PREFACE

Public/Private is the first volume of the Local Consumption Collection to be devoted to analyses of "the social". The complexity of the functioning of this concept — a complexity which can in part be measured by the divergences between the articles appearing here — has been elegantly described by Gilles Deleuze in his foreword to Jacques Donzelot's The Policing of Families:

The social sector does not...merge with the public sector or the private sector, since on the contrary it leads to a new hybrid form of the public and the private, and itself produces a repartition, a novel interlacing of interventions and withdrawals of the state, of its charges and discharges. The question is not at all whether there is a mystification of the social, nor what ideology it expresses. Donzelot asks how the social takes form, reacting on other sectors including new relationships between the public and the private; the judicial, the administrative and the customary; wealth and poverty; the city and the country; medicine, the school and the family; and so on.
(Gilles Deleuze, Foreword, The Policing of Families, px)

"The social", then, is taken to be co-extensive neither with the public sphere, nor with society as a whole. Rather it names an open set of practices operating in specific ways and connecting with other determinate and more or less determinable practices. As Deleuze has noted, one consequence of this understanding of "the social" is a renegotiation of the concepts of "the public" and "the private". No longer can these simply be opposed, either metaphysically or legally. "The social", by introducing explicit connections between these two concepts, makes evident what has at any rate always been the case: "public" and "private" are mutually interdependent — yes — but not in a symmetrical fashion.

The articles in this collection, and, more tangentially perhaps, many of the reviews, deal with this relationship in their different ways. They are analyses of specific areas of "the social", and as such they demonstrate some of the important forms that the 'public/private' relation can take.

A Semiotics of the Token Economy

John Frow

Too hasty a reading of Donzelot and Castel would suggest that their analysis can be directly applied to Australia. In at least one important respect this is not the case. The most powerful component of the Australian psy-complex is not psychoanalysis but behavioural psychology, (1) an intellectual system at once grossly banal and extraordinarily influential as the basis of techniques of surveillance (and self-surveillance) and social control. It is the virtually uncontested orthodoxy in tertiary institutions and in professional and paraprofessional practice. In this paper I examine a behaviour modification programme used in a Perth prison (a 'treatment and research centre') for adolescent girls.

My reading of this programme is cast in semiotic terms, because behavioural psychology works with conceptions of signification and representation without being fully aware of their semiotic status; and because semiotics has a better account of the framing conditions of 'behaviour' and of its analysis than does behavioural formalism. Conversely, the categorically loaded descriptions undertaken by behavioural analysis provide a rich ethno-semiotic material (in this case, an elaborate codification and quantification of social behaviours); and the sheer social effectiveness of behavioural psychology is a challenge to a semiotics which has remained largely academic.
I have concentrated here on the programme rather than the practice, because it gives something like a pure form of the principles and the categories used to build systems of control. But I am fully aware of the complexity of the factors involved in putting a programme to work (in particular the contradictions and the resistances it engenders), and I discuss this at some length at the end of the paper. Since the programme is fitted to a particular institutional and demographic infrastructure, I shall start with a description of this setting.

Nyandi Treatment and Research Centre for ‘disturbed adolescent girls’ is a complex of units comprising a maximum security institution, various open hostels and half way houses, and an aftercare service. In this paper I am concerned only with the programme run at Nyandi Security. The complex is administered by the Department for Community Welfare, and its clients (the euphemism used) “are either Wards under the guardianship of the Director of the Department or girls who have been placed under the control of the Department.” Until recently the Children’s Courts were able only to refer girls to Nyandi, for a period of time determined by their success in the programme. The Courts now have the power to sentence girls directly and for fixed periods of time.

Girls are sent to Nyandi either for criminal behaviour (arson, assault, unlawful use of a motor vehicle, etc.), or for “other types of maladaptive and anti-social behaviour” including “chronic truancy, ‘bizarre’ behaviours and runaways.” The average age of the girls is 15.2 years, and 42% are of Aboriginal descent. A good indication of their social status is the fact that 45% of the girls can’t tell the time; 60% can’t use the telephone or the telephone directory; many are unable to give change; and there is a high rate of functional illiteracy.

Physically, Nyandi is splayed out like a fan from a nodal administrative complex. In this complex an “information centre” functions as a console room for television surveillance of all public areas and radio monitoring of bedrooms.

