Journal of Innovative and Creativity
Journal Homepage: https://joecy.org/index.php/joecy
e-mail: journaljoecy@gmail.com

Faculty of Education
University of Pahlawan Tuanku Tambusai
ISSN 2776-771X (Online)
ISSN 2962-570X (Printed)
6 (2) 2026, Page: 35573-35582

Representations of Power at Police Headquarters: A Discourse Analysis of Mapolres Architecture in Geospatial Reports

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Published: Juni , 2026

ABSTRACT

This study examines how the physical spatial arrangement of Police Resort Headquarters (Mapolres) in Indonesia represents and reproduces power relations, internal hierarchy, unit segregation, and the institution's relationship with the surrounding community. Using a qualitative approach with architectural discourse analysis and geospatial netnography, this research utilizes online data such as Google Street View images, user-uploaded photos on Google Maps, YouTube virtual tour videos, and photos from online news portals. A purposive sample of 10 Mapolres was selected from rural (4 locations), semi-urban (3 locations), and urban (3 locations) areas on the islands of Java and Sumatra. The analysis is guided by the frameworks of the sociology of space (Lefebvre, 1991), architecture of power (Foucault, 1977), and dramaturgy (Goffman, 1959). The results show three main findings. *First*, internal hierarchy is represented through the centralized and protected location of leadership offices (upper floors or end of corridors), ceremonial yards that place leaders in a central position, and rank-based access zoning. *Second*, functional unit segregation is reflected in the closed and hidden Criminal Investigation Unit (Reskrim) room (back stage), the open and publicly accessible Traffic Unit (Lantas) room (front stage), and the Logistics room located in the unseen rear area. *Third*, the relationship with the surrounding community is represented through fences, security posts, and waiting rooms: urban Mapolres tend to have high walls with separate waiting rooms, creating social distance and potential distrust; conversely, rural Mapolres are more open and accessible. This study concludes that Mapolres architecture is not a neutral space but a spatial text that conveys messages of power, control, and social distance. Recommendations include evaluating Mapolres designs to be more open and public-friendly, as well as conducting further studies with physical observation and interviews.

Keywords: architecture of power, Mapolres, discourse analysis, online geospatial, sociology of space

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INTRODUCTION

Police Resort Headquarters (Mapolres) serves as the command, administration, and service center of the police at the district/city level. As a public building representing the state's presence in the community, Mapolres not only functions as a workplace for law enforcement officers but also as a *physical representation* of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) that can be read, judged, and interpreted by local residents. Spatial layout, architectural design, fence materials, entrance width, location of service rooms, and the positions of leadership offices and functional units (Criminal Investigation, Traffic, Logistics, Intelligence) indirectly communicate messages about internal hierarchy, task segregation, and the social distance between police and the community. In the digital age, these physical images of Mapolres are no longer accessible only through direct visits; they are widely disseminated as *online geospatial reports* such as Google Street View, user-uploaded photos on Google Maps, online news portals, and virtual tour videos on YouTube. The availability of this visual data opens new opportunities for police sociology and anthropology research to analyze how

institutional public space reflects and reproduces power relations without costly and time-consuming fieldwork.

In Indonesia, Mapolres vary greatly between urban, semi-urban, and rural areas. In rural areas, Mapolres is often the only dominant state building in the sub-district center, so its architecture has a significant symbolic impact on local communities. Is Mapolres built with high fences and strict security posts, or is it open with a publicly accessible yard? Are service rooms easily reachable or hidden in the back? Is the police chief's office on a separate upper floor or integrated with service rooms? These questions are important because spatial design is never neutral. As argued by Lefebvre (1991) in *The Production of Space*, space is a social product laden with interests and power. Foucault (1977) in *Discipline and Punish* shows how the architecture of prisons and military barracks—including police stations—can become an instrument of discipline, surveillance, and control. Meanwhile, Goffman (1959) with his concepts of *front stage* and *back stage* helps us understand why certain areas (service rooms) are opened to the public while other areas (investigation rooms, detention cells, leadership offices) are deliberately hidden.

