

SWEAR WORDS BY ANDERSSON THEORY IN THE MOVIE WHIPLASH

Venny Christie Sembiring; Iskandar Rosyidin; Cita Hikmah Yanti
Universitas Bina Darma; Universitas Bina Darma; Universitas Bina Darma,
christievenny@gmail.com; iskandarrosyidin@binadarma.ac.id; citahikmahyanti@gmail.com

Abstract

This study discusses about the usage of swear words by the characters in the movie Whiplash. The aim of this study is to classify the types of swear words and to analyze the motives which cause the characters use the swear words by using Andersson's theory. In this study, descriptive method is employed to analyze all the swear words which found in the movie. To analyze the data, the researcher watches the movie for several times. Second, find for theory that supports this research from the books and internet. Third, search and download the script from the internet. Fourth, Identifying all the swear words and last, grouping all the data, classifying them according to types and motives by using Andersson's theory. The finding of this study show that Auxiliary swear word is the dominant type and Linguistics motives is the dominant motives that influencing the characters to using swear words.

Keywords: *swearwords, Anderson's theory, Whiplash movie*

Introduction

Language will change at any time depending on the needs of the users of the language. Holmes (2013: 8) mentions that there are many similar ways that can be used to saying, explaining, or conveying something through language. Everyone has differences in expressing the message that they want to convey and each person also have a different style of speaking, they have their own ways or a freedom to choose the variety of language that they want to use, but sometimes they do not realize if the variety of language that they use will show about their identity and what kind of personality they have (Trudgill, 2000: 2). For instance, there are some people who prefer to use language that has a strong impact such as swear word in expressing feelings of happiness, sadness or angry. Even though as we know swear

word is mostly considered as inappropriate or impolite to use. However, people still use it to express their feelings.

We all know what “swear word” are, unlike most other language rules, we learn about swear word without any real study or classroom instruction. In the society, swear words sometimes describe as the language to insult other people. This is in line with Montague’s idea, he mentions that swear words are the words that can afford or capable of being given an emotional weight. He also explains that swearing leads to the use of words that have the potential to be offensive, inappropriate and unacceptable in any given social context (2001: 24). Swearing is like using the horn on the car, which can be used to signify a number of emotion, such as; anger, frustration, joy, surprise (Jay, 2009: 50). Most people are swearing when they are upset, stress, angry, and hurt. Commonly swear word is used to express people’s emotions; this could happen not only on teenagers, but also on children and old people. Swear word is commonly found and used in daily life and daily communication.

Swear word is used by many people in this world to express their emotion pressures, and it is clearly human’s behavior, that cannot be separated from our verbal communication. Swear words are a natural part of language, and they are undoubtedly one of the most efficient ways to express our frustration in difficult situations. This is supported by Hughes (2006: 16), who said that people swear by, people swear to (do something), people swear at (somebody or something) and sometimes people swear simply out of exasperation. It has even been suggested that swear words may be a factor in reducing stress (Crystal, 2000: 32). This means that swear words is used by the people intentionally or unintentionally and it can be influenced by their feelings.

Further, according to Jay (2000: 9) Swear words are not always used as insults but they also can be used in different ways. Swearing allows a speaker to express strong emotion and creates an emotional impact on the listener. This impact can be positive, as in joking and sexual enticement, or it can be negative, as in name calling and sexual harassment. Swearing also can intensify emotional expressions in a way that inoffensive words cannot. The intensity and offensiveness of a swear word expresses the speaker’s level of emotion. Powerful and offensive language, such as f*ck you, conveys extremely powerful emotions while inoffensive language, such as darn you, it does not

convey the same kind of intensity. Swearwords have unique emotional shadings, which are necessary for communicating and understanding deep emotions (Jay, 2000: 137).

Crystal (1995: 55) notes that swear word has power to give a relief to someone who utters it, so it can be said that swear word can be a tool to relieve stress, frustration or anger because by using swear word, the person will feel satisfied and their emotion can be released through it. In fact, nowadays there are many people who often use swear word in communicating which shows that swear word becomes more common around the society. Since swear word becomes familiar day by day, as a result there are many educated people who also use it to express their feelings. Besides that, swear word is not only for insult, but also can be used for humorous purpose. Swear words are commonly use in daily communication which can easily found in movies. There are many movies which the characters use swear words in their conversation or dialogue. The movie that the researcher chose to analyze is entitled "Whiplash" because the researcher found many swear words uttered by most of the characters.