The behaviour modification programme which is the explicit basis of ‘treatment’ at Nyandi depends upon a number of premises drawn from behavioural psychology. These can be formulated in very general terms as follows:

1. The experimental method of the natural sciences is capable of being transposed to the controlled study of discrete, quantifiable human behaviours;

2. These behaviours are not (necessarily) qualitatively unified as ‘behaviour’; no general, unitary form of behaviour can be posited through the concepts of ‘self’ or ‘psyche’ or ‘personality’; behaviours cannot be reduced to any systematic form of coherence and are not explicable in terms of a model of surface and depth;

3. Behaviours are pure signifiers; they are connected in terms of a metonymic relation of signifier to signifier, not through the relation of signifier to signified;

4. Methodological significance is attributed not to isolated signifiers but to the density of a chain of repetitions: that is to frequencies or rates of behaviour.

Two basic forms of relationality can be extrapolated from behaviourist descriptions of elementary structures of behaviour. The first is a form of immediate representation based in the stimulus-response bond and deriving ultimately from Locke’s associationist account of semiosis. The positive or negative reinforcement of behaviour sets up an alternating chain of behaviours and reinforcers, each of which is constituted in both retroactive and projective relation to the other. The Nyandi manual formulates this as a relation of signification: “Signs that signal a relation between responses and reinforcement are known as discriminative stimuli.” But the examples given - a frown to discourage conversation, a ‘not-working’ sign on a cigarette vending-machine - make it clear that the response is not
'signalled' but elicited. The 'sign' is a causal relation. In this model behaviour and reinforcer may be mediated (verbally or by tokens) but are ideally immediate in time to each other.

The second form of relationality introduces different modes of deferral and mediation. Conditioned reinforcers (money or tokens, for example) stand in a relation of representation to 'primary' reinforcers such as food. In a further mediation, conditioned or secondary reinforcers will be used ever more intermittently; the semiotic trace gradually takes over from the material signifier. As the use of direct reinforcers is 'faded' they are gradually replaced by 'social contingencies' (smiles, praise...) which further extend the semiotic trace of the primary reinforcers. Finally mediation is effected through various forms of auto-surveillance (self-recording, for example) in which the external donor of reinforcers is interiorised. These mediations constitute a complex semiotic system which is qualitatively different from the primary stimulus-response bond.

Nyandi is run as a token economy whose units of currency are points recorded on special sheets and scored daily and weekly. Points value is assigned to a wide range of positive and negative behaviours, and most institutional 'services' - both basic necessities and luxuries - must be bought with points. A system of representation is thus fused with a system of economic values. In this complex mediating system the tokens (points) represent both behaviour and its reinforcement. The difference between this and a system of unmediated reinforcement (stimulus-response) is that between a simple exchange system (C1 - C2) and a complex monetary system (C1 - M - C2). The complexity and the flexibility of the points system allow for a high degree of codification and quantification of behavioural signifiers. The system allocates behaviour (or the component units of behaviour) to a market economy where exchange value is established by those who have the power to regulate the system: the psychologists and administrators. But the model appealed to is that of the liberal capitalist economy, with its assumption of an equal communicative exchange between buyer and seller. This assumption is contradicted by the asymmetrical relations of power within the system: these constitute a frame which must be excluded from calculations 'internal' to the token economy.

This economy is quite explicitly a microcosm of the outside world. Figure 1 describes the general economy of the institution, translating activities, interactions and commodities into a common currency.

![Figure 1](image_url)
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Figure 2 details the economy of work and classroom activities. In addition to specific behaviours, units of time worked are endowed with value (5 points per 15-minute bracket).

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Figure 3 details the valorisation of specific social behaviours (a detailed description of these behaviours is given in Appendix I). This is, in a very precise sense, moral book-keeping.
Points constitute the 'hard' currency of the institution; but the object of the programme is to shift individual girls from this currency to a more highly mediated 'moral' economy. This is the currency of social contingencies, which come to assume the value formerly represented by the points, but which are also used from the beginning to enhance the conditioned reinforcers— that is, to help establish the 'value' of the tokens. Social interaction is thus drawn into the system of economic exchange, so that friendly language (for example) becomes a commodity which the teacher gives or withholds according to the 'payment' made by the girl.

Two examples from the manual:

1. "'Have 20 points for displaying 'concern', offering a guest a chair, I liked that and people such as future employers will too.'"

(Here the market value of the behaviour is simultaneously translated into moral currency.)

