RE-INTEGRATING THE POLICE INTO THE URBAN FABRIC

by
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Architecture

at
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

April 2008

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The undersigned hereby certify that they have read a thesis entitled "Re-integrating the Police into the Urban Fabric" by Richard Blouin, and recommend it for acceptance to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture.

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DEDICATION

For Kelly, my motivation.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the social role of the police and their relationship to the city through an investigation of police architecture. It attempts to integrate the police more fully into the urban fabric and its informal social networks. Situated in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, the design project proposes a reorganization of the police institution. It modifies the existing police headquarters and introduces two building types not currently found in the city: a basic police unit and a police box. Its guidelines for police architecture include programmatic relationships, architectural elements, and site selection criteria. By developing a meaningful approach to police architecture, the project also seeks to contribute to our understanding of the current North American city.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

THESIS QUESTION

Could an innovative approach to police architecture help foster a more positive relationship between the police and the community and encourage collective efficacy?

The intent of this thesis is to examine the social role of the police and their relationship to the city through an investigation of police architecture. This thesis also explores the architectural potential for strengthening social relationships and community through an analysis of the existing police institution and the development of a model police station for the Halifax Regional Police in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The design strategy proposes a reorganization of the police institution, exploring the potential of existing police facilities in Halifax as well as introducing new types or configurations not currently found in the city. Ultimately, it is the goal of this thesis to develop an innovative approach to police architecture that could also contribute to our understanding of the current North American city.

APPROACH

This thesis report is divided into three sections: Introduction, Design, and Summary. The Introduction begins with a historical overview of the police institution in general, followed by a theoretical exploration. The theoretical exploration attempts to discover ideas and methods that might bridge the gap between the theories and goals of contemporary policing

models, where research has primarily been focused on police programs, activities and organizational structure, and how some of these ideas might translate into a meaningful architectural design for the police organization in Halifax. Little has been written regarding the role of architecture in community policing and policing in general. Ideas presented in the theoretical exploration - of social interaction, the informal life of streets, and the role of icons and symbols in architecture - provide a supportive framework for the design work that follows.

The Design section begins by looking at the scale of the city and the police institution as a whole. The focus is on developing operational consistencies between the actual act of policing in the city and what the police institution claims to do or aspires to be. A three-tiered, stratified crime-prevention approach to policing is adopted, consisting of a system of police facilities for peninsular Halifax, working at three scales: the city, the community, and the neighbourhood. The emphasis of the design work is the development of a police building at the community scale, the basic police unit (BPU), acting as a metonym for the police institution and its aspirations. A set of general principles is then extracted from the design work that might serve as design guidelines for other typical North American cities.

POLICE AND THE CITY

Historical Context

The police and the community in contemporary western society are in a paradoxical relationship.

The public demands effective policing, but not at the expense of their civic liberties. The sometimes invasive and confrontational relationship between the police and the community has developed into a condition of mutual distrust and hostility, effectively dividing the police and the community into "us vs. them." The police act in a limited capacity, as a non-fixed urban element. Historically, the police have had a complex relationship with the city. The word "police" itself has etymological roots via French from the Latin *politia* (civil administration), which is itself derived from the ancient Greek word *polis* (city).[1] In North America, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the police provided a varied range of social services: they were called upon to run soup kitchens, house homeless, balance weights and measures, look for missing people, and check boilers. Their uniformed visibility, hierarchical organization and communication capacity made them civil servants of general resort. As representatives of the state, the police officer on the street was the symbolic representation of the ideal citizen. It was not until the early twentieth century that the police began to focus more on crime fighting and law enforcement.[2]

The institution of the police as we know it has evolved from the Metropolitan Police in London and can be divided into three models: the traditional, professional, and community problem-solving models. The traditional or political model was the dominant policing model from the 1840s to the early 1900s. Based largely on Sir Robert Peel's principles of police reform, the police focused on crime prevention and

maintenance of order, as well as other social service activities. They functioned largely as decentralized units, on the street, away from direct supervision. They were well integrated into the neighbourhoods they policed and enjoyed public support. The down side was that their relative independence and political ties made them susceptible to political corruption and bribes from community members.[3] The professional model, the dominant model from the early 1900s to the 1970s, reinforced isolation from the community and politicians to reduce casual contact that might lead to corruption. There was an emphasis on law enforcement over the traditional social role, as well as an increase in supervision through communication technology. Decrease in foot patrols and an increase in motor patrol further separated the police from the public life of the city. The police took on a more rigid paramilitary organizational structure. Despite such good intentions, this model failed to control or improve crime rates. The primary strategies of policing were not effective and there was a general increase in fear of crime. This era also coincided with a rise in
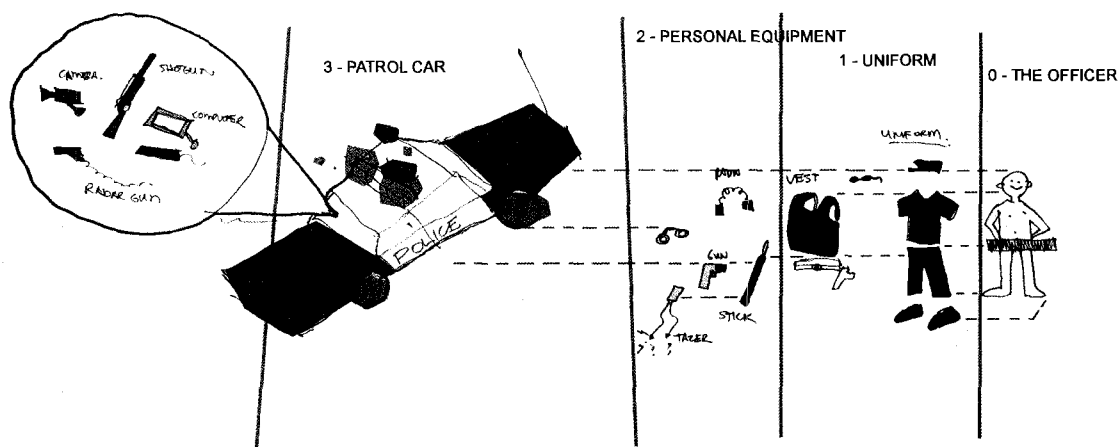

Figure 1. Three degrees of separation - filters that exist between the public and the police

mistrust of police and feelings of unequal treatment of different groups.[4] The contemporary police model lies somewhere between the two previous models. Police reform in North America and the United Kingdom has been moving towards community policing yet the professional model still seems to be the dominant organizational structure. Community policing has typically consisted of programmatic add-ons and has been used as a buzzword to gain public support.

Current Condition: Myth of the Crime Fighter

The most commonly perpetuated myth of the police is that they prevent crime. Bayley asserts that repeated analysis has consistently failed to find any connection between the number of police officers and crime rates and that the primary strategies adopted by modern police, such as motor patrol, rapid response and investigation, have been shown to have little or no effect on crime.[5] This begs the question: If the police do not prevent crime, what is it they do? The majority of police work is not spent fighting or preventing crime (only 3% on average is spent on crime prevention), but in restoring order and providing general assistance.[6] Bayley identified three questions that summarize the contemporary condition of policing in North America: Why haven't the police been effective in preventing crime? What might the police do to become effective crime deterrents? Considering these requirements, do we want the police to be effective?[7] As such, the police institution must reveal itself for what it really is and does, or must be completely restructured to be better equipped for crime prevention. Community policing is a reaction to the latter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Community Policing

A large amount of contemporary police theory is focused on community policing, an overarching term that takes a problem-oriented approach, focusing on proactive policing. Some have claimed that it is nothing new, but more correctly a re-emergence of the old approach developed in London by Sir Robert Peel and the Metropolitan Police. Community policing is an adapted historical model that focuses on the social service role of police, in development since the 1980s. Programs such as Crime Stoppers, Neighbourhood Watch, and Block Parents were early manifestations of community policing. It is centred on police-community partnerships and problem solving to address problems of crime and social disorder in communities.[8] Architectural expression of community policing has most often found its form as the police box, a structure that originated in London (the police call box) and flourished in Japan as *Koban* (Figure 2).

Critics of community policing claim that it has not decreased or prevented crime and that it has been no more effective than the professional policing model.[9] In many cases, aspects of community policing, such as foot patrol and the presence of police boxes, have lessened the fear of crime and increased public reassurance but have done little to actually reduce crime. Also, failures have been attributed to "short term" trials, where community policing programs are tacked onto the existing professional organizational
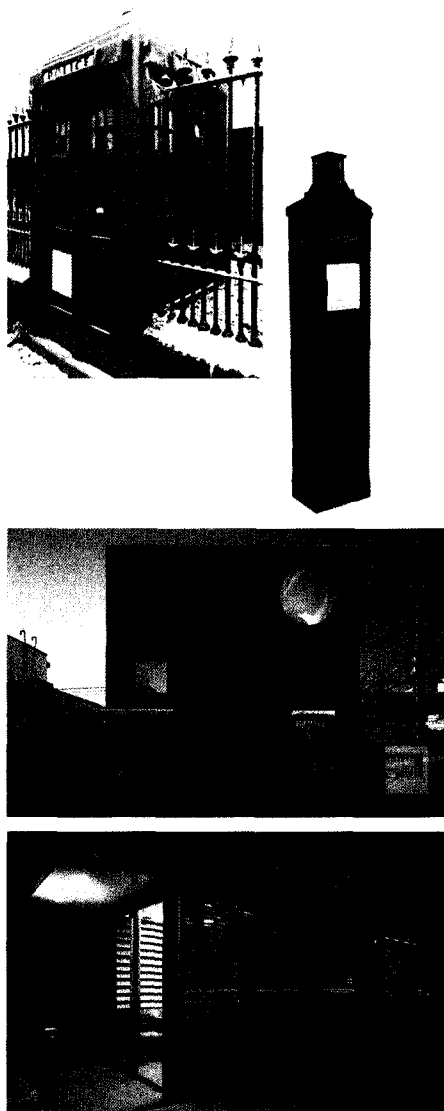
Figure 2. From top to bottom:

Great Western Road Police Box. From *Glasgow West End* (2001).

Call Box at St. Martins Le Grand. From *Northamptonshire Police Online* (2008).

Tokyo Police Box. From Rattenbury (1994).

Chofu Station Police Box. From "Police Box at Chofu Station North Exit" (1995).

structure.[10] Most critics agree that a total structural change for community policing is needed to prevent crime.[11] One of the most successful American implementations of community policing has been through the Chicago Police Department. Based on the New York Compstat real-time crime centre, Chicago developed CLEAR: a web site fully accessible to the public, delivering crime information statistics and allowing citizens to interact with the police. It also provides officer profiles and allows for suggestions, tips and polling. Chicago also has monthly community beat meetings with consistently strong attendance. They have also created a three-digit number (311) for all non-emergency services at the municipal level, encouraging interagency cooperation.[12]

Building Social Capital

Even the best example comes up short. Chicago has had little success in mobilizing citizens to act.[13] There is typically more advice given by the police than to the police, and there is a high turnover of attending officers:

> The evidence of its effectiveness resides primarily in its capacity to make the public less fearful of crime while doing little to reduce crime itself. While collective action promises to provide real benefits to the nation's neighborhoods and communities, community policing advocates are still struggling to find the elixir that will transform quiescent and alienated citizens into virtuous civic actors.[14]

What is needed, and what community policing is ultimately striving for but failing to do, is to develop social capital. Mastrofski states that recent research has found that collective efficacy is associated with lower levels of violence and disorder, and that this

may be causal in nature. Neighbours are socially efficacious when members mind the behaviour of children, intervene to prevent socially disruptive practices (truancy, prostitution, drug dealing), and secure resources from private and public institutions that can benefit the neighbourhood.[15] Currently, community policing does not promote social efficacy. Mastrofski says that "they simply do not focus on developing the skills and habits among the public that build collective efficacy."[16] Neighbourhood Watch, for example, does little to build social cohesion where it does not already exist. How, then, is it possible to develop the civic virtues of persons engaged in collective enterprises for the common good? Mastrofski continues:

> The problem with most community policing partnership programs is that they focus too much on how to conform to police expectations rather than how members of the community can be given the will, skill, and resources to themselves engage in behaviors that contribute to less crime and a higher quality of life in the community.[17]

Deformalizing the Institution

What role could police architecture play in helping to achieve this ultimate goal of community cohesion and positive social interaction? In *Reinventing the Police Station*, Ben Rogers claims that police estates have often acted as signals in the community, representing the values of a democratic society.[18] While it is obvious that meaningful design intentions cannot solve the problem, they can play a significant role and may contribute to building social capital. To merely place a police box in a high crime area, for example, or to provide a community room is not enough. A focus

must be on deformalizing the institution. In "The Uses of Sidewalks: Contact," Jane Jacobs suggests that cities must keep their informal social networks on the street alive, and that institutionalizing the informal will not encourage positive social change. Where casual informal events become controlled, they often fail.[19] It is possible, however, to reverse the situation and, through the location and presentation of police architecture, deformalize the institution. Through an informal situation in the city there is potential for the police to engage in the informal life of the street. For example, in *The New Blue Line*, Skolnick and Bayley tell the story of one police box located near a bus stop in Detroit, where the residing officer takes advantage of its location, making coffee and letting people come in to warm up when it is cold or raining.[20] The mixing of public and police programs within a police facility could increase casual police-public contact. Jane Jacobs emphasizes the importance of casual contact in the city:

> The sum of such casual, public contact at a local level is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighborhood need.[21]

The cultivation of casual contact cannot be institutionalized.[22] For the police station to be a part of a neighbourhood, it must shed its institutional skin at the local level, thus contributing to trivial contact. Architecturally, this might be promoted through the use of lighter or more transparent materials and open spaces, as opposed to a brick fortress. Programmatically, a café might be a more effective place for social discourse than a meeting room. For

the police to gain the trust of a community and promote social cohesion there must be a framework in place that allows for improvisation and happenstance.

According to Jacobs, formal types of local city organizations often are expected to grow out of meeting announcements, the presence of meeting rooms, and the existence of problems of public concern. This does not work in cities: "Formal public organizations in cities require an informal public life underlying them."[23] We can therefore infer that certain types of programs such as Community Watch and Crime Stoppers, community meeting rooms and even police boxes deployed by the police might not work in inner city neighbourhoods or areas where positive informal social networks do not already exist. How, then, can a formal organization (the police) insert itself into an informal situation without institutionalizing it? What is required is a bottom-up approach, aligning services with the needs of the community.[24]

Jacobs tells the story of a particular New York neighbourhood where residents leave spare keys with local shopkeepers for safekeeping or to give to friends or relatives who might want to stay at their place while the owner is out of town.[25] It does not fall into the normal role of the shopkeepers but they do it because they are good neighbours. Similarly, police officers are not required to look for a lost cat, but they might. The police officer in principle represents the ideal citizen, and therefore performs tasks like a good neighbour, doing things an ideal citizen would do. Police have the potential to take on a larger role at the neighbourhood

level, but these services cannot be formalized; they must be done as favours, by a good neighbour. This fits the community officer's mandate to build closer ties with the community. The police officer has to allow for and nurture the unexpected. Jacobs describes these types of people as "public characters," stationed in public places. They are anchored characters and roving characters who connect on the street and spread the word.[26] News reaches the public on the street informally. She claims that tolerance for differences "are possible and normal only when streets of great cities have built-in equipment allowing strangers to dwell in peace together on civilized but essentially dignified and reserved terms."[27] Police stations have the potential to become a component of this "built-in equipment," informally and strategically placed within the city fabric.
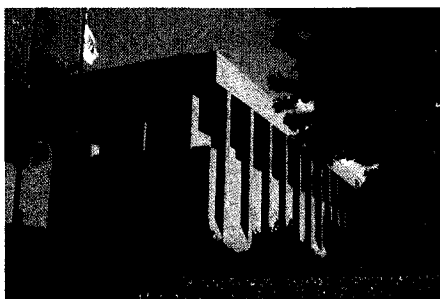

Figure 3. Halifax Regional Police headquarters (1968-74).
Architect: Graham Napier Hebert Associates.

The Role of the Police Station

Little research has been conducted regarding police station design and its role in police-public relations. In *Re-inventing the Police Station,* Rogers talks about public service being effective only when there is trust and cooperation between the police and the public. According to Rogers, the public face of police stations is typically a low priority. They are often alienating and intimidating places.[28] The Halifax Regional Police headquarters is no different (Figure 3). A brick monolith, although a beautiful work of architecture, does little to project a quality of reassurance. The only public space is a small, narrow, rectangular lobby. It is monolithic yet un-monumental. Rogers says that the police station should contribute to public

confidence: "Police stations, their physical appearance and approachability, often act as signals within the community."[29] They should be civic, open-minded spaces. He further states that, "like all good public buildings," police stations should sustain values of the public realm: values of democracy, citizenship, and public service, and that they should foster a sense of belonging and civic community.[30]

In thinking about the legibility of police architecture and its role in the city, one must consider how the building communicates its intentions. Symbolic significance can encourage civic pride and reinforce shared values. In "A Meaning for Monuments," William Hubbard says that a monument and, by extension, public buildings should speak to us.[31] He is quick to point out that reading a building is different than reading a book: "The crucial difference between icon-reading and book-reading is that icons do not do what books can do, which is to impart to us something we do not know."[32] Icons give us the scantest of hints – hints which elicit from our memory something we already know. Hubbard names four ways that buildings, especially public buildings, can communicate: 1) by denoting the identity of the institution inside, through shape, material, or ornamentation; 2) by saying something about what the institution "does for a living"; 3) voicing an ideology: proposing what this institution means to society (or wants to mean); and 4) by suggesting to us an inspiration that exists apart from an institutional "owner." This is not only about the role an institution plays in society, but also about how society itself ideally ought to be organized.[33] Icons

and symbols have always played an important role in police work. For example, in London, police stations were marked by blue lanterns. Blue historically has been associated with the police, chosen by Robert Peel for police uniforms to differentiate them from the red military outfit of the British military. Blue is still representative of the police today. The Halifax Regional Police logo, designed by Halifax police officers, represents the sea (historical and economic reliance on the ocean), a maple leaf (ties to Canada), and a lighthouse, anchored in rock, symbolizing guidance, safety, and security (Figure 4). Potential lies in the role of symbols and icons in police architecture. Commonly shared symbols increase legibility, allowing for instant recognition.

Figure 4. Halifax Regional Police logo. From "Halifax Regional Police," *Wikipedia*.
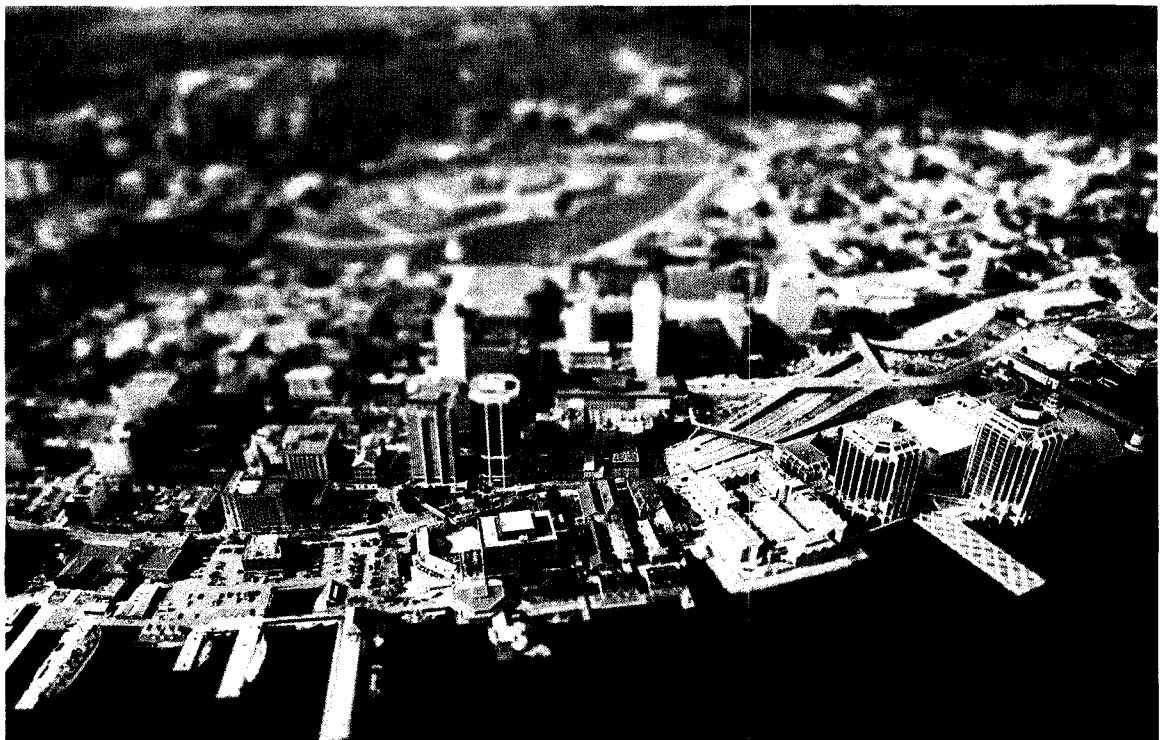
Figure 5. Aerial view of peninsular Halifax. Photograph by Craig Mosher.

