

Games in Organizations

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Abstract

This article discusses the difference between the individual and social dynamics of games as enunciated by Berne. It presents a format for integrating intrapsychic, interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup analysis within organizations and offers several case studies. The characteristics of organizational games are highlighted by contrasting them with individual games and relating them to Berne's elements of organizational structure and dynamics.

The colloquial description of games—that is, names of games as they appear in *Games People Play* (Berne, 1964a)—was a recurrent feature of Berne's (1958/1977) transactional game analysis. His first game was "Why Don't You—Yes But" (Berne, 1958/1977), and he embellished it with a collection of other games such as, "How'm I Doing?," "Uproar," "Alcoholic," and "Schlemiel." Berne and his colleagues later identified hundreds of games that are still recognized today by their popular names. Dusay (1968), James (1973, 1975, 1977), Jongeward (1973), Meininger (1973), Poindexter (1977), Sperry and Hess (1974), Steiner (1971), Stewart and Joines (1987), Stuntz (1971), Summerton (1979a, 1988), Wagner (1981), Woollams and Brown (1979), to name only a few, followed Berne in making practical use of the colloquialisms of game analysis. The catchy names helped people to recognize games by their main interactions and payoffs.

When game theory is taught, whether in therapy groups, counseling sessions, TA 101s, or organizations, the colloquial approach amuses and captivates listeners, helping them to use the concept of games to improve their relationships. In fact, colloquial game analysis is the entry point for serious game analysis,

such as the transactional analysis of the "Yes But" game, first published by Berne in 1958. In Figure 1, colloquial game analysis is shown as a corridor on the game spectrum (Figure 1) that connects the individual and group dynamics of games.

TA Proper

For Berne (1961), transactional analysis proper meant the analysis of transactions, including the ingredients of games—that is, the identification of the social and psychological levels of transactions. Berne used the analysis of complex transactions as a scientific way to analyze games. He (1964a) originally restricted transactional games to individual analysis in writing of "unconscious games played by innocent people engaged in duplex transactions of which they are not fully aware" (p. 49) and in defining (Berne, 1963) a game as "a goal-directed set of ulterior transactions with an unexpected twist which is often overlooked" (p. 155). At the same time, Berne also defined games as "an ongoing series of complementary ulterior transactions progressing to a well-defined, predictable outcome" (1964a, p. 48). Most transactional analysts have continued to use this definition, with the notable exception of English (1977) and in spite of Berne's own mention of a "skull game" (1970, p. 189).

Berne's focus originally was on the stimuli and responses of human communication. His goal was for individuals to have social control over their behavior, that is, "control of the individual's own tendency to manipulate other people in destructive or wasteful ways, and of his tendency to respond without insight or option to the manipulations of others" (Berne, 1961, p. 23). After 1964, Berne's interest focused more on scripts and their analyses, he developed Formula G as another form of game analysis (1972, p. 23), and he seemed to leave

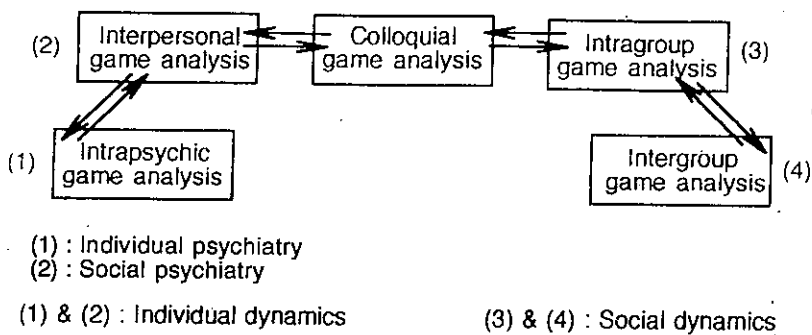


Figure 1
Game Spectrum

aside the development and extension of game analysis in relation to organizations. However, in laying the foundation for interpersonal game analysis, Berne (1963) also laid the groundwork for organizational game analysis.

Social Psychiatry Equals Interpersonal Analysis

Berne (1963) defined social psychiatry as "the science which treats . . . the inner forces motivating specific transactional stimuli and responses. Distinguished from social dynamics, which treats . . . their outward effects" (p. 249). This Bernian distinction forms the basis for the distinction here between individual and intragroup game analysis. The relationship between individual and social psychiatry was also emphasized by Berne (1963): "The 2 basic diagrams of social psychiatry are: **personality or structural**, showing the 3 types of ego states for each personality, [and] **transactional**, showing the ego states active in each person engaged in a transaction" (p. 241); he described transactional analysis as "the social aspect of structural analysis" (1961, p. 12). This Bernian distinction is the basis for the distinction here between individual and intrapsychic game analysis.

The individual analysis of games, namely, the social psychiatry of games, was Berne's (1958/1977, 1964a) principal focus, and it is the foundation of all TA game analysis, both individual and group. Berne's analysis of individual games contains the nucleus of a social approach to games.

Individual Psychiatry Equals Intrapsychic Analysis

What is referred to here as individual psychiatry or intrapsychic analysis of an individual's game was contained in most of Berne's descriptions of games and was effectively illustrated by Goulding (1972). The intrapsychic analysis is here understood to be a structural analysis of games because, intrapsychically, it does not matter whether or not a second player is present for an individual to play the game or to play it in fantasy. Hence, in Figure 2, the second player's ego states are omitted so as to emphasize the individual's responsibility in game playing.

This analysis provides a phenomenological approach to hidden dynamics (Summerton, 1992a), that is, the action of the game is outside the awareness of the Adult ego state. It is precisely this exclusion that makes the analysis difficult. Berne's Formula G highlights this lack of Adult awareness and is a bridge between intrapsychic analysis and interpersonal analysis; the con and gimmick are intrapsychic phenomena as well as having behavioral manifestations. The con or bait is usually transmitted through a behavioral sign, for example, a look, a gesture, or a sentence that carries an unmet need to hook another game player.

Individual and Social Psychiatry

The dynamics of an individual's game are divided here into individual psychiatry or intrapsychic analysis and social psychiatry or interpersonal analysis. The difference between them—the skull and the action scripts—was illustrated by Berne (1972) in the following vignette:

In the drama *Rush and Stumble—and Quick Recovery*, we have a very rapid set of switches. Mrs. Sayers starts off with Father (in her head) as Persecutor ("pushing" her), Mother in her head as Rescuer ("rescuing her from falling"), and herself as Victim. That is the way the triangle stands in her head, the skull script. In the action script, she makes herself the Persecutor by brushing against Mrs. Catters, who thus becomes her Victim. She apologizes for this, but Mrs. Catters in turn (in accordance with the needs of *her* script) pulls a very quick switch, and instead of behaving like a Victim, apologizes as though *she* had done something wrong, thus taking the role of Persecutor. (p. 345)

Individual and Social Dynamics

In this article individual and social psychiatry are together treated as constituting the individual dynamics of games. Intragroup and intergroup games are combined under the heading of social dynamics. All four, together with colloquial game analysis, form the game spectrum (Figure 1). The spectrum is in line with Berne's (1963, p. 249) distinction between social dynamics, which deal with the *outward effects of inner forces*, and social psychiatry, which deals with the *inner motivating forces* that lead two people into a gamey transaction.

