

THE GAME PENTAGON

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Abstract - *The Game Pentagon identifies organizational or cultural dimensions of games people play. Reflection on experience in a Bombay train and connections made with Berne's and Karpman's work on games, gave rise to identifying the societal dimension of game analysis, distinct from the individual dimension commonly used in TA. Organizational game analysis is not simply the application of models of individual game analysis to organizations, communities, groups and cultures. Organizational game analysis is a new kind of game analysis, and hence names of the five most common roles are summarized: Stage-manager, Spectator, Savior, Sniper and Scapegoat. Not everyone who ends in a Scapegoat role is necessarily in the Victim role of a transactional game.*

In his description of games, Berne (1964) gave attention to sequences in games, to individual moves of the game and to psycho-social roles of the players. In his contribution to script and game analysis, Karpman developed the Drama Triangle(1968) in which he highlighted three of the several roles Berne emphasized in game analysis and called them action roles. In this article on the Game Pentagon, games are described as a phenomenon of groups and five roles are identified which can be filled by group members.²

Eric Berne - Games and Roles

Berne gave colloquial names to games according to the major transactional sequence of play, e.g., Why Don't You Yes But, Kick Me, Blemish, etc. He also named the roles and the dynamics of games. He described the game **Ain't It Awful?** as a three-handed game involving an Aggressor, Victim and Confidant (1964,p.86) and the game of NIGYSOB as having two roles, viz., Victim and Aggressor (l.c.,p.87). In Courtroom, he named the roles of Plaintiff, Defendant,

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Judge (l.c.,p.98) and in Look How Hard I've Tried, the roles of Standfast, Persecutor and Authority (l.c.,p.108).

Attached to the the first transactional analysis of game, viz. that of Why Don't You Yes But, Berne named the roles **sage parents** and **helpless child** (1958, p.154); he identified the player's goal - to **confound** the wise ones -, and with these three descriptions, provided a palimpsest of the future Drama Triangle. By 1964 Berne explicitly names Why Don't You Yes But as having the roles of Helpless Person and Advisors (1964,p.122). For the more complicated game of Alcoholic, Berne identified roles of "it", persecutor, rescuer, and dummy or patsy (1959,p.220), and by 1964 he enumerates the roles as Alcoholic, Persecutor, Rescuer, Patsy and Connection (1964,p.80). Such roles have always been a significant part of the analysis of transactional games.

Even though Berne described transactional games as goal-directed sets of ulterior transactions (1963,p.153) with an unexpected twist (l.c.,p.155) that were played unconsciously by innocent people he also spoke of games that were consciously played through angular transactions (1964,p.49). He writes as though he saw group and organizational games (1963,p.165) as having different parameters than his basic definition of what constitutes a transactional game (1964,p.64). It is the configuration of role relationships of games played in organizations and social networks whether consciously or unconsciously, whether through ulterior, angular or simple transactions which are the cornerstone of the pentagon described in this article.

Karpman's Triangle - Roles and Switches

Karpman's first notes on the Drama Triangle were in January 1965 at a time when he was working out switches in football by which a quarterback could outsmart a defensive halfback (1973,p.73). The first roles in his football moves were Dummy, Persecutor, Victim. At the time of seeing the movie Valley of the Dolls in which there were all sorts of switches he made a link with what Eric was saying about fairy tales; Eric was writing on them for the Hello Book (l.c.p.75). In 1968 Karpman produced his article on script drama analysis (1968), and the Drama Triangle was born in which the action roles and switches of the "emotional reversals that are drama" were connected with identity roles and switches in the fairy tale (1968, p.51). The roles of Persecutor, Rescuer and Victim became the three primary roles for understanding the psychological dynamics of a person's life roles as seen through fairy tale analysis. Karpman later said, "Through popular usage it became used as a game triangle" for which he got many strokes at summer conferences (1973,p.75). He established a connection between the roles people live according to the social scenario of their scripts (identity roles) and their psychological positions on the triangle (action roles). The Game Pentagon continues the story line of the script mentioned by Karpman (l.c.p.74) developing the interconnection between the roles of an unfolding social event with its psychodynamics, and with the roles and switches in a game.

