Token Economy: Important Technologies of Behaviour Modifiers and Applied Behaviour

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ABSTRACT

The behavior of humans (and other organisms or even mechanisms) falls within a range with some behavior being common, some unusual, some acceptable, and some outside acceptable limits. The acceptability of behavior depends heavily upon social norms and is regulated by various means of social control. Behavior Modification is the approach used by behavioral psychologists to modify behavior. It is usually based on the reinforcement of desired behaviors and ignoring (as far as possible) undesired ones. Token economies are used as a method of strengthening a behavior, or increasing its frequency, because the tokens are a way of “paying” children for completing tasks and the children can then use these tokens to buy desired activities or items (Miltenberger, 2008). In this paper I made an effort to explain that how can we eliminate undesirable behavior with the help of Token Economy.

Keywords---- Behaviour Modification, Reinforcers, Token Economy.

I. BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour is the range of actions and mannerisms made by individuals, organisms, systems, or artificial entities in conjunction with themselves or their environment, which includes the other systems or organisms around as well as the (inanimate) physical environment. It is the response of the system or organism to various stimuli or inputs, whether internal or external, conscious or subconscious, overt or covert, and voluntary or involuntary.

Although there is some disagreement as to how to precisely define behaviour in a biological context, one common interpretation based on a meta-analysis of scientific literature states that "behaviour is the internally coordinated responses (actions or inactions) of whole living organisms (individuals or groups) to internal and/or external stimuli" Behaviour can be either innate or learned.

Behaviour can be regarded as any action of an organism that changes its relationship to its environment. Behaviour provides outputs from the organism to the environment.

II. HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Human behaviour is believed to be influenced by the endocrine system and the nervous system. It is most commonly believed that complexity in the behaviour of an organism is correlated to the complexity of its nervous system. Generally, organisms with more complex nervous systems have a greater capacity to learn new responses and thus adjust their behaviour. Human behaviour refers to the array of every physical action and observable emotion associated with individuals, as well as the human race as a whole. Some behaviour changes with age. While specific traits of one's personality and temperament may be more consistent, other behaviours will morph as one moves from birth through adulthood. In addition to being dictated by age and genetics, behaviour, driven in part by thoughts and feelings, is an insight into individual psyche, revealing among other things attitudes and values. Social, a subset of human behaviour, study the considerable influence of social interaction and culture. Additional influences include ethics, authority, rapport, hypnosis, persuasion and coercion.

The behaviour of humans (and other organisms or even mechanisms) falls within a range with some behaviour being common, some unusual, some acceptable, and some outside acceptable limits. In sociology, behavior in general includes actions having no meaning, being not directed at other people, and thus all basic human actions. Behavior in this general sense should not be mistaken with social behaviour, which is a more advanced social action, specifically directed at other people. The acceptability of behavior depends heavily upon social norms and is regulated by various means of social control. Human behavior is studied by the specialised academic
disciplines of psychiatry, psychology, social work, sociology, economics, and anthropology.

Human behaviour is experienced throughout an individual’s entire lifetime. It includes the way they act based on different factors such as genetics, social norms, core faith, and attitude. Behaviour is impacted by certain traits each individual has. The traits vary from person to person and can produce different actions or behaviour from each person. Social norms also impact behaviour. Due to the inherently conformist nature of human society in general, humans are pressured into following certain rules and display certain behaviours in society, which conditions the way people behave. Different behaviours are deemed to be either acceptable or unacceptable in different societies and cultures. Core faith can be perceived through the religion and philosophy of that individual. It shapes the way a person thinks and this in turn results in different human behaviours. Attitude can be defined as “the degree to which the person has a favourable or unfavourable evaluation of the behaviour in question.” One's attitude is essentially a reflection of the behaviour he or she will portray in specific situations. Thus, human behaviour is greatly influenced by the attitudes we use on a daily basis.

**Behaviour Modification** is the approach used by behavioural psychologists (watered-down behaviourists) to modify behaviour ( Surprise!). It is usually based on the reinforcement of desired behaviours and ignoring (as far as possible) undesired ones. This is not as simple as it sounds, because always reinforcing desired behaviour, for example, is merely bribery. The "schedule" of reinforcement is critical. Behaviour modification is much used in clinical and educational psychology, particularly with people with learning difficulties. In the conventional learning situation it applies largely to issues of class- and student management, and to psychomotor skill development, rather than to learning cognitive content. It applies at the micro-level: awarding students high marks for good work is only behaviour modification in the broadest and weakest sense, whereas attention and praise at the second-by-second level are much more likely to follow its principles.