DESIGN

The following design work attempts to translate these ideas of informal social networks, civic action and the goals of community policing into a meaningful distribution of police resources and architectural design for Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Halifax Regional Police

To fully understand the relationship between the police and the city, I began by analyzing the existing Halifax Regional Police agency. Halifax Regional Municipality is policed by two police agencies: The rural areas are policed by the federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the urban core is policed by the Halifax Regional Police (HRP). The urban core consists of three divisions: East (Dartmouth), Central (Halifax), and West (Bedford to Sambro) (Figure 6). Police facilities within each division include a divisional office and one or two smaller community offices, as well as a few support facilities. The police headquarters is located in the central division. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the geographical region of the central division, as it represents the *polis*: the political and socioeconomic centre of the Halifax region.

The central division is the heart of the Halifax police institution. The police headquarters is situated in a central position at the foot of Citadel Hill, bordering the downtown business district and the North End. Geographically, it is quite close to the political centre of the city: City Hall and Province House are only a few blocks away, and the Provincial and Supreme Courts

are within a ten minute walking distance. The Criminal Investigation Division (CID) of the HRP is housed in an office building adjacent to the police headquarters. The divisional office is located at the west end of the peninsula in the Halifax Shopping Centre, and there is a community office in the North End at Uniacke Square. There are also a number of other facilities scattered throughout the peninsula which fall under the police umbrella: By-law Enforcement, Animal Control, and YouthLIVE (recycling depot). Despite the apparent decentralization of police facilities, the majority of police programs are housed in or are deployed from the police headquarters (Figures 7-10). The remaining police functions are spread out around the city, in Dartmouth and Bedford, either for financial reasons or for lack of space at the police headquarters. Currently, the HRP is planning to build or lease a new police office in the Burnside Industrial Park in Dartmouth to collapse and consolidate leases, as well as to mitigate some inefficiencies resulting from certain police facilities being scattered around the city. This would further separate the police from the *polis*, removing some important departments, such as Community Programs, Victim Services, Harbour Patrol, Crossing Guards, Dartmouth Patrol, Crime Prevention and Community Relations, out of the city centre. Another consequence is that it would free up some space at police headquarters in Halifax, and certain components of Patrol, such as the Quick Response Unit, would be removed from the divisional office and brought back into the police headquarters. What we see developing is a trend towards centralization and consolidation of police

Halifax Regional Police District

1. POLICE HEADQUARTERS
2. CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DIVISION
3. CENTRAL DIVISIONAL OFFICE
4. UNIACKE SQUARE COMMUNITY OFFICE
5. PORT OFFICE
6. WEST DIVISIONAL OFFICE
7. COMMUNITY OFFICE - Herring Cove Road
8. SATELLITE OFFICE - Lacewood Drive
9. SATELLITE OFFICE - Chain Lake Drive
10. EAST DIVISIONAL OFFICE
11. COMMUNITY OFFICE - Dartmouth North
12. COMMUNITY OFFICE - Burnside Industrial Park
13. TRAINING AND RECORDS - Northbrook School
14. INVESTIGATIVE CALL BACK UNIT
15. ANIMAL CONTROL
16. BYLAW OFFICE
17. YouthLIVE - Recycling Depot

5 KM

Figure 6. Halifax Regional Police District. Map source: Halifax Regional Municipality, Nova Scotia.

ANIMAL CONTROL &
BYLAW OFFICE
MACKINTOSH STREET

COMMUNITY OFFICE
UNIACKE SQUARE

DISTRICT 11

WEST END

DIVISIONAL OFFICE
HALIFAX SHOPPING CENTRE

DISTRICT 14

COMMUNITY OFFICE
UNIACKE SQUARE

DOWNTOWN

QUINPOOL

HEADQUARTERS
GOTTINGEN STREET

DISTRICT 12

PORT OFFICE
TERMINAL ROAD

SOUTH END

YouthLIVE
MITCHELL STREET

DISTRICT 13

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE, CENTRAL DIVISION:
CURRENT POLICE FACILITY DISTRIBUTION
━━━━ POLITICAL DISTRICT BOUNDARY (FOUR DISTRICTS)
━━━━ POLICE ZONE BOUNDARY (FIVE ZONES)

1 KM

Figure 7: Halifax Regional Police Central Division - current police facility distribution, political district boundaries and police zones. Map source: Halifax Regional Municipality, Nova Scotia.

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE, CENTRAL DIVISION: CURRENT OPERATIONAL HIERARCHY

FIRST TIER
City Scale

Majority of police services are deployed from police headquarters

The divisional office serves the entire peninsula and is housed within the Halifax Shopping Centre

Community projects and shared services distributed throughout city due to financial and spatial constraints
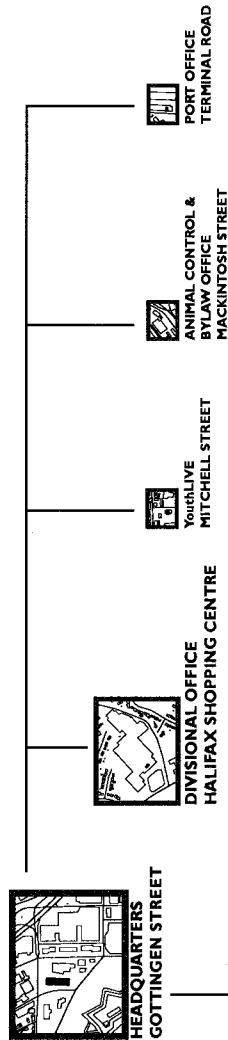
SECOND TIER
Community Scale

There are currently no police facilities working at this scale

THIRD TIER
Neighbourhood Scale

Community office locations are not listed on the Halifax Regional Police website, so there may be more than two

The community office handles local neighbourhood concerns, delivers crime prevention information, and acts as a crime deterrent

HEADQUARTERS
GOTTINGEN STREET

DIVISIONAL OFFICE
HALIFAX SHOPPING CENTRE

YouthLIVE
MITCHELL STREET

ANIMAL CONTROL &
BYLAW OFFICE
MACKINTOSH STREET

PORT OFFICE
TERMINAL ROAD

COMMUNITY OFFICE
UNIACKE SQUARE

COMMUNITY OFFICE
UNIACKE SQUARE

Figure 8. Halifax Regional Police Central Division - current police facility hierarchy

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

CHIEF'S OFFICE

1 PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS
2 PUBLIC AFFAIRS & MEDIA RELATIONS
3 CHAPLAINS
4 DIVERSITY OFFICER
5 BUSINESS PLANNING
6 STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

OPERATIONAL SUPPORT

SHARED SERVICES
1 CAD/RMS
2 COMMUNITY PROJECTS
3 COMMISSIONAIRES
4 EXHIBITS/PROPERTY
5 AUDIT/POLICY
6 LOST AND FOUND
7 SCHOOL CROSSING GUARDS

ADMINISTRATION
1 HUMAN RESOURCES
2 EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
3 FINANCE
4 FLEET
5 SUMMARY/OFFENCE TICKETS
6 HRM HR CONSULTANT

SUPPORT
1 TRAINING
2 COURT
3 RECORDS
4 BOOKING

OPERATIONS

PATROL
1 DIVISIONAL OFFICE & COMMUNITY RESPONSE OFFICERS
2 PATROL
3 QUICK RESPONSE UNITS
4 COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND CRIME PREVENTION
5 SCHOOL LIAISONS
6 VICTIM SERVICES
7 TRAFFIC AND ACCIDENT INVESTIGATION
8 K9 UNIT
9 MOUNTED PATROL
10 EMERGENCY RESPONSE TEAM
11 PUBLIC SAFETY UNIT
12 ViCLAS

EMERGENCY DISPATCH
1 IES/911

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS

SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SECTION
1 SEXUAL ASSAULT
2 PROCEEDS OF CRIME
3 FINANCIAL CRIME
4 HOMICIDE
5 COLD CASE
6 HIGH-RISK ENFORCEMENT ACTION TEAM

CRIMINAL OPERATIONS SECTION
1 QUALITY ASSURANCE
2 INVESTIGATIVE CALL BACK
3 CRIME ANALYSIS
4 CRIME STOPPERS
5 POLYGRAPH
6 FORENSIC IDENTIFICATION
7 NWEST

GENERAL INVESTIGATION SECTION
1 ROBBERY
2 BREAK AND ENTER
3 AUTO THEFT

SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT SECTION
1 DRUGS
2 COMBINED FORCES INTELLIGENCE
3 VICE
4 PORT INVESTIGATION
5 COMPUTER FORENSICS
6 CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE NOVA SCOTIA (CISNS)

Figure 9. Halifax Regional Police - current organizational chart

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE
CENTRAL DIVISION - CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

POLICE HEADQUARTERS
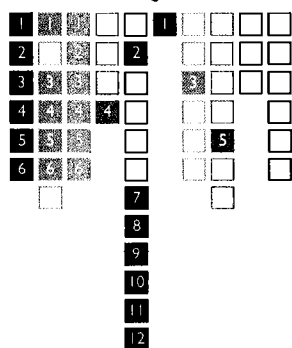
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DIVISION
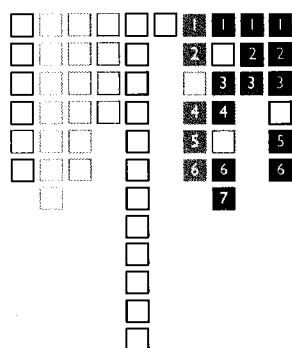
CENTRAL DIVISION OFFICE
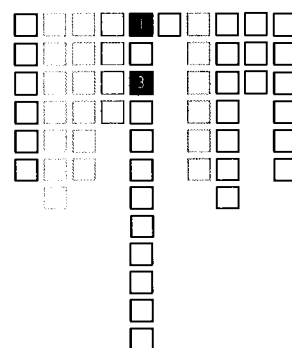
COMMUNITY OFFICE - Uniacke Square
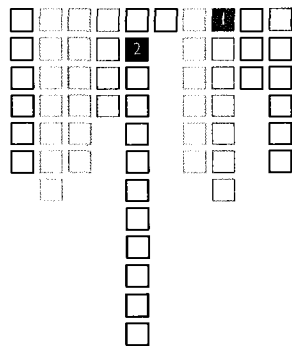
PORT OFFICE
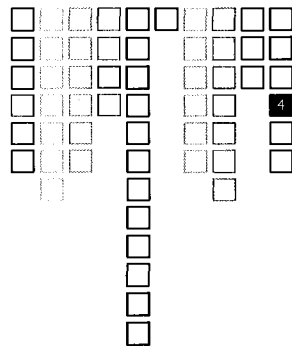
ANIMAL CONTROL OFFICE
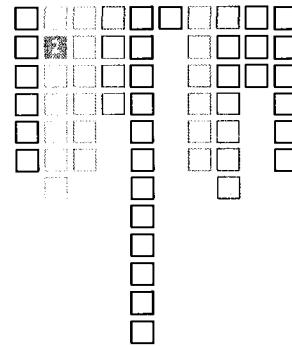
BY-LAW OFFICE
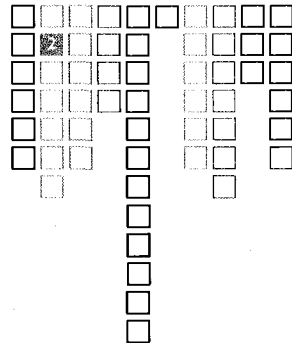
YouthLIVE Recycling and Enviro Depot
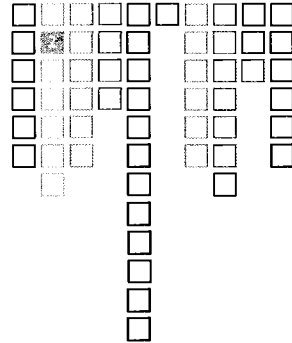
Figure 10. Central Division - current departmental distribution

resources primarily for financial reasons.

PROPOSED THREE-TIERED POLICING MODEL

To fully embrace the community policing ideology, police departments must decentralize into the community in a meaningful and intentional way, not to compensate for a lack of funding or space. Some of the more community based police programs and front line functions could devolve into the community, into smaller stations, acting locally. For the purpose of this thesis, I have adapted David Bayley's three-tiered, stratified crime prevention strategy as a model for the institutional and programmatic/organizational structure for the Halifax Regional Police (Figures 11-13). It is a decentralized system consisting of three scales: the police headquarters in the city, the basic police unit (BPU) in the community, and the police box in the neighbourhood.

Police Headquarters

The police headquarters would serve chiefly as administrative support for the line functions and house the Criminal Investigation Division (CID). It should symbolically represent the institution, suggesting what the police institution is, does, and aspires to be.

Basic Police Unit

The BPU would be a full-service command unit responsible for delivering police services to the community as needed. It would house the majority of the front line functions, namely Patrol and General Investigation. Each BPU would be a self-governing

NORTH END
Pop 14890
One officer per 1350 citizens

BASIC POLICE UNIT 4
LADY HAMMOND ROAD

POLICE BOX 8
KEMPT ROAD

POLICE BOX 5
HYDROSTONE

POLICE BOX 4
OXFORD STREET

POLICE BOX 8
HALIFAX SHOPPING CENTRE
BUS TERMINAL

CONNAUGHT - QUINPOOL
Pop 14340
One officer per 1303 citizens

BASIC POLICE UNIT 3
QUINPOOL ROAD

BASIC POLICE UNIT 2
GEORGE DIXON COMMU...

DOWNTOWN
Pop 14420
One officer per 1310 citizens

POLICE BOX 7
THE COMMONS

HEADQUARTERS
GOTTINGEN STREET

POLICE
WATE...

POLICE BOX 2
SPRING GARDEN ROAD

POLICE BOX 3
DALHOUSIE

SOUTH END
Pop 14360
One officer per 1305 citizens

BASIC POLICE UNIT 1
QUEEN STREET

POLICE BOX 1
POINT PLEASANT

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE, CENTRAL DIVISION:
PROPOSED POLICE FACILITY DISTRIBUTION
———— POLICE / POLITICAL BOUNDARY (FOUR DISTRICTS)

1 KM

Figure 11. Halifax Regional Police Central Division - proposed facility locations and district boundaries. Map source: Halifax Regional Municipality.

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE, CENTRAL DIVISION: PROPOSED OPERATIONAL HIERARCHY

HEADQUARTERS
GOTTINGEN STREET

BASIC POLICE UNIT 1
QUEEN STREET

BASIC POLICE UNIT 2
QUINPOOL ROAD

BASIC POLICE UNIT 3
LADY HAMMOND ROAD

BASIC POLICE UNIT 4
GEORGE DIXON COMMUNITY CENTRE

POLICE BOX 1 POINT PLEASANT

POLICE BOX 2 DALHOUSIE

POLICE BOX 3 OXFORD STREET

POLICE BOX 4 HALIFAX SHOPPING CENTRE - BUS TERMINAL

POLICE BOX 5 KEMPT ROAD

POLICE BOX 6 HYDROSTONE

POLICE BOX 7 SPRING GARDEN

POLICE BOX 8 WATERFRONT

POLICE BOX 9 THE COMMONS

FIRST TIER - POLICE HEADQUARTERS
City Scale

The police headquarters serves chiefly as administrative support for line functions, operating at or slightly above the scale of the city

Located near the political and socioeconomic heart of the city, its position is largely symbolic

SECOND TIER - BASIC POLICE UNIT
Community Scale

The BPU is of the city fabric

Communities policed by the Halifax Regional Police are defined by local political boundaries.

The BPU is a full-service command unit responsible for delivering police services to the community it serves, housing the majority of the front line functions, namely Patrol and General Investigation

Each BPU is a self-governing force, adapting operational strategies to local conditions

THIRD TIER - POLICE BOX
Neighbourhood Scale

The police box is urban furniture: a semi-fixed element in the city fabric

The police box is the smallest police unit, focusing on crime prevention and neighbourhood relations

Officers working at this scale are "general practitioners" of law enforcement, diagnosing problems and referring more serious cases to specialized departments

3 Types:
Storefront
Transportable Box - for special events or for high crime areas
Mobile Unit - for disseminating crime prevention information and for public relations

Figure 12. Halifax Regional Police Central Division - proposed police facility hierarchy

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE
CENTRAL DIVISION - PROPOSED DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

FIRST TIER

POLICE HEADQUARTERS
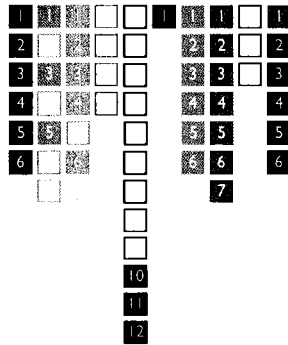
SECOND TIER

BASIC POLICE UNITS (4 TOTAL)
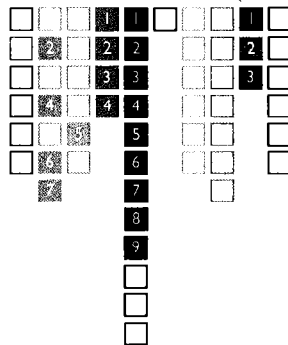
THIRD TIER

POLICE BOXES (9 TOTAL)
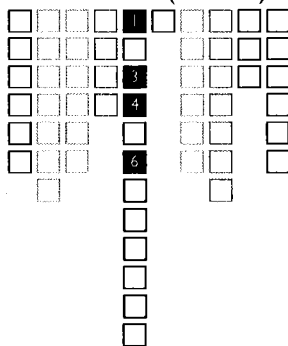
Figure 13. Central Division - proposed departmental distribution

force, devising a command structure that could adapt operational strategies to local conditions.[34] Its essential function would be to determine local needs. It must be large enough to justify resource allocation, but small enough so that problems are reasonably homogeneous: "This means that BPUs should be smaller than most city wide forces but larger than individual beats."[35] Bayley also suggests that the district of a BPU should coincide with a local government district to ensure cooperation between local government and private institutions to develop community strategies.[36] Incidentally, the HRP has divided each of its three divisions into zones that roughly coincide with municipal polling districts. In peninsular Halifax there are four political districts but five police zones. I propose a compromise between the two systems and have created an adjusted system of four districts. Each district would represent a police zone and polling district, and have one Basic Police Unit (see Figures 7 and 11).