Research on police architecture in various countries has shown that open and transparent station designs tend to increase public trust, while closed, fortified designs increase perceptions of distance, fear, and even resistance (Woldoff, 2008; Monaghan, 2010). However, in Indonesia, studies that specifically analyze Mapolres spatial arrangements as representations of power remain very limited. Most research on Polri focuses on legal aspects, performance, or internal organizational culture, not on physical architecture as a social text. Yet, rural and urban residents pass by or visit Mapolres every day, and from its outward appearance they form perceptions of whether the police are friendly protectors or a frightening institution.

This research departs from that gap by utilizing *online geospatial data*—Google Street View images, photos from online media, and virtual tour videos—to analyze the spatial arrangements of several Mapolres in rural and semi-urban areas of Indonesia. This approach enables low-cost, wide-coverage comparative studies across regions. The analysis focuses on: (1) how internal police hierarchy (rank and authority) is represented through the location of leadership offices, ceremonial spaces, and access zoning; (2) how functional unit segregation (especially the closed Criminal Investigation unit, the more open Traffic unit, and the hidden Logistics unit) is reflected in architecture; and (3) how the relationship between Mapolres and the surrounding community (fences, waiting rooms, road access) communicates messages about Polri's inclusiveness or exclusiveness. Using the frameworks of sociology of space, architecture of power, and dramaturgy, this research seeks to open the "black box" of police station design as one of the most visible yet rarely discussed manifestations of power practices.

This study is built on three complementary theoretical frameworks: Henri Lefebvre's (1991) *sociology of space*, Michel Foucault's (1977) *architecture of power*, and Erving Goffman's (1959) *dramaturgy*. Collectively, these perspectives enable a deep analysis of how Mapolres' physical spatial layout represents, reproduces, and naturalizes power relations, internal hierarchy, and social distance from the surrounding community.

First, Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1991) proposes the revolutionary idea that space is not a neutral, empty container but a *social product* saturated with interests, ideology, and power. Lefebvre distinguishes three dimensions of space: *spatial practice* (everyday practices that reproduce social structure), *representations of space* (space conceived by planners, architects, and authorities), and *representational spaces* (space directly lived by inhabitants and users). In the context of Mapolres, the building's architecture is a *representation of space* that reflects Polri's institutional interests: how they want to be seen by the public (threatening or friendly?), how they organize internal activities (surveillance, discipline), and how they separate public from private areas. Lefebvre also emphasizes that every spatial order carries a message about who has the right to be where, who must obey, and who holds power. Thus, the analysis of Mapolres floor plans, entrances, fences, security posts, waiting rooms, leadership offices, investigation rooms, and detention cells can be read as a *spatial text* articulating police ideology.

Second, Michel Foucault (1977) in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* introduces the concept of the *panopticon* as an ideal model of power architecture. The panopticon is a circular building

with a central watchtower and cells around the periphery, where inmates never know if they are being watched, so they internalize discipline and self-monitor. Foucault shows that architecture serves not only functional purposes but also as a *political technology* to regulate bodies, control movement, and create compliance. In the context of Mapolres, elements such as long corridors enabling surveillance, windowless closed rooms, separation between investigator and detainee rooms, and the elevated or remote location of leadership offices can be understood as applying panoptic logic. Foucault also emphasizes that modern institutions (barracks, schools, hospitals, factories, and police stations) share the same disciplinary architectural principles: *spatial hierarchy*, *continuous surveillance*, and *normalization of behavior*. Thus, analyzing Mapolres architecture reveals not only physical layout but also the power regime that the police institution seeks to create and maintain.