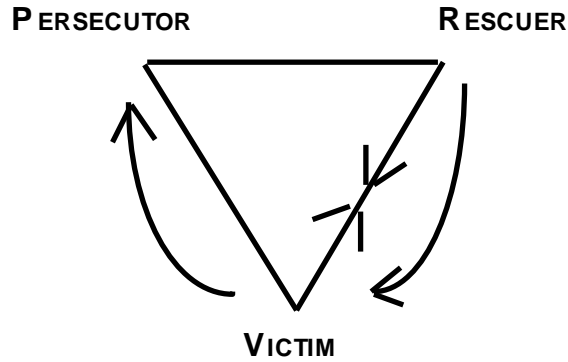


Figure 1 - Drama Triangle (1973)

The simplified drawing of the Drama Triangle (Figure 1), shows "a clean three line triangle with arrows added in during use". "For Structural Analysis you show that once someone is in the Triangle they (and others) are all the roles at once. For Transactional Analysis, the transactional arrows are super-imposed on the Triangle, and for the Game Analysis a sweeping curved arrow representing the switch is drawn to the side of the Triangle" (1973,p.75). The essential elements of the Drama Triangle are: (1) the series of interactions where "it" remains in one role, and (2) the switch of "it" to a second role. The Drama Triangle was acclaimed by Berne (1972,p.187) for its analysis of an individual's psychological games, as well as for describing externally observable situations (1970,pp.179-81). It is the externally observable situation that is the focus of the Game Pentagon.

Berne had written earlier about games played in organizations (1963,pp.165-166), and this taken together with what he wrote about con games (1964,p.49) suggests that he had in mind games that are played in organizations as well as of what individuals are doing inside their heads in relation to others. While the triangle is frequently used for describing an individual's game dynamics, the Game Pentagon is suggested as a tool for social and systems analysis in family, group, organizational, and community game analysis.

A Game is "a proceeding carried on according to set rules"(Delbridge,1981), or, "a form of contest played according to rules and decided by skill, strength or luck" (Fowler,1981). Both of these come within the total purview of the pentagon. While the pentagon does not fill the strict definition of a TA game, in a broad sense it offers a prelude and environment for game analysis as well as a model of games played both consciously and unconsciously in the one event (Berne,1964,p.49).

The Game Pentagon

In its original presentation (1979,Chap.17), the Game Pentagon was named the Orgame Pentagon because of its organizational connotation. The author had adopted a systems approach to the relationship knots that occur in organizations so that while the players began to see their

part in the whole event they did not feel accused of playing psychological games. Yet the Pentagon is related to the definitions of a TA game while it also includes other meanings of the word game as used by Berne. Further, a tradition has grown up in TA practice whereby Persecutors, Rescuers and Victims, i.e., people making a play of their personal game, are distinguished from persecutors, rescuers and victims, i.e., people who are not involved in a personal game, e.g. those in the helping professions (Steiner,1971,Chap.16). Such persecutors, rescuers and victims still need to see how they fit into the psycho-social context and so assess the appropriateness of their interventions and strategies. This has led the author to find terms that will include Karpman's three roles when extrapolated into social systems, as well as include two other roles, one arising from Berne's so-called minor roles (1972,p.188). The Game Pentagon will be described below as a tool to analyze games from the external point of view rather than their internal and interpersonal dynamics. What happens on the pentagon will need to be distinguished in practice from what happens within the triangle.

The Five Roles of the Pentagon

The five roles of the pentagon are Stage-manager, Spectator, Sniper, Savior and Scapegoat.

The Stage-manager role can be described as that of the originator or source of a social event. It is the role of the person who has unconsciously set up a scenario through specific, externalized words, impressions, inactions, actions, or has consciously master-minded an operation. The Stage-manager sets the stage for the drama by being an initiator in, for example, Let's You and Him Fight, Uproar, Why Don't You Yes But, etc. The Connection in the Alcoholic game is another example of a Stage-manager. The Stage-manager's behaviour can be identified as that of initiator, provider, liaison, sustainer, etc. The Stage-manager may be in a position of authority or powerlessness. Locating the role of Stage-manager helps to pin-point accountability in the organization or society, searching for the historical, bureaucratic, legal or cultural sources of a group conflict without apportioning blame. Wars, riots and protest marches have their various Stage-managers at different points of history and these Stage-manager are often forgotten as they may not appear on the actual scene of dramatic events.

The Spectator has the role of audience in the dramatic action. The Spectator sits back and views the spectacle, providing support by being interested in the events, yet appearing not to be involved or invested in the outcome. The Spectator in this role remains aloof avoiding responsibility or accountability for the event. The Spectator seems to be unrelated to the event except for the fact of being present . The Patsy in the Alcoholic game and group members witnessing a game of Why Don't You Yes But are Spectators. The listeners in the game of Sweetheart are also Spectators. The importance of recognizing the Spectator is that it emphasizes the social responsibility of people who view a social drama. By identifying this role organizationally all team members become party to an event and feel called to participate in the outcome and to cooperate in the group's on-going activities.