The writer is interested in analyzing Whiplash movie as the object of the study entitled "Swear Word by Andersson's Theory in the Movie Whiplash" because there are many swear words that can be found which is used by most of the characters. Moreover, this movie is also different from the other movies, as we know swear word is mostly used by uneducated people in general, but in this movie, those words are used by educated people. For this reason, the writer wants to analyze and find out, the types of swear words and the reasons that makes the characters use swear words.

Methodology

The research method that was used in this research is descriptive method. Descriptive method focuses on cultural, social, personal identity and its purpose is more descriptive than predictive. This method also give more complex detail about particular phenomena which are difficult to be express, with quantitative method (Vanderstoep and Jhonson, 2009: 167). The data of this research are derived from dialogues that contain swear word uttered by the characters in the Whiplash movie. Whiplash is an American drama movie directed by Damien Chazelle which was released on January

2014 in United States. The researcher choose this movie because it contained a lot of swear words.

In collecting the data for this research; first, the researcher watched the movie for several times to get the background knowledge of the story and to make a deep understanding about the movie. Second, the researcher downloaded the transcript from the internet because the transcript is needed to help the researcher to have the accurate dialogues of the movie and the last, the researcher identified the swear words from the transcript by marking all the swear words found in the dialogue. After collecting all the necessary data, the researcher started to analyze the data by grouped the data into a table to make the process of classification became easier, classified the data by separating all the swear words based on their types and motives into a table, and the last, interpreted the findings and drew the conclusions.

Findings and Discussion

In this research, the researcher applied Andersson's theory. This theory is regarded suitable to answer the research questions about types and motives in using swear words in the *Whiplash* movie

Types of Swear Words

There are many types of swear words which are usually used in people's communication. Each type of swear words has its own distinctive characteristics that make it different from one another. In categorization of swear words, Andersson (1992: 4) classifies four types of swear words, those are; Expletive, abusive, humorous and auxiliary swear words.

The result of the data analysis reveals that there are 107 swear words that were uttered by the eight characters of *Whiplash* movie in the 147 minutes. All the swear words found were then grouped and classified into four types of swear word. The researcher found that the auxiliary swear word is more often used by the eight characters in this movie.

The following table shows the quantity of swear words that have been found based on the types of swear word by Andersson's theory.

Table 1. The Types of Swear Word in the *Whiplash* Movie

Types of Swear Word	Quantity	Percentage (%)
Expletive SW	15	14,02%
Abusive SW	20	18,70%
Humorous SW	3	2,80%
Auxiliary SW	69	64,48%
Total	107	100

The findings present that there are 107 swear words which are uttered by all the characters in *Whiplash* movie. They are classified into four types of swear word, i.e. expletive swear word (ES), abusive swear word (ABS), humorous swear word (HS), and auxiliary swear word (AUS). The categorization of the four types of swear words is very contextual. So, the use of swear word in this film is depends on what the situation is and how the situation when the swear word is expressed by the characters. Each type is explained below.

a. Expletive Swear Word (ES)

Most swear words are used to express the feelings such as frustration, anger, disappointment and even happiness. This kind of swear words are not directed to the others, they are used to express personal emotions, such as; the speaker's feeling towards something or situation. Below is the example of Expletive swear words;

Dialogue (1) (In the music class of Nassau Band)

Greg : My man, Ry. **Oh, sh*t!**¹. How you feeling, man?

Ryan : It's been too long.

Greg : Been too long. Things were hurting with Neiman on the kits.

Ryan : Come on, man.

Greg : What?

Ryan : He's fine.

Greg : If you say so. Good seeing you.

Ryan : Yeah.

Greg : You, looking good.

(Time: 0:07:16)

Dialogue (1) is a part of conversation between Greg the trumpeter and Ryan. Before the music class in that morning began, Greg saw Ryan and his girlfriend who was hugging in front of Nassau band's music

class. Because the class will start soon, Ryan must enter the class and then he kisses his girlfriend. Suddenly, Greg came because he had noticed them before. In response to Ryan, Greg uttered “Oh, sh*t” which belongs to expletive swear word since it is not directed to other people, Greg uttered it to express his shock. In this case, swear word is not used in negative emotions.