Police Box

The officers at the neighbourhood scale work on crime prevention and reduce the need for emergency calls, focusing on incidents caused by visible circumstances. The police box would be the smallest police unit, with the sole function of neighbourhood relations and crime prevention. Architecturally, police boxes might take the form of fixed police boxes, transportable boxes or mobile units. Bayley describes officers working at this scale as the "general practitioners of law enforcement." Like a general medical practitioner, the officer would meet with community members,

victims and special groups, diagnose problems, mend minor wounds, and refer more serious problems to specialized departments.[37]

To facilitate change and to fully understand the institution, it is important to consider the institution as a whole and at all three scales. What I propose is a restructuring of the police institution programmatically and architecturally, devolving and decentralizing certain police functions. The primary concern is for the quality of police and public interaction, with a focus on increasing the opportunities for casual encounters through mixing of programmatic elements. While some police functions must remain secret, some can be visible to the public. Historically, the police have had a larger social role and obligation to the city, and so some social programs could be housed in or near a police facility.

PRELIMINARY DESIGN EXERCISE

The following preliminary design work began as a critique of the existing Halifax Regional Police headquarters as a means of formulating a basic design strategy. The intent is to draw out a set of general principles that might be applicable to the further development of a basic police unit (BPU), while also suggesting complementary solutions at the scale of the police box and headquarters. It begins to identify and envision location, presentation, legibility and accessibility of the police institution.

The Halifax Regional Police Headquarters

The HRP headquarters is located at the intersection of

two grids, the North End grid and the Downtown grid, bordering on park and institutional space, business and commercial (see Figures 14-15). Although geographically centred in the *polis*, its position adjacent to the Citadel is awkward, and exists in an ambiguous space where the urban fabric begins to unravel. It is a fortress to complement the Citadel, and presents an imposing mass to the North End. Built in the early 1970s, its site was chosen for good access to all areas of the city, its location near the courthouse, at the heart of the city, with the greatest concentration of activities.[38] Its fortress look derives from the brick colonnade, symbolizing the police force standing on guard, as an open display of force.[39] It has been criticized as a stronghold to keep the impoverished North Enders out of the wealthier business district and the South End.[40] It represents the political situation of the 1970s and is a reminder of the power of the state, as an extension of the Citadel and a representation of earlier aspirations of the dominant culture. It has also been suggested that its militaristic presence reinforces the class division between north and south, as a "mile post entering questionable territory."[41]

The architect, Keith Graham, envisioned that Gottingen Street might be closed in front of the station to become an urban park, including perhaps a city market or library.[42] Important considerations from an urban design point of view include: creating stronger edges to define the existing park space by extending the smaller grain of the residential and business areas to the park boundary; identifying existing and potential landmarks to enhance legibility in the city for locals

HALIFAX REGIONAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS

CITY HALL

LAW COURT

PROVINCE HOUSE

PROVINCIAL COURT

250 M
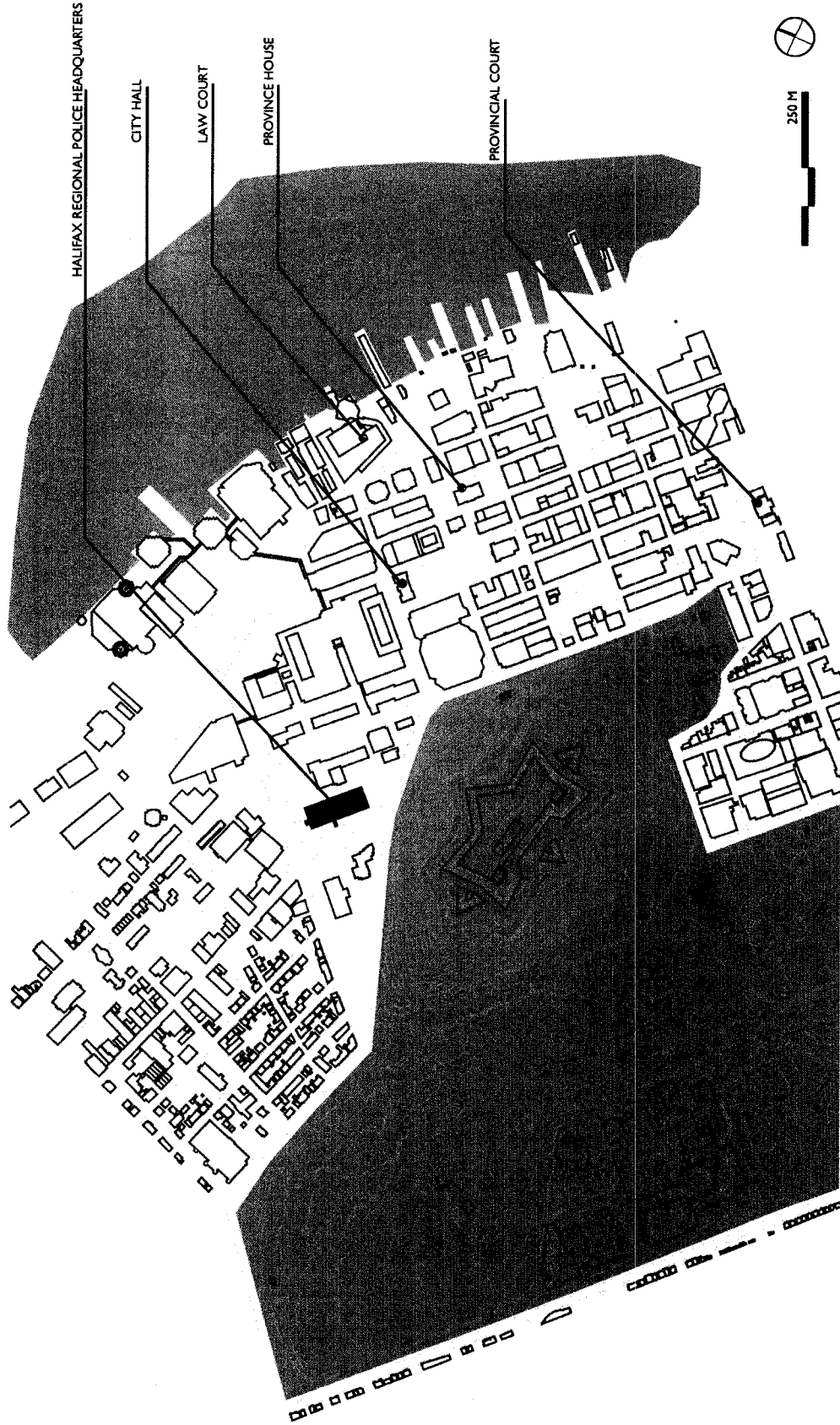
Figure 14. HRP Headquarters site plan. Map source: Halifax Regional Municipality.

Existing city grid
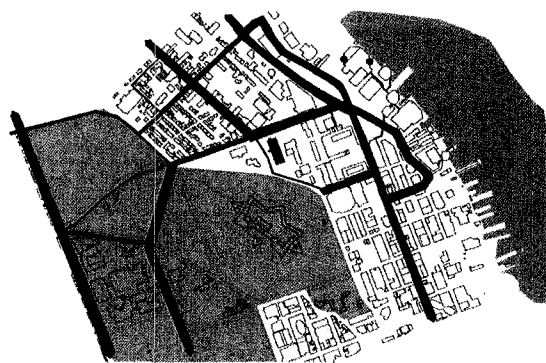
Acessibility - major transit routes
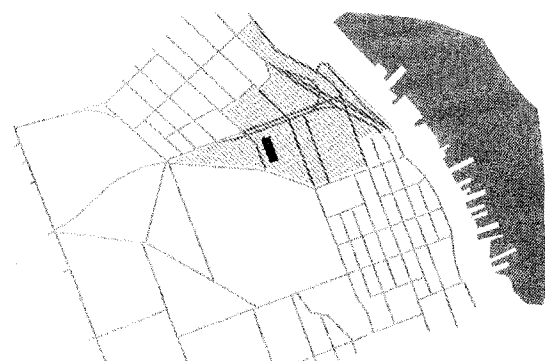
Area of ambiguity - Unravelling North End and
Downtown grids
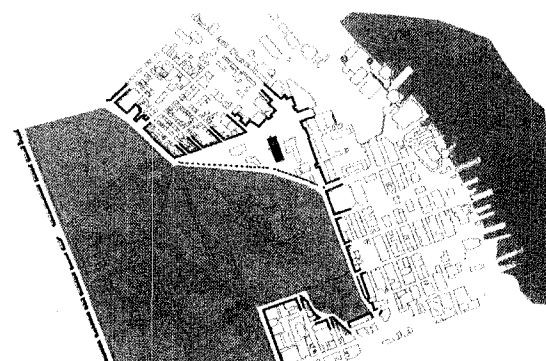
Urban wall - quality of park edge
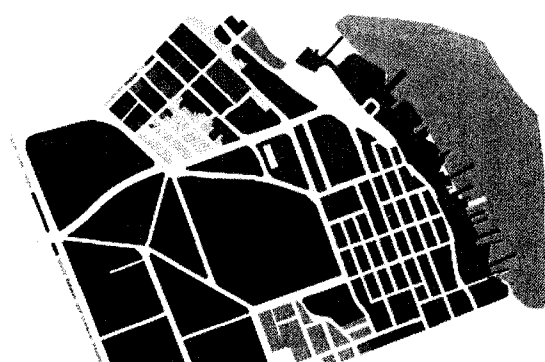
	Low Density University		General Business
	Park & Institutional		Minor Commercial
	Min. Commercial & HD Residential		Brunswick Development District
	General Residential		Multiple Dwelling
	Business - Spring Garden Road		Industrial

Current Zoning
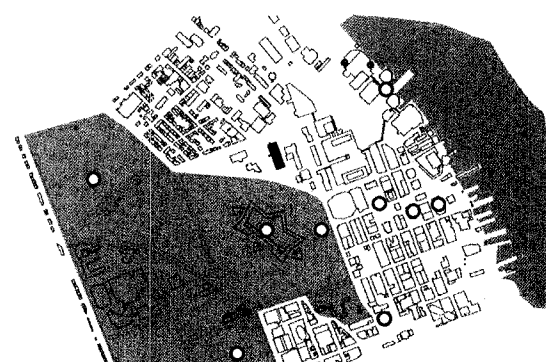
Navigation - existing landmarks

Figure 15. HRP headquarters site layers. Map source: Halifax Regional Municipality.
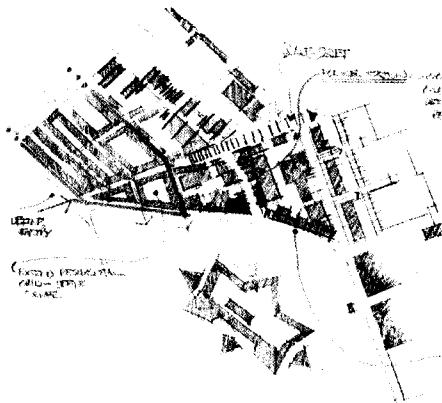
Extension of North End grid
to define park edge
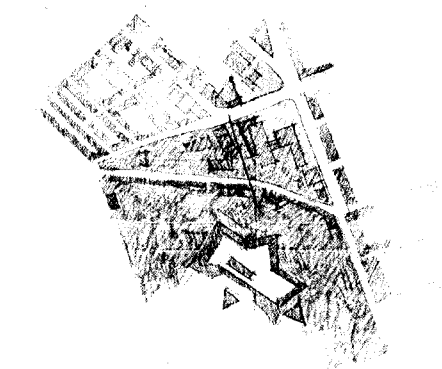
Civic park

Figure 16. HRP headquarters site study: two schemes
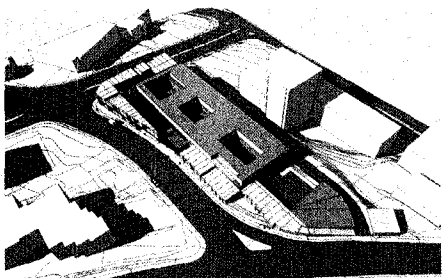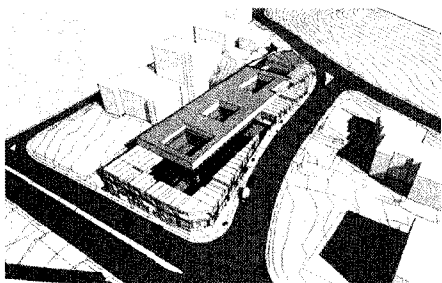
Figure 17. HRP headquarters: massing study

and visitors to assist in navigating the city and as a means of easily identifying the police headquarters. By strategically positioning key civic buildings, it may be possible to create certain start and end points to aid people moving through the space. In contrast, another viable strategy would be to extend the grain of the North End grid across the face of the police station and to the edge of the Citadel park land, for two reasons: 1) to bridge the gap between the North End and downtown; and 2) to introduce a more casual mix of program and to remove the police station from its pedestal by creating a wrapper, symbolically suggesting that the police and the public are one, or that the police are part of the city fabric, and not separate from it (Figure 16).

The sections from this second scheme illustrate the quality of the street room before and after an urban intervention (Figures 18-19). In the existing situation, there is a large amount of lost urban space, an ambiguous no man's land, separating the police from the public realm. By adding a wrapper (an extension of the police functions in addition to non-police related program), which may include arcades, covered common spaces and courtyards, the edges of the street room become blurred, drawing the public in and the police out.

There is also an issue of the appearance of the police headquarters from the Citadel. The community of Halifax has placed significant importance on the visibility of the harbour from the Citadel, imposing height restrictions on buildings based on view planes

SECTION A-A

SECTION B-B

SECTION C-C

SECTION D-D

COGSWELL STREET

GOTTINGEN STREET

RAINNIE DRIVE

40 M
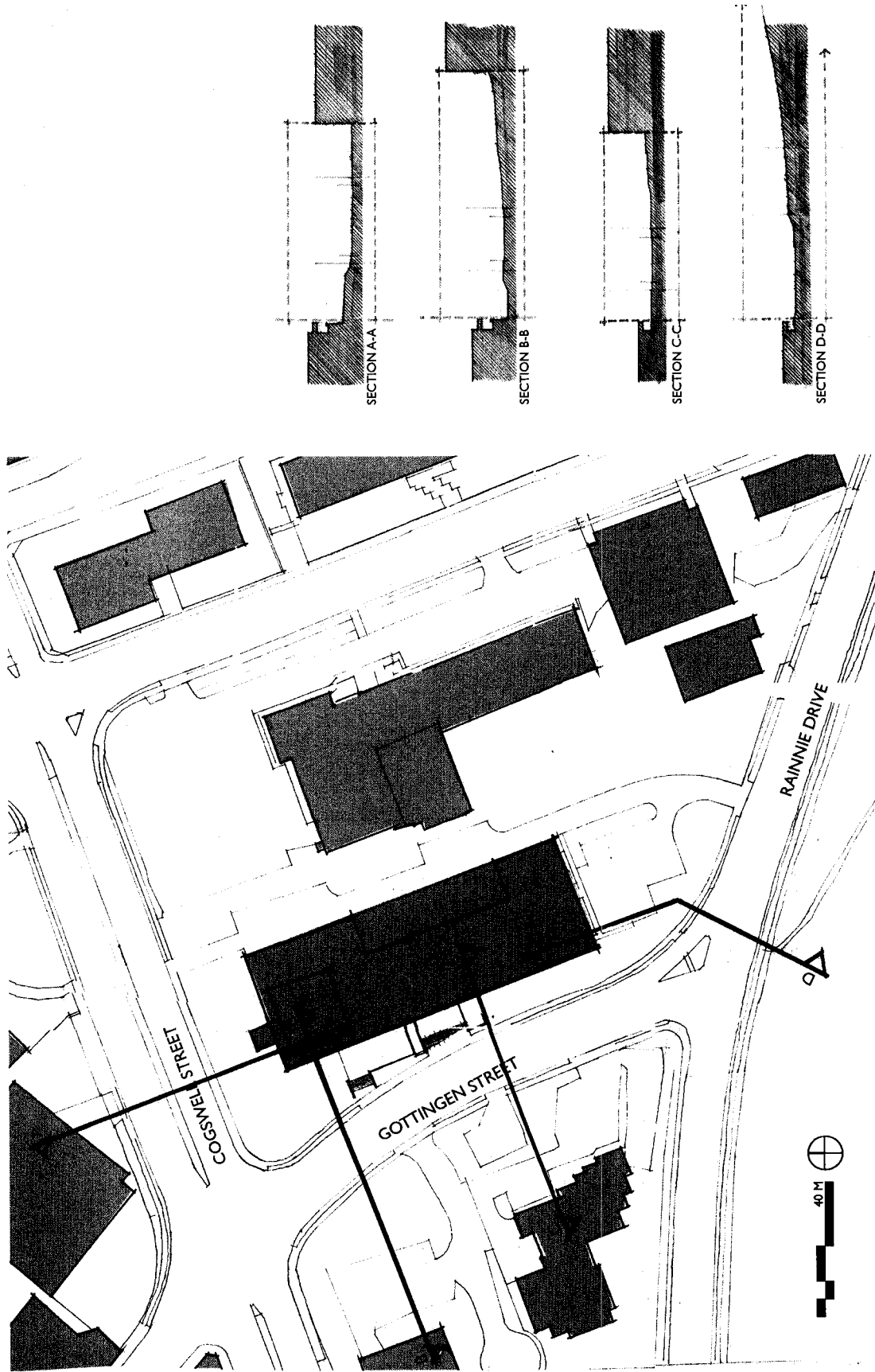
Figure 18. Site study base drawing - current police headquarters and site sections

SECTION A-A

SECTION B-B

SECTION C-C

SECTION D-D

COGSWELL STREET

GOTTINGEN STREET

RAINNIE DRIVE

A

B

C

D

40 M
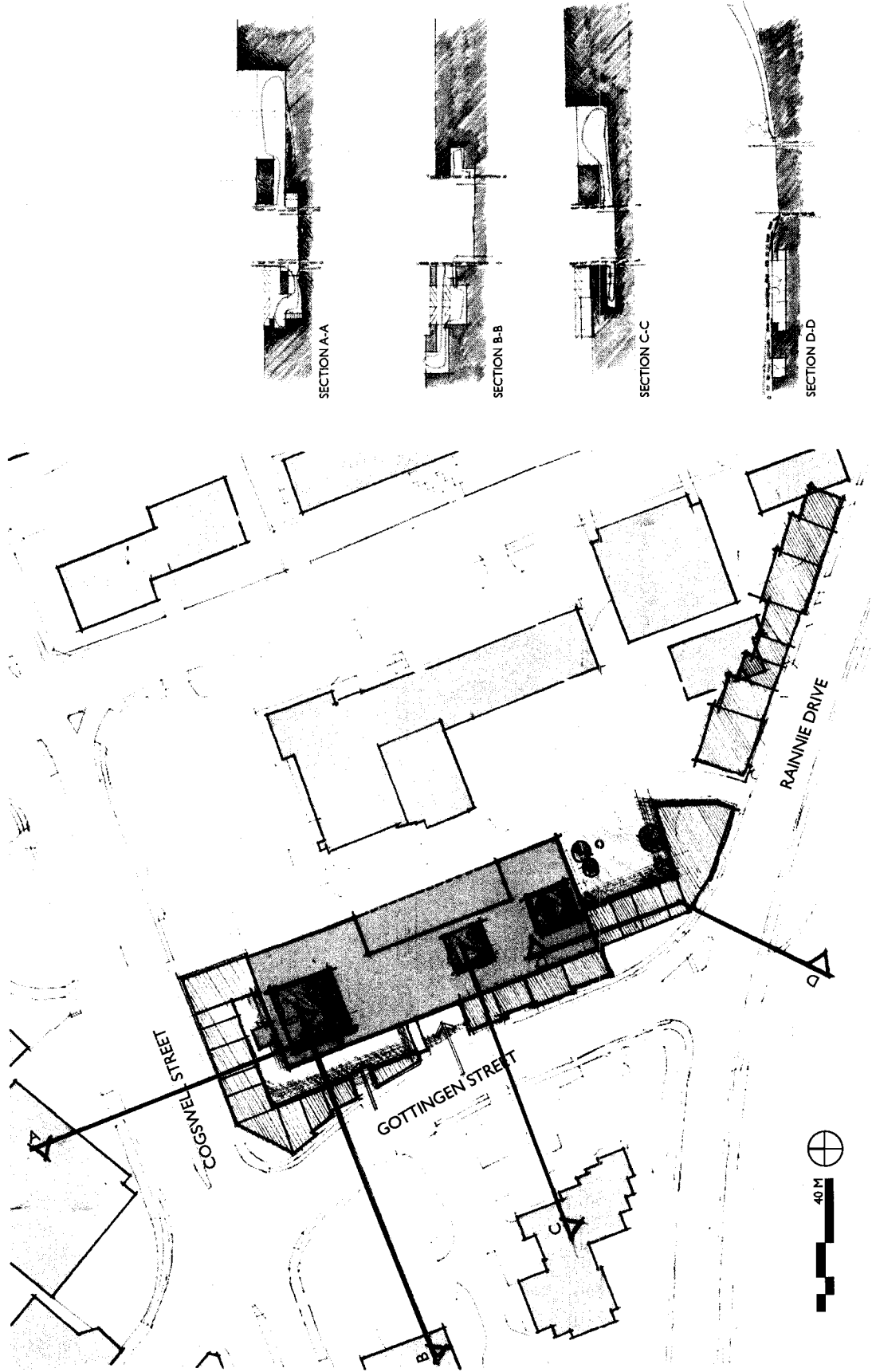
Figure 19. Site study - proposed headquarters - plan and site sections

from station points on the top of the hill. It might have been interesting to take the idea a little further and create a bylaw that controlled the appearance of building roofs! The view from the Citadel is dominated by a beautiful harbour amidst a sea of gravel and tar roofs. With a concern for legibility in the city in mind, a meaningful design solution for the roof of the police headquarters is an issue and so an accessible green roof with sunken courtyards is proposed. As with the wrapper, a publicly accessible green roof has a symbolic function, the police not only being a part of the city, but also supporting it.