The Sniper is the role of the openly decisive person in a group, be it that of the attacker, defender, protector or pruner. The Sniper is the part of one who can offer critical comments about the process, give direction, and prevent harmful outcomes. The Sniper can also destroy the product that others are struggling to achieve. The Blemish player, the Ain't It Awful player, the plaintiff in Courtroom, the blamer in If It Weren't For You are in the role of Sniper. The role of Sniper includes that of one who takes what rightly belongs to others. The Sniper deals put downs but also includes the role of one who blocks put downs without actively decommissioning their source.

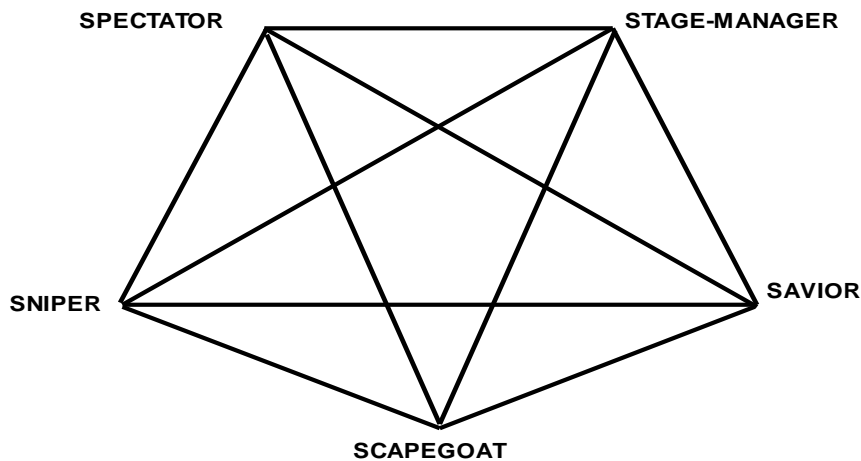


Figure 2 -

The Savior is the role of an ombudsman, who operates to bring justice, solve disputes and save others from harm. The Saviour takes up social causes. He or she parries, protests and prevents put-downs acting to remove the sources and products of put-downs. This may put the Saviour role on a collision course with Stage-Manager and in collusion with Sniper or Scapegoat. The helper in I'm Only Trying to Help You, the advisor in Why Don't You Yes But, mother's friend in Threadbare, fill the function of Saviour at various times in the course of the game. The Saviour role can also bring the social event to a constructive and harmonious end. The role of the Saviour suggests action which promotes effective group activity without the negative connotations of being a Rescuer on the Drama Triangle (Drego, 1980,p.54) though there are times when the Saviour may certainly be found on the Triangle.

The Scapegoat is the person that attracts the ire of the group as it works through its conflictual experiences. This person may bear the blame for others or suffer hard personal consequences on behalf of and because of the group. The Scapegoat is punished instead of someone else. For example, in Schlemiel, if the person who is injured dares to confront the Schlemiel player, then the latter feels justified in making a Scapegoat of the former. The Kick Me player would be a Scapegoat as would the player of Wooden Leg, Stupid, Why Does This Always Happen to Me, etc. The identification of a mascot of a group is a positive example of a Scapegoat as also someone who volunteers to do something for the sake of the group. The

Scapegoat need not be responsible for being in that role. He or she may be left behind, ignored or exploited and so become a Scapegoat. A person who is a real victim of natural calamities or cultural atrocities is in the role of Scapegoat and may be wrongly labelled Victim on the Triangle so that others feel justified in shirking their social responsibility.

Genesis of the Game Pentagon

The paradigm for the Game Pentagon emerged from watching people on a Bombay suburban train. It was a typically hot and humid evening when I got into the train at Churchgate and took a seat. As I sat there, I noticed that the crowd became bigger as the train arrived at each new station. When the train drew into Bombay Central, the compartment and the passageway leading to the platform were packed tightly. At Bombay Central, a young man hurled himself into the compartment, plummeting into someone. This second person was knocked off balance and bumped into a third person. Before the second person could turn round to see who had bumped into him and complain, the man he was pushed into began to berate him. The fun began in earnest.

It seemed to me that the third man's complaints were unfair. Apparently someone else thought the same because a fourth man began to pacify the angry third man, and to explain that the second man was not to be blamed. This did not help! The fourth man was now embroiled in an argument with the third man, while the originator of the whole drama had a smile on his face, and the second man waited to have his turn with the third man and, strangely it seemed to me, not with the first. Another person thought that the argument was unnecessary and began to reason with the fourth person telling him not to get involved, only to be told to mind his own business. The whole compartment watched the fun. Next to me was a man who apologized to me, a foreign guest, and explained that this behaviour was not proper. He then began to give a lecture loudly to the fifth man, who in turn told him where to get off. At this moment the train arrived at Dadar Station. Amidst bumping and pushing, passengers got off and more got on. The game had stopped. We Spectators forgot the wonderful spectacle we had enjoyed free of entertainment tax and went back to minding our own business.

