

Form and Uniform

Hack Kampmann, *Copenhagen Police Headquarters*, 1924

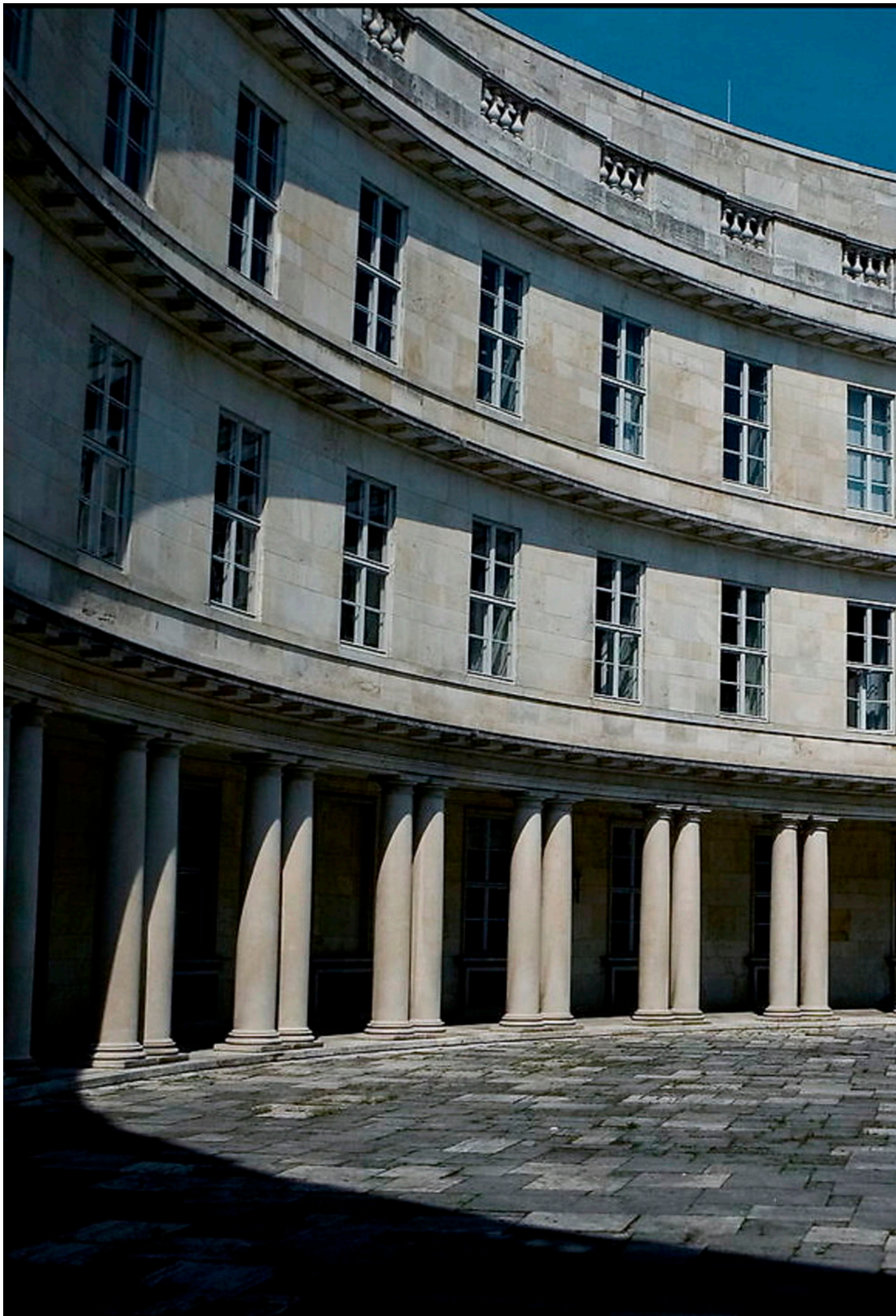


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Introduction

This project deals with the architecture of order. It is at its core an exploration of how design is used to provide a powerful and coherent image of the state through the representation of the most fundamental and controversial of institutions: police.

The police station is interpreted here as the center of a system of state representation, the place where civilians, officers, detainees and solicitors converge, positioning it at the intersection of state order and architectural order.

The project focuses on the Garda Síochána, the sole police force in the Republic of Ireland. In the context of the Project Ireland 2040 the Irish government plans to increase the Garda presence over the country, focusing specifically on rural areas. The plan includes the refurbishment, expansion and construction of more than 30 Garda stations. A policeman, in this rural context, is a common fixture, a part of the local landscape, the butt of a popular joke. Not a semi-divine representation of the state, nor a troubled urban detective, a policeman is here part of the local society together with the postman, the butcher, the pub owner. It is this specific condition that allows for a reconsideration of police architecture not as one defined by the idea of control, or even intimidation, but one characterized fundamentally by reassurance.

This reality opens the possibility for rethinking the role of police on the Irish territory, proposing an architectural language embedded in the rural Irish context, consisting of an encounter between the classical order and elements of the local vernacular. This critical reconsideration projected outwards by the facade of the police station and the moments of exchange it enacts, and inwards, through the design of interrelating spaces that underpin the practice of policing. "The police are the public and the public are the police" is stated in the Peelian principles, the founding document of Irish police. It is the adherence to this principle that leads to a design for police that is not based on grandiose architectural gestures, but on a careful reconsideration of the relationship between the vernacular and the classic, the relatable and the impressive, the public and the policeman.

Alberto Geuna ^(IT)



Youanpeng Zhang, *The Highway and the Country*, 2018

The Highway and the Country

In taking Ireland as a starting point to Ireland—an island in the Northern Atlantic Ocean—is separated from Great Britain by the Irish Sea, whose upper half is also a part of the United Kingdom. Located on the edge of Europe, Ireland has been largely peripheral to the continent's history at least through its industrialization and economic success. However, in purely cartographic terms, the island can be considered the center of the world. If one were to locate a pin in the middle of a world map, it would most likely land at Ireland. The Republic and Northern Ireland are separated by a border—the result of sectarian conflict—dividing the minority of the north from the majority of the south. If the border is de facto invisible due to the British membership of the European Union, the plausible new reality of a “Hard Brexit” questions the necessary relationship between the two parts of this island.

The country's population achieved its numerical maximum of eight million inhabitants in the nineteenth century; however, since then, the country has been unable to recover from such demographic strength. The Great Potato Famine of 1845—which claimed the starvation of one million people and resulted in three million emigrating abroad—can be considered as the beginning of a trajectory of steady population loss. Two centuries later, Ireland's current population consists of merely six million inhabitants. The distribution of its population is unequal across the island with up to 60% of the population concentrated in the urban centers of the east, most notably Dublin and Belfast. Consequently, these cities have attract-ed multinational companies like Google, Facebook, and Apple, contributing to highly developed eastern and southern parts of the country—operating in a stark contrast to the west which remains rural and depopulated. In this regard, the small island is divided from north to south by political and religious differences, and from east to west by economic and demographic disparity.





To mediate these divisions, the Government of the Republic of Ireland has proposed the construction of an “Atlantic Corridor,” a series of highways running from north to south along the western region of the island, aimed at stimulating economic growth. Furthermore, the Republic's Project Ireland 2040 National Planning

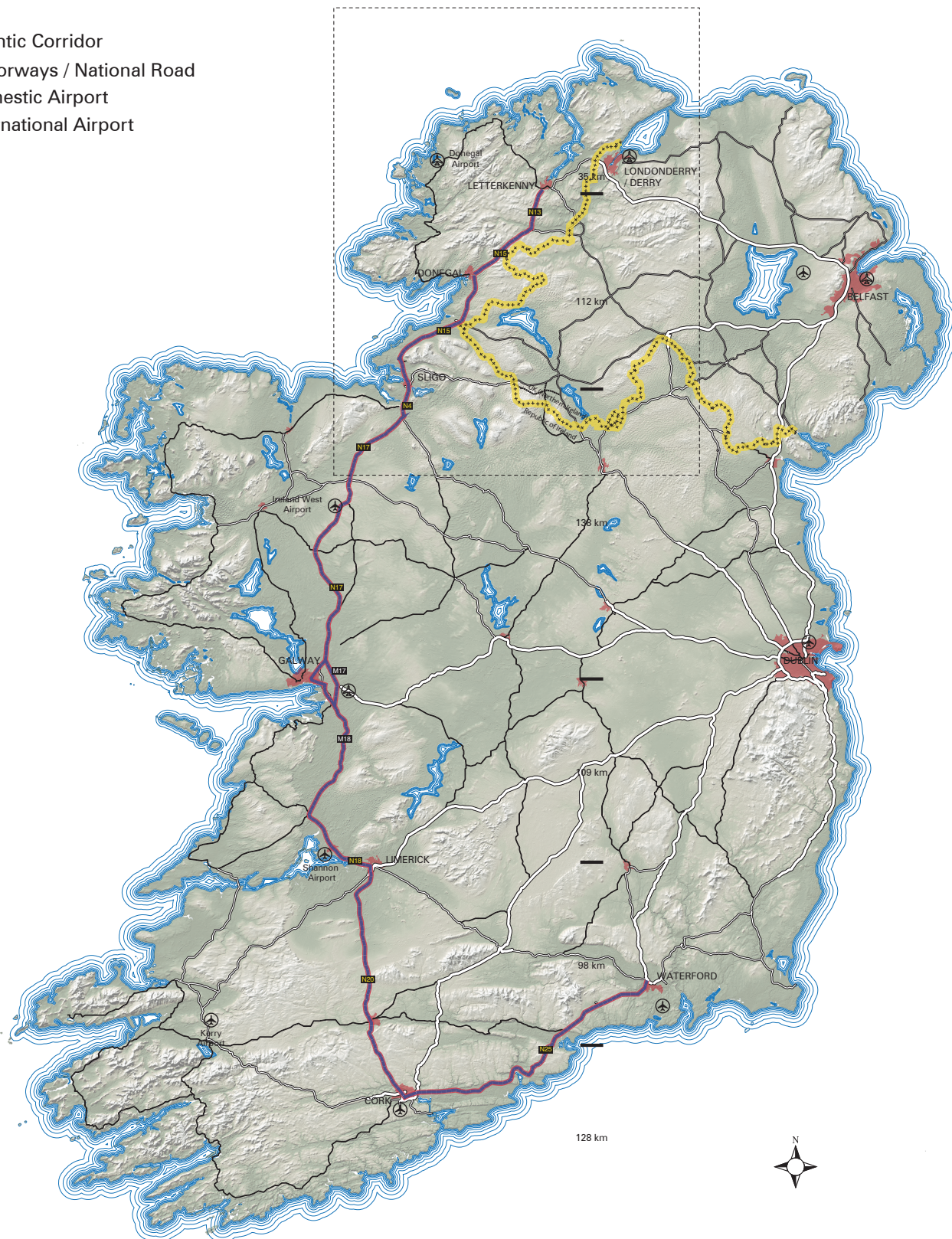
Framework, directed towards a future date of 2040, anticipates an influx of one million non-Irish migrants. Approached as an opportunity to redistribute both population and development across the island, both proposals allude to the possibility of a permanent economic route through Derry/Londonderry, thereby establishing a new set of relationships between Ireland and Northern Ireland. By imagining a new north-south link, both plans effectively seek to establish a new relationship between the east and west of the island. Although the Project Ireland 2040 National Planning Framework anticipates a widespread transformation, it lacks a clear articulation of a spatial agenda for these changes. While the Atlantic Corridor is a clearly delineated construct spanning 430 kilometers, its effect on the country remains uncharted.

One of the island's peculiarities is that the Republican South extends further north than the Unionist North. This uppermost region, both north and south, Irish and British, more than any other region in Ireland will concentrate the effect of Ireland's future redevelopment plans. This significant terrain, known as County Donegal, is where this collection of eleven projects is sited. Located between the towns of Sligo in the south and Derry/Londonderry in the north, it is one of the most economically fragile counties of the Republic. This fragility is further highlighted by its geographic position, surrounded on either side by the sea and Northern Ireland, and connected to the Republic by a narrow strip of land that makes it susceptible to the effects of a possible hard border with Brexit.

Characterized by pastures, woodlands, small villages, peat fields, and a dispersal of innumerable one-off houses, the remote County Donegal is exemplar of the coexistence between rural countryside, housing estates, and urbanized towns in Ireland.³ These settlements represent the architecture of the region; and yet historically this region has existed without any real relationship to the profession or the culture of architecture.