In analyzing the program and departments existing within the police headquarters it was helpful to identify potential levels of permeability (Figures 20-21). The existing police station has four levels of permeability. The most opaque level consists of those areas or programs that are not accessible to the public and are necessarily secret for the protection of human rights, on-going investigations, security and safety. The second level of permeability is that of public special access: areas that are accessible to the public under special circumstances and under strict supervision. These areas include prisoner holding, interrogation and witness rooms, ID parade and the prisoner visitor area. The third level consists of secure yet visible areas, not hidden but not accessible. The fourth and most transparent layer existing in the current police headquarters is publicly accessible space, such as the lobby and entrance (Figures 20-21). The interesting problem with the existing headquarters is that the fourth level of permeability, public access, is
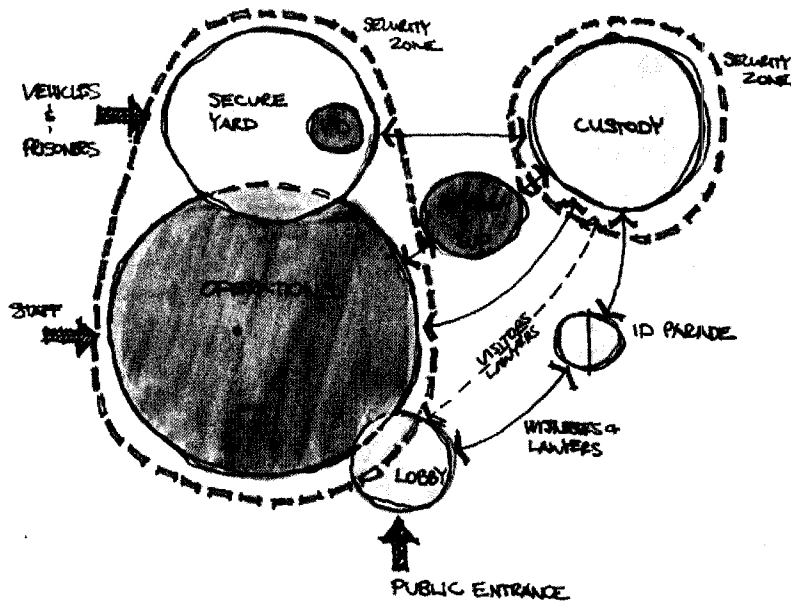
Figure 20. Current HRP headquarters - programmatic relationships

PROGRAM RELATIONSHIP & ZONING DIAGRAM

■	HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
	PUBLIC SPECIAL ACCESS
	VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
	POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
	POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
	NON-POLICE PROGRAM
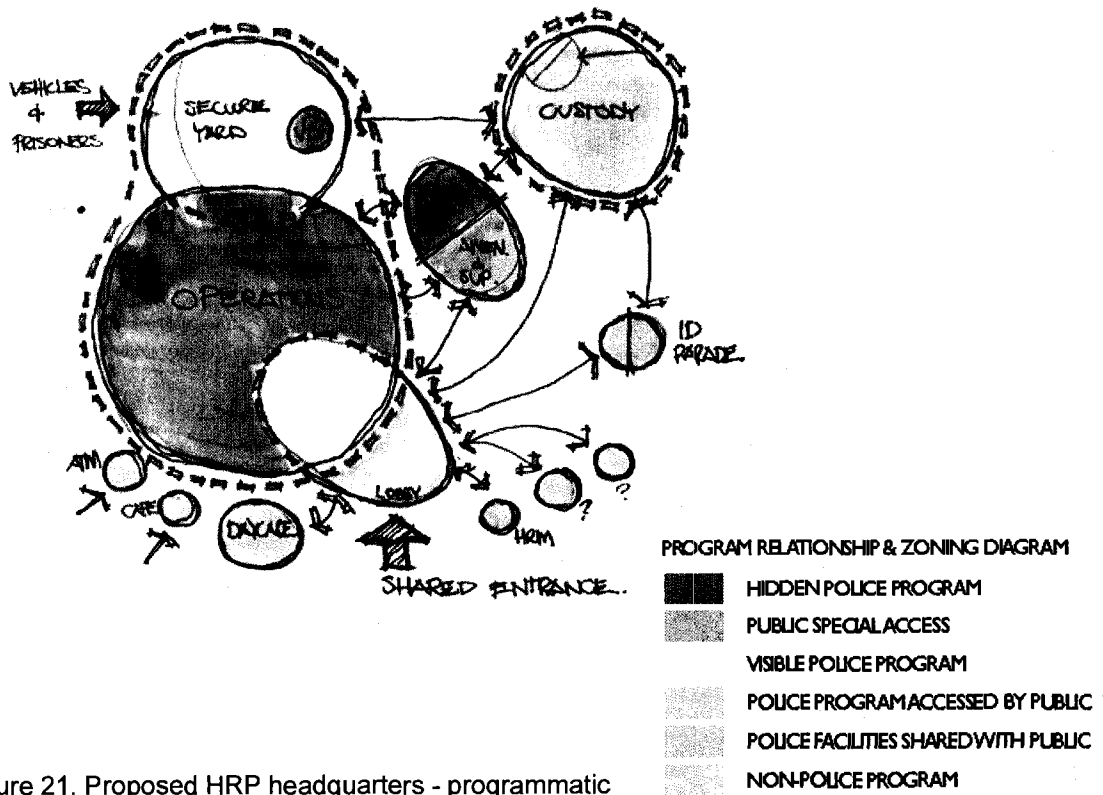
Figure 21. Proposed HRP headquarters - programmatic relationships
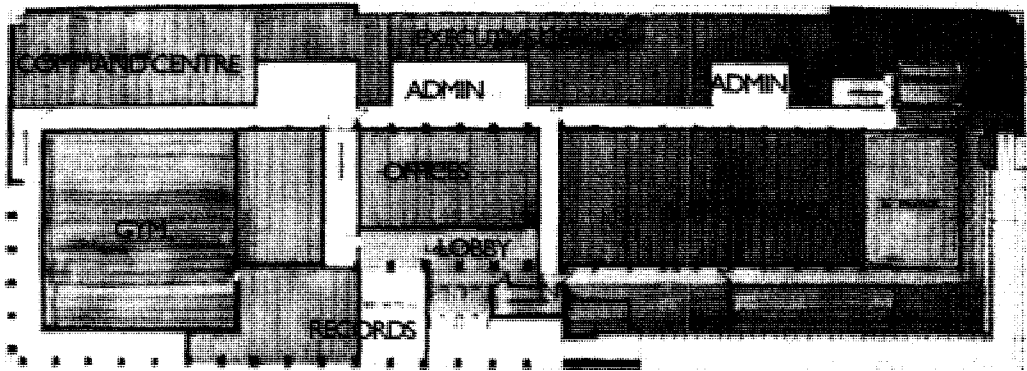
Figure 22. Block plan of existing HRP headquarters - Level 1
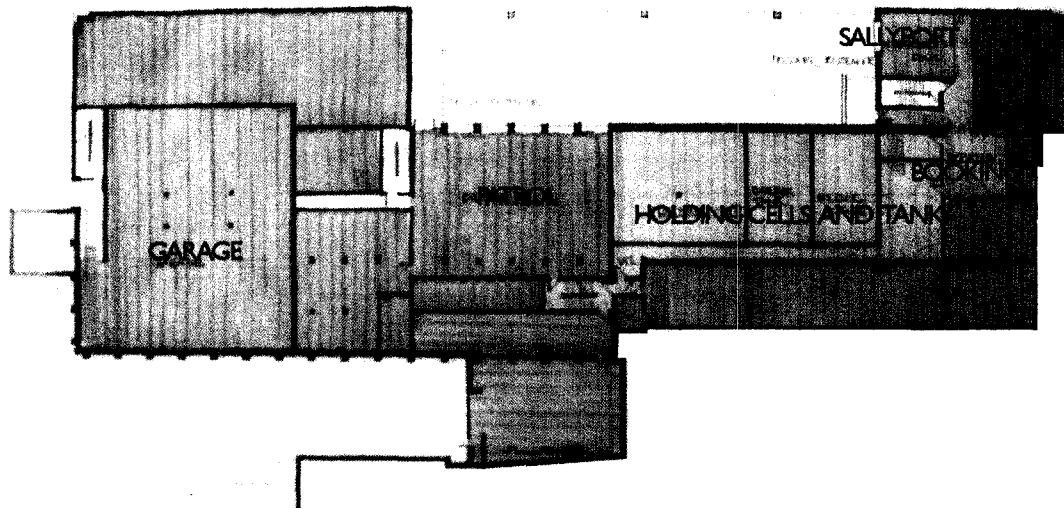
Figure 23. Block plan of existing HRP headquarters - Basement Level

PROGRAM RELATIONSHIP & ZONING DIAGRAM

- HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
- PUBLIC SPECIAL ACCESS
- VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
- POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
- POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
- NON-POLICE PROGRAM

extremely limited (a very small and narrow lobby), while the majority of the building is highly secure. Public access to police functions, such as volunteer programs and some community projects, seems to be nested within the first level of permeability and could be removed and made visible, allowing the public to see how a police station works. Some programs could be shared, a possible fifth level of permeability, such as the exercise room or the firing range (which was built but never used). I have also identified a sixth level of permeability that does not exist: additional non-police programming that might be beneficial to both the public and the police, encouraging casual police and public interaction. Possibilities include a daycare, HRM service centre, café, and bike lockers. Keeping in line with the historical social role of the police, an emergency shelter and social service centre are other possibilities. There is also potential for a restorative justice or probation office incorporated into the police station.

PROPOSED CENTRAL DIVISION - DESIGN AND DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE FACILITIES

Police Headquarters

The final design proposition for the Halifax Regional Police headquarters required little modification. The above design exercise drew out many design strategies that worked well at the community scale, but weren't necessary for the police operating at the city scale. The proposal is essentially a restoration of the original design for the HRP headquarters. Due to rising operational demands, financial restrictions and space requirements, the original headquarters design

Figure 24. Halifax Regional Police headquarters:
view from Rainnie Drive
view from corner of Gottingen Street and Cogswell Street

was never built or used as originally intended. The program had outgrown the building before completion. The original design had a large central office space open to public view, and a museum under the front entrance. The proposed three-tiered strategy calls for the distribution of front line functions to the basic police units and police boxes, freeing up additional space at the headquarters to allow for restoration of the original design intentions (Figures 26-27). The block plans indicate the distribution of program based on degrees of permeability, indicating a strong division between the public spaces at the front and the private police program at the back (Figures 28-31). Public access and interaction with police take place primarily at the community level at the BPU.

Basic Police Units

This is the focus of design work, as the BPU is a metonym for the aspirations of the entire police institution. The headquarters design exercise led to a number of possible strategies for the police institution at the community level that are expressed in the BPU. For this thesis, one of four BPUs was developed, situated on Quinpool Road, Halifax (Figure 25). The BPU seeks to encourage casual social interaction between the police and public (Figures 32-35). The block plans (Figures 38-39) indicate a greater mix of police and public program in comparison to the police headquarters. The BPU is intended to be more informal and open to the public. The BPU acts as a good neighbour, situated midblock within the existing urban fabric. The design follows the arcade form, as an extension of the public street. Additional

Figure 25. The site: BPU Quinpool Road
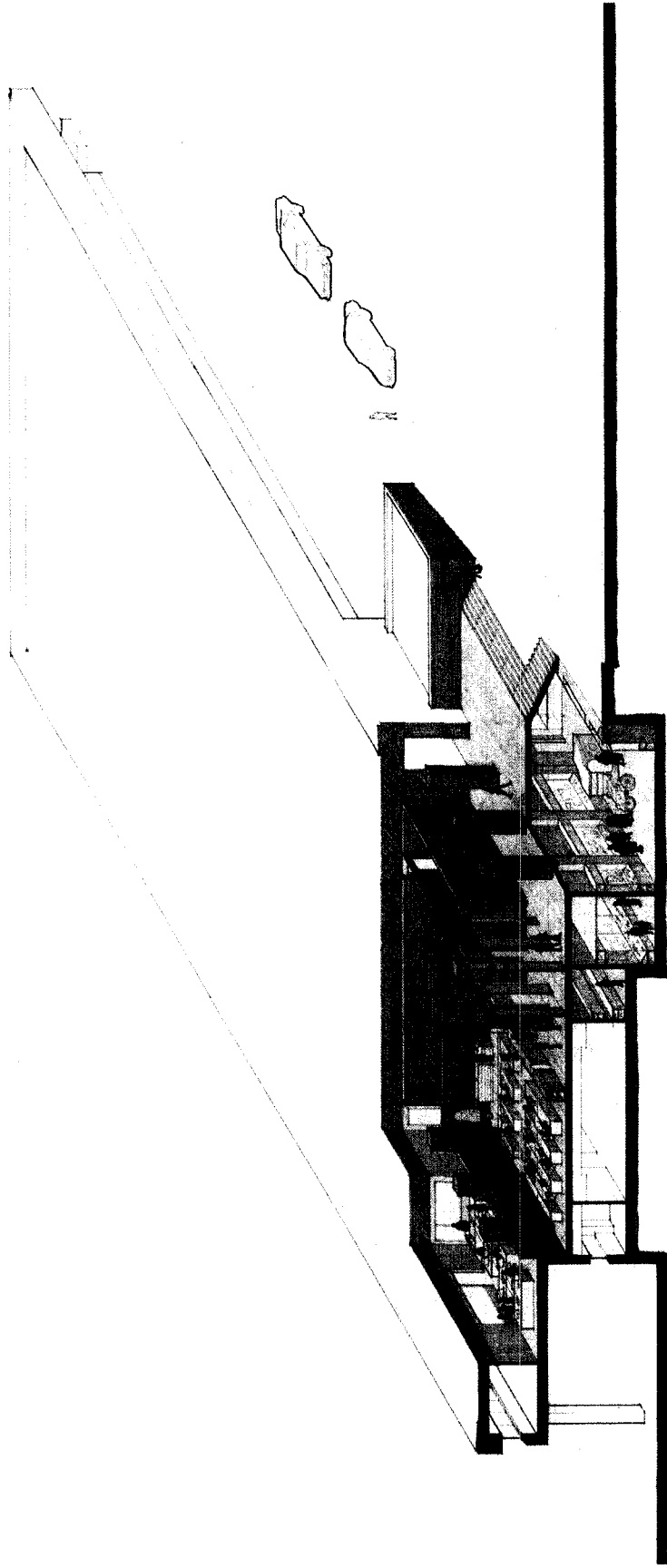
Figure 26. Section-oblique axonometric through renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters. Red figures indicate public characters, blue figures are police and purple figures are volunteers and civilian staff.

Police Museum

General office and public counter
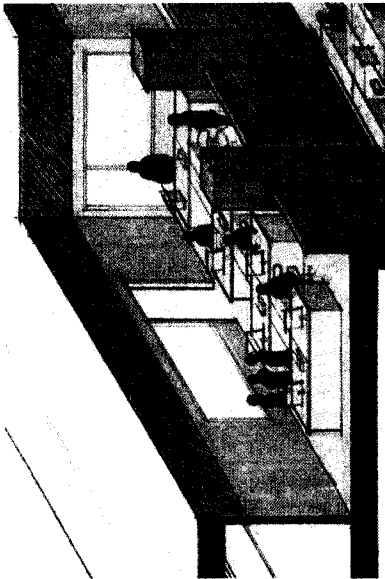
Chief's office and executive
administration
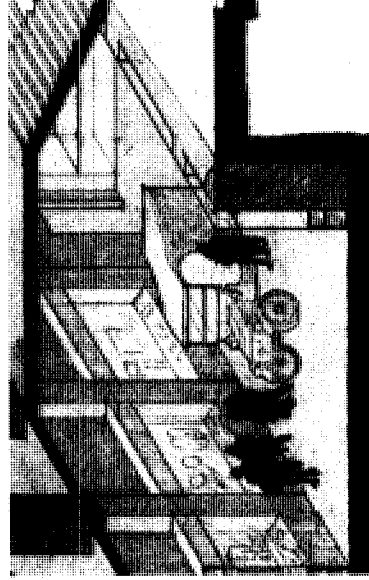
Figure 27. Renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters - selected program elements

LEGEND:
- HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
- VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
- POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
- POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
- NON-POLICE PROGRAM
- CIRCULATION