Dialogue (2) (In Fletcher’s music class)

Fletcher : Count me a 215.

Andrew : One, two, three, four. One, two, three, four.

*Fletcher : **Jesus f*cking Christ**¹¹. I didn't know they allowed retards. Am I to understand that you cannot read tempo? Can you even read music? What's that?*

Andrew : Eighth note.

Fletcher : Yes. What is that?

(Time: 0:28:14)

Dialogue (2) is a part of a direct conversation between Fletcher and Andrew. During the exercise of Andrew’s first class in Fletcher’s music class. Fletcher scolded Andrew because he did not play the drum according to the tempo that expected by Fletcher. Fletcher uttered a lot of swear words during the exercise, one of them is in the dialogue (2), the swear word “*Jesus f*cking Christ*” uttered by Fletcher belongs to expletive swear word because he uttered it as an expression of his anger and frustration.

b. Abusive Swear Word (AS)

Unlike expletive swear words, abusive swear words is usually directed to other people. This kind of swear words usually contain with offensive words which are used directly conveyed to the hearer in order to wound them verbally. This types of swear words includes name calling and other cursing expressions that are offensive.

Dialogue (3) (In Fletcher’s music class)

Fletcher : Louder!

Andrewq : I'm upset.

*Fletcher : You are a worthless, friendless, **f*ggot-lipped piece of sh*t**²⁰, whose Mommy left Daddy when she figured out he wasn't Eugene O'Neill. Who's now weeping and slobbering*

*all over my drum set like a f*cking 9-year-old girl. So for the final father-f*cking time, say it louder!*

Andrew : I'm upset!

(Time: 0:29:23)

Dialogue (3) occurs in the Fletcher's class, during the exercise. Fletcher threw a chair towards Andrew, slapped him, and insult him because Andrew did not play as in his expectation. In dialogue (3), the swear word that uttered by Fletcher is categorize as abusive swear word because the swear word is directed to Andrew and functioned as an act of abusing someone.

Dialogue (4) (In the waiting room, In Rock Jazz Competition)

*Carl : How could you be so f*cking stupid?*

Andrew : I know. Maybe a janitor came by.

*Carl : A janitor? Find the f*cking folder! A f*cking janitor? **You're a d*mb f*ck! A d*mb f*ck!**³⁴ Find the folder!*

Andrew : Okay, I'm sorry.

(Time: 0:39:29)

Dialogue (4) happens when Carl asks for the folder that he left to Andrew but Andrew lost it. Carl, who was angry employs swear word to Andrew to express his feeling of anger. In this case, this swear word is categorized as abusive swear word since it is insulting other people.

c. Humorous Swear Word (HS)

This kind of swear words are consciously directed towards others but it is not abusive. Humorous swear words is used not to harm other people but to put a sense of humor in a conversation and to create a playful situation. It tends to be idiomatic, playful, humorous, and not serious rather than offensive. This types are usually addressed to those who have a close relation to the speaker.

Dialogue (5) (In Fletcher's music class)

*Fletcher : Barker, that is not your **boyfriend's d*ck**³. Do not come early.*

(Time: 0:07:40)

Dialogue (5) occurs in the class when they were practicing music to prepare for the competition. Fletcher rebuked one of the trumpeter named Barker because he was too fast while playing his trumpet.

Fletcher rebuked him with a joke and did not mean to hurt the player's feelings. Therefore, the swear word in dialogue (5) belongs to Humorous swear word. It is because Fletcher who uttered that swear word does not utter it in emotion but in playful tone.