The distinction between individual and social dynamics is useful for studying how social systems impact individual games and how organizational games are fueled by individual dynamics. To be effective, change strategies need to take both dimensions into consideration. An overemphasis on individual dynamics can make individual clients responsible for group games. The focus on social dynamics offers protection against scapegoating one individual in a group.

In describing games, Berne (1964a) usually concentrated on the main player's transactions, calling the main player "it" almost as though "it" were responsible for the game. At the same time, he presented the game as a social phenomenon involving several players, as, for example, his description of the "Alcoholic" game (Berne, 1964a).

It is this social dimension to games that forms a Bernian basis for analysis of social or organizational game dynamics. The line dividing the social psychiatry or interpersonal analysis of

games and the social dynamics or intragroup analysis of games is a thin one. The main difference is that in interpersonal analysis, the focus is on what happens from the point of view of "it," that is, "it" represents one person's view of the game, whereas in intragroup analysis, the focus is on what happens within the group and what is observable to group members.

When Berne (1963) discussed group imagoes, he wrote mostly about the individual's adjustment to the group. At the same time, he acknowledged the group imago as a group phenomenon, as when he wrote that the individual "is willing to resign his own games in favor of playing it the group's way" (p. 166). Just as the group imago is more than the sum of the imagoes of individual group members, so also the organizational or group game is more than the sum of the individual game players.

When doing game analysis in organizations, the distinction between intrapsychic and intragroup games is important in relation to intervention strategies so that individuals are not scapegoated in organizational games and organizational games are not overshadowed by individual dynamics. The following case studies distinguish between individual dynamics, which consist of the intrapsychic and the interpersonal, and social dynamics, which consist of the intragroup and the intergroup.

Whereas the paradigm for comprehensive analysis of an organizational game is Berne's model of organizations, the basic paradigm for interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup games is Berne's transactional diagram of games.

Organizational Case Study One

The scenario. The organizational setting for the following case study was a joint family business venture. The chairman of the company was Rex; his wife, Regina, was the executive director. Two of their sons—Bruce, 35, and Rick, 24—were partners in the venture, together with several cousins, including John, 27.

One day Regina announced that a special prize consisting of a plaque and a monetary sum would be awarded to one of the partners on the basis of performance. Rick won the prize, much to the annoyance of the others, especially Bruce. A few days later, Bruce splashed some dye on the plaque. On seeing this, Rick became withdrawn and looked sad. Rex saw this and asked Rick if he wanted help. Rick said no, after which an

argument began between Rick and Rex. Rick burst out in anger, Bruce joined him, and both of them berated their father for "interfering" in their lives. Rex was upset and brought his hurt feelings to his TA group.

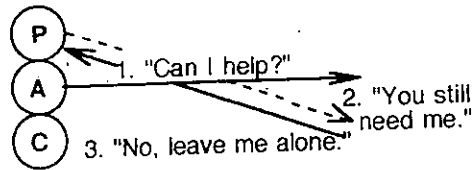
Intrapsychic game analysis. Intrapsychic game analysis focuses on the phenomenological aspects of each person's game from that person's point of view. In the TA group Rex was asked if he wanted strokes for his hurt feelings or if he wanted to discover what he had done. He chose the latter. For the intrapsychic analysis, the Gouldings' (1979) model was used first, followed by the Bernian skull game analysis, and finally Berne's Formula G.

At first Rex denied any covert or hidden message in his interaction with Rick. He reported that he had asked Rick, Adult to Adult, "Can I help?" He felt that Rick had crossed his communication by replying from Child to Parent, "No, leave me alone"? As a result of this, Rex had collected a payoff of hurt feelings.

Rex had the following question put to him: To what message could Rick have been replying when he said, "No, leave me alone"? After some reflection Rex replied, "I suppose that if I'd said something like 'You still need me,' he would have replied that way, because he has been doing so for years." When asked if this could have been his hidden message, Rex agreed. When asked if he had been able to recognize this from his Adult, Rex indicated that his Adult had been unaware of the hidden message, and he also remembered that Rick had actually said, "I don't need your sympathy." Figure 2 shows Rex's game from his point of view. The game is also shown here using the Kupfer-Goulding model (1972, p. 113), which consists of (1) stimulus, (2) secret message, (3) response to secret message, (4) payoff of bad feelings, and (5) entire series of transactions not within awareness of Adult.

1. Rex (A-A): "Can I help?" open message with
2. Rex (P-C): "You still need me." a hidden message, and
3. Rick (C-P): "No, leave me alone." reply to hidden message,
4. payoff collected
5. out of Adult awareness.

Upon digesting the first analysis, Rex decided to back off when Rick said no and to stay in his Adult ego state, leaving Rick to manage on his own.



Rex
"I'm Only Trying to Help"

(The game from Rex's point of view)

Figure 2
Intrapsychic Game Analysis
(Based on Goulding & Goulding, 1979, p. 79)

As with Mrs. Sayers (Berne, 1972, p. 345), further introspection revealed that the father in Rex was the Rescuer, the mother in his head was the Persecutor, and he, the child, was the Victim. Thus he played the role of Father in offering help, and the role of Mother as Persecutor was triggered off in his head when Rick rejected his offer. From this analysis, Rex learned to separate his own Child need from that of Rick's Child and to use his Nurturing Parent to take care of his own inner Child. In order to understand the moves of his game, Rex then used Berne's (1972) Formula G. The results are given below.

Moves	Rex
Con	Being helpful
Gimmick	Son's rejecting
Response	The argument
Switch	I'm no good
Crossup	Always ungrateful
Payoff	Hurt

The Formula G analysis alerted Rex to the ways he was vulnerable to anyone who appeared helpless and how he would hook into others' games. He decided to give up his con of being helpful and to check out in an interpersonal situation if the other person really wanted help. He would stop thrusting his help on others in order to prove himself OK.