10 M

A-A

B-B

C-C

RECEPTION

MAIN ENTRANCE

LOCKERS

LOUNGE

EXERCISE ROOM

MUSEUM ENTRANCE BELOW
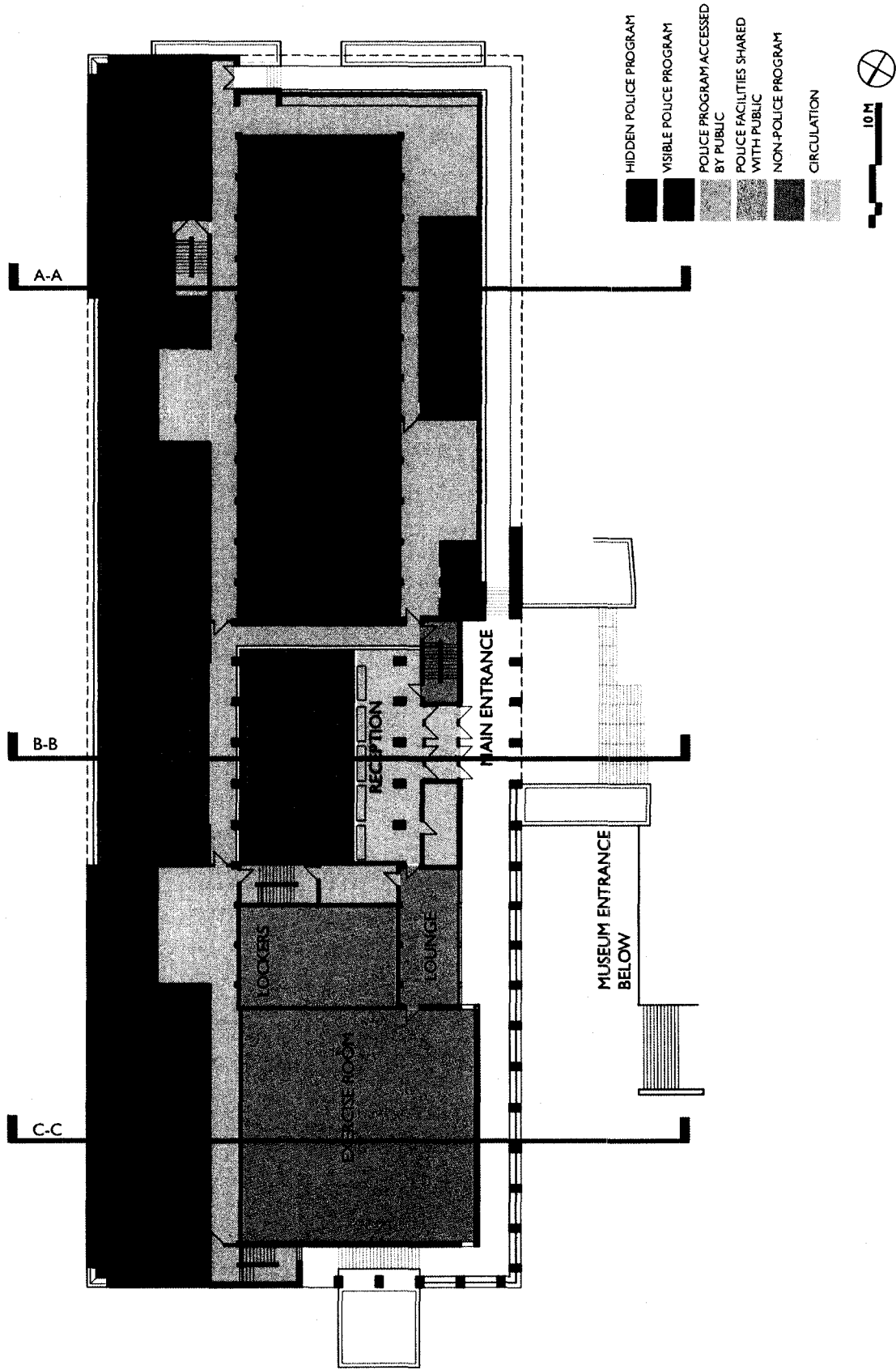
Figure 28. Renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters - block plan of entry level

LEGEND:
HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
NON-POLICE PROGRAM
CIRCULATION

10 M

A-A

B-B

C-C

DETECTIVE ENTRANCE

MUSEUM ENTRANCE
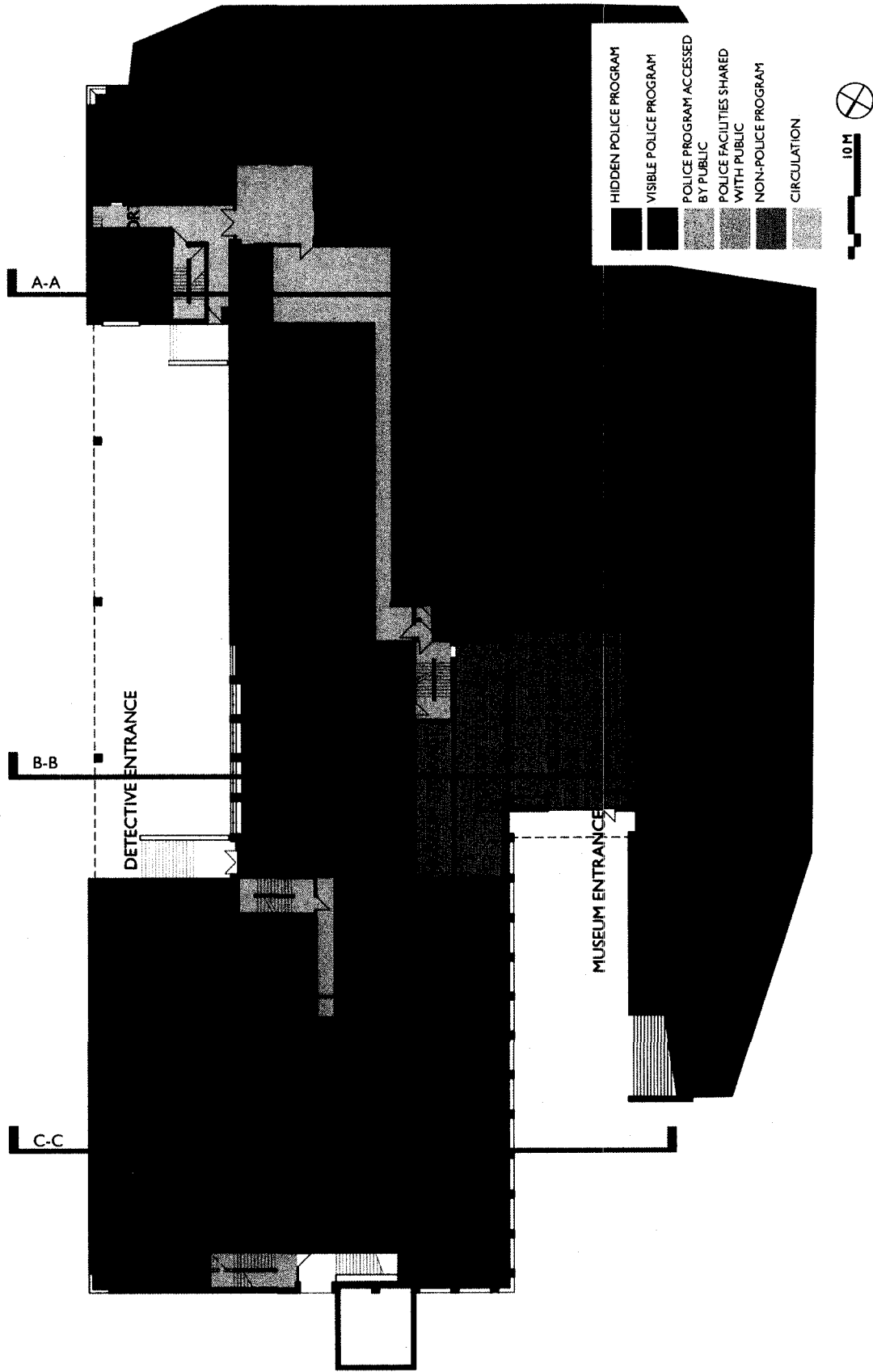
Figure 29. Renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters - block plan of second level

HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM

VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM

POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC

POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC

NON-POLICE PROGRAM

CIRCULATION

10 M
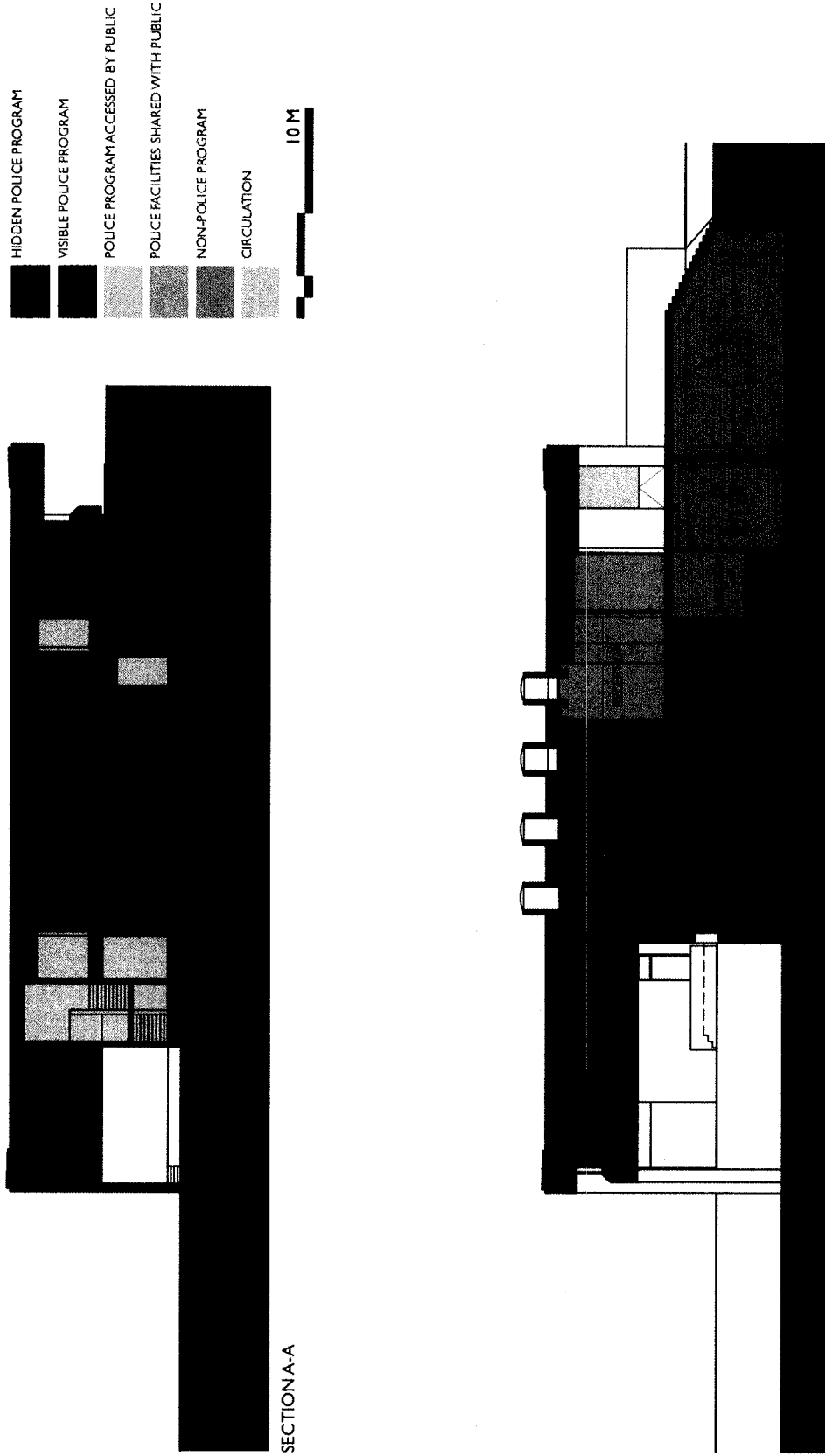
SECTION A-A

Figure 30. Sections A-A and B-B - renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters
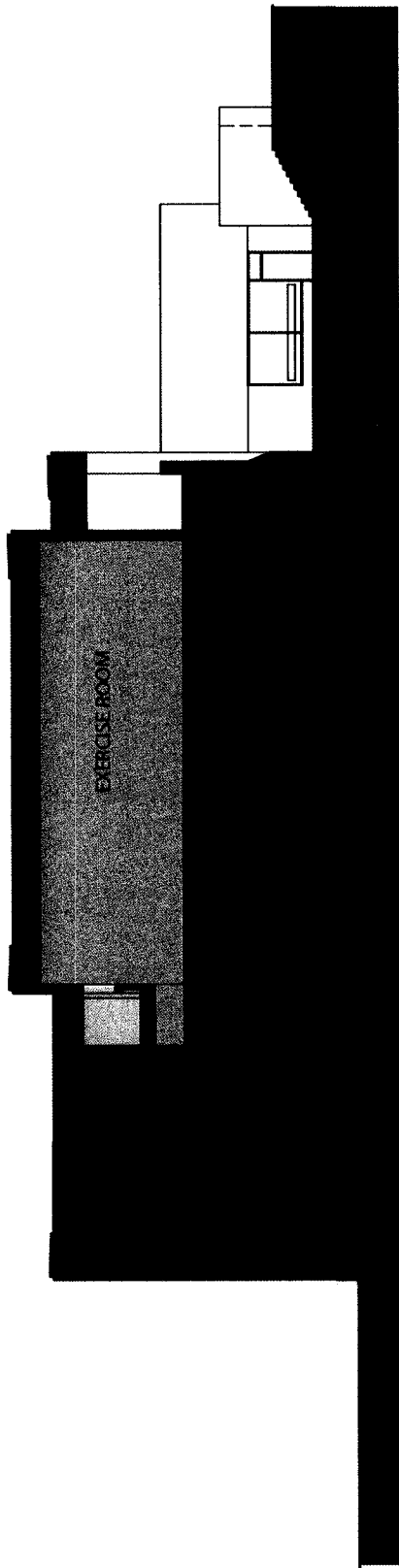
EXERCISE ROOM

HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM

VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM

POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC

POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC

NON-POLICE PROGRAM

CIRCULATION

10 M

Figure 31. Section C-C - renovated Halifax Regional Police headquarters
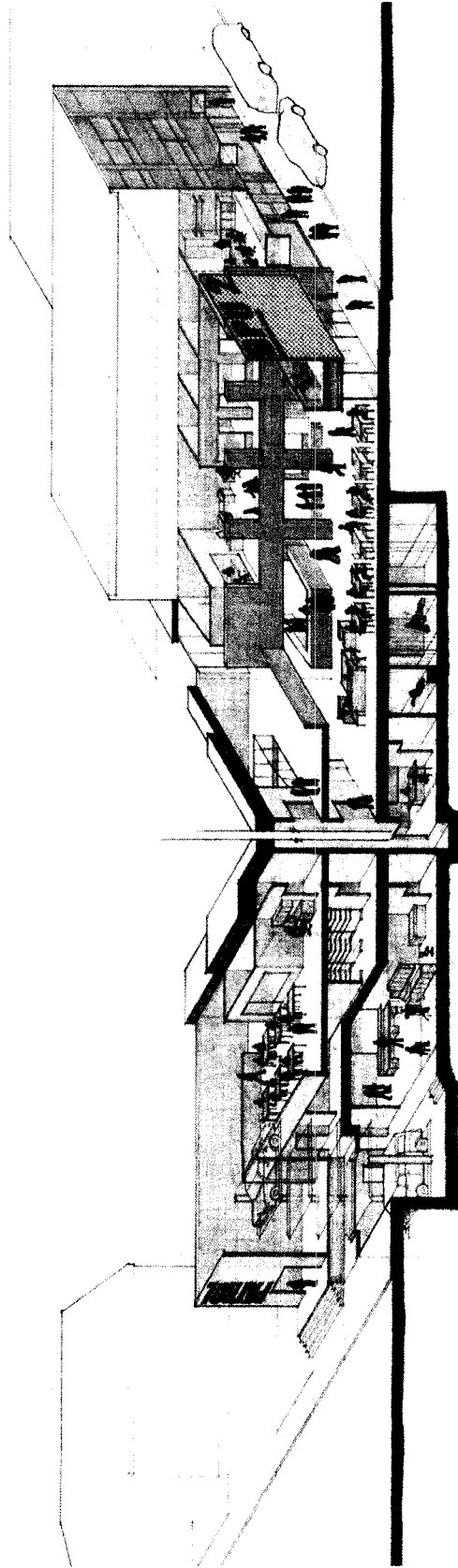
Figure 32. Section-oblique axonometric through BPU Quinpool Road. Red figures represent public characters, blue figures are police and purple are volunteers and civilian staff.
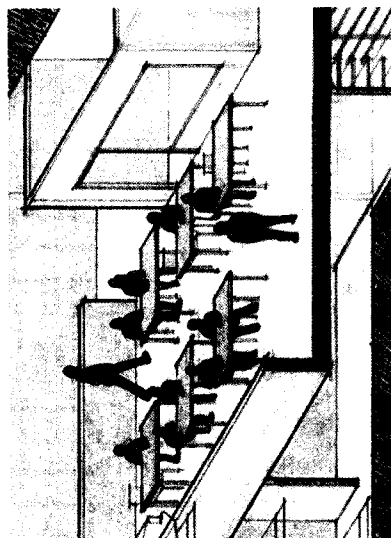
Patrol fall-in room
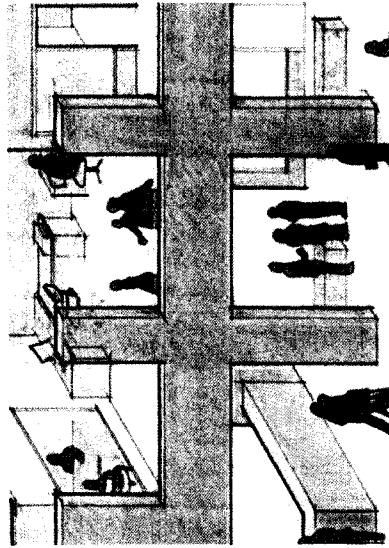
Superintendent's office and administration
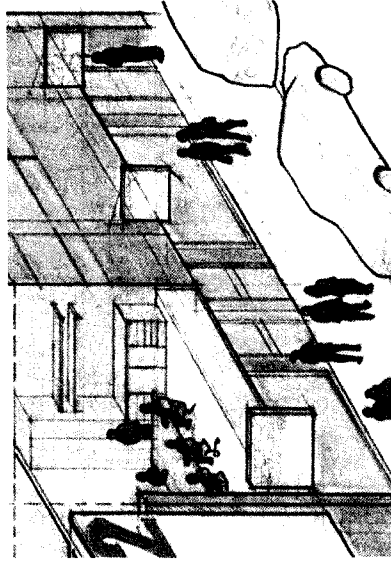
Conference room

Figure 33. BPU Quinpool Road - selected program elements, second level
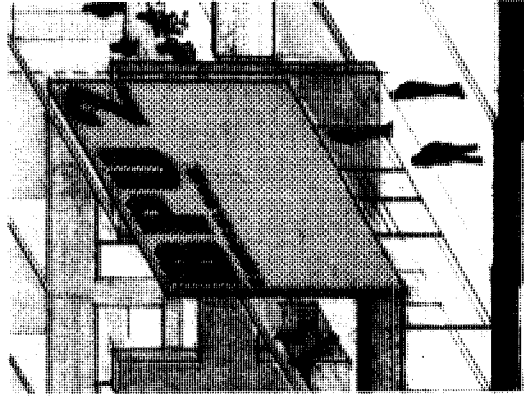
Public Entrance on Quinpool Rd
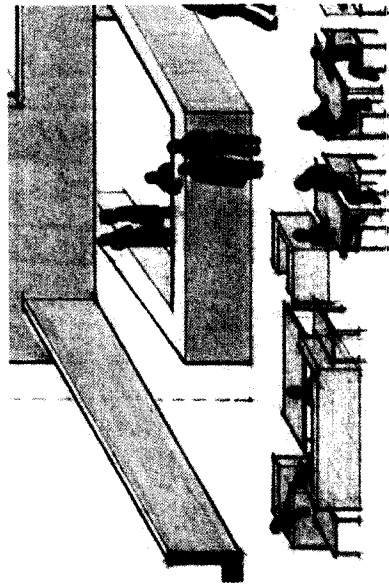
Records and reception, lounge and Quincy's Coffee Nook
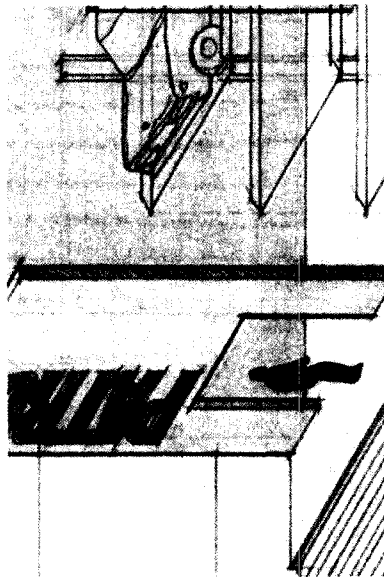
Patrol entrance