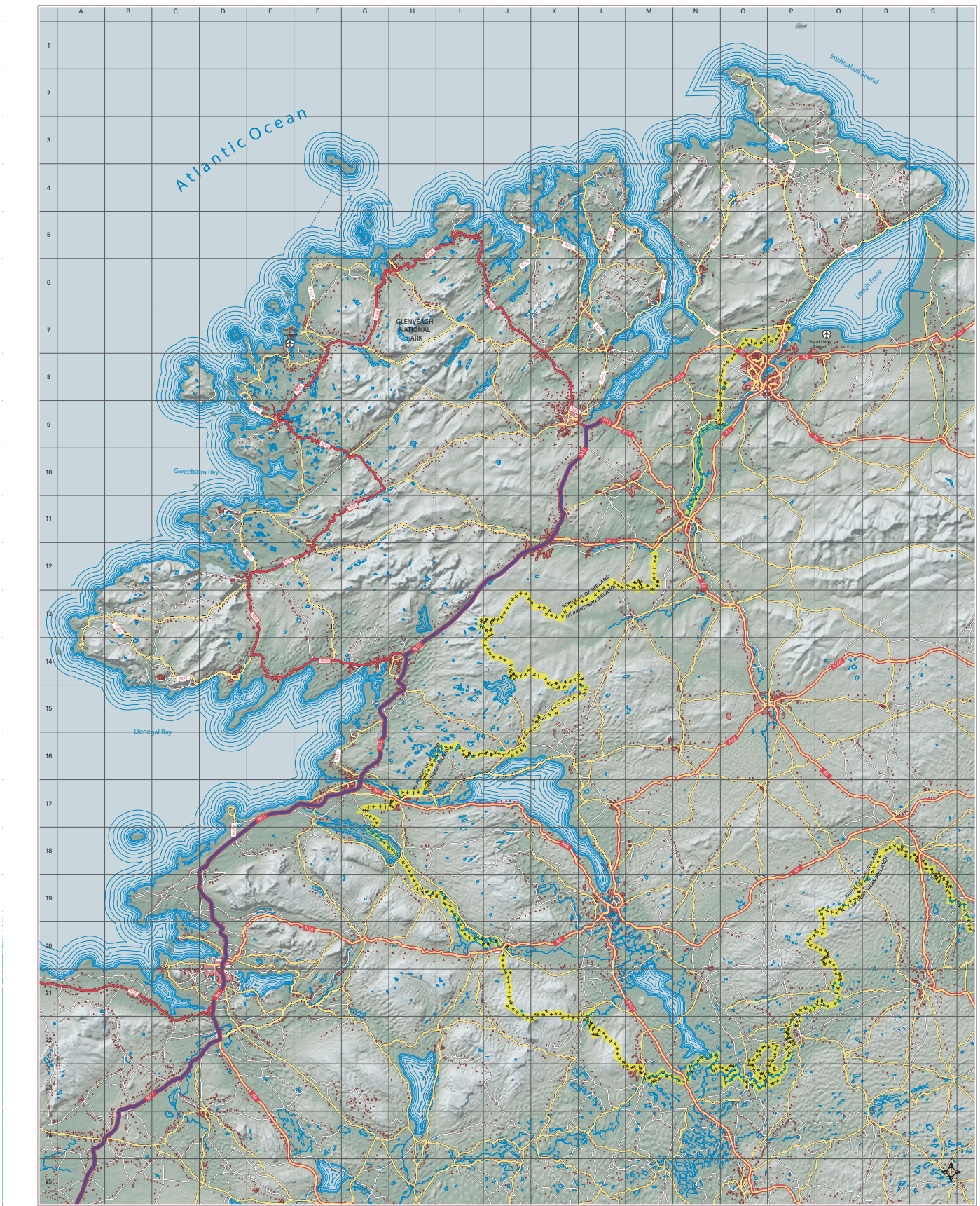
The following architectural project is one of eleven that speculates on County Donegal's possible architectural futures in relation to the Project Ireland 2040 National Planning Framework, the construction of the Atlantic Corridor, and the indeterminacy of Brexit—creating necessary encounters between north and south, between infrastructure and environment—or in short, between the highway and the country.

-  Atlantic Corridor
-  Motorways / National Road
-  Domestic Airport
-  International Airport



Map of Ireland

Data from Open Street Maps, 2018



Map of Donegal

Data from Open Street Maps, 2018



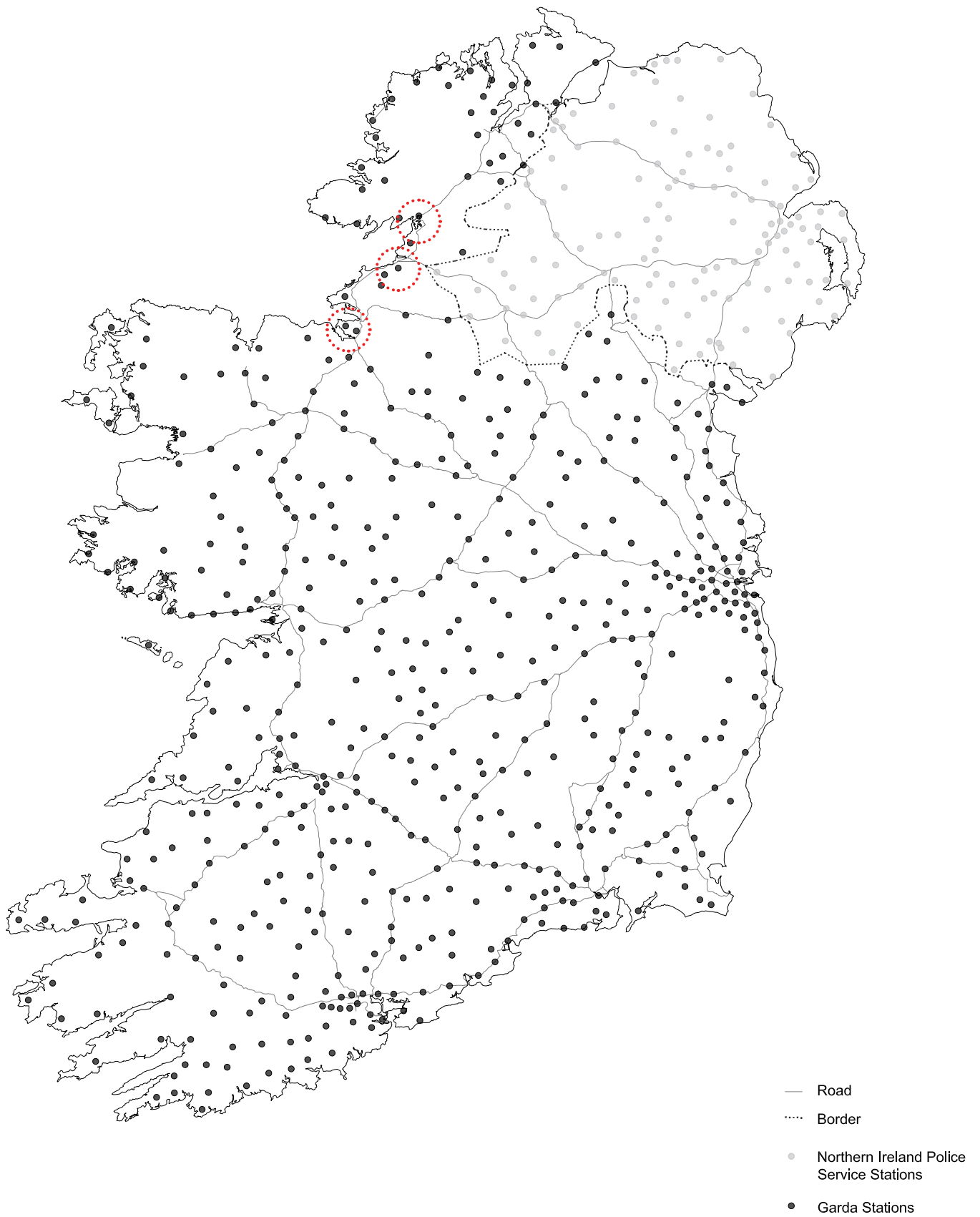
As Found Objects

Photographs from authors during fieldtrip in Donegal, Ireland, May 2018



As Found Object

*Alberto Geuna, photograph
of Letterkenny Garda Division
Headquarters, May 2018.*



Alberto Geuna, map of police stations in Ireland with project locations

Site

As the project aims to define a language for the construction of police stations in the Republic of Ireland, it presents multiple sites. In the context of Project Ireland 2040, the government foresees the construction of seven new Garda stations by 2021 and the expansion or construction of another 33 by the year 2040. Taking its steps from this plan, the project revolves around the design of a set of three Garda stations of different sizes, all located in small towns along the Western Irish coast: a local Garda Station in the village of Kinlough, Garda District Headquarters in Donegal Town and Garda Division Headquarters in Sligo.

The three sites are selected for their peculiar urban configurations, which can be found repeated in settlements across the island of Ireland:

Kinlough, a small village of around 1500 people, developed linearly along a road, a configuration typical of hamlets and small settlements in the Irish countryside.

Donegal Town, a slightly larger village and capital of the homonymous county, develops around a central triangular market square called the Diamond. This is a typical urban configuration for settlements that emerged during the plantation era.

Sligo, a much larger town of 20000, is an example of the loose urban grid that characterizes most of Irish market towns.

The project reacts to these different contexts maintaining the same operational logic: the Garda Station is located in close proximity to relevant public spaces and buildings in the settlement, a position in which the institution of police is opened to new interactions.



0 50 100 m

Site drawings

Data from Open Street Map, 2018

Alberto Geuna, map of Kinlough with project



Aerial photograph of Kinlough



0 50 100 m

Site drawings

Data from Open Street Map, 2018

Alberto Geuna, map of Donegal Town
with project



Site Photographs

Aerial photograph of Donegal Town



0 50 100 m

Sited drawings

Data from Open Street Map, 2018

Alberto Geuna, map of Sligo Town with
project



Site drawings

Aerial Picture of Sligo Town

Kinlough



Donegal Town



Sligo Town



Site Photographs



Site photographs

Discourse

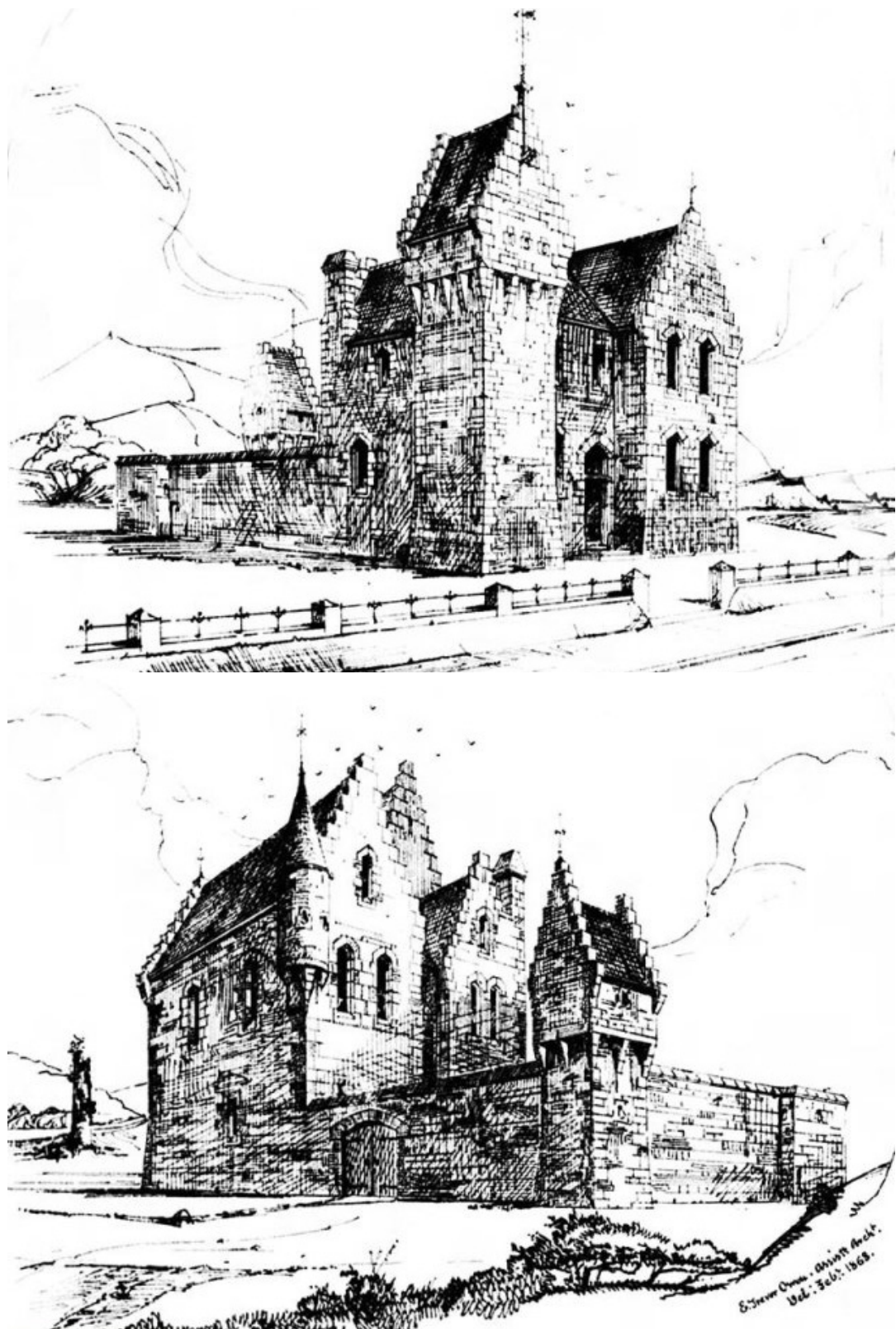
The project aims to redefine what a police force is and does by rethinking the police station as a type, and in particular questioning two of its aspects: its material value as a physical manifestation of the state and its programmatic articulation as a space dedicated to the enforcement of order. Rather than treating the two as separate, the project aims at maintaining a relation between the operational logic of the police station and its appearance to the public, between form and uniform.