Development of the Game Pentagon

Reflecting later on what had happened in the train, the author felt that on the one hand there was a game going on that was part of the social gathering which was more than the arithmetical sum of watchers and actors present, and that on the other hand this social dynamic was somehow separate from what individuals were doing individually. The author re-read Berne's description of Alcoholic (1964,pp.73-81), and the various roles that he identified elsewhere in *Games People Play*. The role of Spectator, prominent on the Bombay train, was missing from Berne's lists. Roles are described by Berne(1964) as supportive to advancing the individual's game, whereas action roles as they appear on the triangle are limited to and sub-sets of the three action roles.

A brief glance at the pentagon will suggest that persecutor, rescuer and victim fit naturally into sub-sets of Sniper, Savior and Scapegoat, e.g., the role of Sniper includes the roles of persecutor, plaintiff, protector, exploiter, defender, etc. Others such as the connection and patsy can be applied to people who, in the mind of "it", are not necessarily in one of the three roles of Persecutor, Rescuer, Victim; such roles as the Connection belong within a sub-set of the Stage-manager. Finally, socially-oriented thinking indicates that people who observe social injustice and do nothing about it have a responsibility for that social injustice. By the very fact of being a Spectator to the dramatic action, a person is involved in games such as Use Them, Communal Violence, Riots, etc. "A person who plays a passive role in the game of another member, without taking the initiative, is involved" (Berne,1963, p.165). The main character of a Bernean game may be anywhere on the pentagon.

The role of Spectator is crucial to the social dynamics because the future of the game depends on it to provide participants who keep the status quo of the cultural matrix active, alive and flourishing even though unhealthy. According to Karpman, "Dramas begin when these roles (Persecutor, Rescuer, Victim) are established or are anticipated by the audience." (1968,p.52) While writing this, the author remembered an experience he had at a play on social issues. One of the actors threw a ball into the audience. Someone caught it and unthinkingly threw it back. A friend remarked that he had actually supported the system by throwing back the ball. This experience led the author to recognize the active involvement of Spectators in dramatic action - Spectators are part of the action. And this involvement is similar what is described by Jacobs (1987,p.68) and Clarkson on the role of bystander (1987,pp.82-87).

Bombay Train Game Analyzed

The Game Pentagon (Figure 2) may be used to analyze social dynamics. For example, the Bombay Train game described earlier had a number of players limited only by the volume of the compartment. The game began with many Spectators quietly minding their own business as the train pulled into Bombay Central Station. Suddenly a young man plummeted into the compartment bumping into a second and thence a third. Before the second person could attack the first, the third person became Sniper at him, so number two remained a Scapegoat. In the meantime, the first person had become a Spectator. Other Spectators who thought they could do something to save the situation switched to Savior, and ended as Scapegoats until someone else interrupted them whereupon they could switch into Sniper. The game was brought to its end by the train stopping at Dadar Station. The action which was precipitated by the first man, activated a social dynamics in the compartment, the occupants of which were somehow linked in a social entity which ended at Dadar.

Organizational Analysis

Activities of a group, community, organization, etc., may be analyzed to find out what is happening, who is doing what, what is the order in which events arise, etc., and from this analysis knowledge is generated that results in options. A game frequently played in

organizations is the Management Game or See How Hard We Tried To Train Them. In this, the chief executive operating as Stage-Manager, calls an expert in operations research or organizational development to provide a training for executives and then sits back to superintend the whole affair. The expert slips into the role of Savior and responds to the chief executive's desire to change the staff. When the program begins, the expert switches to Sniper and the participants become Scapegoats, while the chief executive continues to stage-manage the action. As the program warms up, the expert moves through various roles, Savior, Sniper, Scapegoat, Stage-manager and ends as Scapegoat. In this game, the aim is not to bring about organizational change, but rather to justify the chief executive's goal that the others should change. The author has noticed in several cases where change began to take place that either the chief executive became anxious and cancelled the whole program, or some of the lower level executives became uncomfortable and did what they could to sabotage it. Sometimes Spectators in the form of clerical staff blocked the organizational change. On one occasion, because of the organizational uproar that began, the chief executive having got rid of the expert himself was Scapegoated. In one Government organization, the chief executive was promoted because he was too successful, and because political figures were uncomfortable with the results produced. In this organization the executives wanting organizational growth ended up as Scapegoats, and those wanting the status quo became triumphant Snipers. In addition, there were groups of sincere executives who wanted to analyze the group dynamics, and from understanding these, to identify options about what they could do for their own protection as well as for the good of the organization.