If you want consciously to practice it, then:

- **Reinforce the desired behaviour:** praise is much more potent than criticism or even punishment.
- **Immediacy matters:** feedback after the event is useful at a cognitive level, but from a behavioural point of view, the feedback (praise) has to be so close to the specific bit of behaviour that there is no doubt as to what it applies to. The principles are exactly the same for humans and dogs. (Most of the material from a net search on this related to dog and parrot training)

Behaviour modification as a formal technique is beyond the scope of this site, but teachers practise it willy-nilly. The important question is whether we are always reinforcing (rewarding, encouraging) the behaviour we wish to engender, or whether we are—all unawares—creating more problems. Most of the time, of course, a good teacher's nod of approval, supporting comment on a student's contribution, or simple "well done" is an appropriate reinforce.

### III. LITERATURE REVIEW

**OPERANT CONDITIONING (BURRHUS FREDRIC SKINNER – 1938)**

In contrast to the minimal impact of Watson’s work on behavioral learning theory, it is the work of Burrhus Fredric Skinner that dominates textbook accounts and popular understanding of behavioral learning theory. Skinner’s studies of operant conditioning, contingencies of reinforcement, and schedules of reward and punishment have played a major role in the design of instruction for nearly a century. During his career, and following his retirement, Skinner published regularly (as evidenced by the 63-page bibliography compiled by Smith and Morris, 2003), producing over 20 books and nearly 200 articles between 1930 and 1993 ("Articles," 2009). Though Skinner wrote on a variety of topics, the primary focus of his research consistently centred on operant conditioning and contingencies of reinforcement. As a result of his relentless commitment to the experimental study of principles of behaviourism, and his enduring focus, Skinner is largely responsible for bringing behavior-based principles of learning into the American classroom.

Skinner’s dogmatic and unrelenting approach to scientific inquiry of empirical principles can be understood, in part, by a prominent experience in his teenage years. While reading Shakespeare for one of his school classes, his father made a comment regarding the disputed authorship of the plays of Shakespeare. This in turn led Skinner to the writings of Francis Bacon (Skinner, 1967, p. 388-389), which he believed likely influenced his philosophical position, taken later in life as a scientist (p.409).

Skinner (1979) attributed his conversion to behaviourism to another philosopher named Bertrand Russell (p. 5), who had referred in a review article of The Meaning of Meaning by C. K. Ogden., to Watson’s Behaviourism as “massively impressive.” Skinner subsequently bought both Watson’s Behaviourism and Russell’s Philosophy. These two books, along with a copy of Pavlov’s Conditioned Reflexes, formed the start of a small personal library that he kept in his rented room. He read the first third of Philosophy, but abandoned his reading in the middle third when he lost interest in Russell’s rehash of his views on nature. Ironically, by doing so he missed the last third of the book in which Russell undertakes to disprove the behaviouristic view expressed in the first third by talking about “man from within.” The ironic result was that Skinner became converted to the behaviourist perspective and stayed true his course throughout his entire life. Additional influences in his
persuasion were a weekly seminar in animal behavior by Walter S. Hunter of Clark University, a graduate student by the name of Charles K. True blood, Fred Keller (who had particular sway in Skinner’s resisting the mentalist predispositions of his department and remaining a behaviourist), and most especially by Pavlov:

The International Congress of Physiology met at the Harvard Medical School in August 1929, and Ivan Petrovich Pavlov gave the principle address!...I heard Pavlov’s address (in German) but did not try to shake his hand. I did get his autograph. A photographer was taking orders for a portrait and had asked Pavlov to write his name on a slip of paper so that his signature could appear on each print. I offered to buy a copy if I could have the slip of paper when the photographer was through with it, and he sent it to me. (Skinner, 1979, pp. 42-43)