Dialogue (6) (In Nassau Band)

Ryan : *What's up?*
Andrew : *Hey.*
Ryan : *Good weekend?*
Andrew : *Yeah, real good.*
Ryan : *Yeah?*
Andrew : *Yeah. Lot of fun.*
Ryan : *Nice. Hey, don't worry about Greg. **Kid's a d*ck**².*
Andrew : *Oh. No big deal.*
(Time: 0:18:50)

Dialogue (6) is a part of conversation between Ryan and Andrew when they were in Nassau band. At that time, Greg was vilifying Andrew but he did not realize if Andrew was listening to all the conversations between them. In this dialogue, Ryan uttered swear word "kid's a d*ck" was directed to Greg, but it is only for joking so that Andrew was not offended by Greg's words. Swear word in this dialogue is belongs to humorous swear word.

d. Auxiliary Swear Word (AUX)

The last type is auxiliary swear word. This types of swear words is usually used to spice up about what is being said. In this case, swear words are not indicated to the certain people or situation and it sometimes also known as "lazy speaking" and "often or always non-emphatic".

Dialogue (7) (In Fletcher's music class)

Fletcher : *He's here. Tell me it's not you, Elmer Fudd. It's okay. Play. Do you think you're out of tune? **There's no f*cking Mars bar down there**⁴. What are you looking at? Look up here. Look at me. Do you think you're out of tune? Um...*
Metz : *Yes.*
Fletcher : ***Then why the f*ck didn't you say so**⁵? I've carried your fat a*s for too long. I won't have you cost us a competition*

because *your mind's on f*cking a Happy Meal instead of on pitch*⁶. Jackson, congratulations, you're fourth chair. Metz, why are you still sitting there? *Get the f*ck out!*⁷

(Time: 0:21:31, 0:21:50, 0:21:56, 0:22:05)

Dialogue (7) is a part of conversation between Fletcher and Metz. In this situation, Fletcher was very angry to Metz, the saxophonist who played out of tone. Fletcher uttered some swear words on the data number 4,5,6 and 7 as an emphasize on the words that he wants to convey. The swear word that Fletcher uttered are belongs to auxiliary swear word, because those swear words are used as a way of speaking and to stress the information that Fletcher tries to communicate.

Dialogue (8) (In Fletcher's music class)

Andrew : One, two, three, four.

Fletcher : Rushing or dragging?

Andrew : Rushing.

Fletcher : So you do know the difference. If you deliberately sabotage my band, *I will f*ck you like a pig*⁹. Now, are you a rusher, or are you a dragger, or *are you gonna be on my f*cking time*¹⁰?

Andrew : I'm gonna be on your time.

(Time: 0:27:58, 0:28:04)

Dialogue (8) occurs in Fletcher's class when Fletcher was angry because Andrew cannot play the drum as he expected. Fletcher uttered several swear words in the dialogue (8) which belongs to auxiliary swear word. It is because the swear words that he uttered is used to emphasize each of the meaning of the words.

Motives for using swear word

There are three motives used in analyzing *Whiplash* movie. The three motives are Psychological motives, social motives, and linguistics motives. From the results obtained by the researcher, Linguistics and social motives are more dominating than psychological motive.

Here is the table containing data which were taken from the movie. The researcher gathered the data from the conversations among the

characters in *Whiplash* movie, then presented the data in the form of a table.

Table 2. The Motives of Using Swear Word in *Whiplash* movie

Motives in Using SW	Quantity	Percentage (%)
Psychological Motives	13	12,15%
Social Motives	42	39,25%
Linguistics Motives	52	48,60%
Total	107	100

In this research, the motives in using swear word are classified into three categorizations, they are; Psychological motives (PM), Social motives (SM), and Linguistics Motives (LM). In determining each motives in using swear word, we must understand the context when the swear word is uttered. Therefore, the context has significant role in interpreting which motive certain that swear word belongs to.

a. Psychological Motive (PM)

In our life, there are so many occurrences that does not always happen as we expected. There are so many ups and downs that we need to go through. Everyday people can get frustrated and angry when something unexpected or unpleasant things happen. Normally, everyone will give a reaction when some unexpected things happens in their life. The reaction that usually shown by someone when expressing strong feelings and sometimes in this situation, people will confront with such emotions and express it by swearing. As stated by Andersson (as cited in Karjalainen, 2002: 24), he says that some people will give reaction beneath anger and frustration by swearing. It means that swearing expression is not limited in a notion of negativity, but also can be used in a certain emotion like happy or joy and surprise.