Organizational Case Study

Recently the author worked with a government organization which helps communities and villages to become economically self-supporting. The organization was rife with demoralization and disinterest owing to interference from politicians, cheating by individuals, destructive competitiveness between officers, laziness, working according to rule, and goal confusion. Among the group who attended my workshop several were enthusiastic, many were noncommittal, and a few were antagonistic. When the theory of the Game Pentagon was presented, the participants were mostly polite and dismissed it as of no value until faced with a serious case that had been occupying their time, manpower, money and energy for the past eight months.

Earlier that year, a manager whom we shall designate as A⁴ (4 indicates the lowest executive rank, 1 the highest) was assaulted by two of his clerical staff X and Y. This news came to chief executive B¹ within the next twenty four hours. B¹ reacted by sending C³ to investigate. When C³ arrived with another officer of equivalent rank, A⁴ was absent and the employees of the unit including X and Y were non-cooperative. C³ collected eye witness reports of the incident, and reported back to B¹ at headquarters. B¹ wrote to the relevant police, who took no action. He then sent D² to meet the Deputy Commissioner of the area. D² was unable to resolve the issue and reported that the police had ignored the first report. In the meantime, B¹ wrote a letter of support to A⁴ and sent copies to all other executives of the same rank, and a few days

later B¹ together with members of the Board of Directors of the unit in question, visited the place. Non-cooperation was withdrawn, and action was begun because of A⁴'s assertion of a threat to his life.

On and on action and counteraction and interaction continued. At one moment the two who had been accused of committing the assault claimed to have been in another place on the same day and produced evidence that they had been there. When confronted with this obstacle, B¹ went to that other place to examine the attendance register there only to find that though the two men had been there, they had left with sufficient time to return and commit the assault. B¹ informed the police and persuaded them to take the attendance register from that place as evidence. The process continued for six months. It included commitments by all the executives of my first training workshop, to take joint and cooperative action, and included governmental orders withdrawing all executives from the other units because of their lack of solidarity with A⁴.

Eventually, when the authorities were ready to take legal action against the two assailants, A⁴ suddenly changed his accusation that he had been assaulted to "an attempt having been made to commit assault". This meant that the case had become a farce. B¹ and those executives who had worked for A⁴'s protection and for safeguarding his rights were left disillusioned and discouraged. Those who had given no cooperation sat back and smirked with an "I told you so" smile.

B¹ asked A⁴ about this fiasco. A⁴ replied, "Sir, I bought land in that area and plan to settle there after my retirement. The two miscreants have powerful political support as well as support from their union, and I fear for my life afterwards if I take action against them now". The case rested there, and as the executives in their second workshop began to analyze the transactions using the Game Pentagon, they understood the total dynamics of the game and were able to design options for future action.

Description of the Game

Analysis of the game described above is divided into three phases: beginning, middle and end game. In the *beginning game*, X and Y were persecutors or Snipers, A⁴ was the Scapegoat, B¹ and some politicians were in the role of Stage-manager, while the rest of the clerical staff, the officers' union, the clerical staff's union, the law and order authorities, and the other executives were in the role of Spectator (Figure 3).