Figure 34. BPU Quinpool Road - selected program elements, ground level

Blow up: Holding tank and cell

Custody suite: Prisoner-visitor room, holding tank cells

Sallyport, booking, fingerprint station and mug shots
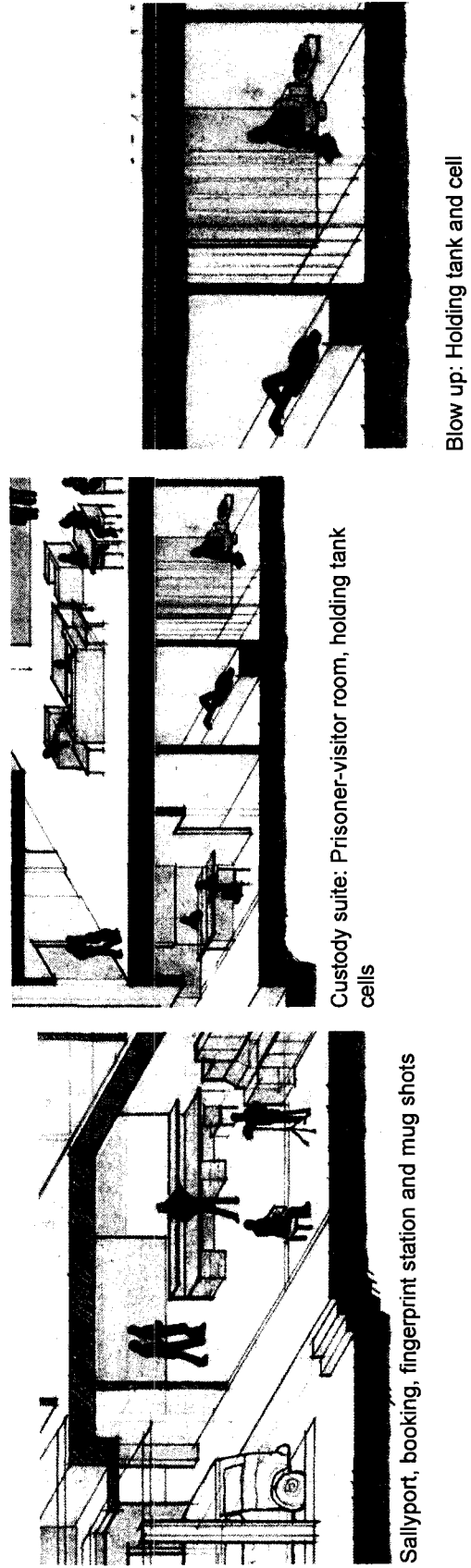
Figure 35. BPU Quinpool Road - selected program elements, basement level

YALE STREET

QUINPOOL ROAD

10 M
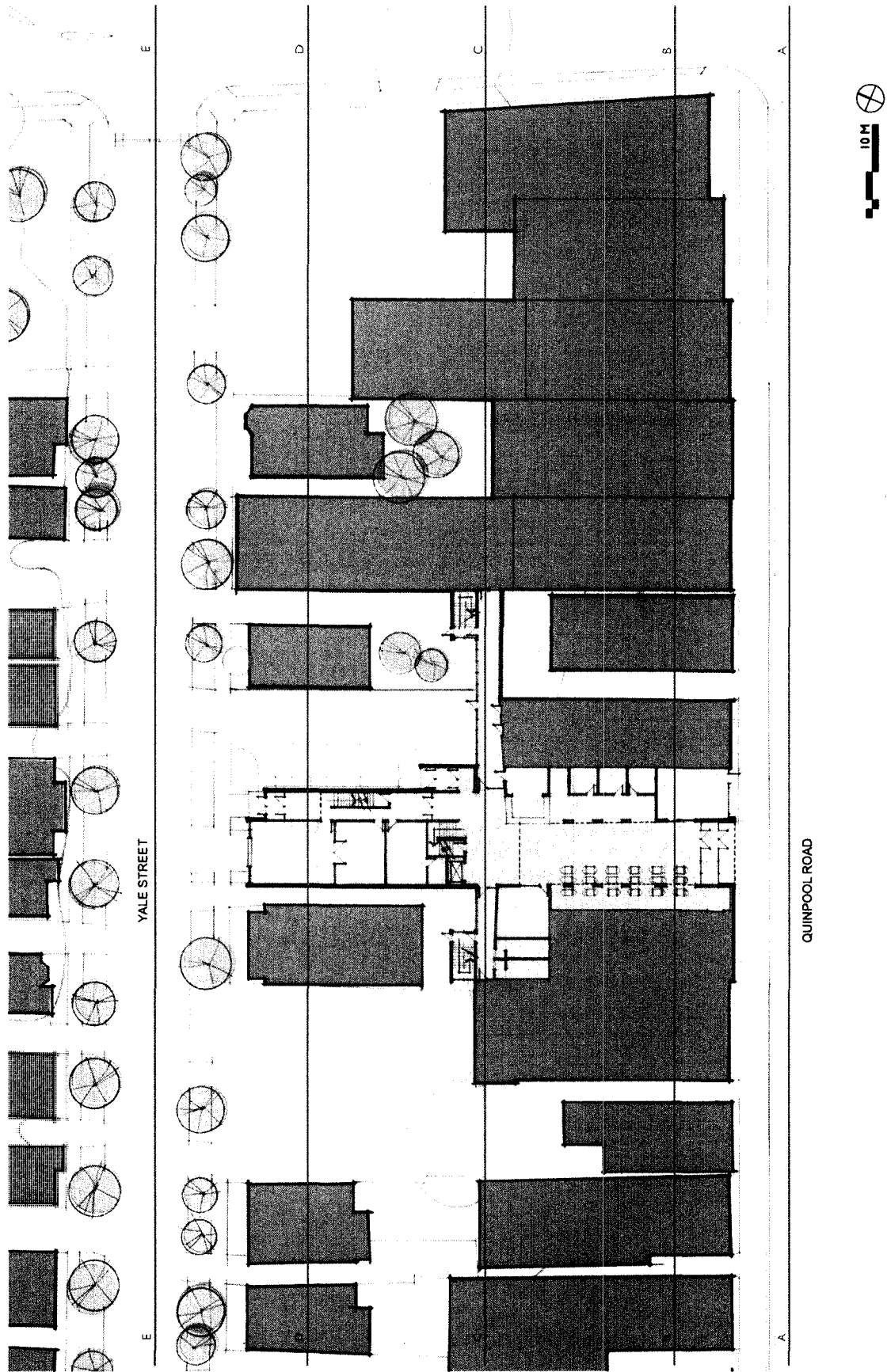
Figure 36. BPU Quinpool - ground level plan
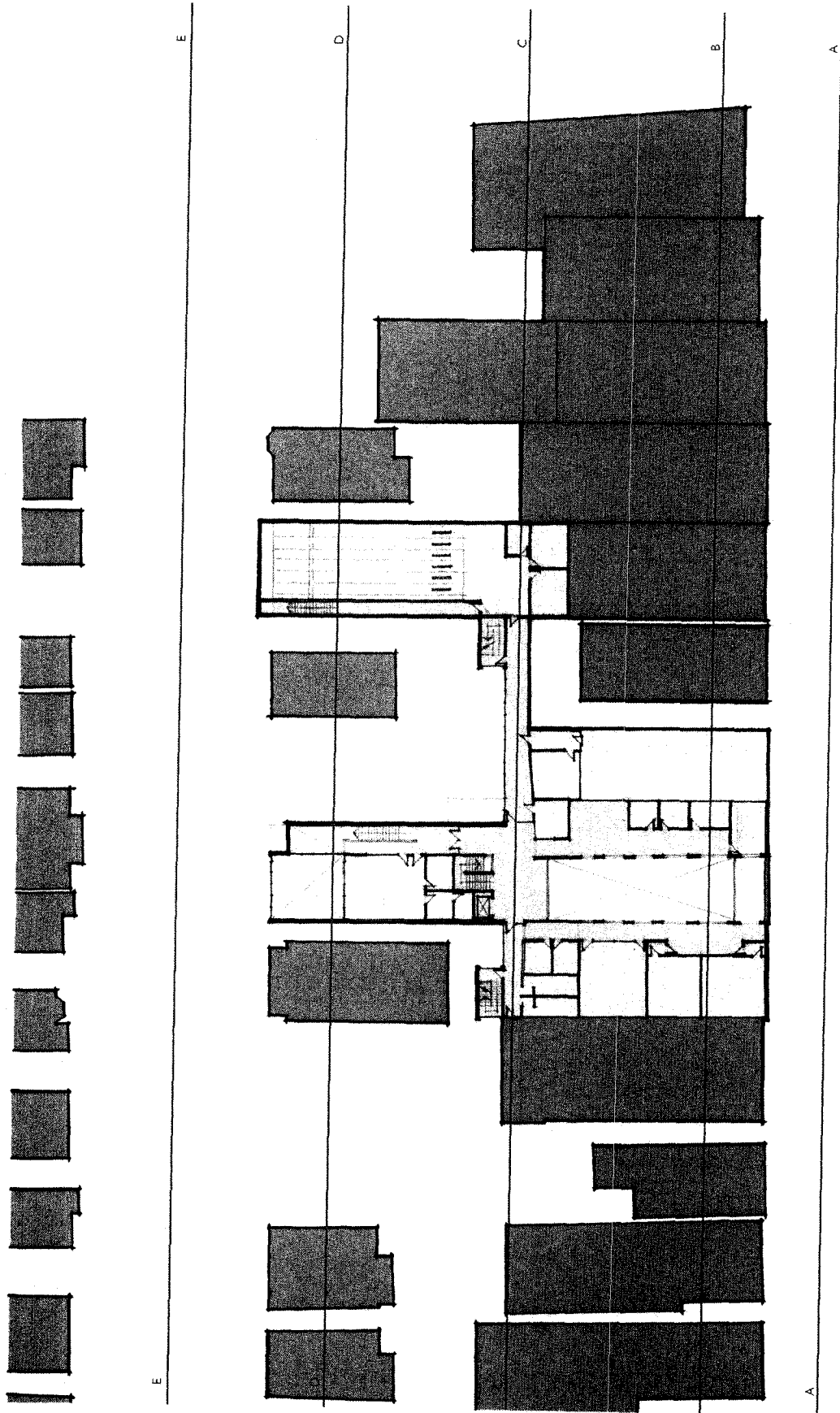
Figure 37. BPU Quinpool - second level plan

LEGEND:
HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
NON-POLICE PROGRAM
CIRCULATION

10 M

PATROL ENTRANCE
VISITOR PARKING
PUBLIC ENTRANCE
RECEPTION & RECORDS
COMMUNITY POLICE
VOLUNTEER CENTRE
POLICE
MULTI-USE AREA
WC WC TOILET
PUBLIC ENTRANCE
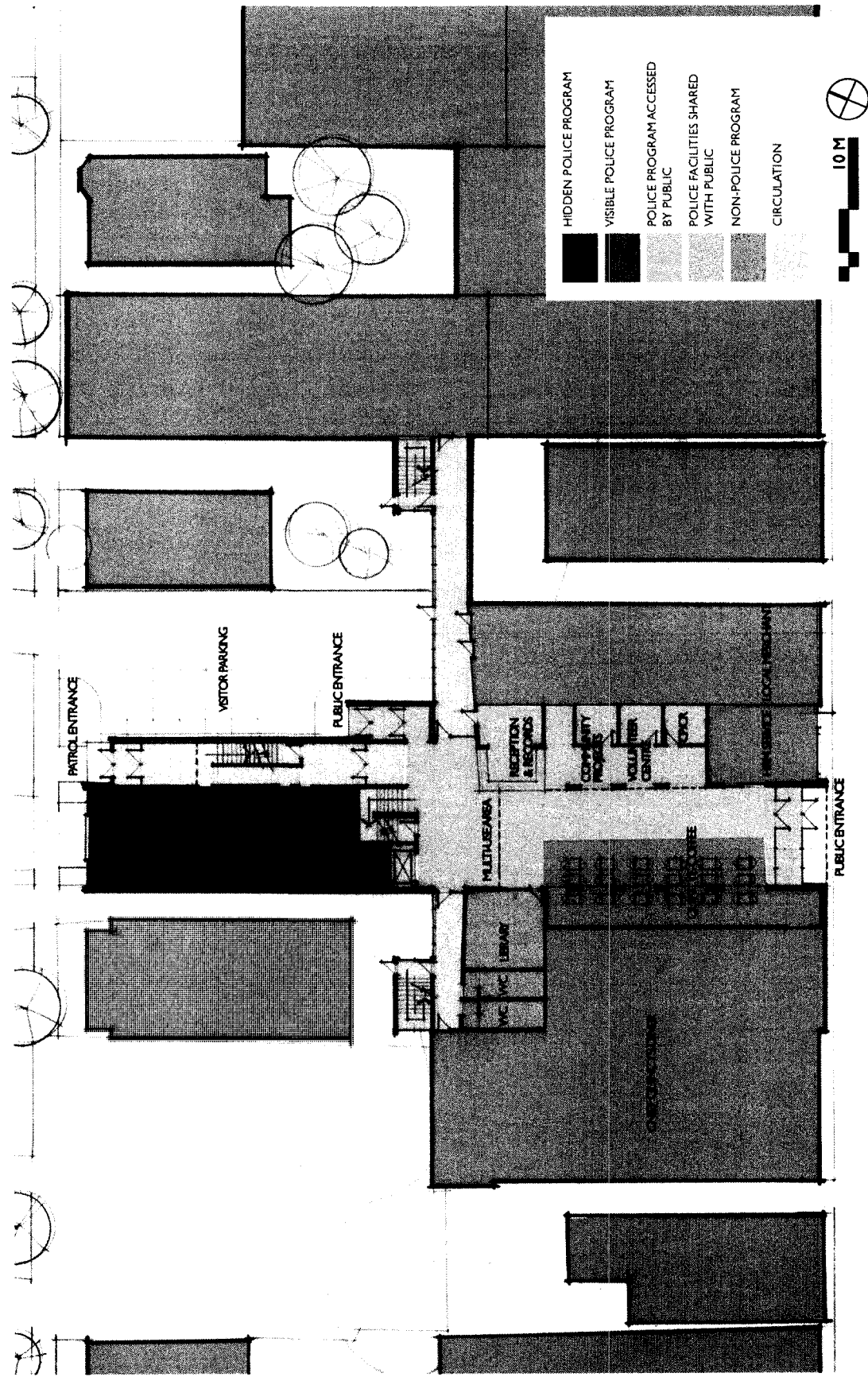
Figure 38. BPU Quinpool - ground level block plan

Legend:
- HIDDEN POLICE PROGRAM
- VISIBLE POLICE PROGRAM
- POLICE PROGRAM ACCESSED BY PUBLIC
- POLICE FACILITIES SHARED WITH PUBLIC
- NON-POLICE PROGRAM
- CIRCULATION

10 M
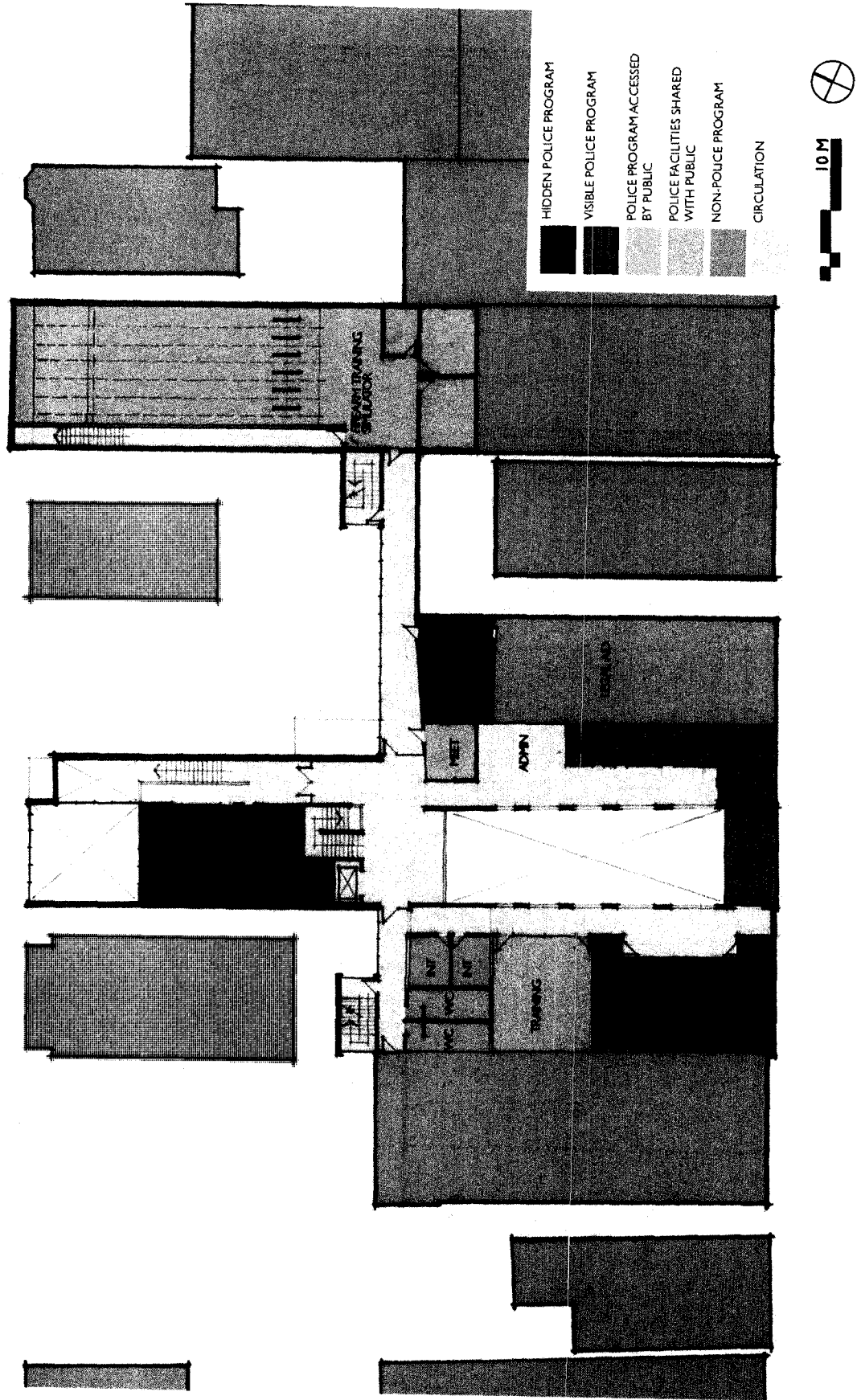
Figure 39. BPU Quinpool - second level block plan
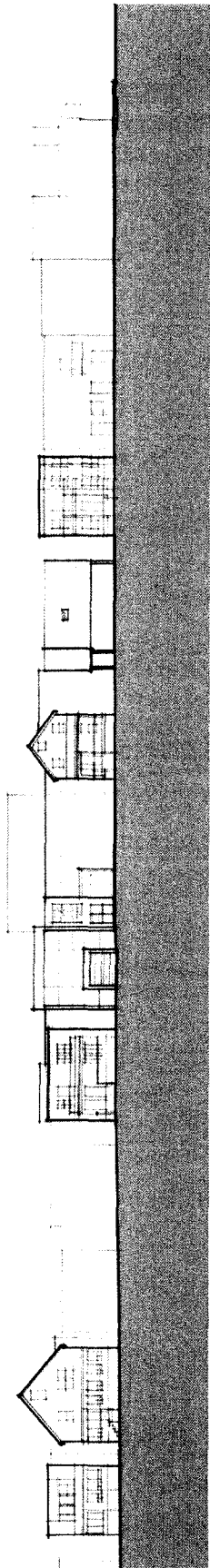
SECTION E-E
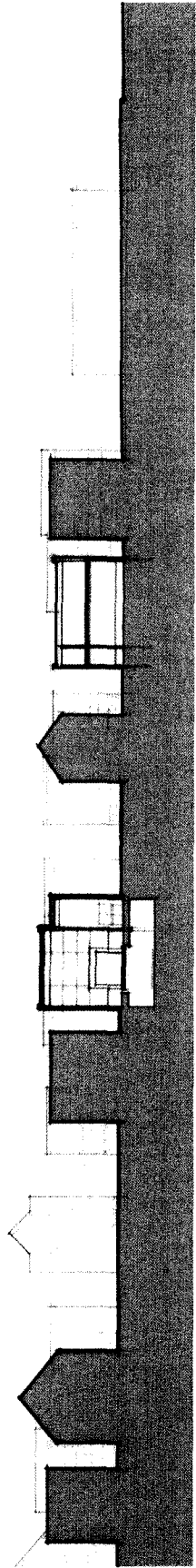
SECTION D-D