Dialogue (9) (In Fletcher's music class)

Andrew : *One, two, three, four.*

Fletcher : **Jesus f*cking Christ**¹¹. I didn't know they allowed retards. Am I to understand that you cannot read tempo? Can you even read music? What's that?

Andrew : Eighth note.

Fletcher : Yes. What is that?

Andrew : Dotted 16th note.

(Time: 0:28:14)

Dialogue (9) is a part of a direct conversation between Fletcher and Andrew. During the exercise of Andrew's first class in the Fletcher's music class. Fletcher scolded Andrew because he could not play the drum according to the tempo that expected by Fletcher. In the dialogue above, the swear word "*Jesus f*cking Christ*" is uttered by Fletcher to show his anger, surprise and shocked because Andrew cannot read the tempo. The swear word uttered by Fletcher belongs to psychological motives, because he uses it with the reasons to release his emotions.

Dialogue (10) (In Fletcher's music class)

Fletcher :Nope, I guess not. Tanner? One and two and...**Motherfucker!**⁵³

Connolly, get your ass back on the kit. We will stay here for as long as it takes until one of you f*ggots can play in time. One and two and... Looks like that might be all night.

(Time: 0:57:08)

This dialogue occurs in the Fletcher's class when practicing for the competition next day. Fletcher is looking for the best drummer between Carl, Andrew and Ryan to play drum in the next band competition, but none of them can follow the tempo in accordance to the Fletcher's expectations. In this dialogue, the swear word "*motherf*cker*" is uttered by Fletcher with the motives to express his feelings of resentment and anger which belongs to psychological motive.

b. Social Motive (SM)

This motive is closely related to someone's social relationship. When someone used swear word based on this motive, it means that swear words is used intentionally in order to achieve social bond with the addressee. Holmes (2013: 283) mentioned that every swear words may have different meaning or function when uttered in a different social context. Everyone have different social motives in uttering swear

words, for example; they use swear word to insult, to amuse, to shock others, but they can also use it to indicate the intimacy of a friendship or to strengthen a group identity.

Dialogue (11) (In the Nassau band's class)

Ryan : *Good weekend?*

Andrew : *Yeah, real good.*

Ryan : *Yeah?*

Andrew : *Yeah. Lot of fun.*

Ryan : *Nice. Hey, don't worry about Greg. **Kid's a d*ck**².*

Andrew : *Oh. No big deal.*

(Time: 0:07:40)

The dialogue above is a part of conversation between Ryan and Andrew when they were in Nassau band. At that time, Greg was vilifying Andrew but he did not realize if Andrew was listening to all of their conversations. In this dialogue, Ryan uttered swear word "kid's a d*ck" which was directed to Greg, but it is used only for joking so that Andrew was not offended by Greg's words. The swear word that employed by Ryan is used to indicate intimacy and friendliness between Ryan and Andrew and it is categorized as social motive.

Dialogue (12) (In Fletcher's music class)

Fletcher : *He's here. Tell me it's not you, Elmer Fudd. It's okay. Play. Do you think you're out of tune?*

*There's no f*cking Mars bar down there. What are you looking at? Look up here. Look at me. Do you think you're out of tune? Um...*

Metz : *Yes.*

Fletcher : *Then why the f*ck didn't you say so? I've carried your fat a*s for too long. **I won't have you cost us a competition because your mind's on f*cking a Happy Meal instead of on pitch**⁶. Jackson, congratulations, you're fourth chair. Metz, why are you still sitting there? Get the f*ck out⁷!*

(Time: 0:21:56)

The conversation above happened when one of the saxophonist named Metz plays the wrong tone. Fletcher who was very angry at that time, uttered the swear word which is directed to Metz to show social distance and hatred. The swear word that uttered by Fletcher is

categorized as having influenced by social motive because it causes insult.

c. Linguistics Motive (LM)

People may have their own ways in expressing their self. Especially in speaking, everyone have variety of ways in speaking and expressing their self by using different words and grammatical structures as long as the goals of the communication with others are well achieved. This can also be apply in the use of swear words. Someone can think that those words are completely unacceptable and must be removed from the society, others people may think they are acceptable in some occasions and some others may think that swear word are acceptable in all situations. As stated by Andersson (as cited in Karjalainen, 2002: 30), he mentions that everyone are free to use or employ every words as long as it can be used to convey the messages that the speaker wants to communicate. Therefore, in this case of motives, swear words are just good and usable words like any others. They seem to appear as pure motives to give emphasize or strengthen to what people want to communicate.