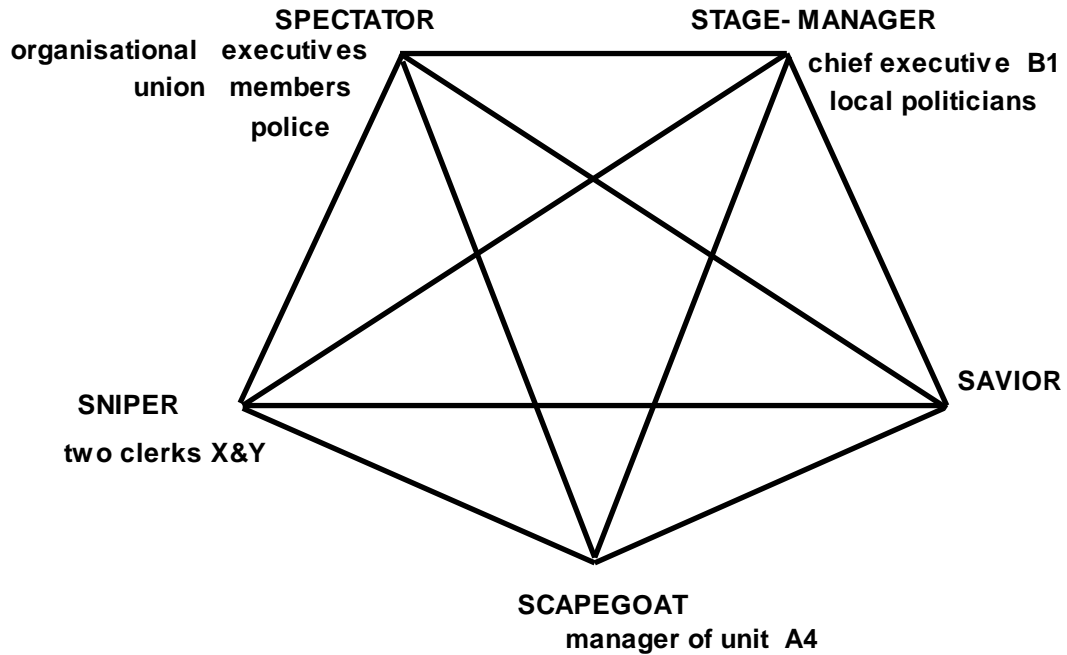


Figure 3 - The Beginning Game

The *middle game* is shown in Figure 4. The chief executive B¹ moved to the role of Savior where he gathered support for A⁴, having mobilized the police and some of the organizational executives to snipe at the two miscreants who were now in the Scapegoat role.

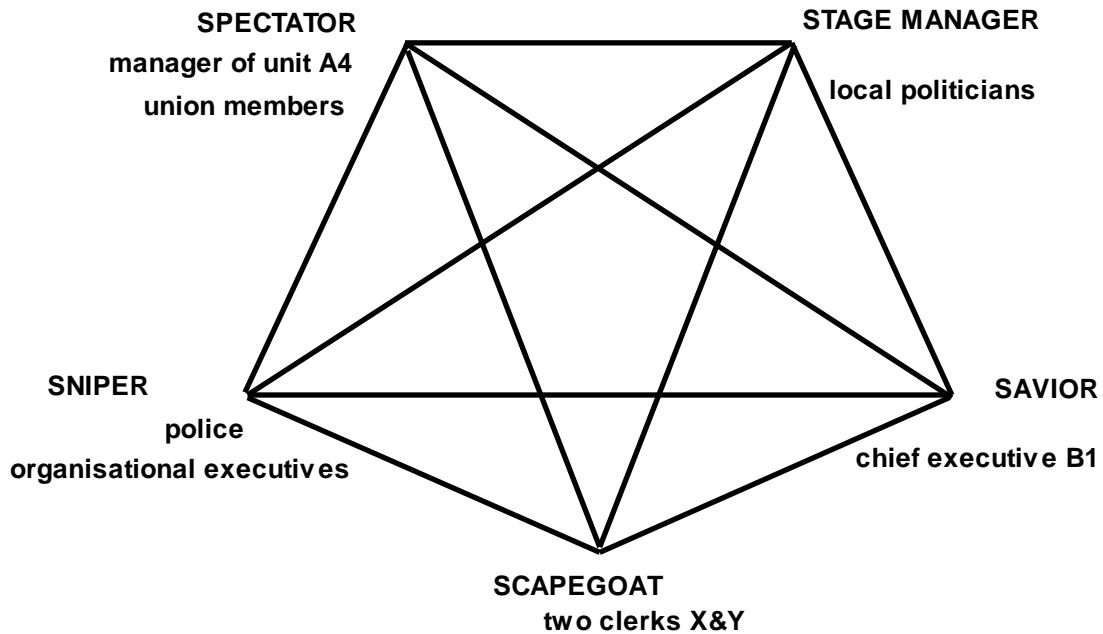


Figure 4 - The Middle Game

Figure 5 describes the *end game* in which the chief executive B¹ was confronted with the unit manager A⁴'s about face, as A⁴ changed the accusation from one of having been assaulted to one in which the two clerks were accused of having tried to assault him. In this position, B¹ the chief executive ended up as Scapegoat, while the manager of the unit, the two assailants, the union members, and the union members ended up in the Sniper position, with the organizational executives and the police being interested Spectator.

An important feature of the above description was that during the workshop the executives identified that they had actually played a part in the total game; previously they were disclaiming any responsibility. They saw themselves as Spectators when they should have been Stage-managers and doing their duty to support their organization, their chief executive and their colleagues. By being Spectators they actually promoted the game's continuation whereas, had they taken concerted action, it could have been aborted instead of ending in the miscarriage of justice that resulted. The police were not present for either workshop and did not see the part that they played by not doing their duty. The executives accepted that they hadn't collected all the facts of the matter, nor had they got the unit manager to commit himself to take action. They hadn't realized that the unit manager couldn't be committed because his squabble with the two clerks was a private matter and not an organizational one. All agreed that for the future they would first get the commitment of the Scapegoat to accept support, they would secondly identify if the matter were organizational or not, and thirdly they would keep circulating information among themselves.