2. "'Mary, swearing is aggressive behaviour and will not help you keep a job. Take off 100 points for aggression' (punisher). 'When I ask you to do something I expect you to do it without being aggressive - so let's try that again' (prompt alternative). 'Mary, please wipe the crumbs off the table' (opportunity to practice alternative behaviour). 'Say, that's nice, doing as I asked in a friendly manner - have 40 points for compliance' (reinforce alternative behaviour)" (7.3.1).

(Here fine and reward are traded off, but asymmetrically and in such a way as to stress the economic superiority of the donor).

By bringing all aspects of behaviour into a system of exchange Nyandi exercises (in principle) a control which is total. Aggression against the system is controlled by the system itself. Refusal to participate is met by a simple extension of the economy: "This form of defiance is literally ignored. It affects the girls more than us that she doesn't write her points down, as she loses on all the back-up reinforcers which the points give her. Where a girl continues to refuse points the Teaching Parent should carefully assess her backup reinforcers — if necessary increase the points cost of some of the most potent reinforcers such as food" (7.3.2). Other forms of control include isolation in Time Out cells (girls must make a 'polite verbal request' before being allowed out, and are heavily fined for failure to make such a request after a certain period of time), self-recording techniques, and the co-opting of girls as ward managers. But the dominant form of control is that constant, total, quantifying and normative surveillance which treats the girls as the sources of an aggregate of discrete behaviours and which controls the production of these behaviours by assigning a precise economic value to each discrete behavioural component.

Here are two examples of the normative codification of behavioural sememes (the full list is given in Appendix I):

9. Polite Requests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Eye to eye contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Speaking in a normal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Use of name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Request begins &quot;May I; Do you mind if; Can I; etc.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Use of word &quot;please&quot; in request</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Appearance

50 points

Dress: There are no strict rules but dress should be appropriate for the type of employment the girl intends to undertake on leaving Nyandi. A higher standard of dress may be expected of certain girls e.g. office girls.

The following are general guidelines:

1. Make-up applied sparingly and skilfully (e.g. lipstick within contours of mouth, rouge blended into skin,
mascara not smudged, liquid foundation applied smoothly and blended into skin, nail polish not chipped) 10
2. No body odour 10
3. Hair - clean and tidy, brushed out of eyes (hairclips, ribbons or elastic where necessary) 10
4. Shoes - sandals and shoes in good repair and without writing. (No thongs or gumboots for work unless girls employed in the community and they are acceptable) 10
5. Clothing:
Work - Must be clean, ironed, mended if necessary. Full cover tops (not halter or bare midriff). Dress, skirt or slacks may be worn. Slacks may be of any materials but must not have any writing on them. Denim jeans are not acceptable unless the girl could wear them to work in the community and they are acceptable to an employer. Leisure: A girl can wear clothes of her own choice - the only requirement is that they must be clean. 10

These codifications are of course the description of social norms which are largely middle-class. They constitute a complex etiquette covering a range of codes - proxemic, vestimentary, gestural, discursive, etc. In all cases what is taught is the production of signifiers; and what is called a 'behaviour' can now be defined as a message produced through a syntactic ordering of signifiers. Thus the sememe 'polite request' requires the combination of proxemic signifiers (eye-to-eye contact), intonational norms, and appropriate discursive formulae.

Given the different points of entry of girls and staff into these signifying complexes, we can postulate that they will produce rather different effects of meaning. For the girl, the signified of the message-chain will be the token which represents a reward; for the staff (given that the strict nominalism of the behaviourist method is not sustainable in practice and that there will always be an inference from signifiers to general states) the signified will be some such isotopie as 'politeness'. But this play of meanings can also be read in another way, in terms of contradictory codings embedded in the signifiers. Thus eye-to-eye contact, which depends upon a very traditional codification of the eye as both vehicle of and window upon subjectivity, apparently prescribes a relation of 'equality' or 'independence'. But the contact must of course be of a certain duration: neither too brief nor too long, neither a quick glance nor a bold stare, each of which would be more appropriate to the relations of power involved. Similarly, a 'normal' tone of voice prescribes a neutral area between awe and rudeness; and the discursive formulae are conventions of appeasement. Power is everywhere and nowhere, alluded to and repressed in a formalism which must always exclude the observer from the observation.