Like other public buildings, police stations have been historically designed as part of ensembles. They represent a coherent palimpsest that represent a relationship between the state and its citizens. Thus the proposal of a new kind of police station cannot be limited to a single object, but rather constitute a typological toolkit for the design of police stations in Ireland.

Precedent Studies

The origin of modern policing in Ireland traces back to Sir Robert Peel, chief Secretary of Ireland from 1812 to 1818. A conservative englishman whose formative years corresponded with the Napoleonic Wars, Peel valued morality and order above anything else. He dedicated a large part of his political career to the creation of a modern police force based on liberal principles, which he pitted against the tyrannical excesses of the French Secret Police during the Revolution and its aftermath. Peel proposed the creation of an ethical police embedded with the principles of liberalism described by Adam Smith. Peel's idea of police was summarized in the "Peelian principles", a set of rules that would constitute the cornerstone of policing in the British Empire and its successor states until today. The essential notion in the Peelian principles is that "The police are the public and that the public are the police", with police officers being nothing but citizens in uniform, whose power "is dependent on public approval" and is aimed at "preventing crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force". Established in 1822 as a direct consequence of Peel's Peace Preservation Act, the Royal Irish Constabulary became the first active royal police force in the British isles based on Peel's ideas, predating even the creation of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829. The Constabulary was intended as a territorial police force, an entity capable of enforcing British law throughout the country without a full blown military occupation. The constitution of the RIC mobilized the Irish Board of Public Works in creating an adequate set of architectural objects that could host the new institution while conveying its core values. This lead to the construction of a large number of RIC barracks between 1850 and 1870 throughout the country. Many of these buildings were based on a sketch design by architect James H. Owen. A set of variations on the theme of the Norman castle, Owen's RIC barracks reiterated symbolically the original XII century English invasion of Ireland. By evidencing the contrast between the grim practice of policing and the mild mannered Peelian Principles, these stony, austere buildings contributed in defining the image of the RIC as an opaque, foreign and paramilitary institution. With Irish independence the RIC was

disbanded and replaced the Garda Siochana, the sole police force in the newly formed state. The republican Garda set to dismantle the traditionally oppressive image of police in favour of a more strict adherence to the foundational Peelian principles. The Garda proceeded to substitute the hostile looking barracks with a set of buildings aimed at merging anonymously with their surroundings. Most Garda stations are identified today only by the iconic yet subtle garda lamppost, always located in close proximity to the station's entrance. While eliminating part of the violent and repressive undertones of police architecture, this architectural strategy resulted in withdrawing the presence of police stations from the public sphere. This project reconsiders this stance in favour of police stations that actively engage with their territory, creating a clear relation with the surrounding urban environment. A design not conceived as an imposing castle nor as a replica of a common house, but rather as a recognisable object that embodies the character of state power on its territory.



James H. Owen, Design of Irish Constabulary Barracks, 1870.



RIC Barracks

Dugannon



RIC Barracks

From top to bottom:
 Millarney RIC Barracks
 Graiguecullen RIC Barracks
 Ballinamuck RIC Barracks



Current Garda Stations

Pearse Street Garda Station, Dublin,
built 1915



Current Garda Stations

Kevin Street Garda Station, Dublin,
built 2018



As Found Objects

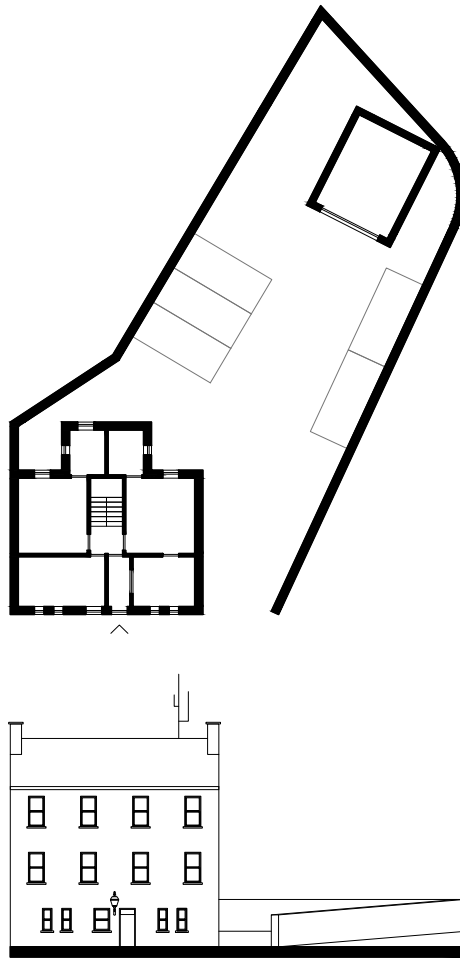
Top: Donegal Town Garda Station
Bottom: Kinlough Garda Station





As Found Objects

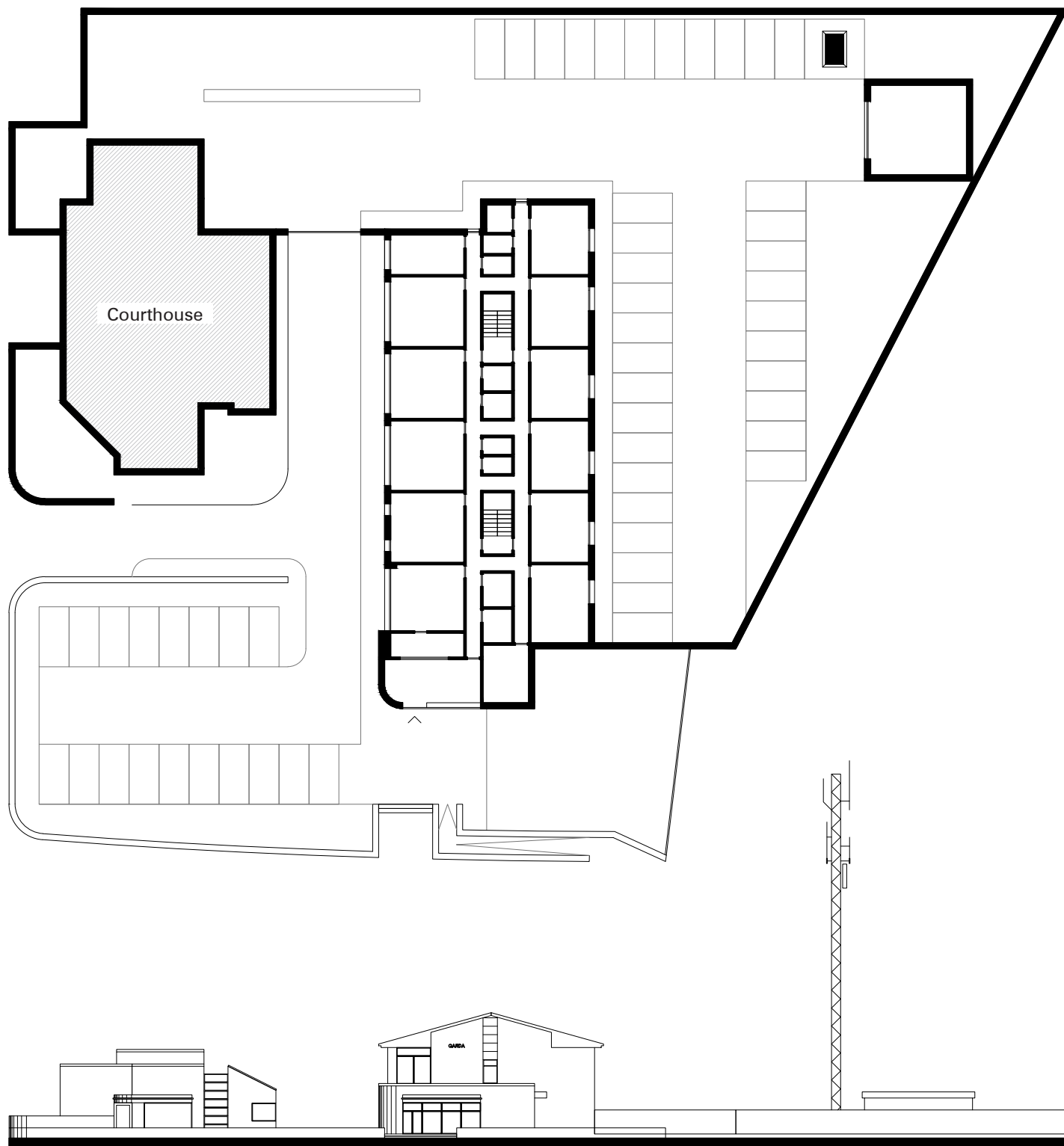
Top: Ballyshannon Garda District HQ
Bottom: Sligo Garda Division HQ