Interpersonal game analysis. Interpersonal game analysis focuses on the interpersonal aspects of each person's game from that person's point

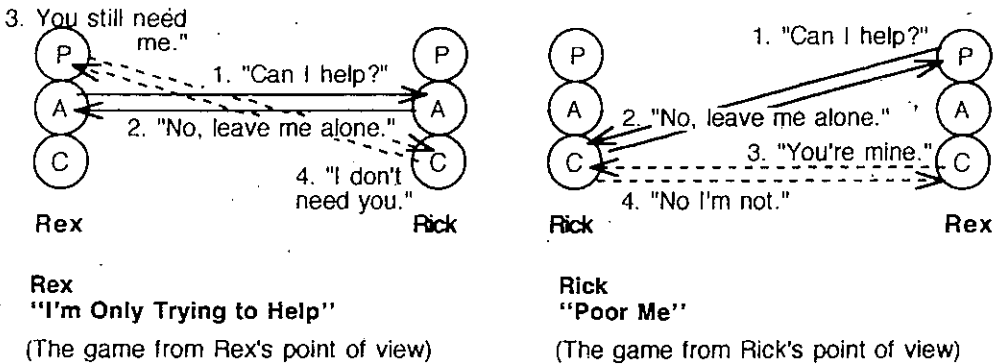


Figure 3
Interpersonal Game Analysis
(Derived from Berne, 1964a, p. 55 & p. 117)

of view. Thus, interpersonal game analysis highlights what happens between two game players as they perceive their own and the other's transactions. For example, Rex felt good about his intrapsychic change and wanted to establish a new working relationship with his son. He invited Rick to come to the TA group. They used Berne's (1958/1977, 1964a) transactional analysis diagram to analyze their mutual interactions.

Rex identified that he saw himself as giving strokes overtly from his Parent to Rick's Child in response to what he thought was Rick's mournful, depressed look, which Rex had interpreted as a request for sympathy. When Rick said he did not want sympathy, Rex started questioning Rick. During the argument, Rick had turned on Rex angrily, at which point Rex had switched ego states and cathected Child (Berne, 1964b), in which he collected a psychological kick because he thought Rick was telling him to stay out of his life.

Rick agreed that the dynamics as portrayed in Figure 3 showed what went on at the social and psychological levels of communication. Rex and Rick first used Berne's (1964a, p. 55, Figure 7) game diagram to sort out their conflict. Interpersonal analysis of the game from Rex's point of view:

Overt message:

1. Rex (A-A): "Can I help?"
2. Rick (A-A): "No, leave me alone."

Covert message:

3. Rex (P-C): "You still need me."
4. Rick (C-P): "I don't need you."

Interpersonal analysis of the game from Rick's point of view:

Overt message:

1. Rex (P-C): "Can I help?"
2. Rick (C-P): "No, leave me alone."

Covert message:

3. Rex (C-C): "You're mine."
4. Rick (C-C): "No, I'm not."

After expressing their perceptions of each other and checking out hidden messages, Rex and Rick both showed an interest in finding options for relating to each other. Rex said that he respected Rick's wish to be left alone and to be himself. Rick said he was being teased by others for being "Daddy's boy," and he preferred having a game of tennis with his father to being cuddled. This interaction was the beginning of a contract between father and son by which each would check out perceptions with the other. They also decided to revive specific outdoor activities they had previously enjoyed together.

The next stage of the process took place with the family of four present. But before inviting the others to actively join in, Rex and Rick went further with the interpersonal analysis, this time using Formula G. Rick placed his analysis beside Rex's, and the two discussed how they interlocked at each move of the game. Rex reacted to Rick's withdrawing, whereas Rick reacted to Rex's offer of help. Their respective cons interlocked in this way, as did their gimmicks or unconsciously perceived weaknesses. Rejecting father's sympathy was Rick's next move, whereas Rex's refusal to have his offer rejected (that is, pushing his offer further) began the

response pattern of an argument. Each pulled his own intrapsychic switches, which were expressed in the social situation as the peak of the conflict, at which time both went their own ways and collected their respective payoffs.

Rex's and Rick's complementary game (Berne, 1964a) was analyzed according to Formula G (Berne, 1972), as follows:

Moves	Rick	Rex
Con	withdrawn	being helpful
Gimmick	father's sympathy	son's rejecting
Response	the argument	the argument
Switch	why the hell	I'm no good
Crossup	not again	always ungrateful
Payoff	angry	hurt

As Rex and Rick worked out their interlocking cons and payoffs as part of the intragroup game analysis, other family members discovered insights into their own contributions to the games between Rick and Rex, as well as the ways in which transactions between Rick and Rex affected the whole group game. Group members experienced visible relief and found new energy for group tasks that had been scuttled by the group games. Rex and Rick made another contract to become aware of their cons, to ask straight questions, and to accept no for an answer. They agreed to meet once a week privately to discuss their success in implementing these decisions.

Intragroup game analysis. The family was then given a brief introduction to intragroup game analysis before beginning to analyze the group game with the help of an uncle. Intragroup analysis is the sum total of interpersonal analyses of group members with each other, together with analysis of what is happening in the group as an organism, that is, the analysis of members' transactions with each other as a unit. Berne's (1958/1977) analysis of the "Why Don't You—Yes But" game played in his therapy group is an example of intragroup analysis, with Camellia, Hyacinth, Rosita, and the group members as players. Three-handed and four-handed games (Berne 1964a), as well as the game of "Alcoholic," require intragroup analyses to determine the antithesis—otherwise the group can end up with an identified patient and targeted scapegoat. Games such as "Sweetheart" and "Courtroom" (Berne, 1964a) require an audience as

spectators who can eventually join in the game.

Another example is when the board of directors of a company play "If It Weren't For You" in their interpersonal games with each other. Intragroup analyses facilitate discovery of who the main accusers and scapegoats are—and who the people are behind the scenes who keep the action alive. Intragroup analysis focuses on the sociometry of interpersonal games. This analysis also highlights the fact that different members of the group can easily replace each other in the interpersonal games played in the group if the intragroup analysis is not done.

During the family session to which Regina had invited a distant uncle (who happened to be a TA consultant) in the hope that he could help the family build its team spirit, colloquial game analysis was used to name the games they were playing among themselves and within the business as a whole. They identified the following as intragroup games: "Why Don't You—Yes But," "I'm Only Trying To Help You," "Let's You and Him Fight," "Poor Me," "Uproar," "Now I've Got You, You Son of a Bitch," "Kick Me," "Let's Pull a Fast One on Joey," and "Schlemiel."