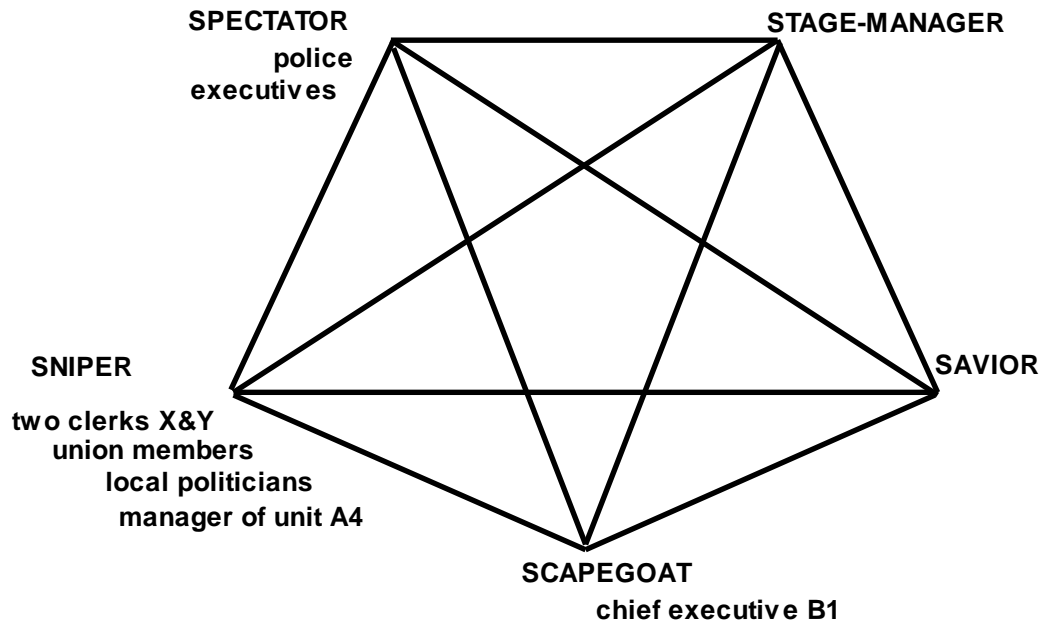


Figure 5 - The End Game

Organizational versus Individual Game

When working with the above organization and others, the author has been told, "In what happened, I feel as though I myself was playing some game and this does not seem to fit into the Game Pentagon". This question has led to looking at the relationship between the Game Pentagon and the individual games people play. The players may be in anyone of the five roles that are identified on the pentagon from the point of view of social dynamics. In addition, people may be ostensibly in one role of the pentagon while really maneuvering from another role. However, this is not the same process as that of the re-defining hexagon with its social and underlying psychological levels which are part of the same role (Schiff, 1975, p.67). The pentagon provides an ambience for the dynamics in groups. From the point of view of individual dynamics people may be in anyone of the three action roles of the triangle or in none. This is illustrated in Figure 6, which shows a small triangle with a curved line going out of the triangle at each corner of the pentagon.

In the organizational game analyzed above, the chief executive B¹ later analyzed his own personal game. He began in the position of a rescuer on the triangle; when checking on the two clerical staff, he moved into the persecutor role. During the course of the proceedings, he was mostly in the persecutor position. In the end, the chief executive was in the victim position as he saw how the unit manager enjoyed the uproar he had created in the whole organization even at the risk of facing a court case for giving false information to the police. On the Game Pentagon,

the chief executive switched from Stage-manager in the beginning game to Savior in the middle game, and ended up Stage-manager as he and the other executives collated their findings and generated optional strategies: (1) In any organizational problem, as soon as they identified role switches, they would recognize that probably a game was in full swing. (2) Once the game was underway, they would (a) gather facts, (b) share the information, (c) identify the rules both written and unwritten that applied, (d) get commitments from players to behave ethically, so as to (e) bring about a successful outcome of the game. Several executives shared that while they did not want to be on the triangle, they were able to stay out of it, and exercise options by remaining within the roles of the pentagon.