Third, Erving Goffman (1959) in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* introduces *dramaturgy* to analyze social interaction. Goffman distinguishes between *front stage* and *back stage*. On the *front stage*, social actors present a desired image to the public using specific attributes, gestures, and spatial arrangements. On the *back stage*, actors can drop their masks, relax, and prepare before returning to the front. In the Mapolres context, public service rooms (SPKT, waiting rooms, SIM/SKCK counters) are the *front stage* designed to project a professional, friendly, service-oriented image. Conversely, investigation rooms, detention cells, logistics rooms, and closed leadership offices are the *back stage* deliberately hidden from the public because practices that might contradict the front-stage image (intense interrogations, detention, evidence storage) take place there. The segregation between *front stage* and *back stage* in Mapolres architecture is not merely physical but also symbolic: it creates a boundary between "those who have the right to know" and "those who do not." Using Goffman's lens, this study examines how walls, doors, corridors, and access zones in Mapolres function as *settings* that regulate who can perform where and to whom.

These three frameworks complement each other. Lefebvre provides the philosophical foundation that space is a social product. Foucault provides analytical tools for how space becomes an instrument of power and discipline. Goffman provides concepts for how space is used to manage impressions in front of the public. By integrating all three, this research analyzes Mapolres spatial arrangements as: (a) a product of Polri's institutional interests (Lefebvre), (b) a technology of surveillance and control (Foucault), and (c) a stage for the performance of power and service (Goffman).

Several studies have examined power architecture in public buildings such as courthouses, prisons, government offices, and military headquarters. Woldoff (2008), in her study of police architecture in the United States, found that police stations designed with high fences, small windows, and narrow entrances tended to generate negative perceptions among minority communities, who felt the police were more like "occupiers" than "protectors." Monaghan (2010), in a study of police stations in the UK, showed that modern police buildings with large glass windows and open spaces actually increased public trust because they created an impression of transparency and accountability. In Indonesia, research on police architecture remains very limited. A few studies on police posts at the village level (Polsek) have been conducted in the context of police anthropology / legal anthropology, but none have systematically analyzed Mapolres as a representation of hierarchy and functional unit segregation. Studies on the spatial layout of government offices in Indonesia (e.g., regent offices, village halls) show that the placement of leadership offices on upper floors or at corridor ends reflects power centralization (Kusumawati, 2018). However, these studies have not used online geospatial data such as Google Street View. Meanwhile, online-based architectural discourse analysis methods have begun to develop abroad (Rundle et al., 2011) but have not been widely applied to police buildings. Thus, the *research gaps* this study aims to fill are: (1) no study has specifically analyzed Mapolres spatial arrangements in Indonesia as representations of power, hierarchy, and unit segregation; (2) there is a lack of studies utilizing online geospatial reports (Google Street View, online photos, virtual tour videos) for police architecture analysis; and (3) comparative research between Mapolres in rural, semi-urban, and urban areas is limited

Based on the theoretical framework and research gaps outlined above, this study is formulated into four main questions:

1. How does the spatial layout of Mapolres (entrances, waiting rooms, leadership offices, unit rooms, detention areas, ceremonial yards) represent internal police hierarchy?
2. How is functional unit segregation (Criminal Investigation, Traffic, Logistics, Intelligence, Patrol) reflected in Mapolres architecture, and what is the meaning of that segregation?
3. How is the relationship between Mapolres and the surrounding community represented through architectural elements such as fences, security posts, public service rooms, and road access?
4. What are the differences in spatial patterns between Mapolres in rural, semi-urban, and urban areas, and what are their implications for Polri's image?

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with the type of research being *architectural discourse analysis* (Rose, 2016) adapted for online geospatial data. This approach allows researchers to "read" buildings as texts containing messages of power, hierarchy, and social relations without direct physical observation. The main data sources are: (a) *Google Street View* images of purposively selected Police Resort Headquarters (Mapolres); (b) *user-uploaded photos* from Google Maps and social media (Instagram, Facebook) showing various angles of Mapolres; (c) *virtual tour videos* from YouTube (if available); and (d) *photos from online news portals* covering activities at Mapolres. Sample selection used *purposive sampling* based on the following criteria: (1) Mapolres located in rural, semi-urban, and urban areas on the islands of Java and Sumatra (3–4 Mapolres each, total 10 Mapolres); (2) adequate availability of geospatial data (clear Street View images, at least 5 user-uploaded photos); (3) geographic and demographic representation (West Java, Central Java, East Java, North Sumatra, South Sumatra). The data collection period was January–March 2026.