Dialogue (13) (In the waiting room, Rock jazz competition)

Carl : *I need to look at the music.*

Andrew : *It's right here.*

Carl : *Why isn't it on you?*

Andrew : *Where's the folder?*

Carl : *You're joking. **You're fucking around**³⁰?*

Andrew : *No... I swear I had it here two seconds ago. It's gottabe around here. Did you see...?*

Carl : *How could you be so f*cking stupid?*

Andrew : *I know. Maybe a janitor came by.*

Carl : *A janitor? **Find the fucking folder**³²! **A fucking janitor**³³? You're a d*mb f*ck! A d*mb f*ck! Find the folder!*

Andrew : *Okay, I'm sorry.*

(Time: 0:39:16 - 0:39:28)

The above dialogue is a conversation between Carl and Andrew when Andrew lost the music's folder. Carl who is panicked and angry uttered swear word like on the dialogue above. However, those swear words are categorized as influenced by linguistic motive because in this

case swear word used with the reasons to emphasize the intentions conveyed by Carl.

Dialogue (14) (In the waiting room, Rock Jazz competition)

Fletcher : ***The folder was your f*cking responsibility***³⁶. *Why would you give it to Neiman? Right? Give a calculator to a f*cking retard, he's gonna turn on a TV with it. Get your sticks, get your ass on-stage.*

Carl : *I... I can't.*

Fletcher : *You can't?*

Carl : *I... I can't go on-stage. I don't know the charts by heart.*

Fletcher : ***Are you f*cking kidding me***³⁸?

(Time: 0:39:55, 0:40:13)

This dialogue is a part of conversation between Fletcher and Carl. This part occurred during a break before the jazz rock competition began. Andrew lost Carl's music folder while the next few minutes the competition will begin. Unfortunately, Carl did not memorize all the chart of the music. There are two swear words which are used by Fletcher as an emphasis to something that he tries to convey. For instance, "*the folder was your f*cking responsibility*", the word f*cking in this situation is categorized as influenced by linguistics motive.

Conclusion

After analyzing all the data, the researcher discovered 107 swear words that were used by the eight characters in the Whiplash movie which were then analyzed based on the type and the motive. Based on the analysis in the finding and discussion, the types of swear word found in the movie are various. The types are expletive swear word, abusive swear word, humorous swear word and auxiliary swear word. From the findings, the most dominant types of swear word than the other types is auxiliary swear word. The researcher found 69 data or 64,48% auxiliary swear word used by the eight characters in the movie. While the motive for all the characters in using swear word categorized into three motives, they are; psychological, social and linguistics motive. The findings of the motives in using swear word show that linguistics motive is the most influential reasons for all the characters to swear. It means that all the characters using swear word mostly to emphasize the thing that they are talking about.

References

- Andersson, L.G., & Trudgill, P. (1992). *Bad language*. London: Penguin books.
- Crystal, D. (1995). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, G. (2006). *An encyclopedia of swearing: The social history of oaths, profanity, foul language, and ethnic slurs in the English-speaking world*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics 4th edition*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Jay, T. (2009). "The Utility and Ubiquity of Taboo Words". Perspectives on Psychological Science, Vol. 4 No. 2, page 153-161. Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts. Retrieved on November 20, 2018, from http://www.mcla.edu/Undergraduate/uploads/textWidget/1457_00018/documents/Jay_Taboo.pdf
- Jay, T. (2000). *Why we curse: A neuro psycho-social theory of speech*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Karjalainen, M. (2002). "Where Have All the Swearwords Gone? An Analysis of the Loss of Swearwords in Two Swedish Translations of J. D. Salinger's 'Catcher in the Rye'". Retrieved on December 15, 2018, from <http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/engla/pg/karjalainen/werehav.pdf>.
- Montague, A. (2001). *The anatomy of swearing*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society 4th edition*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Vanderstoep, S.W. & Deirdre, D. J. (2009). *Research Methods for Everyday Life: Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.