0 5 10 m

As Found Objects

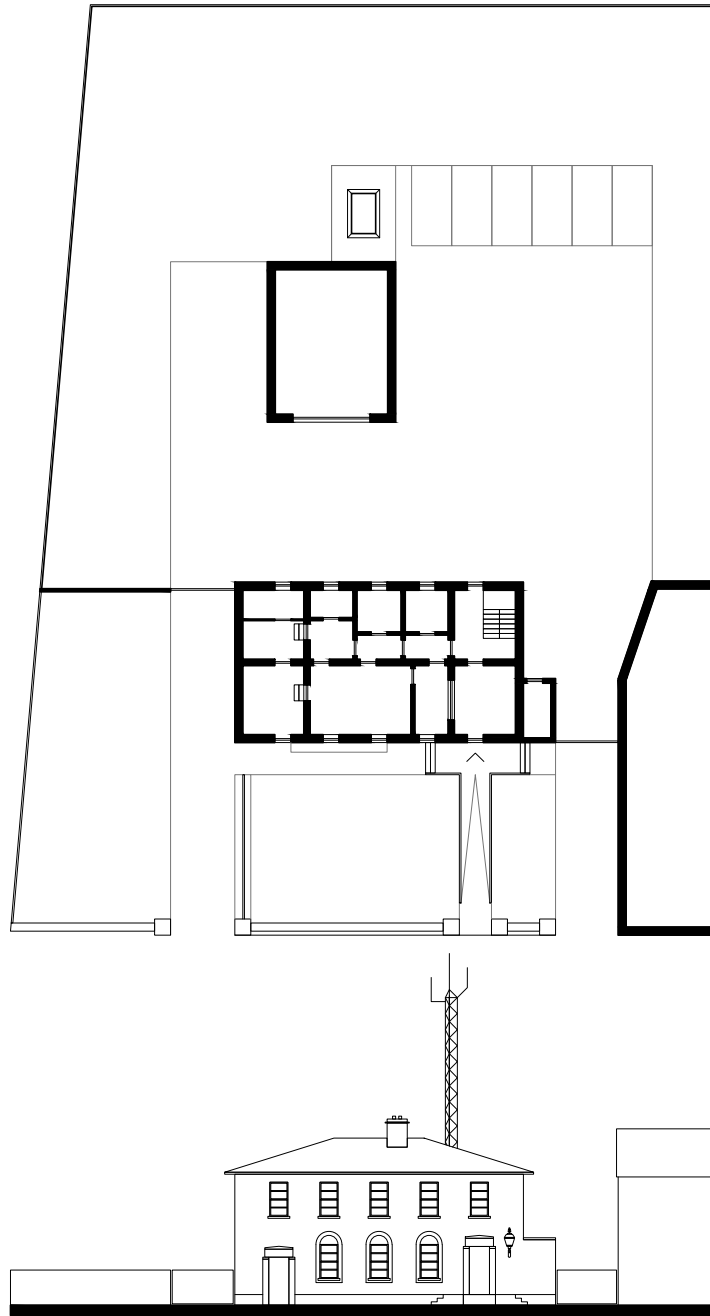
Donegal Garda Station



0 5 10 m

As Found Objects

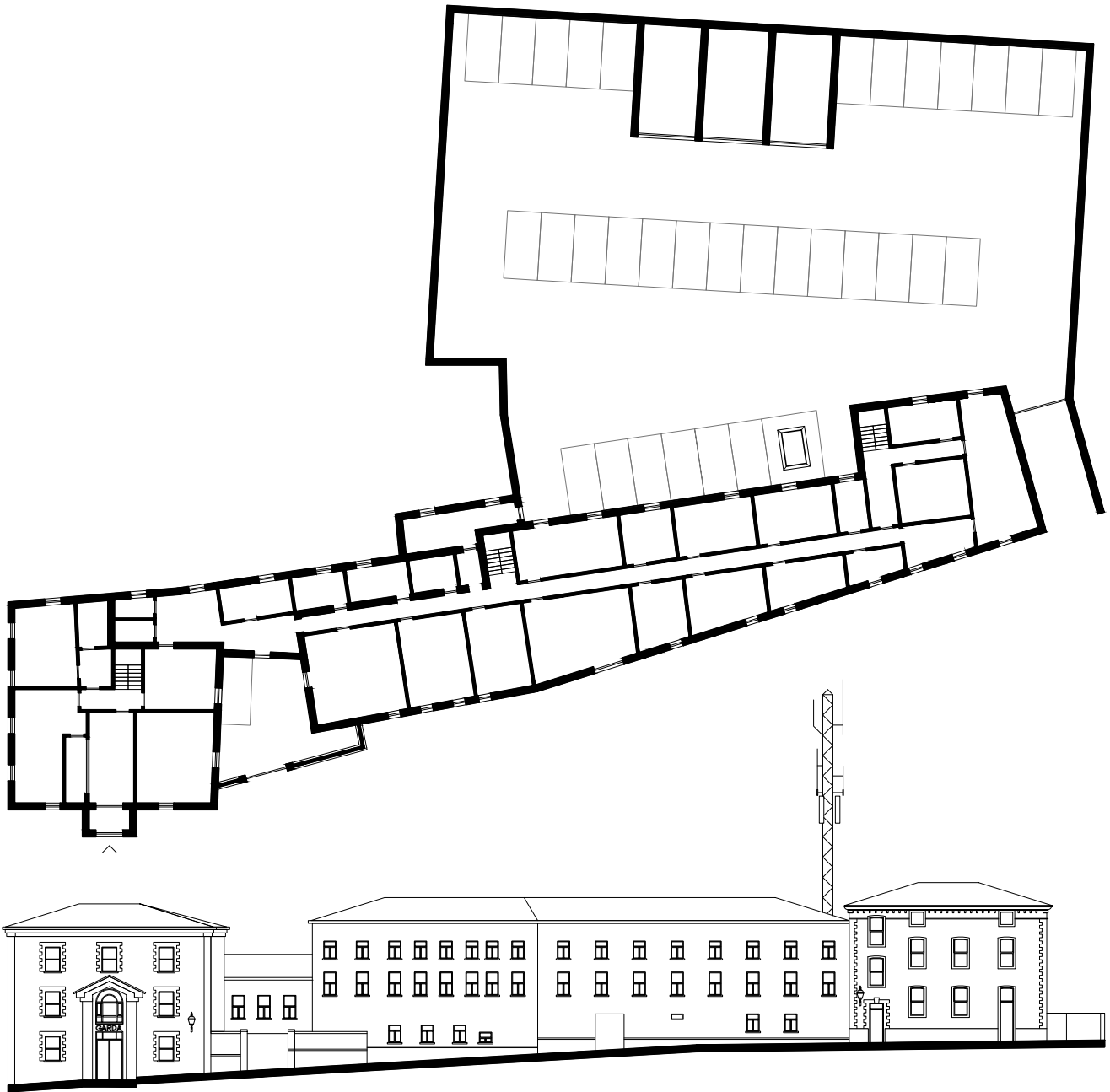
Ballyshannon Garda District
Headquarters



0 5 10 m

As Found Objects

Plan and facade of Kinlough Garda Station



⊖

0 5 10 m

As Found Objects

Sligo Garda District Headquarters

Visualized Evidence

The police station is positioned at the center of a system of state representation, constituting a microcosm that encapsulates the different aspects of state power. The uniform, the badge, the station contribute to define the character of this power. The project tackles the relations that this expanded field of designed objects entertain with each other and with the larger context in which they operate.

This context is the Garda Síochána, the sole police force in the Republic of Ireland, which defines a specific reality in which the project takes its step. The architecture of Irish police can be defined as the intersection between two aspects: the need for a clear public institutional representation on one hand, and the complex system of spaces that underpins the practice of policing.

The first aspect is substantiated by the symbolic nature of the objects that make police visible to the public, from the badge to the uniform, from car design to the envelope of the police station itself. These objects embed different meanings within the institution of the Garda, positioning it within the larger Irish culture.

The second aspect, which is normally secluded from public view, is the materialization of national standards, international cooperation treaties and local practices into the interior spaces of the Garda Station.

It consists of a hidden universe of office spaces, jail cells, garages and depots that constitute the bulk of police architecture.

The project revolves specifically around four of these spaces which are elevated as particularly relevant in defining the posture of police: the public counter, where police meets the general public, the interview room, where victims are invited to depose and suspects are persuaded to confess, the jail, where suspects are contained awaiting for judgment, and the locker room, where civilians don the uniform becoming representatives of the state.