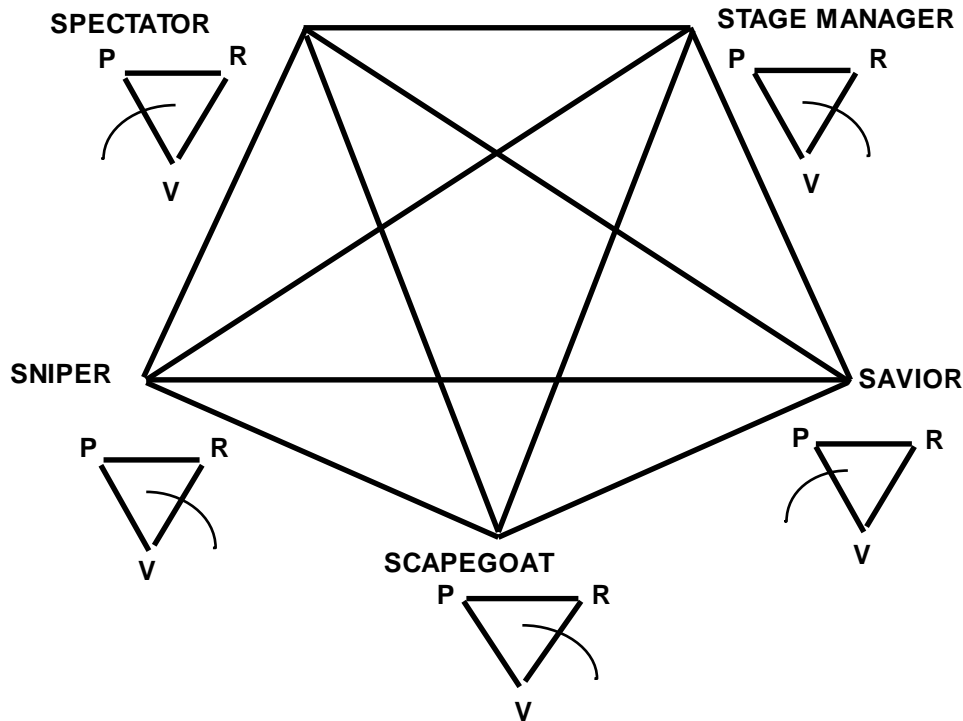


Figure 6 - The Individual on the Game Pentagon

Case Study

A short example of a nine year old TA fan using the pentagon is: Alan went with his mother to the market to buy some marble to put in their bathroom. The marble seller wanted to get rid of a piece of marble that had a small crack in it, and was using all his power of persuasion to get mother to buy it. Then Alan spoke up, "No way will I let my mother buy a piece of cracked marble." The marble seller said, "Madam, I think you son is interfering in your family matters." To which Alan replied, "Yes I am. I'm so glad I have parents who let me share in family decisions." Alan later said that when he first went to the shop, he was a Spectator, the marble seller was the Stage-Manager, and mother was a Scapegoat. In the middle game when he

saw that the marble seller persisted in trying to sell the cracked piece of marble, Alan switched to Sniper and said, "No way!" At this moment, mother was Spectator, and the marble seller became Scapegoat. Later the marble seller switched to Sniper, mother was Savior, and Alan was the Scapegoat. In the end game, mother and Alan were Sniper, and the seller Scapegoat. At the end of it all, Alan said, "I feel so good that I was able to stop the sale, and not feel that I was doing something wrong."

Conclusions

1. The Game Pentagon offers a tool by which a group can analyze and assemble information about their group process.
2. Roles on the pentagon are part of a systems approach that provides a model to members for social roles - the slots into which people can be expected to fit - and views the configuration and interaction of these roles and not just the moves from one to another.
3. Essential elements in the pentagon include: (a) interaction within the group between at least two persons; (b) a switch from one role to another; (c) the ability of an individual to operate from more than one role at a time; (d) the Spectator as a party to the event; and (e) an opening for newcomers on the scene to take their place in the group.
4. Roles on the pentagon have both negative and positive connotations, and groups such as families can have a lot of fun playing these roles while analyzing many-handed games such as Uproar, Why Don't You Yes But, Let's You and Him Fight. They can also plan strategies like, "I need to activate my Saviour role", or "I'll put my Sniper role away", or "I'll stop being a Spectator".
5. In organizations the pentagon is a way of analyzing what is going on within the organization without putting participants on edge about being accused of playing a transactional game. Besides, their refusal to respond at a particular moment and remain as Spectators, does not mean they are game free. Besides, a person may claim to be off the triangle and not in a TA game and yet on the pentagon the person may be challenged for maintaining "culpable" silence in the role of Spectator.
6. The pentagon offers a gateway to viewing what group members do among themselves, prescinding from what they do within themselves.

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