As they went over the events that preceded Rick's explosion, they identified John's involvement with Bruce and the dyes. Other members of the larger family related what had happened: Bruce and John had been working on a table when John (acting as a Connection) told Bruce (who was in the role of Patsy) that the light was bad and they should move to a better table. They moved to the table where Rick's plaque was displayed. In the course of their work, Bruce accidentally splashed dye onto the plaque, and efforts to remove the stain failed. Although several family members were involved in the incident as spectators and Rick was as victim, the principal interaction was between Bruce and John (Figure 4) and is shown here based on Berne's (1964a) analysis. This interpersonal analysis was one of the ingredients of the intragroup analysis:

Overt message:

1. John (A-A): "The light's bad. Let's move."
2. Bruce (A-A): "Okay."

Covert message:

3. John (C-C): "A chance to spoil the plaque."
4. Bruce (C-C): "I'll take it."

Upon admitting their resentment about Rick

winning the plaque, John and Bruce decided to talk to Rick about how they felt. Rick stated that he felt the conflict was really between him and John. The onus of change was not just on Rick, but on all the members present. As part of the intragroup analysis, each family member analyzed their typical interpersonal games with each other member. In the process, the family discovered that there were several subgroups among them: the cousins who were saying, "Stop fighting among yourselves"; Bruce and John, who were saying, "We all need strokes"; Rick, who said, "Why can't I do my work in peace?"; and Rex and Regina, who said, "The annual meeting is in a few weeks and we need to get our act together." All of these groups were formed in relation to the games played, and all contributed to the disunity of the family system.

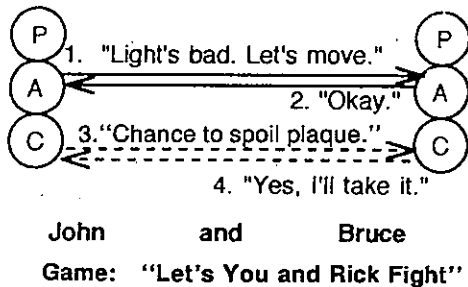


Figure 4
Intragroup Game Analysis
(Based on Berne, 1958/1977, p. 154)

Without the intragroup game analysis, Rick might well have been scapegoated by family members. Using Summerton's Game Pentagon (1992a, 1992b) the intragroup game was analyzed as follows: Rex moved from Stage Manager to Savior to Victim, Regina from Savior to Spectator, John from Victim to Sniper, Bruce from Sniper to Victim, Rick from Victim to Sniper. The family culture supported the intragroup game because the etiquette that said, "We're the best," put pressure on everyone in the family. The tradition of never leaving a sad child alone advanced the intragroup game by focusing on the Savior-Victim relationship which kept the real conflict between Sniper-Victim submerged and unhealed.

The family contracted to meet once a fortnight to air feelings and to give credit to each

member for his or her contribution to the business. A family picnic was organized to give fun strokes to the Child in each. The family agreed that if two members had a conflict, other family members would not get hooked into cons for rescuing or sniping without checking out the facts and allowing time for the conflict to be resolved interpersonally.

Intergroup game analysis. Intergroup games take place between two or more groups or between a group and an individual who is seen to represent another group. The game between Rex and Rick seemed connected with the resistance of many of the partners to change. The partners felt that Regina's uncle had unduly exaggerated what had happened since it was a frequent occurrence in their working life. After Rex insisted that he had benefited from the analysis in the TA groups, the partners agreed to consider what had taken place between them and the uncle, who was an outsider to their organization. One of their goals was to see how their interactions—when they scapegoated one of their number—were between themselves, who constituted the group insiders, and the person who was an outsider. The analysis would then be similar to any intergroup analysis. At the start of the analysis, the uncle suggested they might focus on Berne's (1963) description of social dynamics: "The science which treats . . . the forces acting on or within any social aggregation or between social aggregations" (p. 241). He described Shaffer's law and order game with the complementary roles of dominating and subordinate groups and also the linking of roles with group ego states.

Shaffer's law and order game. Shaffer (1970) analyzed some of the riots that took place in the United States during the late 1960s.

The difference between the *Law and Order Game* and the games people play is that the *Law and Order Game* takes place between cultures—societies; they occupy the place Berne assigns to individual psychic transactions. The *Law and Order Game* is a game societies play. (p. 41).

To identify the dynamics of those riots, Shaffer identified two kinds of societies: those with a monopoly on force or the dominant society, and the others in a subordinate role with the advantage of natural cohesion. From Berne's

Parent, Adult, and Child, Shaffer offered two descriptions: one of the dominating society and the second of the subordinate society. Figure 5 shows how he diagrammed the law and order game (Shaffer, 1970, p. 46). He identified the following dialogue:

MINORITY: "Stop the War!"
 COMMONWEALTH: "Every opinion has its place in the University."
 GANG: "You can't go in."
 COP: "You have 15 minutes to leave."
 (p. 48)

Following Shaffer's lead, cultural ego states are diagrammed with their boundaries not touching. Following Berne's (1963) description of culture, Shaffer's terms are generalized to the etiquette, technicality, and character of the cultural personality of each group, and following Drego's (1983) Cultural Parent (Figure 6), the etiquette,

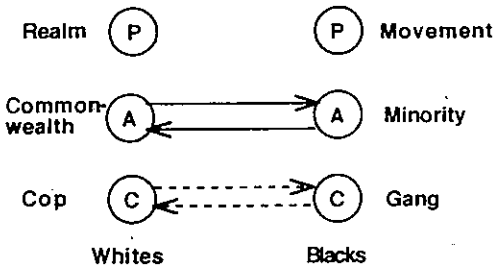


Figure 5
 Shaffer's Law and Order Game
 (Shaffer, 1970, p. 46)

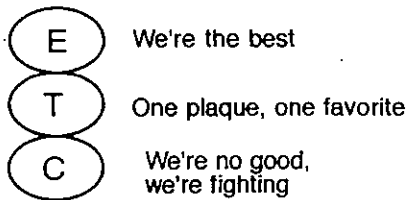


Figure 6
 Cultural Personality of the Group
 (Based on Drego, 1983, p. 224)

technicality, and character are recognized as forming a Parent ego state of each individual. In practice this means that the cultural personality is not only in the community or group as a whole, but it is also internalized within the individual as

his or her Parent ego state (Drego, 1983), which reinforces the cultural personality.

The cultural personality of Rex and Regina's family involved an etiquette that said, "We sort out our problems," a technicality that demanded "Special strokes for high performers," and a character that had to deal with feelings of "inadequacy."