Data collection techniques involved systematic searching using Google Maps with keywords "Polres [city/regency name]" and "Mapolres [region name]". For each Mapolres, the researcher performed: (1) 360-degree exploration via Google Street View to observe building exteriors, fences, entrances, security posts, waiting rooms (if visible), yards, and interaction with the surrounding environment (road width, sidewalks, vegetation); (2) collection of photos from the "Photos" tab on Google Maps uploaded by users, as well as from official Polri social media accounts (e.g., @divisihumaspolri, @polres_xxx) and citizen accounts; (3) searching for *virtual tour* videos on YouTube with keywords "virtual tour Mapolres" or "jalan-jalan ke Polres"; (4) documentation of photos from online news portals (Kompas.com, detikNews, Tribunnews) showing activities at Mapolres (ceremonies, public services, press conferences). Each data point was recorded with source, access date, and geographic coordinates.

Data analysis used *critical discourse analysis* (Fairclough, 2013) directed at architectural elements. The researcher identified and coded the following elements: (a) *boundary elements*: fences, gates, security posts, fence height, presence/absence of barbed wire; (b) *public access elements*: main entrance, waiting rooms, service counters, accessibility features; (c) *internal hierarchy elements*: location of leadership offices (if visible from outside or in photos), ceremonial spaces, flag position, floor level differences; (d) *unit segregation elements*: areas presumed to be Criminal Investigation rooms (usually closed, few windows, restricted access), Traffic rooms (usually more open with counters), Logistics rooms (rear area, near warehouse); (e) *community relations elements*: presence/absence of parks or public spaces, sidewalks, public parking, information boards. Each element was analyzed using Lefebvre's (1991) framework on the production of space, Foucault's (1977) architecture of power, and Goffman's (1959) front stage/back stage. Comparative analysis was conducted between Mapolres in rural, semi-urban, and urban areas.

Data validity was ensured through *source triangulation* (comparing data from Google Street View, uploaded photos, virtual tour videos, and online news for the same Mapolres), *theory triangulation* (using all three theoretical frameworks simultaneously), and *cross-checking* by comparing findings from two Mapolres in adjacent areas to ensure consistency of interpretation. The researcher also maintained an *audit trail* by systematically documenting each step of data collection and analysis. Limitations of this method include that not all building angles are captured by Google Street View (e.g., rear areas

or inner courtyards), and user-uploaded photos may not be representative. Therefore, interpretations are limited to what is visible from public spaces (roads, sidewalks) and from available angles

With this method, the research is able not only to visually describe Mapolres spatial arrangements but also to reveal the discourses of power, hierarchy, and social distance contained behind the architecture of police headquarters in Indonesia.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This study analyzed 10 Mapolres in rural (4 locations), semi-urban (3 locations), and urban (3 locations) areas on Java and Sumatra using Google Street View data, user-uploaded photos, and virtual tour videos. The findings are presented in three major themes: (1) representation of internal hierarchy through spatial layout, (2) functional unit segregation, and (3) relationship with the surrounding community.

3.1 Representation of Internal Hierarchy

From all observed Mapolres, a consistent pattern was found that the police chief's office is located in the most protected and centralized position. In urban-type Mapolres (e.g., Bandung Police Headquarters, Jalan Bhayangkara, Soreang, Bandung Regency, West Java), as shown below:



Source: Researcher's processing (2026) Bandung Police Headquarters, Soreang

The police chief's office is on the second floor, accessible via a long corridor and a special door not accessible to the public. The ceremonial yard is always in front of the main building, with the leadership podium facing the troops and the main road—a configuration that, according to Lefebvre (1991), constitutes *representations of space* that place the leader as the center of surveillance. In rural areas (e.g., Cianjur Police Headquarters), the police chief's office tends to be at the end of a ground-floor corridor but still separated by a secretariat room and internal waiting room. This pattern reflects what Foucault (1977) calls *spatial hierarchy*: the higher the rank, the more centralized and protected the position. Access zoning is also visible from different uniform colors (not visible from outside but from internal photos uploaded by citizens) and nameplates installed only in certain areas.

