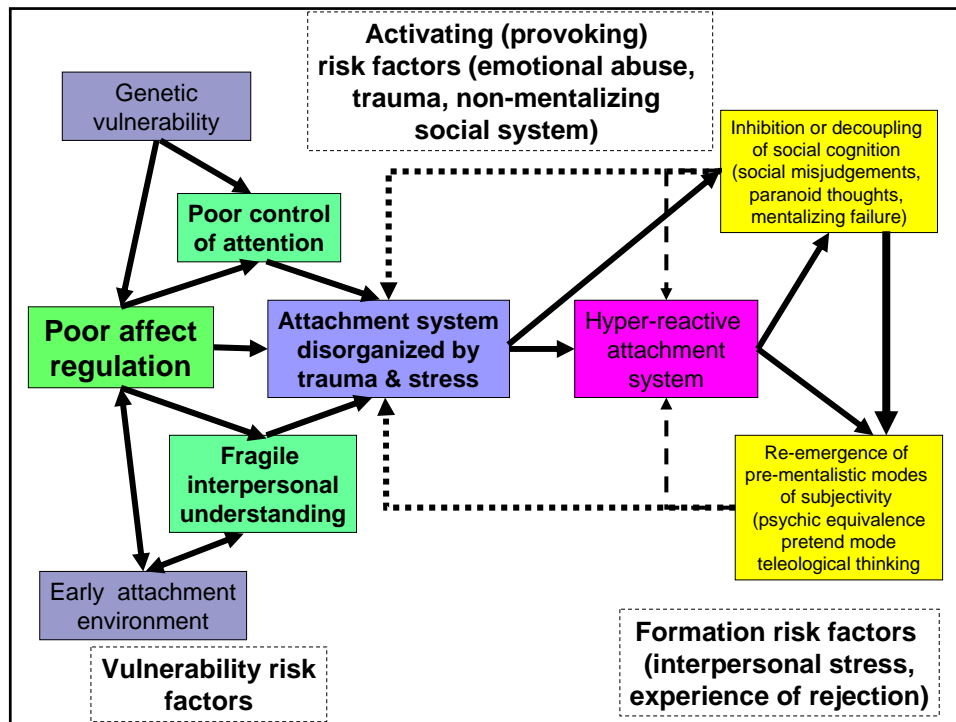


Group x Oxytocin: $F(1, 23)=4.82, p < .05$ (Bartz et al, in prep)

Attachment Disorganisation in Psychotherapy



The psychotherapeutic 'hyperactivation' of the attachment system



The Modes of Psychic Reality That Antedate Mentalisation and Characterize Suicide/Self-harm

■ Psychic equivalence:

- Mind-world isomorphism; mental reality = outer reality; internal has power of external
- Experience of mind can be terrifying (flashbacks)
- Intolerance of alternative perspectives (“I know what the solution is and no one can tell me otherwise”)
- Self-related negative cognitions are TOO REAL! (feeling of badness felt with unbearable intensity)

The Modes of Psychic Reality That Antedate Mentalisation and Characterize Suicide/Self-harm

■ Pretend mode:

- Ideas form no bridge between inner and outer reality; mental world decoupled from external reality
- Linked with emptiness, meaninglessness and dissociation in the wake of trauma
- Lack of reality of internal experience permits self-mutilation and states of mind where continued existence of mind no longer contingent on continued existence of the physical self
- In therapy endless inconsequential talk of thoughts and feelings
 - The constitutional self is absent → feelings do not accompany thoughts

The Modes of Psychic Reality That Antedate Mentalisation and Characterize Suicide/Self-harm

■ Teleological stance:

- Expectations concerning the agency of the other are present but these are formulated in terms restricted to the physical world
- A focus on understanding actions in terms of their physical as opposed to mental outcomes
- Patients cannot accept anything other than a modification in the realm of the physical as a true index of the intentions of the other.
- Only action that has physical impact is felt to be able to alter mental state in both self and other
 - Manipulative physical acts (self-harm)
 - Demand for acts of demonstration (of affection) by others

Understanding suicide and self-harm in terms of the temporary loss of mentalization

■ Loss →

➤ *Increase attachment needs → triggering of attachment system →*

■ Failure of mentalization →

➤ *Psychic equivalence → intensification of unbearable experience →*

➤ *Pretend mode → hypermentalization
meaninglessness, dissociation →*

➤ *Teleological solutions to crisis of agentive self →
manipulative suicide attempts, self-cutting*