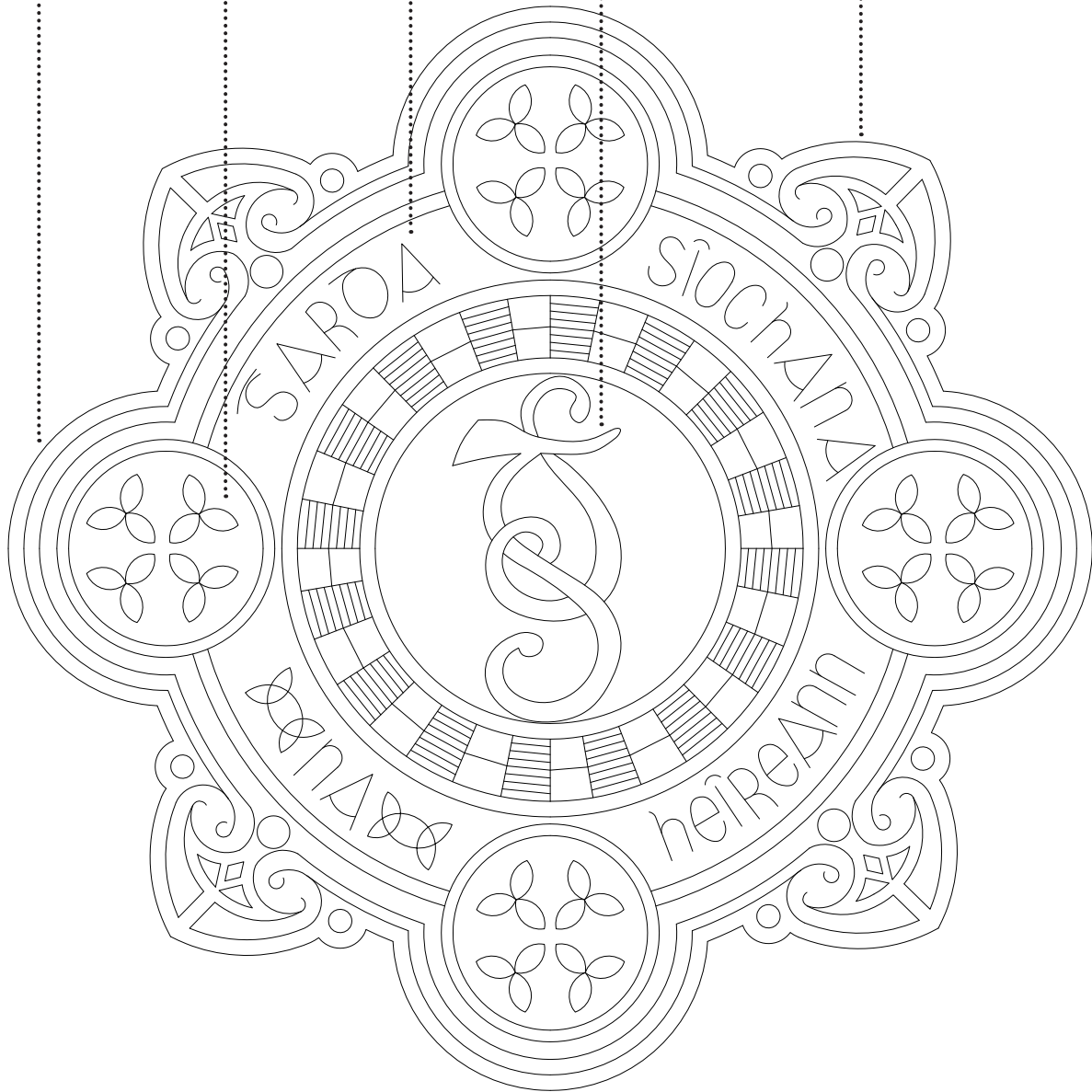
St. Patrick's
cross

Irish clover

Celtic typeface

Celtic alphabet

Spike

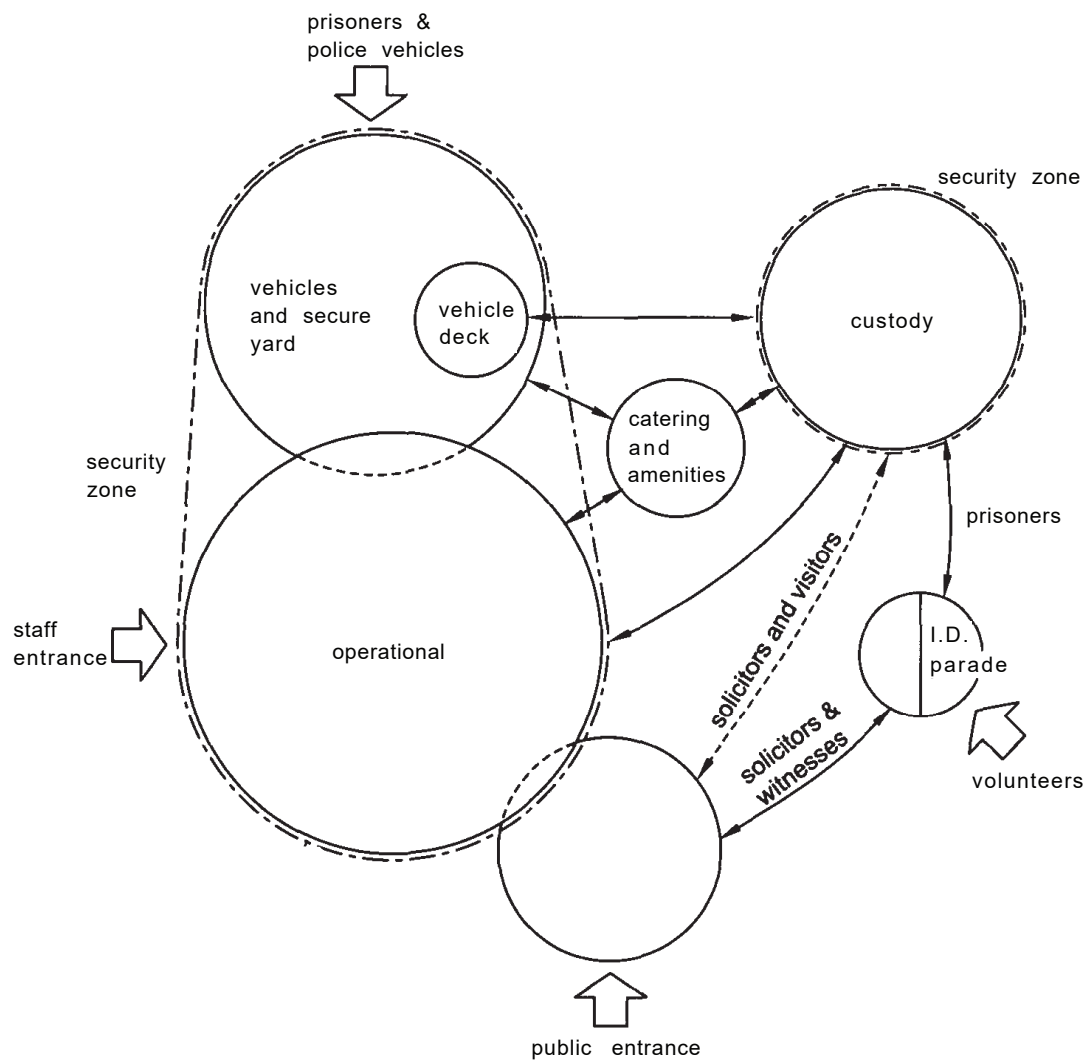


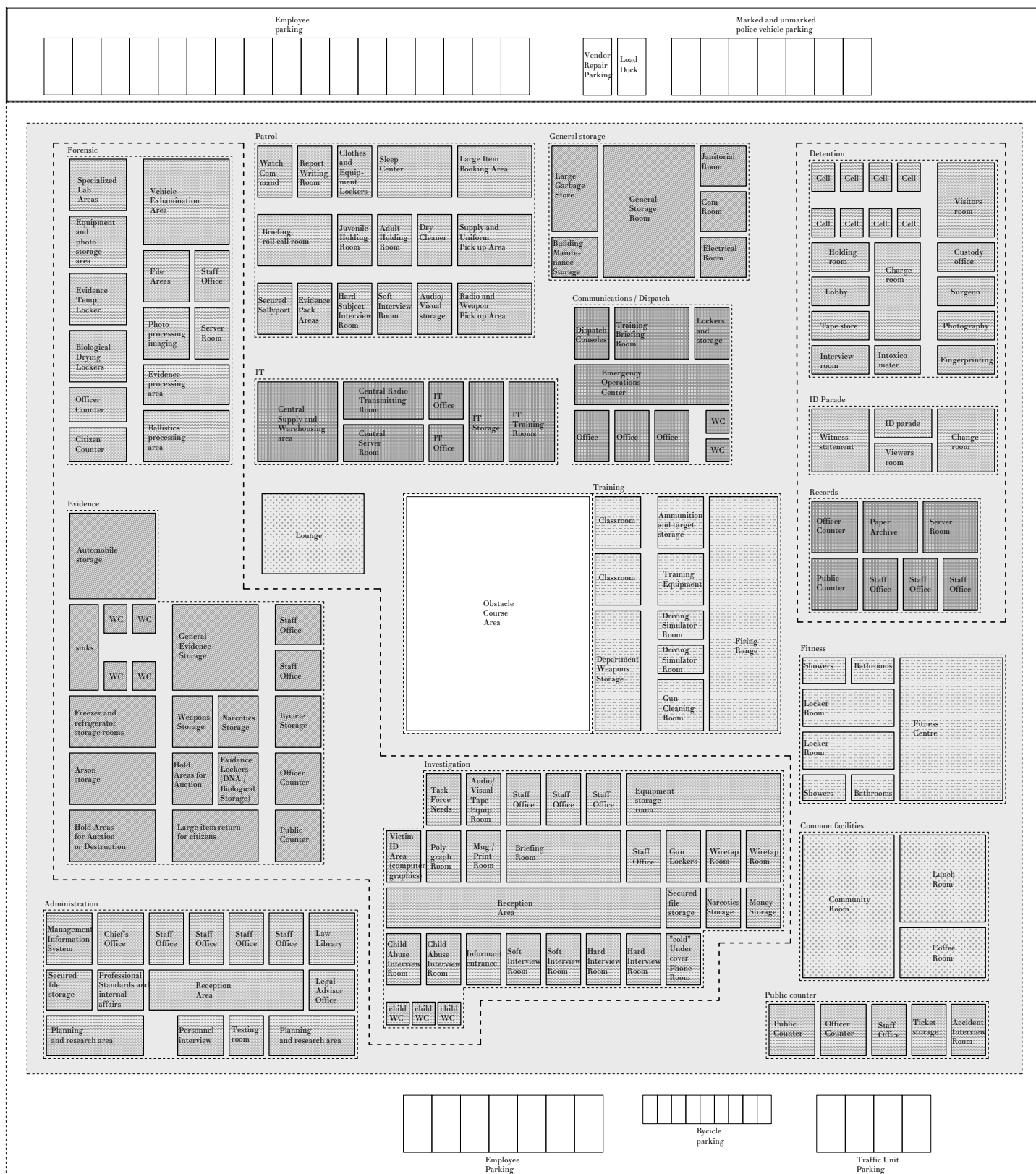
An Garda Síochána Badge



Garda Siochana Uniforms

Photograph from RTE



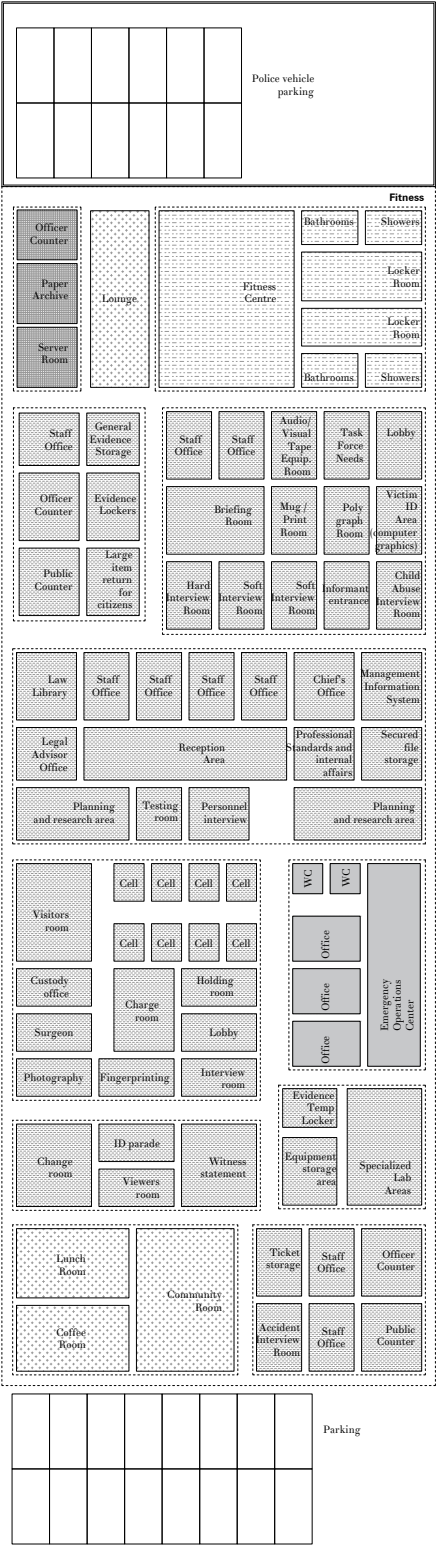


0 10 20 m

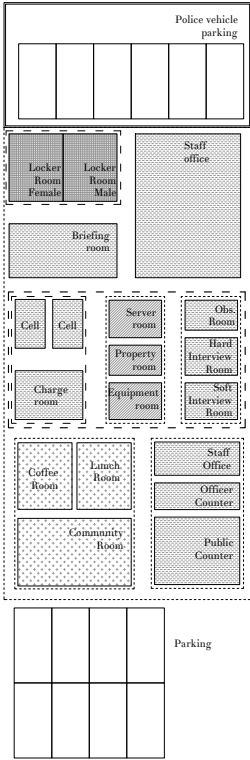
Complete spatial needs of a police station

Based on the International Association of Chiefs of Police guidelines for the design of police stations.

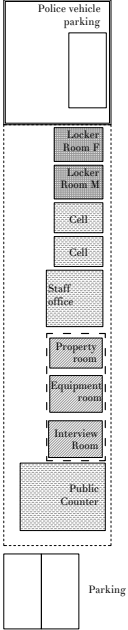
Garda Division HQ



Garda District HQ



Garda Station

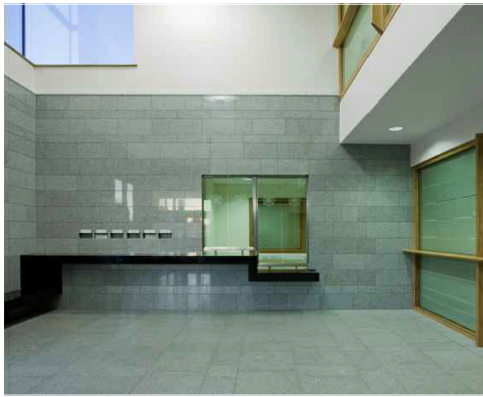


Spatial needs of different degrees of Garda Stations.

Based on the International Association of Chiefs of Police guidelines for the design of police stations.

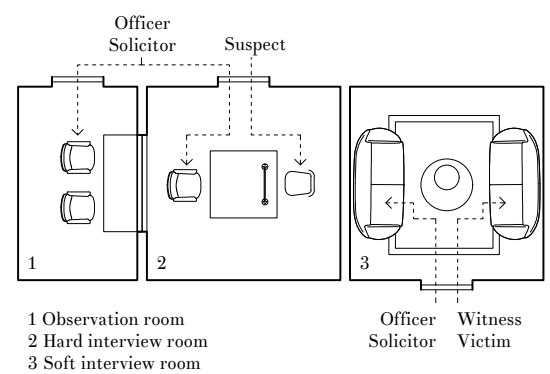
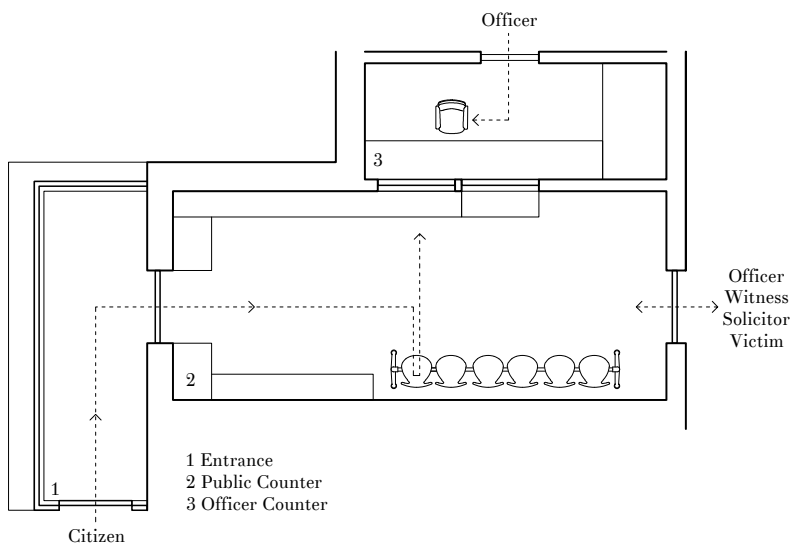
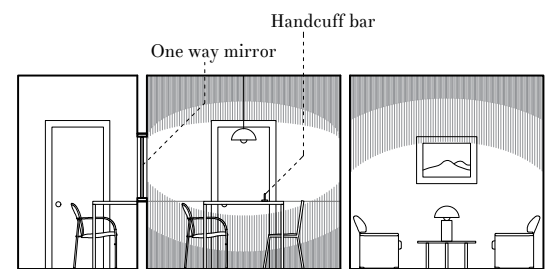
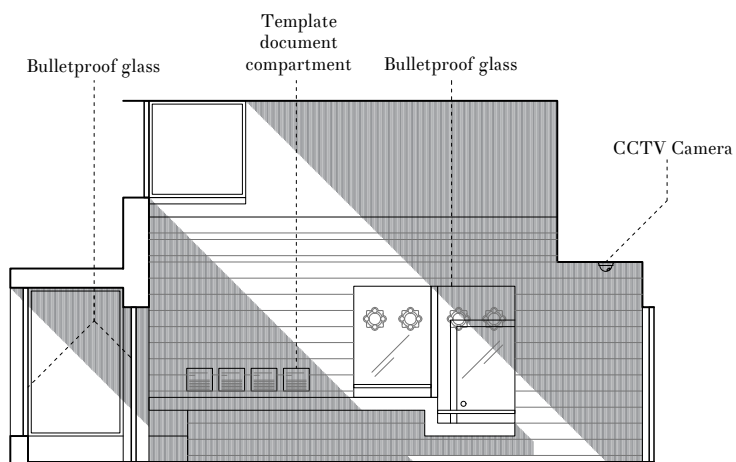
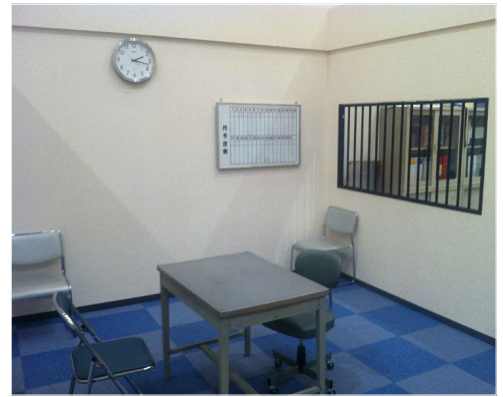
Public counter