While studying psychology at Harvard, Skinner seriously considered transferring to the physiology department (Skinner, 1979, pp. 25, 38) but his decision to stick with psychology was made firm by the availability of a machinist shop in the department of psychology. He was able to use the shop according to his pleasure and it was there in which he was able to build various apparatus (e.g., a silent release door) for use in his experiments (p.32). These experiments were not only the core of Skinner’s research but also his primary source of learning since he claims to have “never learned how to read the ‘literature’ in psychology” (p. 34). What Skinner probably meant to say was that he did not take interest in the contemporary literature of psychology. He certainly did read though, since the background research for the experiments that laid the foundation for his life’s work included a review of the experimental work on reflexes from the middle of the seventeenth century down through Magnus and Pavlov (p. 67). He also benefited from more practical books as he grew into his research through his experiments at Harvard:

If my rats were to get all their food in the apparatus, I could no longer go on using pearl barley. In a book on the breeding and care of the white rate I found a formula for a balanced diet: wheat, corn, flax seed, and bone meal, with a bit of salt, cooked in a double boiler. The mixture would have to be converted into pellets of uniform size, and I consulted a druggist, who showed me his pill machine. (Skinner, 1979, p. 59)

Through his experiments Skinner felt he had discovered a “new theory of conditioning” that was “different from Pavlov’s and much more like most learning in daily life” (p. 89). He differentiated his research from other studies of learning by focusing on the maintenance of behavior strength:

Up to that time the study of learning had been concerned almost exclusively with acquisition and forgetting, but I had stumbled onto the maintenance of behavior in strength. My rats acquired the response of pressing the lever with almost embarrassing speed. Thereafter I was looking at the conditions under which its strength was sustained. (p. 99)

In the Behavior of Organisms (1938) Skinner made a distinction between two types of behavior: respondent behavior, or involuntary reflex behavior elicited by a known stimulus, and operant behavior, or behavior that is simply emitted by an organism in response to a stimulus that is unknown to the observer. Respondent behaviors are reflex behaviors. Operant behaviors are those that appear to be spontaneous, because the stimulus is not known, and, according to Skinner, it is “not important to know its cause” (Hergenhahn, 1982, p. 84). Operant behaviors include most of the things we do in our daily lives.

Skinner (1938) also distinguished between two types of conditioning: Type S and Type R. Through Type S conditioning—identical to Pavlov’s classical conditioning—a stimulus to be conditioned (e.g. an assistant wearing a lab coat) is repeatedly paired with an unconditioned stimulus (e.g. acid) until it comes to elicit the same response (e.g. salivation) that is made when the unconditioned stimulus is presented. In Type S conditioning, the strength of conditioning is usually determined by the magnitude of the response. Type R conditioning refers to the conditioning of operant behavior in which responses (i.e. behaviors emitted in response to unknown stimuli) are reinforced. This type of conditioning is comparable to Thorndike’s law of effect: “If the occurrence of the operant is followed by presentation of a reinforcing stimulus, the strength is increased” (p. 21). In Type R conditioning, the strength of conditioning is usually measured by response rate. Skinner’s operant conditioning is based entirely on Type R conditioning.

Though Skinner did not believe that theories of learning are necessary, and made an argument for why this is so (1961a), his practice of operant conditioning in the experimental analysis of behavior was based on a clearly defined set of principles:

1. Positive reinforcement – a response that is followed by the presentation of a satisfying stimulus tends to be repeated.
2. Negative reinforcement – a response that is followed by the removal of an aversive stimulus tends to be repeated.
3. Punishment – a response that is followed by the presentation of an aversive stimulus becomes less frequent.
4. Reinforcement removal – a response that is followed by the removal of a satisfying stimulus (i.e. a reinforcer) becomes less frequent.
5. Discrimination – discriminations are learned when a behavior is reinforced in the presence of one stimulus but not another, or when a behavior is punished in the presence of one stimulus but not another.
6. Shaping – a new behavior can be learned through the reinforcement of successive approximations to the goal behavior:

The whole process of becoming competent in any field must be divided into a very large number of very small steps, and reinforcement must be contingent
upon the accomplishment of each step. (Skinner, 1961g, p. 153)

7. Chaining – complex behavior can be established by linking together a series of simple behaviors already known to the learner, where the response of each link brings the learner into contact with discriminative stimuli that serve as cues for subsequent responses.

8. Priming – various methods, such as showing or telling, can be used to get a learner to behave in a given way for the first time so that the behavior can be reinforced.