Assessment of
Mentalization

Elaboration of interpersonal event

- Thoughts and feelings in relation to the event
- Ideas about the other person's mental state at turning points in narrative
 - Elaborate on actual experience
 - Reflecting on reconstructed past
- Understanding own actions (actual past and reflection on past)
- Counter-factual follow-up questions

Interpersonal interaction

- Last night Rachel and I had an argument about whether I was doing enough around the house. She thought I didn't do as much as her and I should do more. I said I did as much as my work obligations allow. Rachel got angry and we stopped talking to each other. In the end I agreed to do the shopping from now on. But I ended up feeling furious with her

What does non-mentalizing look like?

- Excessive detail to the exclusion of motivations, feelings or thoughts
- Focus on external social factors, such as the school, the council, the neighbours
- Focus on physical or structural labels (tired, lazy, clever, self-destructive, depressed, short-fuse)

What does non-mentalizing look like?

- Preoccupation with rules, responsibilities, 'shoulds' and 'should nots'
- Denial of involvement in problem
- Blaming or fault-finding
- Expressions of certainty about thoughts or feelings of others

What does good mentalizing look like?

- In relation to other peoples thoughts and feelings
 - Acknowledgement of opaqueness
 - Absence of paranoia
 - Contemplation and reflection
 - Perspective taking
 - Genuine interest
 - Openness to discovery
 - Forgiveness
 - predictability

What does good mentalizing look like?

- Perception of own mental functioning
 - Appreciation of changeability
 - Developmental perspective
 - Realistic scepticism
 - Acknowledgement of pre-conscious function
 - Awareness of impact of affect
- Self-presentation e.g. autobiographical continuity
- General values and attitudes e.g. tentativeness and moderation

What does extremely poor mentalizing look like?

- **Anti-reflective**
 - hostility
 - active evasion
 - non-verbal reactions
- **Failure of adequate elaboration**
 - Complete lack of integration
 - Complete lack of explanation
- **Inappropriate**
 - Complete non-sequiturs
 - Gross assumptions about the interviewer
 - Literal meaning of words

Assessment of mentalization

- **Distinguish four main types of problem - not mutually exclusive; more than one may apply to the same person**
 - **Concrete understanding**
 - Generalised lack of mentalising
 - **Context-specific non-mentalising**
 - Non-mentalising is variable and occurs in particular contexts
 - **Pseudo-mentalising**
 - Looks like mentalising but missing essential features
 - **Misuse of mentalising**
 - Others' minds understood and thought about, but used to hurt, manipulate, control or undermine

Concrete understanding

- General failure to appreciate feelings of self or others as well as the relationships between thoughts, feelings and actions
- General lack of attention to the thoughts, feelings and wishes of others and an interpretation of behaviour (own or others) in terms of the influence of situational or physical constraints rather than feelings and thoughts
- May vary markedly in degree

Context Specific - Relational

- Dramatic temporary failures of mentalisation
 - “You’re trying to drive me crazy”
 - “You hate me”
 - ‘She does my head in. I can’t think once she starts on me’

Pseudo-mentalising subtypes

- Intrusive mentalising
 - Opaqueness of mental states not respected
 - Thoughts and feelings talked about, may be relatively plausible and roughly accurate, but assumed without qualification
- Overactive-inaccurate mentalising
 - Lots of effort made, preoccupation with mental states
 - Off-the-mark and un-inquisitive
- Destructively inaccurate
 - Denial of objective reality, highly psychologically implausible mental states inferred

Misuse of Mentalizing (1)

- Understanding of the mental state of the individual is not directly impaired yet the way in which it is **used** is detrimental
 - May be unconscious but is assumed to be motivated
 - Self-serving distortion of the other's feelings
 - Self-serving empathic understanding
 - A person's feelings are exaggerated or distorted in the service of someone else's agenda

Misuse of Mentalizing(2)

- Coercion against or induction of the thoughts of others
 - Deliberate undermining of a person's capacity to think by humiliation
 - Extreme form is sadistic or psychopathic use of knowledge of other's feelings or wishes
 - Milder form is manipulation for personal gain
 - inducing guilt
 - engendering unwarranted loyalty
 - power games
 - Understanding used as ammunition in a battle

Video coding

Assessing mentalizing