Encounter



Interview rooms

Confession



0 2 4 m

Garda Station key spaces

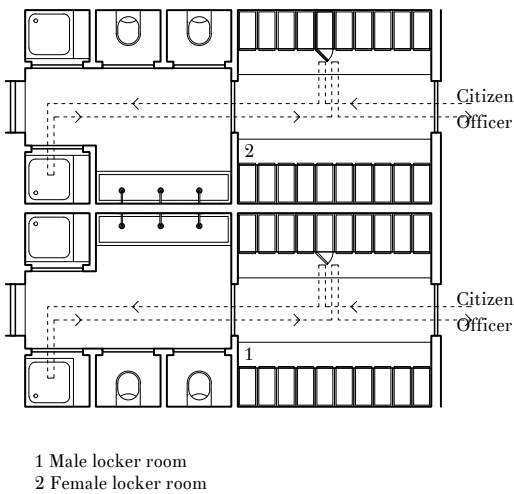
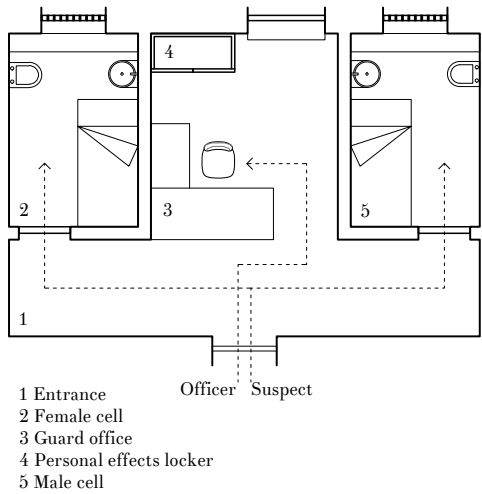
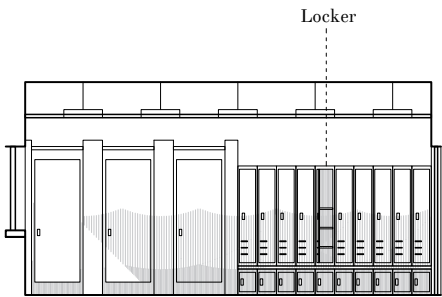
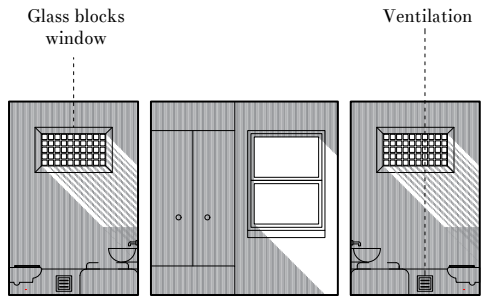
Detention block

Containment



Locker rooms

Transformation



0 2 4 m

Garda Station Key spaces

Architectural References

The project focuses on the relation between the architectural order and police in the Republic of Ireland. This argument is substantiated by an analytical study of police stations throughout the last two centuries, focused specifically on police architecture within the former British Empire, a choice determined by the rich and controversial relation between the UK and the Irish Republic. The classical order, employed consistently by the British as the face of the state, is seen in Ireland as a tool of colonial domination.

As the architecture of British police stations employs rhythm, symmetry and harmony to communicate the stability and permanence of the institution, the employment of the same tools in an Irish context becomes problematic.

An architecture of Irish Police ought not to employ the imported classical order, but rather develop a language which emerges from its own context. Yet, Irish culture is not completely foreign to the idea of classical order, which has been consistently expressed in the vernacular realm through the innumerable shopfront windows that characterize Irish towns.

This humble and specific type defines an architecture of Police not based on the imposition of a higher order, but rather on the emersion and legitimation of a local language. Not an architecture characterized by the idea of control, or even intimidation, but one characterized fundamentally by the idea of reassurance.

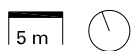
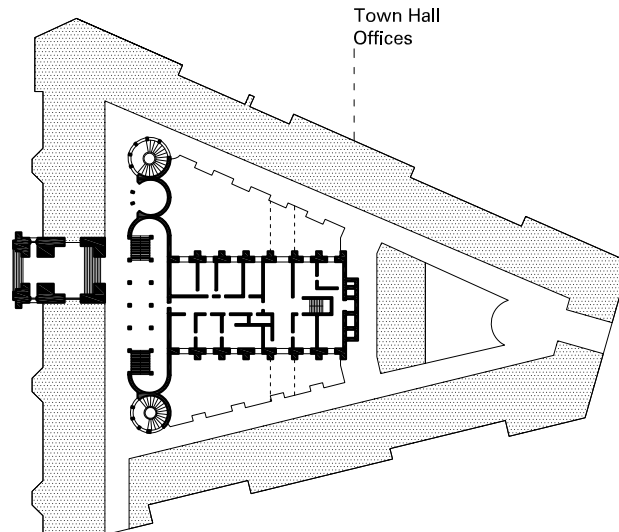
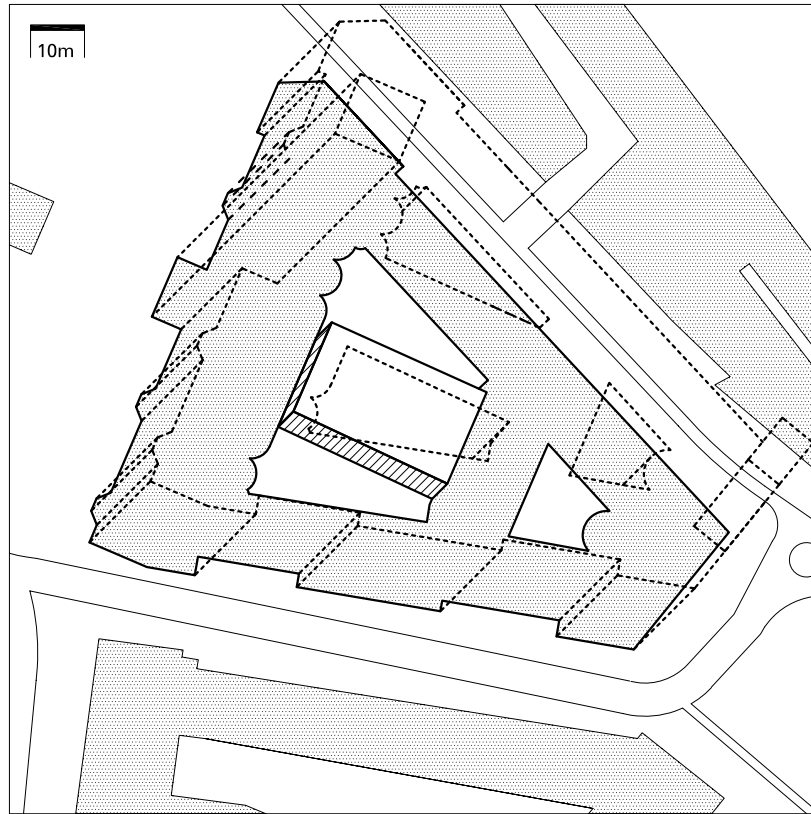


McMorran and Whitby, Wood Street
Police Station, 1966



5 m

Alfred Waterhouse, Manchester Town Hall, 1877

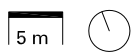
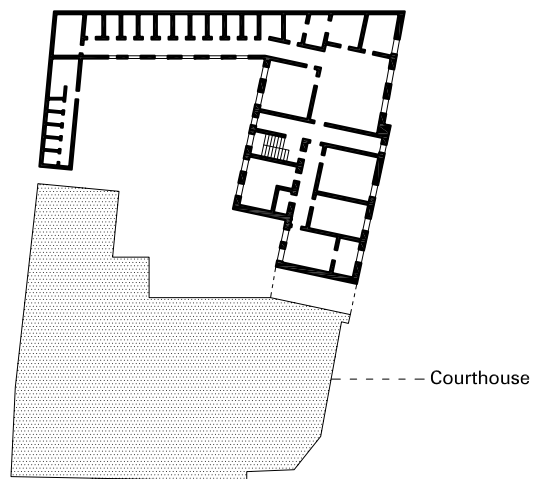
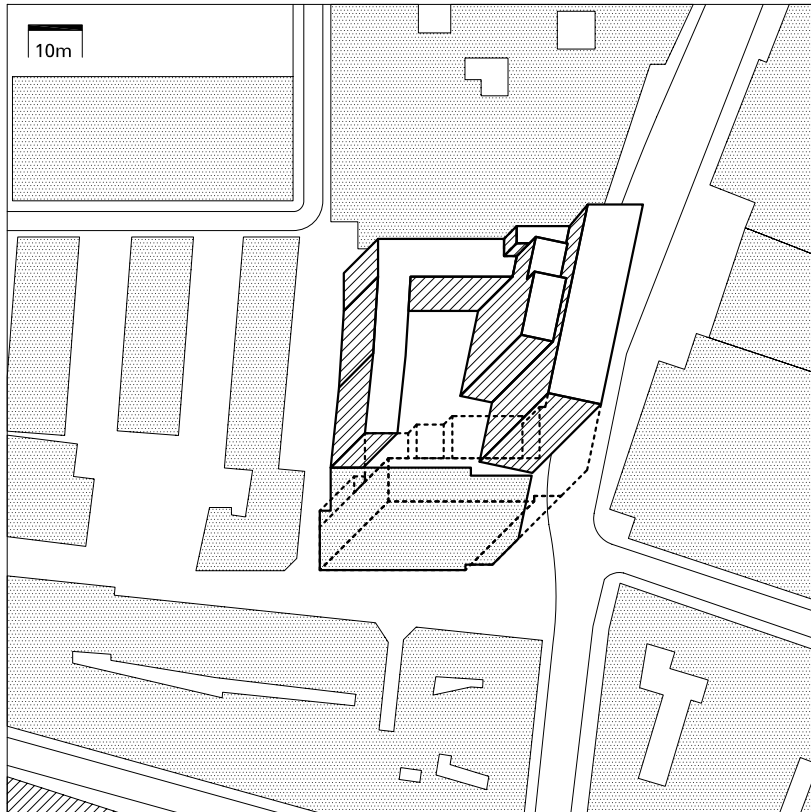