The promulgation of acceptable cultural norms is complemented by an active suppression of the norms of the subculture to which most girls would belong. This is clearly evident in the attention paid to the regulation of discourse. On the one hand girls receive strong positive reinforcement for prosocial comments, defined as “making positive non-delinquent plans for the future; statements about intentions not to take part in delinquent acts (offences, drinking, drugs, attempted suicide, absconding); stating that past delinquent acts were wrong or foolish.” On the other hand, they are trained to observe a number of prescriptions on negative topics of conversation, including “Discussion of offences, drinking, absconding, negative attitude to staff, Longmore [Remand Centre] other girls, past contacts, conflicts, pool halls, ships [i.e. sailors], lying, denial of lying, fines, isolation rules, work, sexual topics, etc.” (9.1.1): in other words almost the entire relevant subcultural universe of discourse. The most interesting group of topics here is that which excludes the prison situation itself (“negative attitude to staff,” “fines, isolation rules, work”): the double-bind structure which forbids them both to lie and deny lying excludes from discursive reality the rules and conditions by which this discursive reality is defined and maintained. Any questioning of the rules is disallowed: the example is given of a girl who, when requested to carry out a task, asks: “Why should I always have to be the one to do that job?” The comment on the response to this notes that “The Teaching Parent did not answer the question, which was really a ‘red herring’.
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This extraordinarily low rate of success is explained as a result of the contingencies delivered by the girls: that is, their ability to condition staff. The effective behaviour modification programme of the Token Economy at Nyandi is run by the inmates. The authors note that “analysis of the observation data indicates that while staff positively reinforce a majority of inmate behaviours, inmates punish most therapeutic behaviours of staff.” and that “Statements by inmates attributing staff action to racialism, sadism, and stupidity may have a greater potency than those inputs used by staff in a therapeutic environment, such as ‘that’s nice’ and ‘good’” (p.713). Not only are staff ineffective; their presence seems to be counterproductive: “It may be argued … that inmates were as potentially therapeutic as staff, since they attended to aggression at a slightly lower rate than staff while attending to antisocial talk at a slightly higher rate. Noteworthy is the finding that prosocial talk was positively attended to at high rates, whether or not such conversation took place in the presence or absence of staff” (p.714). The authors conclude with proposals for improvement in staff training, but their results are clearly too devastating for this to be taken seriously. Sanson-Fisher has in fact since published a comprehensive denunciation of juvenile corrective institutions, citing the irrelevance of the skills taught, the creation of a delinquent subculture which controls staff behaviour, the production of ‘secondary deviance’ in response to the institutional setting, the non-transferability of skills learnt inside to a non-institutional environment, their expense, their failure to act as a deterrent, and their indirect long-term negative effects on the community.

But what does it mean to speak of the ‘failure’ of a programme or of institutional treatment in general? The exercise of control still has effects, even if not the ones intended; and resistance cannot be simply celebrated, in the absence of workable alternatives to either a ‘repressive’ or a ‘therapeutic’ institutional regime. And, despite Nyandi’s stress on experimental validation of its methods, Sanson-Fisher’s criticisms have been without effect. Since the election of a state Labor government in 1983 the justice and welfare functions of Nyandi have been separated, making Nyandi security more explicitly a prison; and a
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committee of review has abolished Time Out. The major effect of these piecemeal changes has been the demoralization of staff. The underlying behavioural methodology, with its naive semiotics and its consequential blindness to its internal contradictions, has been neither theoretically nor politically challenged; there seems every likelihood that it will continue to inflict substantial damage.

Notes

1 I use this term loosely to include behaviourism, behaviour therapy, and behaviour modification, all of which overlap within a largely shared problematic.
2 'Programme Description', Nyandi Treatment and Research Centre, p.3
3 Ibid., p.4
5 Nyandi Staff Manual, Section 5.5 (quoted with permission). All further references are given in the text.
7 cf. Mackenzie, Behaviourism and the Limits of Scientific Method, p.145
10 Sanson-Fisher, Seymour and Baer, p.243

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Appendix I

Positive Behaviour - Points Values:

(a) Positive Compliance
   (i) Head orientation to input 30 points
   (ii) Verbal compliance 5
   (iii) No visible sign of anger or annoyance 5
   (iv) Actual compliance initiated within 3 seconds 5