9. Prompting – certain discriminative stimuli may be used to provide a guide to prompt behavior that is to be learned.

10. Vanishing (i.e. Fading) – the concept of vanishing refers to the gradual fading out of discriminative stimuli initially used to prompt a behavior. Skinner (1986) provided a practical example:

My daughter Deborah once came home from school complaining that she had been assigned to learn 15 lines of Longfellow’s “Evangeline.” (“Those are very long lines,” she said.) I told her I would show her how she could learn them quite easily. I wrote the lines on a chalkboard and asked her to read them. Then I erased a few words and asked her to read them again. She did so correctly in spite of the omissions. I erased a few more words, and she could still “read” them. After five or six erasures, she “read” them although there was nothing on the chalkboard. At first, the words were primes. By reading them, she engaged in the required behavior – but not yet for the right reasons. The words I left on the chalkboard functioned as slowly vanishing prompts. We do something of the same sort when we learn a poem by ourselves. We prime our behavior by reading a line, and then we turn away from the text and say as much of the line as we can, looking back and prompting ourselves if necessary. By looking back less and less often, we slowly vanish the prompts. (p. 107)

One of Skinner’s greatest and most unique contributions to behavioural learning theory is his research around schedules of reinforcement. Skinner first became interested in schedules of reinforcement when the magazines used to automatically deliver food pellets in response to a bar press jammed or otherwise failed to operate. Under these conditions rats would continue to press the bar even though food was not delivered with every bar press. Skinner took advantage of this as a way to reduce laboratory costs by using less food, and also to initiate a program of study of intermittent reinforcement schedules. Though only four schedules are well known (fixed ratio, fixed interval, variable ratio, and variable interval), Skinner also explored tandem schedules, differential reinforcement of rate, multiple schedules, chained schedules, and concurrent schedules (Ferster & Skinner, 1957). His second major contribution is the practical implementation of behavioural principles of learning in the classroom using programmed instruction and teaching machines (Skinner, 1960; 1961i; 1961j; 1986). Skinner was not the first to conceive of a teaching machine, but his program of practical application and research paved the way for the modern era of computer-based instruction.

IV. TOKEN ECONOMY: GOOD TECHNOLOGY OF BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION

Token Economy

Within an educational setting, a token economy is a system for providing positive reinforcement to a child or children by giving them tokens for completing tasks or behaving in desired ways. Token economies are used as a method of strengthening a behaviour, or increasing its frequency, because the tokens are a way of “paying” children for completing tasks and the children can then use these tokens to buy desired activities or items (Miltenberger, 2008).

Interestingly, ‘tokens, in the form of clay coins, first appeared in human history in transition from nomadic hunter-gather societies to agricultural societies, and the expansion from simple barter economies to more complex economies’ (Hackenberg, 2009, p. 257; Schmandt-Besserant, 1992).

Procedure of Token Economy

The basic principle is that a child earns a certain number of tokens by engaging in desired behaviours (called “target behaviours”) and can then exchange these tokens – effectively using them as payment – to gain access to backup reinforcers.

The Basic Token Economy “Cycle”

The target behaviors could be anything. For example, completing academic tasks like getting a certain amount of spellings correct, or it could be saying hello to their teacher in the morning, or playing nicely with their peers.

What a target behavior will be depends on each individual child. Some token economies could be used to increase a child’s desire to complete academic tasks while another token economy could be used to decrease...
the amount of aggression a child engages in by giving tokens for not engaging in aggressive behaviors.

**Back-Up Rein Forcer**

A backup reinforcer is an activity, item or privilege that the child likes and enjoys. The token economy works because the tokens become paired with the earning of the back-up reinforcers and the child only gets tokens for engaging in desired behaviors (Miltenberger, 2008). Therefore the target behaviours (should) occur more often.

**Chart (or Mat) of Token Economy**

There is no one single type of token economy chart. Some will have a space where an image of something being earned - a reinforce - can be placed (as in the image below), others will have space to write down what is being earned while others will be used only to record how many tokens have been earned. For token charts where there is no place for a reinforce there will typically be some method of choosing from a group of possible reinforcers once the chart is filled up or there might be a list of reinforcers that all "cost" different amounts and it is up to the student to decide when they want to trade in their tokens for a specific reinforce.