Alfred Waterhouse, Manchester Town Hall, 1877

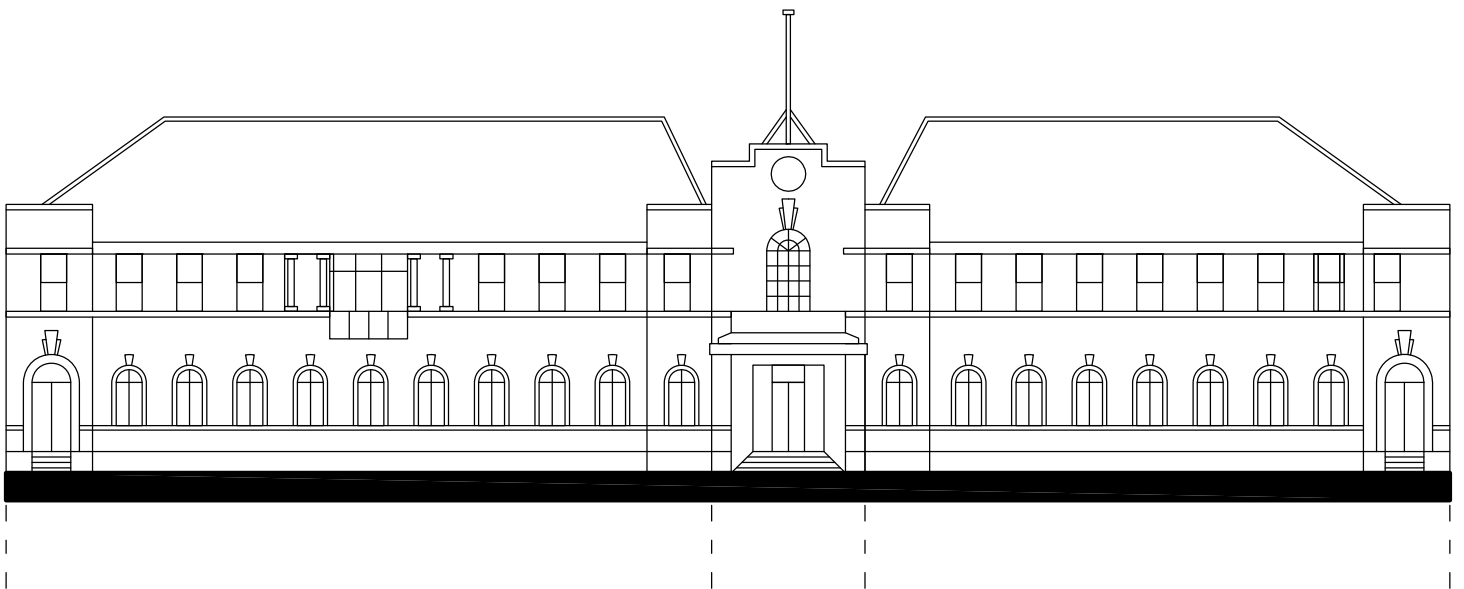


5 m

Bow Street Magistrates Court, 1880

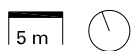
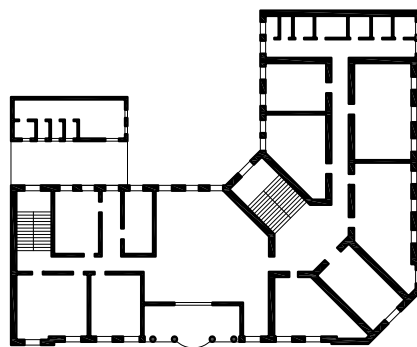
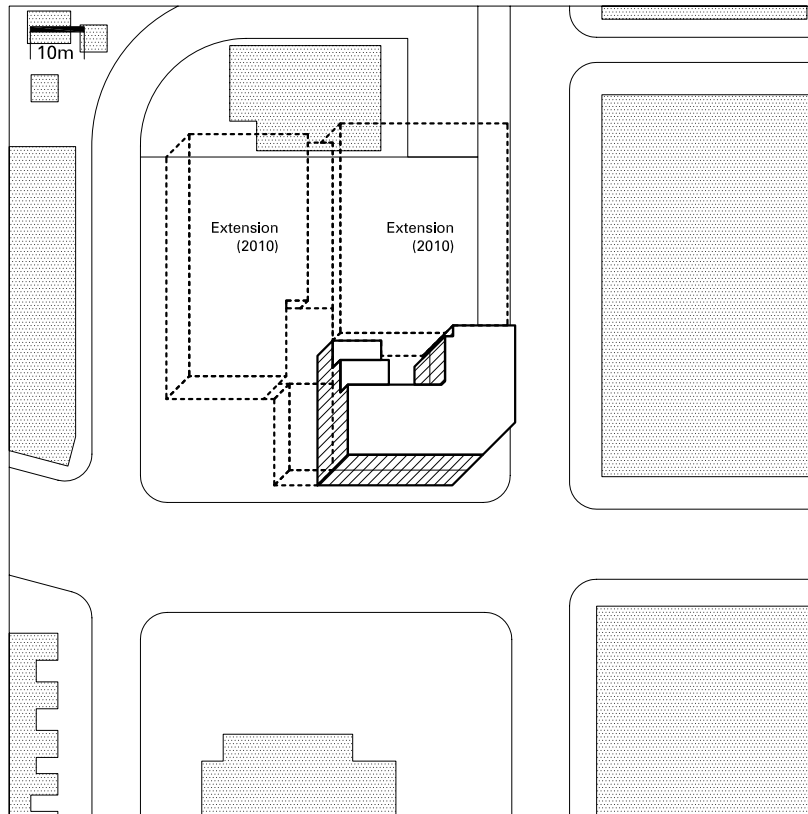


Bow Street Magistrates Court, 1880

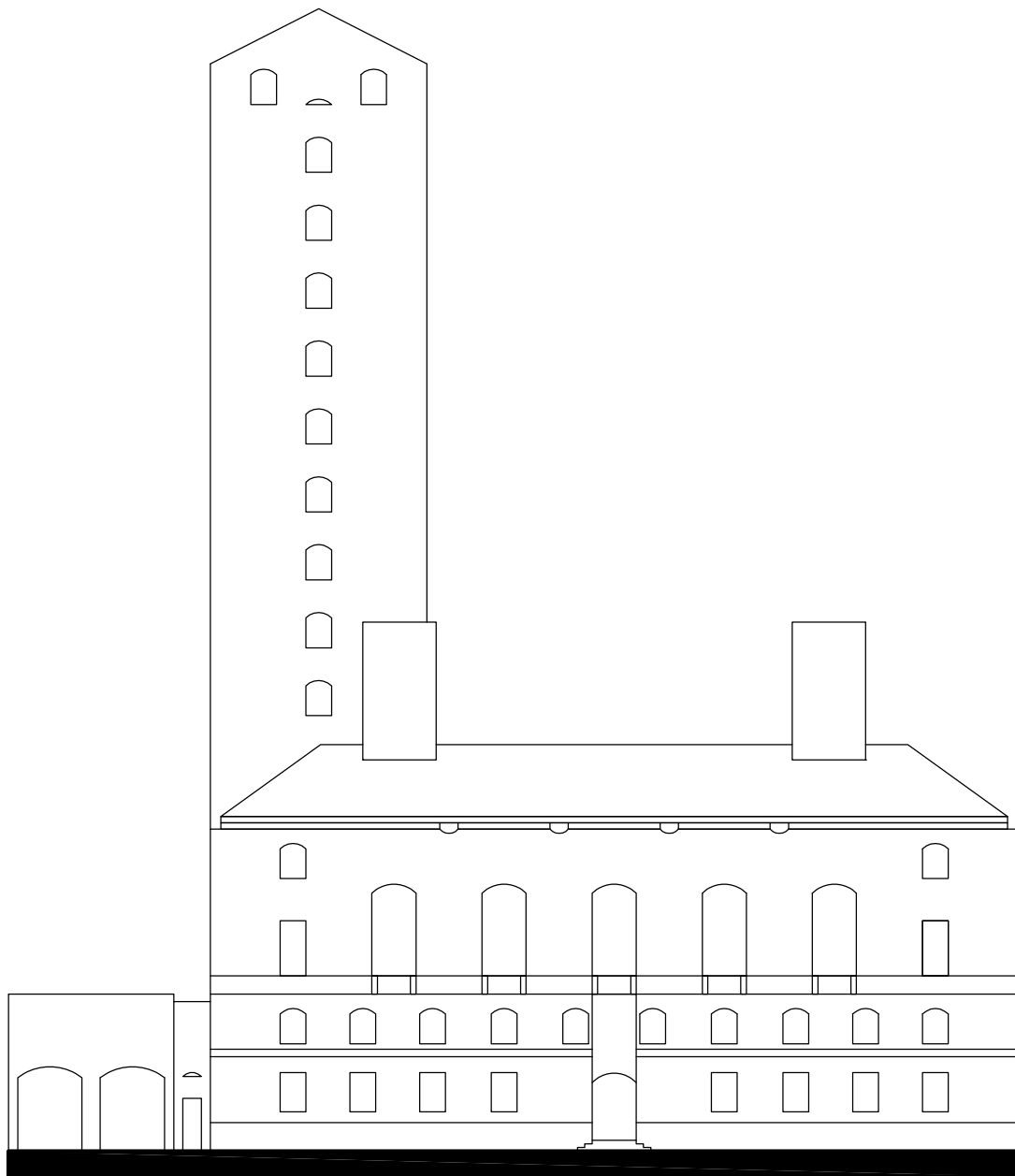


5 m

Raymond Clare Nowland, Fortitude
Valley Police Station, 1936

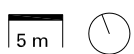
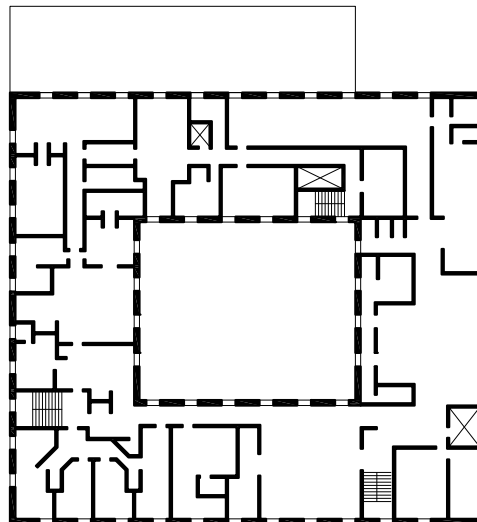
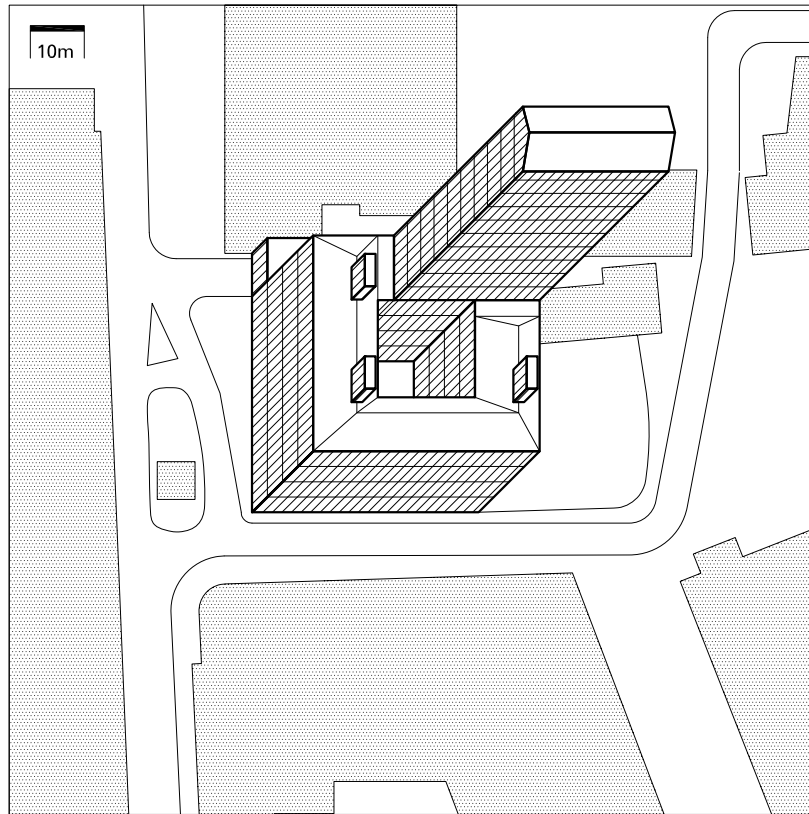