Strongly united by family ties, the partners saw themselves as "we" and the uncle as other or part of "them." The uncle and the family group identified the cultural analysis of the organizational game (Figure 7): The two complementary groups were labeled "them"—that is, society in general or those outside the organization, here represented by Regina's uncle—and "us," or members of the organization bonded together in their work and strongly united by their family ties. The technicality (T) is the cultural equivalent of the Adult, character (C) is the cultural equivalent of the Child, and etiquette (E) is the cultural equivalent of the Parent. The cultural analysis consisted of the following paradigm: Overt message:

1. Us (the partners) (T-T): Why are you accusing Rex of playing games?
2. Them (the uncle) (T-T): On the basis of past experience, I am giving information which may prove useful to all of you!

Covert message:

3. Us (the family) (C-E): Who the hell are you to question what any one of us tells you?
4. Them (the consultant) (E-C): You're wrong.

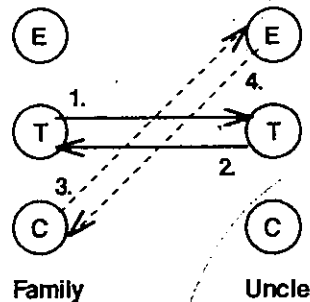


Figure 7
 Intergroup Game Analysis

The game would have gone on if Rex had not discovered the question hidden under the guise of his innocent sympathizing. In this case study, there is an element that deserves special

mention, namely the cohesion of the partners because of family allegiance. They belonged to the family and the uncle was an outsider. Hence, when dealing with them, the uncle had to deal both with the resistance of the individuals as individuals and as part of the family. This group cohesion will be part of organizational game analysis, in addition to individual proclivities.

Optimizing the TA Approach to Games

In the colloquial approach, games are analyzed according to popular and idiomatic phrases that capture the spirit of the game in a few words. Games in organizations may be analyzed transactionally (Berne, 1958/1977, 1964a), sometimes by using the Drama Triangle (Karpman, 1968, 1973), sometimes with Formula G (Berne, 1972), and always with the goal of facilitating executives and management to deal with the Poindexter syndrome.

An organization manifesting the Poindexter syndrome (otherwise known as the Poindexter organization) is described as one "in which unconscious dishonesties among its members result in ulterior moves that unknowingly oppose the intended goals and purposes of the organization" (Poindexter, 1977, p. i). Such an organization is a group of individuals, each of whom is operating with unconscious (out of awareness of the Adult ego state [Goulding, 1972]) motivations and manipulations that sabotage the goals of the organization.

Poindexter's hypothesis was that if individual staff members lessen the intensity of games they play while on the job, or if they become game-free, then the organization benefits because more energy is available for achieving goals. At the same time, if anything is done to upset the status quo, even though the organization benefits, individuals may feel anxious that they will not benefit.

Originally the Poindexter organization was seen as one in which anxiety builds when the stated goals of an organization are satisfied (Berne, Birnbaum, Poindexter, & Rosenfeld, 1962). The example given was that of a healthcare delivery system with a certain number of chronic patients and an average number of casual patients. The numbers of casual patients is not a matter of concern, but if too many of the chronic patients are cured and released from treatment, then anxiety increases in the organization because effectiveness results in cutting back

on personnel, losing perquisites, and other disadvantages.

Organizational Case Study Two

One example of the Poindexter syndrome was the Turpentine Shipyards (a public sector corporation) in Minty Docks, Bombabad, where more than 10,000 workers were employed. In one unit a group of men had been trained to do a specialized job on hulls both for the shipyards and for sale to other companies. They rose to the challenge and performed at 250% of the required output without any pressure from management. They divided themselves into three shifts, worked at night for overtime, and gave themselves some benefits at their own cost, such as a coffee urn and special caps which identified them as elite workers. Then the supervisor who had built up the morale of these workers was replaced by a new man.

There were several undercurrents at work in the factory, mainly because of the special unit's overproduction and the benefits they enjoyed. Other workers were producing from 30% to 70% of their required output, and management seemed powerless to get them to produce a reasonable output because strong unions opposed this and because management felt that service conditions prevailing at the Turpentine Shipyards did not give them freedom to motivate the workforce.

Workers in other units were unhappy because they were constantly compared with the specialized workers and because they were jealous of the specialists' overtime. Other supervisors were under pressure from managers to motivate workers to produce their quotas without granting any benefits, especially overtime, and without allowing anything contrary to existing service conditions.

The new supervisor was under heavy pressure—from top management to keep up output, from peers who complained that his workers had unusual privileges, and from union stewards of other units who demanded his cooperation in getting equal privileges for all workers. The only contented people were his workers, who continued their high output. The supervisor decided, with permission from his manager, to reduce production. He also determined that two shifts per day instead of three would be enough and that night work with its accompanying overtime was unnecessary. He concluded that there was a surplus of men in the unit and allowed some

of them to be transferred to other units, and he forbade his men to wear the specialist's cap. Within a week, production was down to 50% of the required output.

The elements of the Poindexter (1977) syndrome manifested in this factory are as follows: While production was above normal, there was anxiety among both workers and supervisors of other units. On the one hand, the special unit was overproducing, thereby proving that it did not need as much manpower, and other units and their supervisors were suffering by comparison with the specialized unit. On the other hand, other units were underproducing and therefore claimed to need more manpower. The previous supervisor of the special unit had protected his men. The new man brought to the job all his unconscious games, one of these being "Schlemiel." When he applied the service conditions to the special hulls unit it ceased to be special, and it ceased to perform in a special way.

By the time a consultant was hired to rectify matters, the new routine had been operating for several weeks. After discussion with the workers, the consultant reported to management that they agreed to return to their former high performance if management would assure them that they would have the same working conditions as before. When the consultant presented these results, management refused to restore the original state of affairs because it would reflect on the new supervisor "who was only doing his duty," and this would be a loss of prestige for the managers.

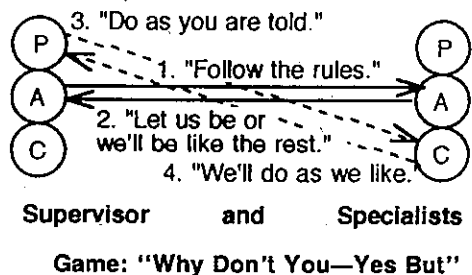


Figure 8
Intragroup Game Analysis
at Turpentine Shipyards

In the analysis that took place between the consultant, the personnel department, and some of the key figures in this drama, the dynamics

of the game that had been played were articulated. The results are illustrated in Figures 8 and 9.

Intragroup game analysis. The game was identified as follows:

Overt message:

1. New Supervisor (A-A): "You workers are required to follow the rules that everyone else follows."
2. Specialists (A-A): "Allow us to continue our status, otherwise we will perform at the same level as everyone else."