Money is a type of Token

The world economy where people go to work, do their job to earn money and then spend this money for things they want or need is pretty much identical to a classroom token economy. The money you earn from employment isn’t really what you want – it is a means to an end. What you really want is what you buy with your money because getting money means you get desired items and activities (e.g. car, house, jeweler, food).

For a classroom token economy, a child will go to school, complete academic tasks to earn tokens and then spend these tokens for back-up reinforcers. Again, the tokens aren’t really what the child wants. Just like our money, the tokens are a means to an end – getting tokens means getting things the child wants (e.g. 5 minutes playing a computer game, a break from work, chocolate, sweets).

**Things that can be used as tokens**

The term “token” suggests something physical that you can hold in your hand. Some token economies do use physical objects such as poker chips, printed cards with smiley faces, fake money or even marbles.

However, not all tokens are like this, some might just use a tick on a sheet of paper, a hole punched in a card or a stamp put onto a card (Foxx, 1998). These “non-physical” tokens are sometimes called “points” (Miltenberger, 2008).

In Kazdin and Bootzin’s (1972, p. 343-344) review of token economies, they cite Ayllon and Azrin (1968) regarding a number of advantages in using tangible items for tokens. These include:

- ‘the number of tokens can bear a simple quantitative relation to the amount of reinforcement
- the tokens are portable and can be in the subject's possession even when he is in a situation far removed from that in which the tokens were earned
- no maximum exists in the number of tokens a subject may possess
- tokens can be used directly to operate devices for the automatic delivery of reinforcers
- tokens are durable and can be continuously present during the delay
- the physical characteristics of the tokens can be easily standardised
- the tokens can be made fairly indestructible so they will not deteriorate during the delay
- the tokens can be made unique and nonduplicable so that the experimenter can be assured that they are received only in the authorised manner.
- In addition, tokens provide a visible record of improvement. This may facilitate social reinforcement from staff members, as well as self-reinforcement.’

**Advantages Of A Token Economy**

According to Kazdin and Bootzin (1972, p. 343) the use of tokens as a method of delivering
reinforcement through the child exchanging them for back-up reinforcers has a number of advantages. For example, they:

- 'bridge the delay between the target response and back-up reinforcement
- permit the reinforcement of a response at any time
- may be used to maintain performance over extended periods of time when the back-up reinforcer cannot be parcelled out
- allow sequences of responses to be reinforced without interruption
- maintain their reinforcing properties because of their relative independence of deprivation states
- are less subject to satiation effects
- provide the same reinforcement for individuals who have different preferences in back-up reinforcers
- may take on greater incentive value than a single primary reinforcer’

Additionally, Miltenberger (2008) highlights how:

- Positive reinforcement, via the tokens, can be provided immediately after the target behaviour occurs.
- A token economy is structured therefore there will be consistency with how positive reinforcement is delivered for target behaviours.
- A child’s future planning skills can be developed because different amounts of tokens need to be earned for different types of backup reinforcers and the tokens must be kept until enough has been earned.

**Things to Consider with a Token Economy**

- If an economy is being implemented at a large scale, across a group of individuals and settings, it may be time consuming and take a lot of effort to organise and train staff to correctly implement it.
- Depending on the preferred backup reinforcers, it may be costly to purchase them.
- It’s pertinent to check that ‘the expected benefits (improvement in behaviour) justify the time, effort and cost of conducting the programme’ (Miltenberger, 2008, p.513).

**Seven Components of a Token Economy**

Miltenberger (2008, p.498) lists seven components that need to be defined when implementing a token economy. These are:

- ‘The desirable target behaviours to be strengthened.
- The tokens to be used as conditioned reinforcers.
- The backup reinforcers to be exchanged for tokens.
- A reinforcement schedule for token delivery.
- How many tokens are needed to be exchanged for the backup reinforcers.

- A time and place for exchanging tokens for backup reinforcers.
- In some cases, a response cost component, in which the undesirable target behaviours to be eliminated are identified, together with the rate of token loss for each instance of these behaviours.’

**Seven Elements of a Token Economy**

(Miltenberger, 2008)

1. **Target Behaviours**
   - Select the desirable target behaviours to be strengthened

2. **Type of Tokens**
   - The tokens to be used as conditioned reinforcers (e.g. poker chips, star stickers etc.).

3. **Backup Reinforcers**
   - The backup reinforcers to be exchanged for tokens (e.g. sweets, free-time etc.).