SECTION C-C

10 M
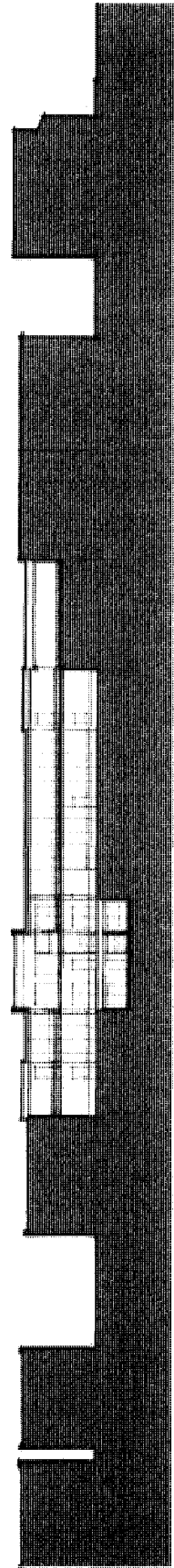
Figure 40. BPU Quinpool - site sections C-C, D-D and E-E

SECTION C-C
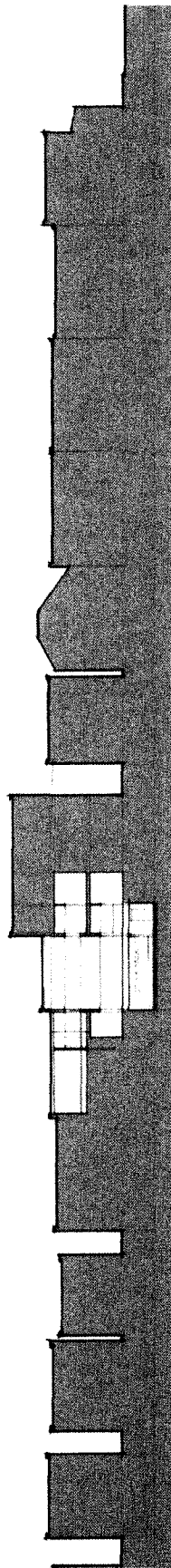
SECTION B-B

SECTION A-A

10 M
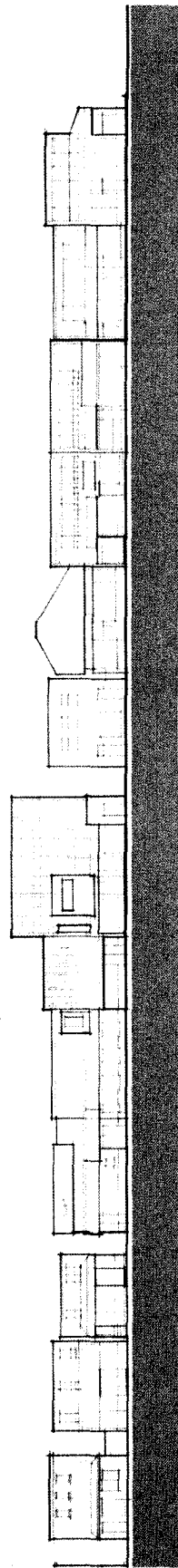
Figure 41. BPU Quinpool - site sections A-A, B-B and C-C

5 M
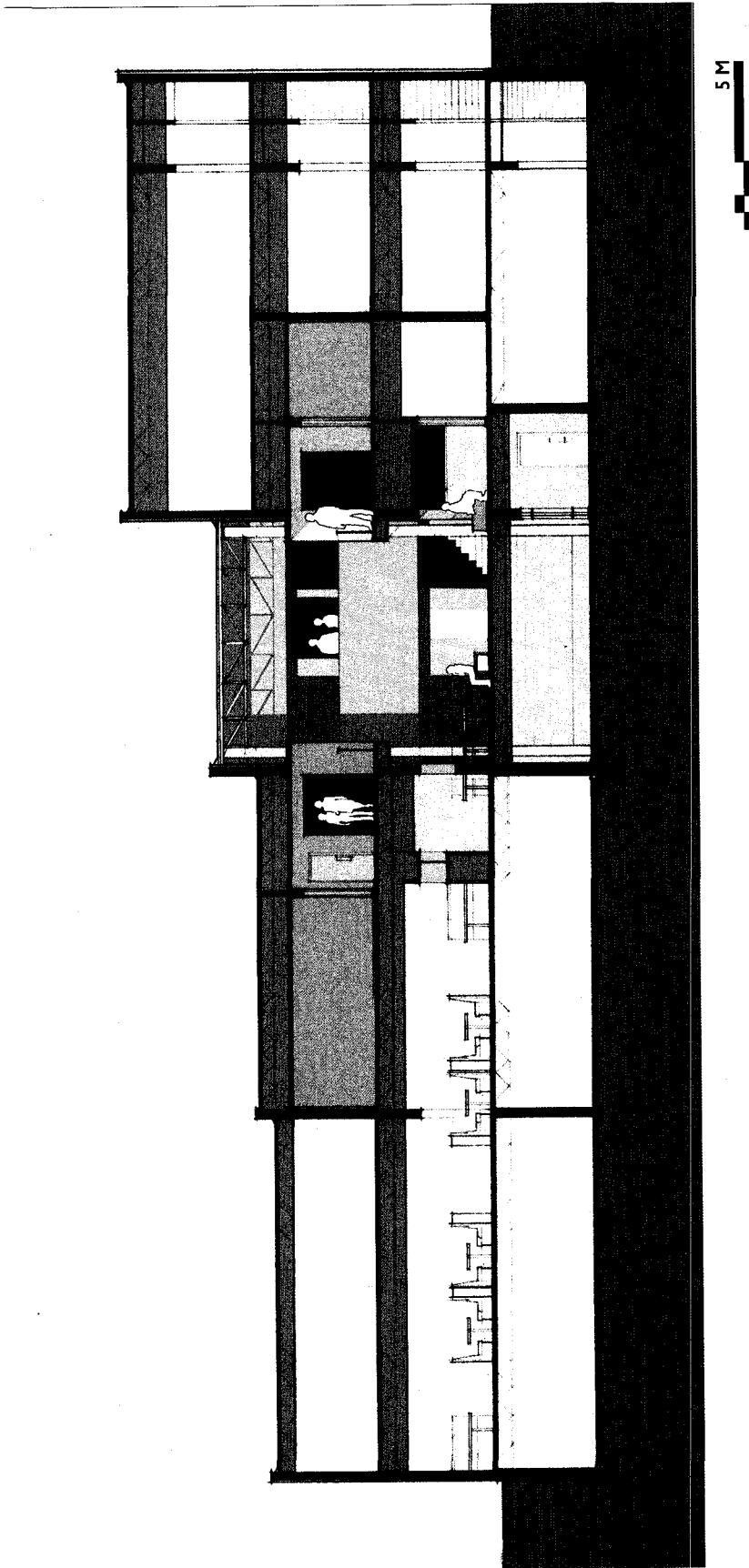
Figure 42. Transverse section through public lobby and adjacent buildings
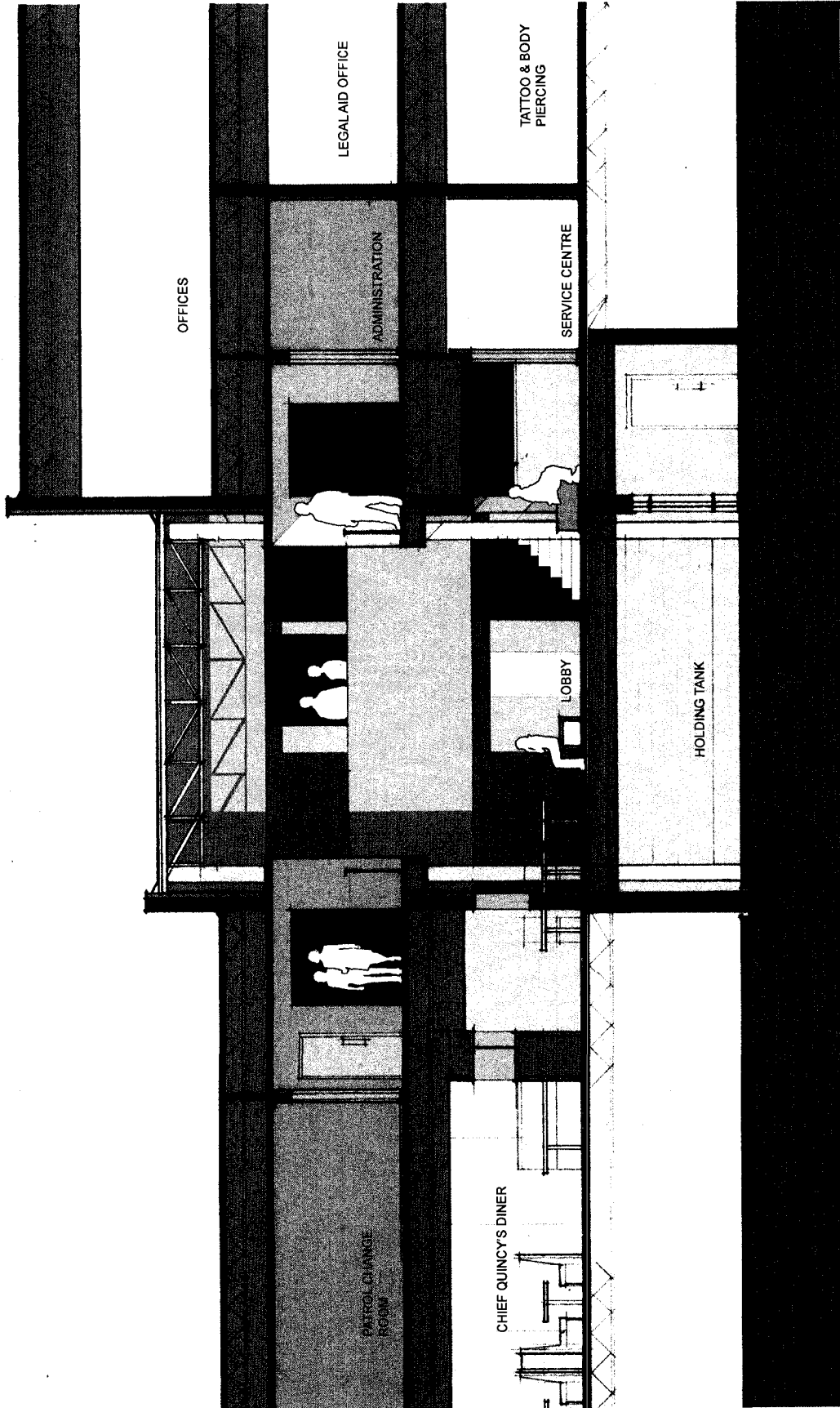
Figure 43. Close up - transverse section through public lobby and adjacent buildings

OFFICES

LEGAL AID OFFICE

TATTOO & BODY PIERCING

ADMINISTRATION

SERVICE CENTRE

LOBBY

HOLDING TANK

PATROL CHANGE ROOM

CHIEF QUINCY'S DINER

5 M

programmatic requirements appropriate space from the adjacent buildings (Figures 42-43), blurring the edges between police and public while maintaining a distinct public face and entrance. Mixed programming includes a diner, HRM service centre, and a legal aid office. Shared spaces, such as meeting rooms, conference room, library and training room, as well as a computer-aided firearms training simulator, encourage chance encounters on a non-confrontational basis. The adjacent diner serves as a lunch room for the police as well as informal meeting space for a variety of functions. Ideally, each of the four BPUs would have an educational component, such as a boxing club or indoor firearm training simulator. These types of activities are necessary training components for police work and give the public an opportunity to learn valuable skills such as self defense and firearm safety.

Police Boxes

This design project proposes a variety of police boxes, such as the fixed storefront, portable box, and mobile unit (Figures 47-50). The police boxes are designed as urban furniture: semi-fixed elements that change along with urban conditions. The storefront is a more permanent fixture in the neighbourhood. The portable police box may be deployed for special events, in high crime areas or for monitoring specific neighbourhood problems (Figures 44-46). The intention of the design is that the increased police presence is informal and non-confrontational, encouraging trust and partnership with the surrounding neighbourhood.

Figure 44. Transportable police box: five stages of deployment
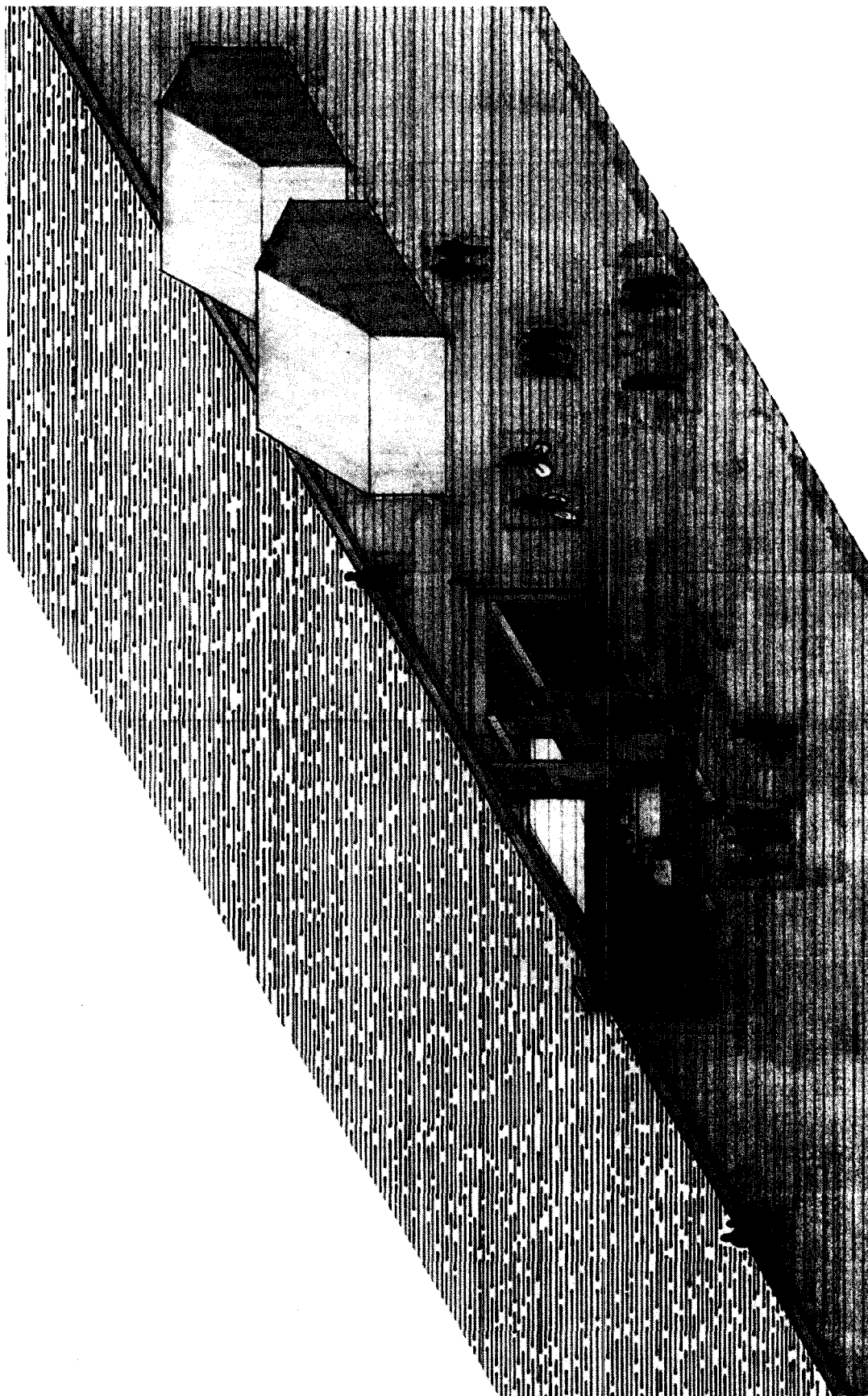
Figure 45. Section-oblique through police box on the waterfront. Red figures are public characters, blue figures are police and purple are volunteers and civilian staff.
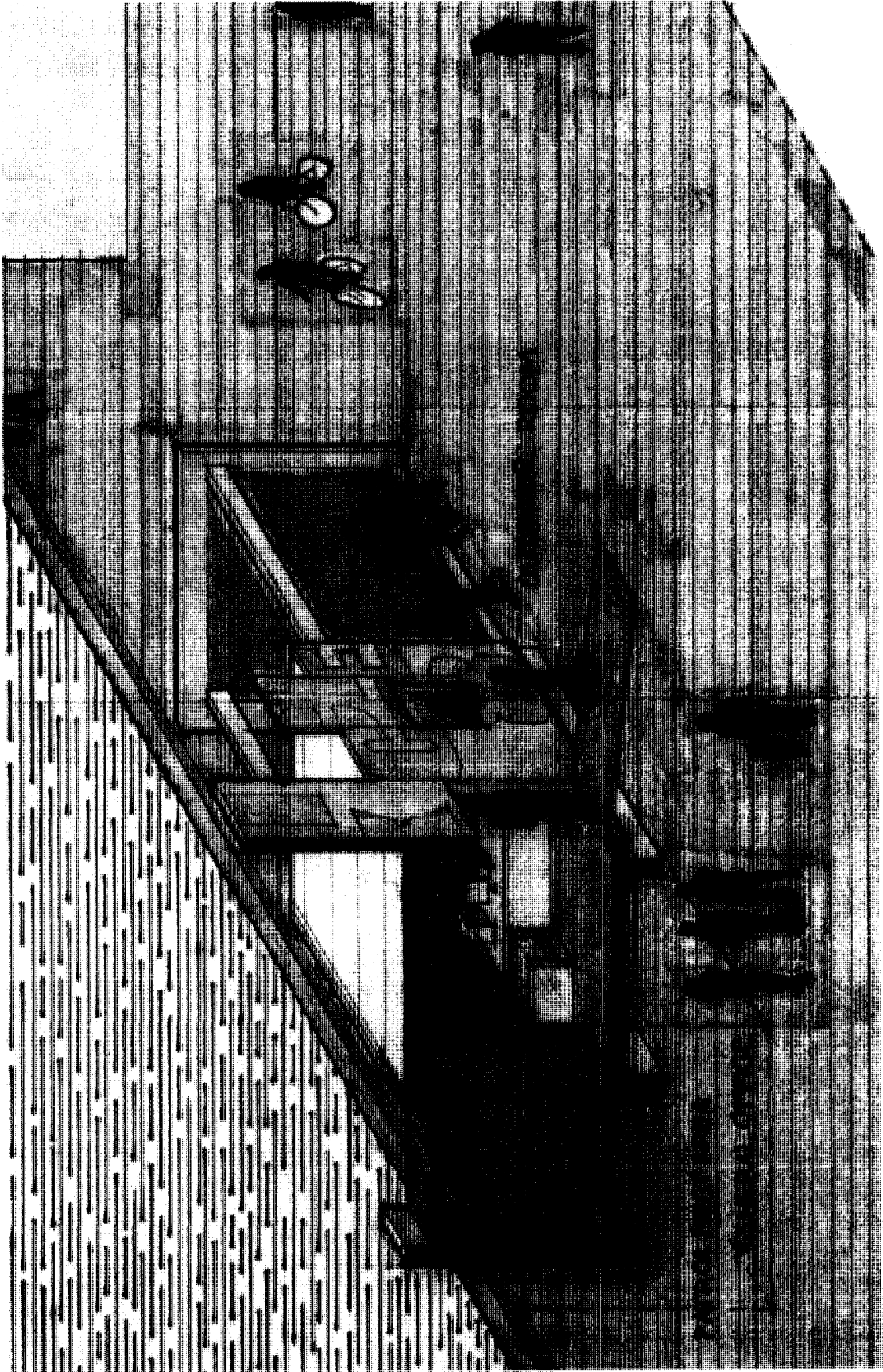
Figure 46. Police box on the waterfront