3.2 Functional Unit Segregation

The Criminal Investigation unit is consistently placed in the most closed area. At Sukabumi Police Headquarters (rural):



Source: Researcher's processing (2026) from Google Earth, Sukabumi Regency Police Headquarters, Jalan Kompleks Perkantoran Jajaway, Citepus, Sukabumi Regency, West Java

The Criminal Investigation room is located in the rear wing of the building with an entrance from an internal corridor, with no windows facing the street. Meanwhile, the Traffic unit is always at the front, with service counters directly facing the main entrance or even outside the fence. The Logistics unit, conversely, is always hidden in the rear area near the warehouse and official vehicle garage. This segregation pattern reflects the nature of each unit's duties: Criminal Investigation handles crimes requiring confidentiality (back stage), Traffic provides public service (front stage), and Logistics is technical and need not be seen by the public (Goffman, 1959). In urban areas, this segregation is sharper: the Criminal Investigation room is often on the second floor or in a separate building accessible only through a rear entrance

3.3 Realationship with the Surrounding Community

From the analysis of fences, security posts, and waiting rooms, significant variation was found between rural and urban areas. Rural Mapolres (e.g., Garut Police Headquarters):



Source: Researcher's processing (2026) Garut Police Headquarters, Jalan Jendral Sudirman, Sucikaler, Garut Regency, West Java

Tend to have fences 1.5–2 meters high without barbed wire, simple security posts, and waiting rooms integrated with the main building's terrace. Conversely, urban Mapolres (e.g., Bekasi City Metro Police Headquarters):



Source: Researcher's processing (2026) Bekasi City Metro Police Headquarters, Jalan Pramuka, RT.001/RW.002, Marga Jaya, Bekasi, West Java

Have high fences (3–4 meters) with barbed wire, double security posts, and waiting rooms separate from the main building, often as small buildings outside the fence. This indicates that in urban areas, Mapolres emphasizes security and control, while in rural areas accessibility and closeness are prioritized. This finding aligns with Woldoff (2008) that fortified police station architecture increases perceptions of social distance and distrust, especially in heterogeneous urban communities. Some semi-urban Mapolres (e.g., Karawang Police Headquarters):



Source: Researcher's processing (2026) Karawang Police Headquarters, Jalan Surotokunto, Warungbambu, Karawang, West Java.

Show transitional designs: medium fences (2.5 meters) with semi-open waiting rooms. However, in general, fences and security posts serve as *symbolic boundaries* communicating a "restricted area" message to ordinary citizens. Public service rooms (SPKT) in all Mapolres are always near the entrance, but access often requires passing through the security post first, creating a *gatekeeping* effect that may intimidate visitors

3.4 Rural Vs. Urban Comparison

Overall, rural Mapolres exhibit more open and accessible architecture, with lower fences, integrated waiting rooms, and less sharp unit segregation. In contrast, urban Mapolres are more fortified, closed, and highly segregated. This difference can be explained by higher crime rates and population density in urban areas, prompting Polri to create "fortresses" to protect assets and personnel. However, ironically, overly defensive designs may reinforce the perception that police are more concerned with self-protection than public service (Monaghan, 2010). Thus, Mapolres architecture not only reflects functional needs but also institutional choices about how they wish to be perceived by the community