4. **Reinforcement Schedule**
   - A reinforcement schedule for token delivery (e.g. reinforcement for every correct response).

5. **Exchange Criterion**
   - How many tokens are needed to be exchanged for the backup reinforcers.

6. **Time/Place for Exchange**
   - A time and place for exchanging tokens for backup reinforcers.

7. **Response Cost**
   - A penalty or fine where tokens are taken away for engaging in inappropriate behaviours.

*Response cost is not always used. See Cooper, Heron, and Heward (2007, p.370)

**One-to-One Token Economy Example**

Tarbox, Ghezzi and Wilson (2006) investigated the use of token economies in an effort to increase the eye contact of a 5 year old boy called Adam who was diagnosed with autism. We’re going to go through one of the economies used in the Tarbox et al study and use Miltenberger’s (2008) seven components to describe it.

- **Target Behaviour**: attending to his tutor before the delivery of an instruction; with “attending” defined as making eye contact with the tutor for at least 3 seconds.
- **Tokens to be used**: laminated “star stickers” placed on a “token board”.
- **Backup Reinforcers**: a 90 second break from academic tasks where he could play with preferred toys of his choice.
- **Reinforcement Schedule**: Adam received 1 token every single time he engaged in the target behaviour (made eye contact for 3 seconds).
- **Rate of Token Exchange for Reinforcers**: a total of 10 tokens were required before Adam could earn a backup reinforcer.
- **Time and Place to Exchange Tokens for Backup Reinforcers**: this was done
Response Cost

- Response Cost: they did not use a response cost.

Response Cost

Cooper, Heron and Heward (2007) make it clear that a response cost ‘should be saved for those major undesirable behaviours that call attention to themselves and need to be suppressed quickly. The teacher’s or parent’s primary attention should always be focused on positive behaviour to reinforce; response cost should be a last resort and should be combined with other procedures to build adaptive behaviours’ (p. 370).

A response cost is a penalty or fine where tokens are taken away from the child for breaking rules or engaging in inappropriate behaviours. Much like breaking a law such as driving over the speed limit and being fined money for it by the police.

It’s important that children are aware of the rules before any response cost would be used so it’s crystal clear what is a rule and what is a broken rule. Additionally, a response cost should never be used if a child does not already have tokens. Never put a child in “token debt” (Cooper et al. 2007).

A Token Economy is Conditioned Reinforcement

The token economy is a form of “conditioned reinforcement” or “secondary reinforcement” (Malott & Trojan-Suarez, 2006). This is because the tokens are not naturally occurring reinforcers. Naturally occurring reinforcers like food or water would be classed as “unconditioned reinforcers” or “primary reinforcers” because they do not need to be paired with anything.

The money you earn by going to work is a form of conditioned reinforcement because the money itself is not naturally reinforcing. It is the fact that you can use this money to get desired items and activities like a house, food, cars or holidays.

To expand a little more, imagine you go to work and get given some plastic tokens at the end of the day. It’s unlikely that you’re going to be in any way happy about this. However, if you were told that those tokens could be traded in for an extra day off work, all of a sudden those tokens will become something that you’re going to want to get more of (well for most people anyway).

In this case, the tokens become conditioned reinforcers because they have now been “paired” with the ability to get a day off work. In other words, getting tokens leads to getting a day off work while no tokens means no day off.

In the case of school children, the tokens serve as a way of gaining access to preferred items and activities – therefore, getting tokens leads to getting activities and no tokens means no activities.

Conditioned versus “Generalised” Conditioned

In the example about trading tokens for a day off work, if the tokens could only be traded for a day off then these tokens would be termed “conditioned reinforcers”. If the tokens could be traded for various different desired items and not just one specific thing then they would be termed “generalised conditioned reinforcers”.

The distinction here is about whether the tokens can be traded for only one item/privilege (conditioned reinforcers) or numerous items/privileges (generalised conditioned reinforcers). The money earned through employment is a form of generalised conditioned reinforcement because you can buy any number of things with it.

Tokens used within educational settings are typically “generalised conditioned reinforcers” as well, because they can be traded for a number of different items and activities. This is not always the case though. Sometimes a programme may be implemented where a specific type of token (e.g. red stars) can only be traded for specific activities/items (e.g. a special trip at the end of a school week).

REFERENCES