(b) Compliance
   Initiates task in 3 seconds 15

2. Positive Inclusive Talk (includes staff) 40 points
   1. Head orientation at least once during interval 5
   2. Speaking in a ‘normal’ voice, able to be heard within 6 feet; not shouting 5
   3. Discussion of any topic not defined as negative (negative topics include: drinking; absconding; negative attitude to staff, Longmore, other girls, past contacts; conflicts; fights, pool halls, ships, lying, denial of lying; fines; sexual topics; isolation rules, work; bikies; offences) 10
   4. Interactions should not exclude any person within 6 feet unless they are otherwise occupied and must include at least one staff member and one other girl 10
   5. Discussion of a negative topic negatively 5

3. Positive Restricted Talk (excludes staff) 25 points
   1. Head orientation at least once during interval 5
   2. Speaking in a ‘normal’ voice 5
   3. Discussion of any topic not defined as negative (see list of negative topics under 2 above) 10
   4. Members of only one group participate in interactions where a group is two or more persons and no staff member is present 5

4. Concern and Caring 40
   Verbal or physical expression of personal interest in or concern
for other persons.
May be
(a) volunteering
(b) co-operating
(c) apology - genuine expression of regret for something done or not done

5. Telephone Skills
(a) Phone rings
   1. Greeting, location and name 15
   2. Message and name of caller 5
   3. “Thank-you for calling goodbye” 5
(b) Initiating Call
   1. Greeting, name 10
   2. Query correct number “is that ...?” or “May I speak to ..”

6. Honesty
1. Admission of guilt with maximum of one prompt (question, statement, nodding of head) from interrogator. 20
2. Accurate account of events when there is an obvious, immediate pay-off for an inaccurate one (girl may gain something or avoid aversive consequences by note telling the truth). Also scored if an accurate account occurs after other girls have urged the target subject to give a false account. 20
Examples which will help the Teaching Parent distinguish between Honest and Dishonest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff Input</th>
<th>Honest Reply</th>
<th>Dishonest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have you been given permission to remain in your room</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes, Mr ........ said I could (if the T.P. knows this is incorrect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you had any fines today?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>I can’t remember. (Dishonest because the T.P. assumes that the girl is able to remember recent events)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Social Greetings
1. Eye to eye contact 5
2. Greeting 5
3. Name 5

8. Interruption
1. Eye to eye contact, “Excuse me, (name)” 5
2. Waits quietly and without interrupting other person 10
3. Delivers message, request once 5

9. Polite Requests
1. Eye to eye contact 5
2. Speaking in a normal voice 5
3. Use of name 5
4. Request begins “May I; do you mind if; Can I; etc.” 5
5. Use of word “please” in request 5

10. Accepting Compliments
1. Eye to eye contact 5
2. Smile after verbal expression of thanks 15

11. Departing
1. Eye to eye contact 10
2. Farewelling e.g. “goodbye”, “see you later”. 10
3. Person’s name 10

12. Rational Problem Solving
1. Statement of problem 10
2. Recognition and demonstration of possible alternative solutions 10
3. Correct, logical evaluation of each alternative using all available pertinent facts 10
4. Decision 10
5. Rationale for decision 10
(Note that 3 may be incorporated into 5)

Example:

Girl: I want to have an outing on Friday evening. What do I have to do to earn it? (Statement of problem)

Staff: You’ll need 700 points after you have paid board and also you will have to work the whole week without fines or suspensions.

Girl: I can draw some points out of my bank book, or I can save instead of spending on the tuckshop. (Recognition and description of alternative solutions)

Staff: Wouldn’t it be better to save?

Girl: I want to buy a dress though. (Statement of problem) I could do both if I save (Alternative solution). I think that’s best (Evaluation and decision) because I want to look really great for the outing (Rationale).

13. Play

Play behaviour may be emitted by 1 or more people. Play need not be restricted to games in which rules are defined, e.g. monopoly, cards, but is applicable to many activities like playing with a pet, hiding, etc. If conversation is about play it is coded as play. Picking flowers and wandering about is play.

14. Work

Examples of work include dinner preparation (setting table; cooking; cleaning; dish washing); nurturing behaviour (feeding, cleaning and caring for other family members); combing hair of another person, giving money to children, helping kids with school work; cleaning and maintaining the household (mopping, dusting, sweeping), doing homework, reading books or newspapers, sewing, laundry.

A clear distinction between work and play is made by two rules:

1. Work behaviour is necessary for the smooth functioning of the living area, and/or
2. Work behaviour is necessary for a girl to perform in order to learn behaviours that will help her assume a normal role in the community.