Covert message:

3. Supervisor (P-C): "You will do what we tell you to do."
4. Specialists (C-P): "We will do what we like, and there's nothing you can do about it."

New supervisor's payoff: The supervisor collected a payoff of frustration. After facilitation he became aware from his Adult ego state of his personal responsibility for the outcome.

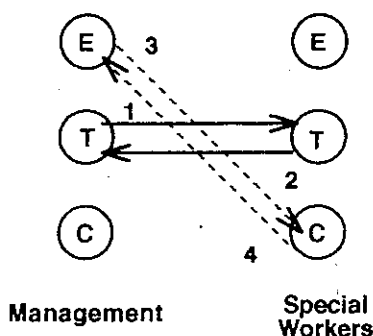


Figure 9
Intergroup Game Analysis
at Turpentine Shipyards

Intergroup game analysis. The social game between management and the rest of the factory and between the special unit and the rest of the factory is not considered here. From the point of view of the *social dynamics* of the game, only the game between management and the special unit is described. As before, the technicality (T) is the cultural equivalent of Adult, character (C) is the cultural equivalent of Child, and etiquette (E) is the cultural equivalent of Parent:

Overt message:

1. Management (T-T): "You will operate according to the rules just as everyone else is required to do."
2. Specialists (T-T): "We will work just as

everyone else is working.”

Covert message:

1. Management (E-C): “We will teach you not to be different from everyone else.”
2. Specialists (C-E): “We’ll show you that we can be as lazy and unmotivated as everyone else.”

Organizational Case Study Three

A bishop had several districts in his diocese, each with autonomy and a separate identity. One of these districts consisted of 50 priests who worked in villages. This group used to meet annually to strengthen their team building and to discuss their achievements and problems.

At one point, the bishop called the district leader, Bill, to tell him that there was talk of splitting off a section of the district to another diocese, that he would do nothing without first informing Bill, and that he would like to have the consultation of Bill’s group on the matter so that he could make an informed decision. Bill returned to his headquarters and at the beginning of a three-day meeting informed the team of what the bishop had said.

Jack challenged Bill and said that he did not think the bishop seriously wanted to get the opinion of the priests. After much persuasion on Bill’s part, Jack and the others agreed that the question was worth tackling now that they believed the bishop wanted to include them in the decision making. They all understood and agreed that the bishop had the right to make the final decision, even if it might be contrary to what their consultation concluded. Discussion and feasibility studies had been going on for two-and-a-half days when the bishop arrived. Before he arrived, the general consensus was that the area should not be handed over to another diocese.

After the bishop was welcomed to the meeting, Bill informed him of the consensus of the group. The bishop’s face fell as he told them that the papers for handing over the area to the other diocese had been signed that very morning. It did not help matters when, at the liturgy which was held later in the day, the bishop preached a homily on spreading peace and unity.

Bill suffered grievously as a result of the bishop’s action. Jack played a triumphant “I told you so” for a short while. The morale of the whole group dropped to an all-time low, while the bishop went back to his residence apparently unperturbed.

Intrapsychic game analysis. The district chief, Bill, joined a training group in which he identified the intrapsychic elements of his game as follows:

1. Bill (A-A): “The bishop genuinely wants you to help in the decision making.” open message, with
2. Bill (P-C): “You’ve got to believe that the bishop is genuine.” a hidden message, and
3. Priests (C-P): “We don’t believe the bishop wants our consultation.” reply to hidden message
4. Bill collected a payoff of frustrated shame
5. out of Adult awareness.

After consultation Bill became aware from his Adult ego state of his responsibility for the outcome, although he was unable to stop feeling the shame.

Interpersonal game analysis. The social psychiatry of the game played in relation to the district was identified as follows:

Overt message:

Bishop (A-A): “I want you (the priests) to assist me in making a decision about a section of your district.” (The message was given through Bill).

Bill (A-A): “We believe that it is in the interests of the diocese that you do not transfer any portion of the district.”

Covert message:

Bishop (P-C): “I’m your superior, you will follow my instructions.”

Bill (C-P): “We don’t trust you.”

The data for the interpersonal analysis of the game from Bill’s point of view came out in subsequent conversations in which Bill explained what he thought had happened:

Overt message:

Bishop (A-A): “I want you (the priests) to give me your opinion.”

Bill (A-A): “Our opinion is that the portion should not be transferred.”

Covert message:

Bishop (P-C): “I want you all to think I’m respecting you.”

Bill (C-P): "You don't really respect us."

Intragroup game analysis. Intragroup game analyses, particular to the group as a whole, may be made by using the Drama Triangle (Karpman, 1968) or the Game Pentagon (Summerton, 1979a, 1988, 1992a, 1992b) in addition to a transactional analysis.

In the diocese the intragroup game was advanced by a religious tradition in which authority could not be questioned and forums for grievances did not exist. The bishop played "Look How Hard I've Tried" to include the priests and social "Rapo," Bill played "Kick Me," Jack played "NIGYSOB," and the priests played "Why Does This Always Happen to Us." Finally, the whole group had played "Uproar" together.

These games interlocked with each other because the technicality of the group culture made the bishop's decision unilateral and unchangeable. Bill was the Connection, the bishop was Persecutor, and the priests were Victims. On the Game Pentagon (Summerton, 1992a, 1992b), the bishop switched from Stage Manager to Sniper, Bill from Savior to Scapegoat, Jack remained Sniper, and the priests shifted from Spectators to Scapegoats.

Intergroup game analysis. In the intergroup game between the bishop and the priests the cultural equivalent of Adult is technicality (T), Child is character (C), and Parent is etiquette (E): Open Message:

Bishop (E-E): "I really want your consultation in this decision I have to make to hand over part of your district to another diocese."

Priests (E-E): "Legally you have the authority to do what you have done, and in so doing, you have lost our loyalty and motivation in supporting you."

Hidden Message:

Bishop (C-C): "When I said I'm thinking about doing something and want your opinion, you should know that all I want is your compliance."

Priests (C-C): "We know you don't respect our opinion, even though we know much more about what's going on than you do."

Bernian Organizational Model

A comprehensive analysis of organizational games will ultimately be based on Berne's (1963) understanding of group and organizational analysis. A Bernian model of organizations has

been proposed elsewhere (Summerton, 1979b, 1988) which consists of six main elements, three of which include the structure and three the dynamics of the group. The three structural elements of a group are identified as the space, the canon or authority, and the imago, and the three dynamic elements are identified as the work, the forces, and the information flow or communication within the group. Such an analysis provides information on the basis of which the group can plan organizational development interventions.