CONCLUSIONS

This research concludes that the architecture of Police Resort Headquarters (Mapolres) in Indonesia is not a neutral space serving merely as a workplace but rather a *spatial text* that actively represents and reproduces power relations, internal hierarchy, unit segregation, and social distance from the surrounding community. Based on analysis of 10 Mapolres in rural, semi-urban, and urban areas using Google Street View data, uploaded photos, and virtual tour videos, three main findings emerged. *First*, internal police hierarchy is consistently represented through the centralized and protected position of leadership offices (upper floor or end of corridor), ceremonial yards that place leaders in a central position facing troops and the public, and rank-based access zoning. This pattern reflects what Foucault (1977) calls "spatial hierarchy" and Lefebvre (1991) calls "representations of space" laden with power interests. *Second*, functional unit segregation is clearly visible: Criminal Investigation rooms are always in the most closed and hidden area (as *back stage*), Traffic rooms are the most open and publicly accessible (as *front stage*), while Logistics rooms are hidden in the rear area.

This pattern reflects the differentiation of task nature (confidential vs. service) and simultaneously reinforces the symbolic status of each unit within the organization. *Third*, the relationship with the surrounding community is represented through fences, security posts, and waiting rooms. Urban Mapolres tend to have high fences with barbed wire, double security posts, and waiting rooms separate from the main building—creating a "fortress" impression that increases social distance and potential distrust. In contrast, rural Mapolres are more open, with low fences, integrated waiting rooms, and easier access. This difference shows that social context and security levels influence architectural design, but overly defensive urban designs may reinforce negative public perceptions of the police (Woldoff, 2008; Monaghan, 2010). Power in this study is understood multi-dimensionally, encompassing not only internal hierarchy (superior-subordinate relations) but also the institution's relationship with the community (social distance), as explained by the frameworks of Lefebvre, Foucault, and Goffman.

This study also has *limitations*. First, data are limited to what is recorded on Google Street View and online photos; not all building angles (e.g., rear areas, detention rooms, upper-floor leadership offices) can be visually observed. Second, this research did not conduct physical observation or interviews with space users (police, staff, visiting citizens), so interpretations of the meaning of space are based solely on visual analysis and theoretical frameworks. Third, the sample is limited to 10 Mapolres on Java and Sumatra, so generalization to eastern Indonesia (Papua, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara) should be done cautiously. Nevertheless, the *significance* of this research lies in its contribution to the sociology of space and police studies in Indonesia, as well as the introduction of *geospatial netnography* as a low-cost, wide-reaching alternative for studying institutional architecture.

Based on the research findings, several suggestions and recommendations are offered. *First*, for the Indonesian National Police (Polri), especially the Facilities and Headquarters Division, it is recommended to evaluate Mapolres designs, particularly in urban areas, by balancing security and openness. Fences that are too high and layered security posts tend to create a "fortress" impression that intimidates the public. Instead, more open designs with comfortable waiting rooms, access without layered checks, and elements such as gardens or public spaces in the front yard can increase public safety and trust. For the Criminal Investigation unit, although task confidentiality is necessary, it is recommended to maintain humanistic aspects by providing adequate waiting rooms for suspects' families or victims, as well as sufficient lighting and ventilation. *Second*, for local governments and spatial planners, it is recommended to integrate Mapolres development plans with surrounding public spaces, for example by providing wide sidewalks, green open spaces, and accessibility for persons with disabilities. This will help eliminate the "closed compound" impression often attached to police headquarters. *Third*, for future researchers, comparative studies with direct physical observation and in-depth interviews with space users (police, administrative staff, visitors) are recommended to verify findings from online data. Research could also be extended to eastern Indonesia and to the Polsek (Sector Police) level to see architectural variations at a smaller scale. Longitudinal studies could track changes in Mapolres design after renovations or new policies. *Fourth*, for the community and public institution transparency advocates, online geospatial data can be used as an advocacy tool: by comparing public-friendly versus fortress-like Mapolres designs, citizens can encourage Polri to adopt more inclusive and accountable architectural standards

Thus, this research provides not only academic contributions but also practical recommendations for improving the quality of service and Polri's image in the eyes of the public

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