Examples of the first rule are:
- washing the dishes, cooking or setting the table.
- Examples of the second rule are:
  - doing homework, reading a newspaper, or learning to bake a cake

15. Watching or following Behaviour

A good deal of time is taken up by group members as they observe the ongoing activity of others, e.g. one or more girls walking about, as if in search of something to do. Sometimes this behaviour may appear aimless while at other times the person may be actively attending to the family pet or siblings playing cards. Other examples might be a sibling watching mother preparing dinner, father watching siblings argue, girl listening to a staff member’s explanation, watching T.V., watching the speaker during a meeting, giving the Teaching Parent eye to eye contact whenever spoken to, during teaching interaction and all other discussion.

16. Table Manners

1. Sitting appropriately at table - correct body orientation and posture 5
2. Elbows off table 5
3. Waiting to start with everyone else 5
4. Polite request to pass items (food, condiments, etc.) along the table 5
5. Acceptable rate of eating, i.e. looks up from food from time to time - does not shovel food into mouth, does not spill food. 5
6. Appropriate use of eating utensils, and accessories (fork, knife, spoons, cup and saucer) 5
7. Eats quietly, talks without mouth full. 5
8. When finished puts knife and fork together and leaves plate, etc. in orderly fashion 5
9. Waits for person on duty to serve seconds - does not leave
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10. Asks to be excused from table if wishes to leave either during or at completion of meal 5

17. Appearance 50

Dress: There are no strict rules but dress should be appropriate for the type of employment the girl intends to undertake on leaving Nyandi. A higher standard of dress may be expected of certain girls e.g. office girls.
The following are general guidelines:
1. Make-up applied sparingly and skillfully (e.g. lipstick within contours of mouth, rouge blended into skin, mascara not smudged, liquid foundation applied smoothly and blended into skin, nail polish not chipped) 10
2. No body odour 10
3. Hair - clean and tidy, brushed out of eyes (hairclips, ribbons or elastic where necessary) 10
4. Shoes - sandals and shoes in good repair and without writing. (No thongs or gumboots for work unless girls employed in the community and they are acceptable) 10
5. Clothing:
Work: Must be clean, ironed, mended if necessary. Full cover tops (not halter or bare midriff). Dress, skirt or slacks may be worn. Slacks may be of any material but must not have any writing on them. Denim jeans are not acceptable unless the girl could wear them to work in the community and they are acceptable to an employer.
Leisure: A girl can wear clothes of her own choice - the only requirement is that they must be clean. 10

18. Punctuality
1. To leave at planned time with all work completed 50
2. Arrive at planned time 100

Negative Behaviour - Points Values

1. Non-compliance. Does not initiate task in 3 seconds 30

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2. Negative Inclusive Talk 30
   (a) No head orientation during interval
   (b) Whispering, yelling, shouting, sarcasm, humiliation or insolence
   (c) Including at least one member from each group
   (d) Discussion of bikies, offences, drinking, absconding, negative attitude to staff, Longmore, other girls, past contacts, conflicts, fights, pool halls, ships, lying, denial of lying, fines, isolation rules, work, sexual topics, etc.

3. Negative Restricted Talk 40
   As above except interactions are in one group only.

4. Dishonesty 40
   1. Verbal statement which implicates or uses the false authorisation of another girl or staff member.
   2. Inaccurate account when events should be clear to girl.
   3. Memory of recent events assumed. See above for examples to help the Teaching Parent distinguish between Honest and Dishonest.

5. Table Manners 5 per definition
   Anything not under appropriate table manners

6. Aggression
1. Any threat or action, expressed or implied, verbally or physically of damage to:
   (a) another person action staff — threat 500 points
   (b) themself action girl — threat 1000 points
   (c) object action 350 points
   (d) action 700 points
   (e) threat 350 points
   (f) threat 200 points
   (g) action 400 points

2. Swearing, i.e. any words or phrases spoken with the
deliberate intent to offend and degrade - at staff 150 points
at girls 100 points
at self 50 points

7. Dependency
When a girl asks for help and she is capable of doing task for herself 30

8. Unpunctuality
1. Not leaving at the planned time with all work completed 25
2. Not arriving at the planned time 75

9. Arguing with the Manager 30

10. Absconding (Consequences for each individual specified on the Absconding Report Form). Absent from Nyandi overnight without permission (not returned by 7 a.m.).
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