Figure 47. Fixed police box - "Hole in the Wall"
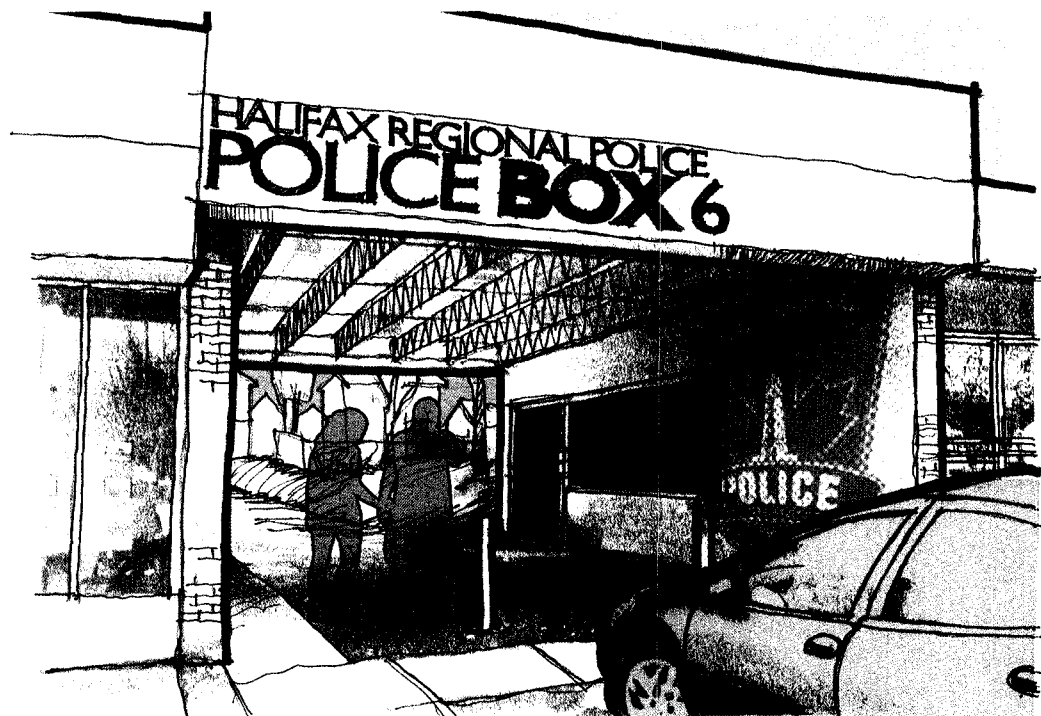
Figure 48. Fixed police box - "Side Court"
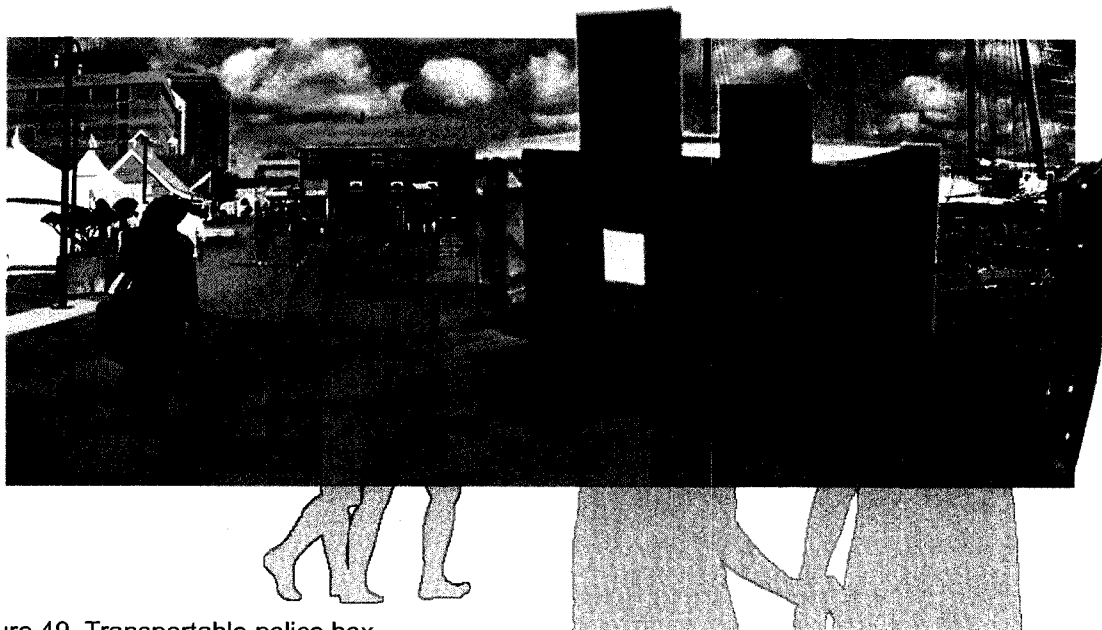
Figure 49. Transportable police box
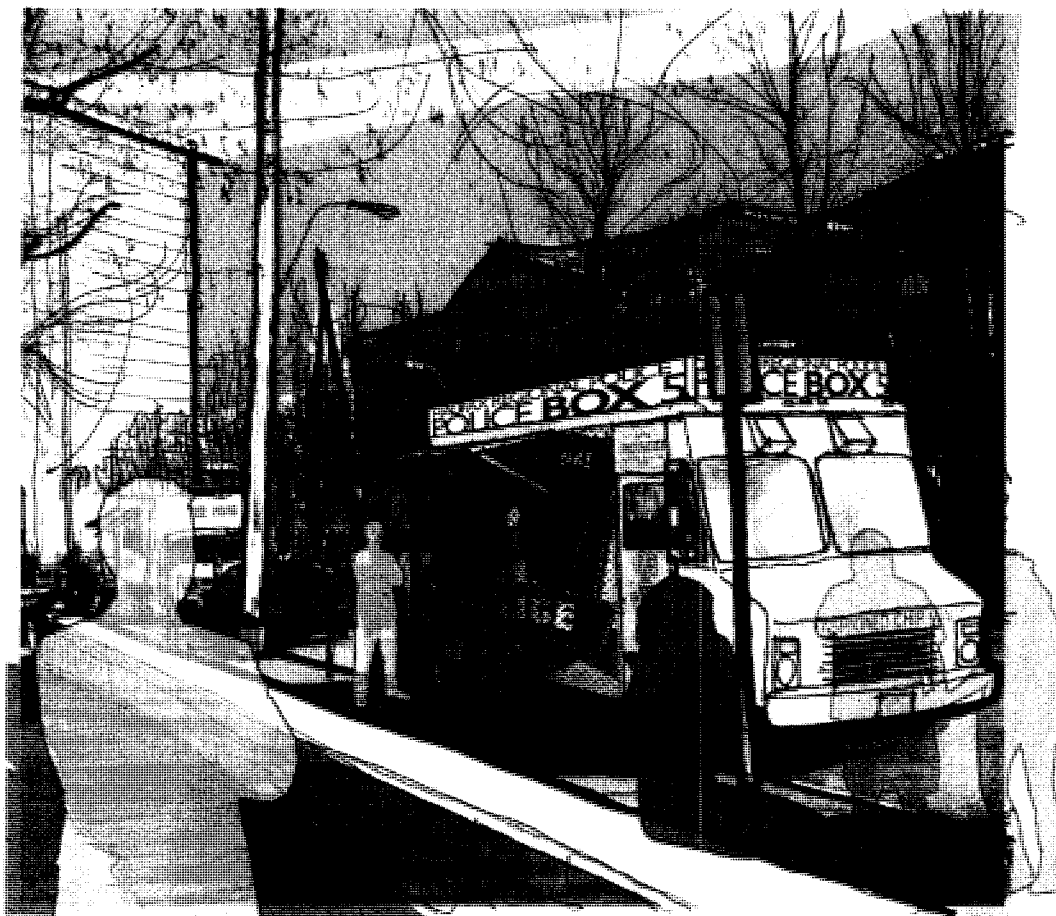
Figure 50. Mobile police box

The mobile unit may serve as a command unit for major emergencies but it functions primarily as a crime prevention and public relations unit, distributing educational information as well as gathering public opinion on police performance.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

A set of general principles extracted from the above design work could serve as guidelines for a police facility/institution design in a typical North American city. They are presented as a series of icons that illustrate site selection criteria, relationship to the city, private-public permeability, street interface and architectural elements. Moving through the scales from the city to the community and the neighbourhood, the principles become less abstract and more specific.

The police headquarters should have a significant position within the heart of the city, forming a greater network with other civic institutions. It may also serve as a landmark building within the city, in close proximity to other landmarks, reinforcing a system of navigation through the city. The police station can play a significant symbolic role through its position in the city as a manifestation of societal values of law and order. Because the police headquarters has a primarily administrative and supportive role, public access is limited (Figure 51).

The BPU is ideally set in a midblock location, acting as a good neighbour, defined by and conforming to

the existing urban grid. It would become an extension of the street room, allowing for greater public and police interaction. Potential locations for urban siting include areas of colliding street grids, wrinkled fabric, intersecting zones and public commercial faces of private communities. Such places tend to create bottlenecks of social activity into which the police institution might be injected. The presentation of the BPU should be less formal than the police headquarters, encouraging trust and cooperation while minimizing any authoritative or oppressive presence (Figure 52).

The police box has a more festive and informal presence in the city. Its siting should be less permanent, changing with the needs of the neighbourhood. As urban furniture, the police box can take on additional supportive programming, such as providing public washrooms or a place to warm up while waiting for a bus (Figure 53).

Formal facade

Minimal public permeability

Proximity to major routes and civic landmarks
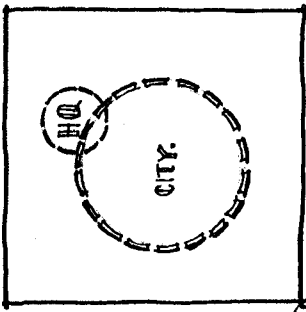
Community scale - at or slightly above city scale

CITY.

H.Q.
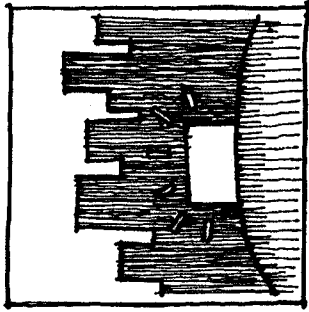
Position as a good neighbour, as a part of the urban fabric
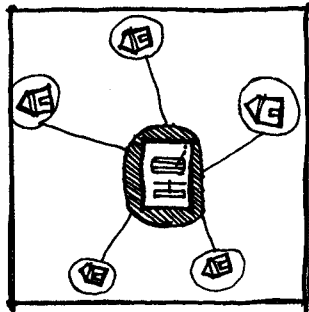
Part of network with other civic institutions

Relationship to the city

Position within the urban fabric

Siting

Figure 51. Headquarters: general principles

Semi-formal facade

Zone intersection

Extension of the public room

Colliding grids

Equal police-public permeability
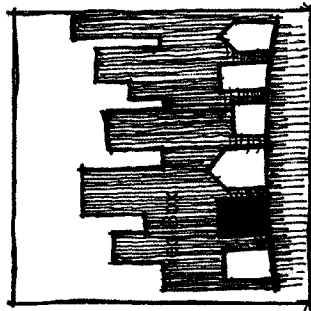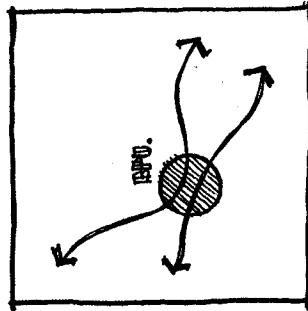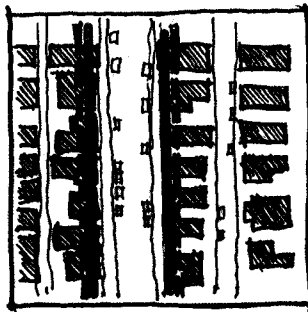
Public face of community

Community scale - in the city

Position as a good neighbour, as a part of the urban fabric

Wrinkled fabric

Relationship to the city

Position within the urban fabric

Siting

Figure 52. BPU:
general principles
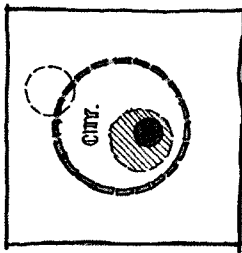
Mobile Box

Transit stop

Informal facade

On a path between two zones

A place to sit

Deep public permeability

High crime area

A place to warm-up

Neighbourhod scale - of the city
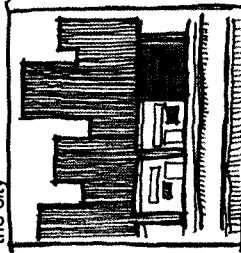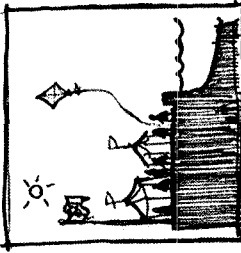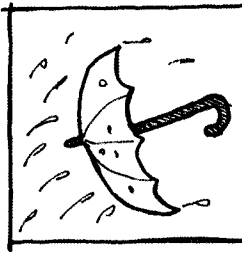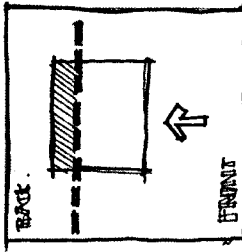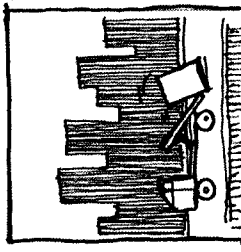
Transportable Box
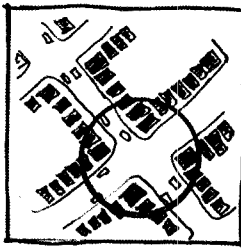
Neighbourhood commercial node

Public washrooms

Fixed Box

Special events

Shelter

Relationship to the city

Position within the urban fabric

Siting

Supportive program

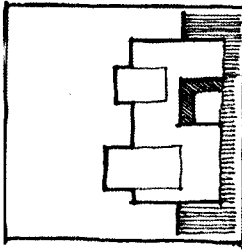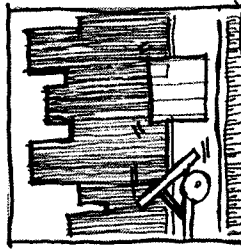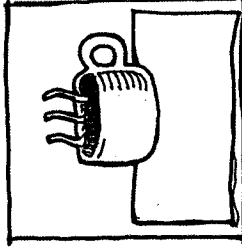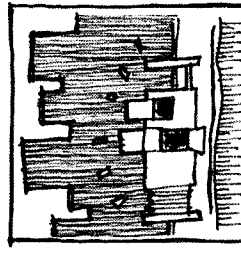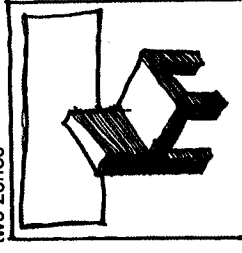Figure 53. Police Box: general principles

SUMMARY

The police institution is a complex entity, with deep roots in the urban and social landscape. There are limitless avenues of research regarding the police institution and the city, such as current issues of the effectiveness of public versus private policing, political corruption, surveillance and the loss of privacy, and police brutality, to name a few. While the focus of this thesis has been on re-integrating the police into the urban and social fabric of the *polis* through an architectural proposition, it has, I feel, touched on some of the underlying issues surrounding the police in contemporary society by trying to address what may be their root cause: lack of healthy social networks in the environment and the separation and alienation of the police from the city. I attempted to address these concerns by dispersing and de-formalizing the institution so that it might become a part of these social networks, while encouraging trust and partnerships within the neighbourhood. If the relationship between the police and the community could be strengthened, through the incorporation or re-establishment of the police into the social networks on the street, then perhaps those secondary issues would become less problematic.

NOTES

1. *Online Etymology Dictionary*, http://www.etymonline.com (accessed December 4, 2007), s.v. "police."

2. Eric H. Monkkonen, "History of Urban Police," *Crime and Justice* 15, Modern Policing (1992), http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0192-3234%281992%2915%3C547%3AHOUP%3E 2.0.CO%3B2-B (accessed September 5, 2007), 547.

3. Michael Palmiotto, *Community Policing: A Policing Strategy for the 21st Century* (Gaithersburg, Md.: Aspen, 2000), 25.

4. Ibid., 26-28.

5. David H. Bayley, *Police for the Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3.

6. Ibid., 16-18.

7. Ibid., 11.

8. Brian Whitelaw et al, *Community-Based Strategic Policing in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Thomson/Nelson, 2006), 44.

9. Stephen Mastrofski, "Community Policing: A Skeptical View," in *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives*, eds. David Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 66.

10. Ibid.

11. E. J. Williams, "Structuring in Community Policing: Institutionalizing Innovative Change," *Police Practice and Research* 4, no. 2 (2003), http://web.ebscohost.com (accessed November 12, 2007), 120.

12. Jonathan Walters, "Clear Connection: A High-Tech Partnership is Driving Down Crime in Chicago," *Governing*, http://www.governing.com/manage/pm/perf0807.htm (accessed December 4, 2007).

13. Mastrofski, "Community Policing: A Skeptical View," 59.

14. Ibid., 65.

15. Ibid., 58.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 59.

18.   Ben Rogers and Tom Houston, *Re-Inventing the Police Station: Police-Public Relations, Reassurance and the Future of the Police Estate* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2004), http://www.ippr.org/members/download.asp?f=%2Fecomm%2Ffiles%2 Freinventing%5Fpolice%5Fstation%2Epdf (accessed September 6, 2007), 12.

19.   Jane Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Contact," in *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (New York: Free Press, 1987), 98.

20.   Jerome H. Skolnick and David H. Bayley, *The New Blue Line: Police Innovation in Six American Cities* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 62.

21.   Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Contact," 96.

22.   Ibid.

23.   Ibid., 97.

24.   Williams, "Structuring in Community Policing," 127.

25.   Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Contact," 99-100.

26.   Ibid., 107-108.

27.   Ibid., 111.

28.   Rogers and Houston, *Re-Inventing the Police Station*, 9.

29.   Ibid., 12.

30.   Ibid.

31.   William Hubbard, "A Meaning for Monuments," in *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (New York: Free Press, 1987), 127.

32.   Ibid., 128.

33.   Ibid., 129.

34.   Bayley, *Police for the Future*, 148.

35.   Ibid., 152.

36.   Ibid., 153.

37.   Ibid., 146.

38.   Ibid., 153.

39.   A. S. Pertschy, "Architecture of Urban Development: Critique of the Halifax Police Station" (Student essay, Dalhousie University School of Architecture, Halifax, 1998), 3.

40.   Ibid., 6.

41.   Ibid., 5.

42.   Ibid., 7. From an interview with Keith Graham, architect, March 1998.

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Aerial view of Peninsular Halifax. Photograph by Craig Mosher.

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Skolnick, Jerome H., and David H. Bayley. *The New Blue Line: Police Innovation in Six American Cities.* New York: Free Press, 1986.

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