Organizational space. In the diocese just discussed, the organization's space was clear: The bishop was at the top, district chief Bill was immediately under him, and the priests were the members; the rest of the community, which really belonged to the membership of the church, were treated as nonmembers as far as the decision went.

Thus the major external boundary was a movable one determined by the bishop and his advisors: Sometimes the priests were part of the leadership and the laity formed the membership, and sometimes (as in the present instance) the laity was excluded from membership. The major internal boundary was between the priests and the bishop and Bill. The minor internal boundary in the leadership was between Bill and the bishop.

The bishop and Bill (as his representative in the district) were the responsible, effective, and psychological leaders. By inviting the priests to participate in the decision-making process, the bishop temporarily changed the structure and invited them into the leadership role with him. Then, at the last moment (regardless of his reasons), the bishop had followed his individual proclivity to play the social "Rapo" game. His game cost him the psychological leadership. Bill momentarily lost responsible and effective leadership as well as psychological leadership, which now passed to Jack who took the role of Bill's confidential advisor.

Organizational canon. Berne (1963, p. 96) described three elements of the group canon: the constitution, the laws, and the culture. Of these, the culture is "based on the personality of the individual" (p. 113); these three may be said to constitute the personality of the group. In addition, each individual member carries these three elements as part of the Parent ego state, and hence the name Cultural Parent (Drego, 1983, 1984).

At the time of the bishop's so-called consultation of the priests, the church's etiquette was in transition because, although the results of Vatican II were being published, the outdated etiquette was still in force at the top. The new etiquette of Vatican II, which emphasized the dignity of all individuals, was not yet respected by the bishop at the psychological level, although it had been accepted by Bill and the priests. Character was outraged by the bishop's action, and one outcome of the "Up roar" game that resulted was the priests' unpublished response: "We have to accept what you (the bishop) say, but we'll do things as we like without telling you." The technicality changed as the priests played a "Yes But" game, becoming slow in submitting reports, attending meetings, responding to letters, and studying documents from the bishop. Because of the blockage in communication, the group's technicality suffered and games of "Wooden Leg," "Harried," "See What You Made Me Do," and others grew in popularity.

Organizational imago. As Berne (1963) described it, the group imago constitutes the individual's view of where he or she stands in relation to the leader and the group. Berne also mentioned the group imago as a group phenomenon and not merely an individual one. Berne described four kinds of imago: provisional, adapted, operative, and secondarily adjusted.

In relation to the diocese and the bishop, the priests had an adapted imago. The new provisional imago that had developed since Vatican II was replaced by an imago that required that they operate in the way defined by the bishop and be "passively involved in the games of others" (Berne, 1963, p. 164). This was becoming an operative imago from which they would initiate their own games, both complementary and competitive. A fertile field had been prepared for games of "Why Does This Always Happen To Me," "Stupid," "They're Always Out To Get You," "Let's You and Him Fight," "Corner," and "Alcoholic."

Organizational work. For Berne (1963), group work may be classified according to its results. Whatever furthers or is concerned with furthering the stated purpose of the group is part of the group activity. Whatever changes or is concerned with changing the structure of the group itself is part of the group process. (p. 13)

In terms of the case study, as a result of the

so-called consultation, the private structure of the group or each individual's "perception of his relationship with the others" (p. 13) was modified. The external activity of the group limped on, accompanied by games of "Poor Me," "Do Me Something," and "I Told You So."

Organizational forces. The group forces across the various boundaries changed after the meeting between the bishop and the priests. The cohesion of the district was weakened by a breakdown in trust between the priests and their responsible leaders, and the cohesion of the individual members was strengthened as they felt they could justifiably initiate games against the leadership. Until the bishop pulled his switch, the priests had been strongly supportive of him. Once the bishop pulled the switch, the cohesive force became a negative influence that resisted any change efforts initiated by the bishop or his representatives. On the other hand, the group's cohesion produced energy for change in the district according to how group members interpreted the findings of Vatican II and the results of social analysis. The games just mentioned were supported as the group forces were divided between the work to be done and the clandestine opposition to authority. The "If It Weren't For The Bishop" game became a favorite, together with "Ain't He Awful."

Organizational communication. From the point of view of communication in the diocese, any interchange with the bishop was subjected to detailed analysis in an effort to find hidden messages and to seek legal ways to thwart what might be proposed as they played "Blemish." To their credit, the priests did nothing to transfer their negative feelings toward authority onto ordinary folks. With the discounting of the Adult element in communication, the diocese became fertile ground for games.

Methods of individual game analysis are helpful to organizations in terms of identifying what happens. For example, Formula G (Berne, 1972) may be applied to the diocese case study. The con or bait is provided by the senior executive (the bishop) who says he wants consultation with the junior levels of leadership (the priests). This con links with the gimmick or weakness that the junior executives have for making decisions and exercising power. Once the group accepts the leader's assurance that he is sincere in his request, the response is set up.

The senior executive pulled the switch when

he discounted the work of the junior executives, informing them that their input was pointless because he had made a unilateral decision. Various individuals experienced the "it's happened again" of the crossup and collected their individual payoffs: Bill of shame and frustration, Jack of quiet triumph, the bishop of righteousness, and several others of anger at being cheated. A few took it philosophically and went back to their work in the villages.

Dealing with organizational games at the level of individuals does much to improve the information flow within an organization, thus cutting down on the damage that games produce. Tackling the multilayered approach to games that is generated by Berne's idea of groups and organizations is a complex affair. An analogy may be made with processes in an explosives plant: If any impurity gets into the pipelines, the whole unit needs to be dismantled to clean out the impurity, to identify its entry point, and to design strategies to protect the unit from future contamination.

To simply use an individual model of game analysis in an organization is like dealing with the explosives plant impurities by changing all the nuts and bolts: These must be changed, but their change is not enough. Although some individuals will learn not to get caught in the future, others will forget the eruption until the next one, and still others will leave the organization. Once a game has been played in an organization, it probably becomes part of the organizational culture, goes underground, supports the individuals' hidden agendas, and remains to sabotage the future achievement of organizational goals.

Game Analysis and Organizational Development

Colloquial game analysis has always been a basic TA approach to organizational development. It may be followed by transactional game analysis according to Berne's approach (1958/1977, 1964a), by Formula G (Berne, 1972), by the law and order game (Shaffer, 1970), and by the Game Pentagon (Summerton, 1992a, 1992b).

Some time after analyzing a group game, a third step may be initiated—an intrapsychic approach through, for example, the behavioral analysis of ego states as developed by Drego (1993). In addition, intrapsychic game analysis

using Goulding's model (1972), the Drama Triangle (Karpman, 1968), the miniscript (Kahler & Capers, 1974), racket analysis (Erskine & Zalcman, 1979), and the redefining hexagon (Mellor & Schiff, 1975) may be implemented. A fourth step is examining the game's social dynamics through cultural analysis; in this process both transactional analysis proper and the Game Pentagon (Summerton, 1979a, 1992a, 1992b) may be used.

Colloquial game analysis can be both an enjoyable experience and a productive way for employers and employees to recognize when they are playing games. Managers can promote colloquial game analysis among subordinates as both a source of information and a diagnostic tool. Personnel can spend time discovering, naming, and classifying the games special to their organization. Alternative ways of structuring time besides games can be designed which lead to creative approaches to giving and receiving strokes and to monitoring discounts.

People in organizations frequently ask, "How does one handle games?" Sometimes the questioner wants to know how to handle the games that he or she plays, how to handle social situations in which games are involved, or how to handle game playing in his or her organization. However, frequently the hidden meaning is, "How can I get others to stop their games?" There is no answer to this last question because others cannot be forced to change if they are not motivated to do so.

Organizational Case Study Four

An example of ways to manage games using Dusay's (1966) responses to games was provided by the finance director of a company in Hyderapur who had attended several workshops on TA and games. Jason learned about Dusay's four ways of dealing with games and decided to use them. At a board meeting he noticed many members responding with "Yes But" to others' suggestions and playing "NIGYSOB" in relation to junior executives. He decided to focus his attention on the "Yes But" game.

Expose the game. Suggestions had been invited for dealing with a personnel situation. As described by the personnel director, one of the clerical staff, Vara, had applied for demotion to the lowest rank of sweeper. Originally Vara had been a good worker. Later he became a

union secretary, stopped doing any work, and became troublesome to management. Management had promoted him into the personnel department to minimize the harm he could do. Because of this promotion Vara had lost the election as union secretary, and he saw demotion as a way to win back his union position.

At the board meeting, one executive suggested that the case had no precedent: the personnel director's "Yes But" response was that it was irrelevant because Vara was threatening to take his case to the International Labor Office in Geneva. Other suggestions were offered such as taking the application at its face value and demoting Vara and bringing a case against him, to each of which the personnel director gave a "Yes But" response.

Jason decided to expose the game, especially since he had a good relationship with the other director. He recalled from his TA workshops that exposing from Parent would probably have negative consequences, and so he decided to use his Photographic Adult (Drego, 1979). He said to the personnel director, "I notice that whenever a suggestion is offered to you, you answer by saying 'yes but' or its equivalent. Are you aware of this?" The personnel director considered the point and said, "Yes. Thanks for the feedback. I will note the suggestions and examine them later."

Ignore the game. Later in the same meeting, when one of the younger executives was making a proposal for a new product, some of the other executives played a "Blemish" game. Jason noticed that the young executive was visibly calm and in full control of his topic and that he dealt with the objections made by the blemishers. Jason decided to ignore the game as there seemed to be no advantage in exposing it.

Offer an alternative. A little later in the same discussion, when the managing director supported a new proposal, Jason offered an alternative to the "Blemish" game that had been played. He invited those who found some fault with the project to focus their attention on the positive aspects of the plan and to propose constructive criticism that supported the young executive with a modified form of a "Gee You're Wonderful" game.

Play the game. Sometimes Jason noticed that it seemed more practical to play the game because then the accepted mode of discussing

and arguing was not upset and because many of the executives enjoyed the give-and-take of the process, including the person making his reports and proposals. In the past Jason had found that sometimes letting the game go on protected some of his colleagues who became upset if changes were introduced.

Inner options. Jason learned skills that enhanced his personal effectiveness. He discovered that whenever he found himself feeling bad after a series of interactions that probably he had just made a play in one of his games. Another thing that Jason realized was that, as soon as he began thinking that someone else was playing a game, then probably he himself was playing a game, and he would act on this assumption until such time as he could identify clearly what was going on. In all cases Jason learned to utilize options (Karpman, 1971).

Part of implementing Dusay's four strategies in an organization is identifying various messages belonging to the Cultural Parent. Once these are named, members of the organization are invited to design alternative messages. These are posted as slogans around offices and workshops to form new, healthy messages. This communication of organizational etiquette counteracts the fact that games find a fertile environment when technicality and Adult ego states are not functioning effectively. Berne (1961) wrote:

The aim of transactional analysis is *social control*, in which the Adult retains the executive in dealings with other people who may be consciously or unconsciously attempting to activate the patient's Child or Parent. This does not mean that the Adult alone is active in social situations, but it is the Adult who decides when to release the Child or Parent, and when to resume the executive. (p. 90)

Social control consists of a person's ability to avoid either being hooked by the unconscious manipulation of others or unconsciously manipulating them. (In this context unconscious is equated with out-of-Adult awareness.) Nothing is implied in this definition of social control about consciously hooking others and consciously manipulating them through angular transactions. Social control needs to include these conscious manipulations so that the individual manager is aware of power plays

within his group and is not hooked by them into playing intrapsychic games.

Conclusion

Berne (1963) enunciated the principle, "Any set of transactions that occurs repeatedly in a group, and that can be analyzed on two levels . . . is probably a game" (p. 156). A group game is distinguished by the following: 1) it is played repeatedly and as a matter of course by members of a group, 2) it offers rewards from within the group itself, 3) it is supported by the group culture, and 4) the technicalities of the culture provide the milieu, opportunities, resources, and justification for the advancement of the game and its payoffs. In addition, the etiquette provides guidelines as to what games are acceptable, and thus the culture provides a rationalization for the psychosocial aberrations that arise as a result.

The principal benefits that come from game analysis include uncovering data about what is happening and generating options on how individuals and groups may modify their behavior to minimize harm and maximize effective functioning. This may be generalized as follows: Through game analysis, groups may gather strength to resist socially acceptable games that lead to systematic destruction of the environment, degradation of human rights, and discounting of individuals such as persons of different color and religious affiliation.

Organizations, communities, families, and social aggregations are logical contexts for games. The TA practitioner, whether as a participant or a consultant in an organizational game, can be attuned to the various levels of game analysis and the benefits they offer in order to free the individual from inner games and to facilitate the group in identifying the information needed to minimize nonproductive, destructive games.

The major difference between social psychiatry and social dynamics as understood by Berne (1963) is that the former focuses on managing unconscious manipulation, whereas the latter deals with the cultural matrices that support group games. In the effort to overcome group passivity, one important area would be to identify moral guidelines and alternatives in any society or organization that can offset the impact of technicalities that are justifiable yet harmful. As Berne wrote, "A person who plays

a passive role in the game of another member, without taking the initiative, is involved" (1963, p. 165).

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