Raymond Clare Nowland, Fortitude Valley Police Station, 1936

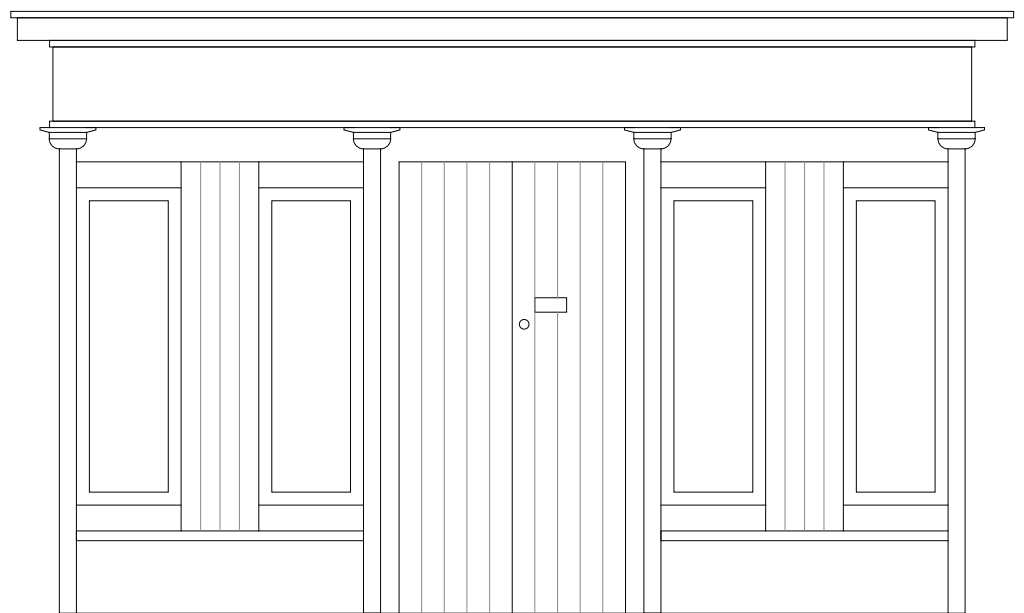


2m

Wood Street Police Station,
McMorran and Whitby, 1966

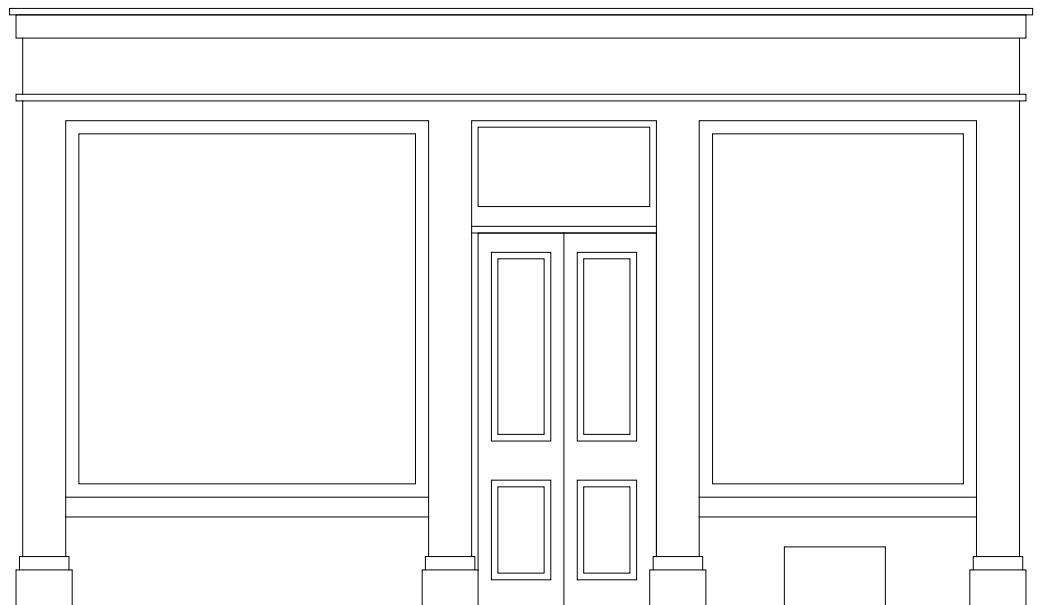
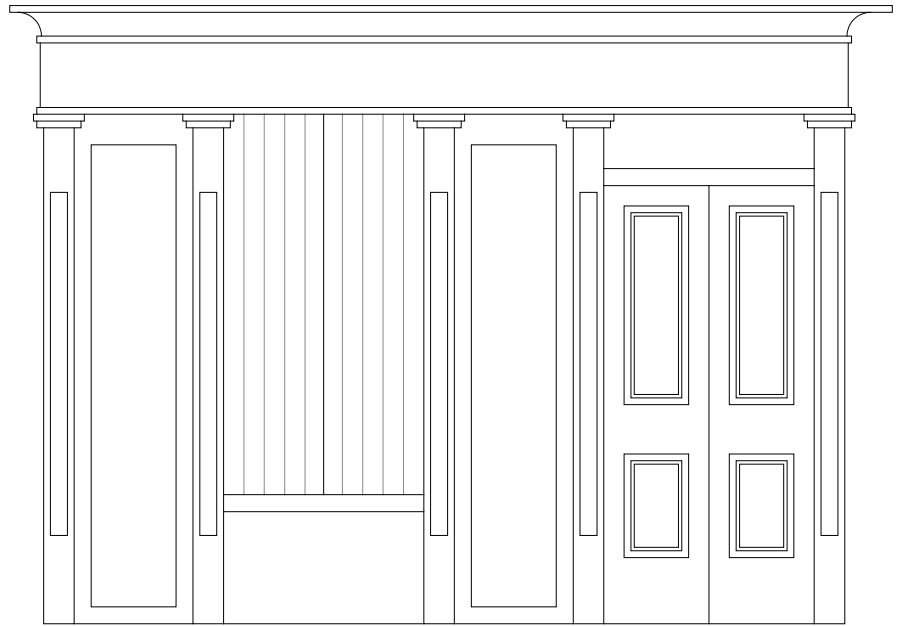


Wood Street Police Station, McMorran and Whitby, 1966





Top: Bookmaker, Westport, Co. Mayo,
1981
Bottom: Grocery Store, Ennistymon,
Co. Clare, 1981





Top: Betting Office, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, 1981

Bottom: Tobacconist, Westport, Co. Mayo, 1981



A shopfront for social and architectural order.

Project

The project revolves around the design of a set of three Garda stations of different sizes, all located in small towns along the Western Irish coast: a local Garda Station in the village of Kinlough, Garda District Headquarters in Donegal Town and Garda Division Headquarters in Sligo. Each station's size and programmatic needs is defined by the extent of the corresponding jurisdiction, from the essential layout of the local Garda Station to the sprawling division Headquarters.

A policeman, in this rural context, is a common fixture, a part of the local landscape, the butt of a popular joke. Not a semi-divine representation of the state nor a troubled urban detective, a policeman is here part of the local society together with the mailman, the butcher, the pub owner. It is this specific condition that allows for a reconsideration of police architecture not as one defined by the idea of control, or even intimidation, but one characterized fundamentally by reassurance.

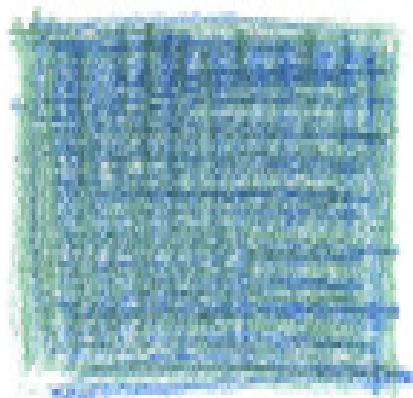
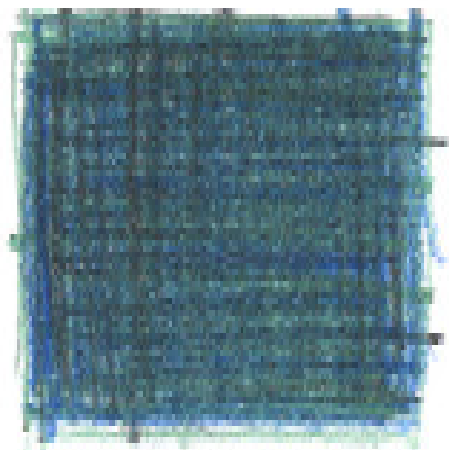
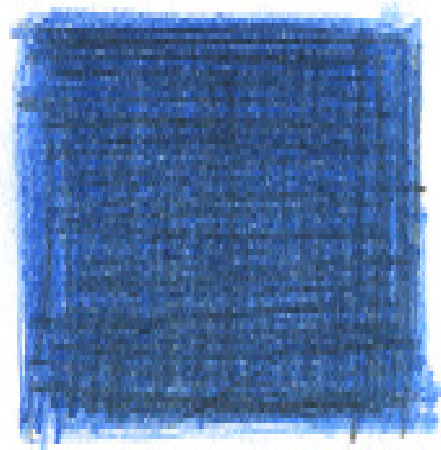
Architecturally, this idea of reassurance is materialized at the intersection of two complementary projective moments: an interior one and an exterior one. The interior moment consists in the establishment of relations between spaces that underpin different police practices, focusing specifically on four: the locker room, the interview rooms, the jail and the public counter. The project proposes a set of mediated visual relations between these spaces, countering the stark opacity and compartmentalization that characterizes the interior of police stations.

The exterior moment, on the other hand, is defined by the public interface of the Garda station, embodied specifically by the facade and by the moments of exchange it enacts with its context. By locating each of the Garda stations in close proximity to prominent public spaces, the project intends to make the Garda more visible, establishing a direct relation between the police and its immediate urban context.

"It looked as if it were painted like an advertisement on a board on the roadside" thinks the narrator in the novel *The Third Policeman*² while observing the police station of a small Irish village. In the west of Ireland the police station is not an imposing fortress, but just another local activity, the place where the local drunk sleeps off his whiskey. It is a shop front for

the state in a vernacular society, a transparent interface between the institution and the public. "The Police are the Public, and the Public are the Police" state the Peelian principles.

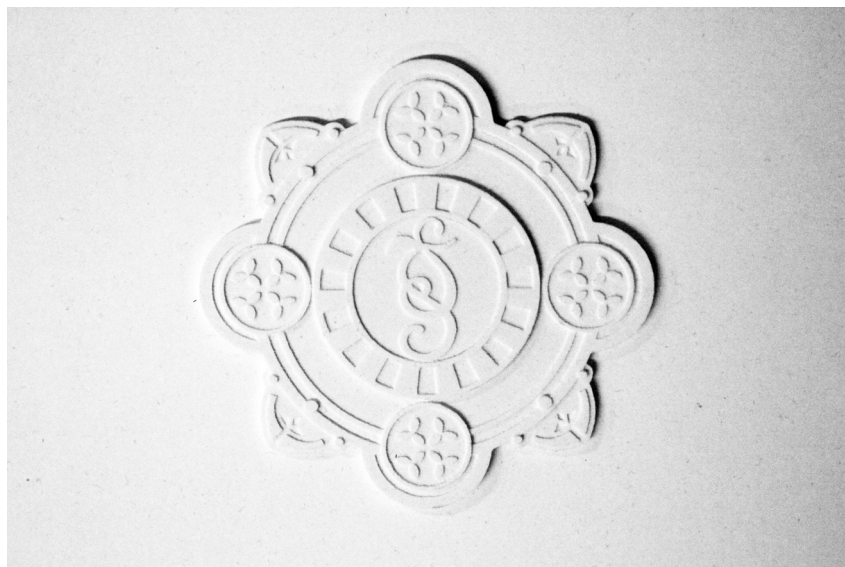
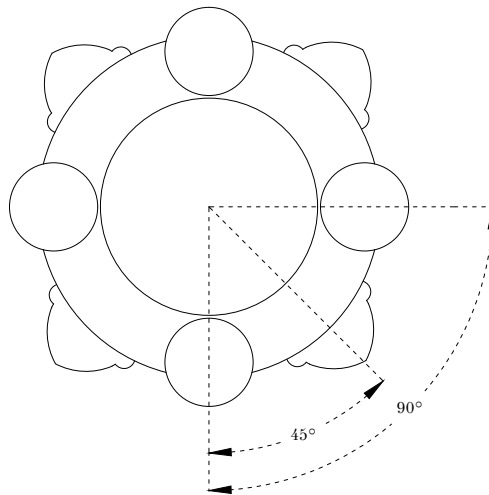
It is the true adherence to this principle that leads to a design for police that is not based on grandiose architectural gestures, but on a careful reconsideration of the relationship between the vernacular and the classic, the relatable and the impressive, the public and the policeman.



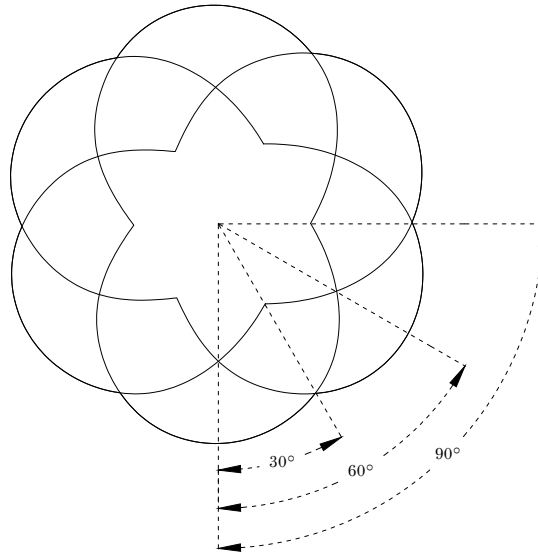
Attenuation of the Garda's color scheme



The Garda Station as Shopfront



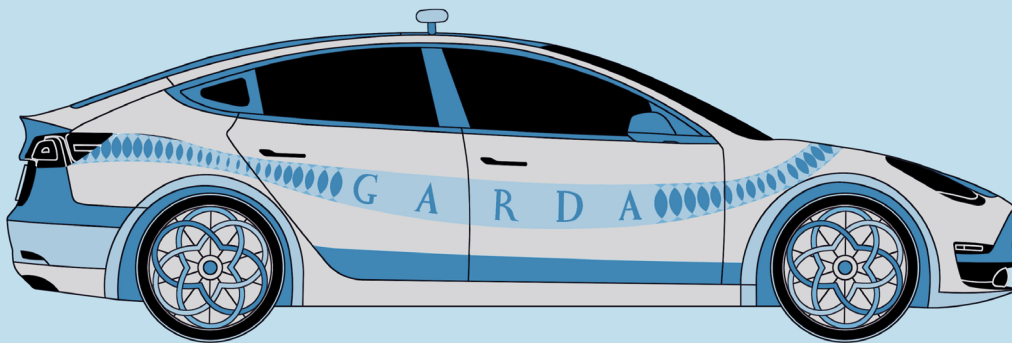
Geometric analysis of the existing Garda Badge



Proposal for a new Garda Badge

WORKING  WITH  COMMUNITIES
TO  PROTECT  AND  SERVE

GARDA



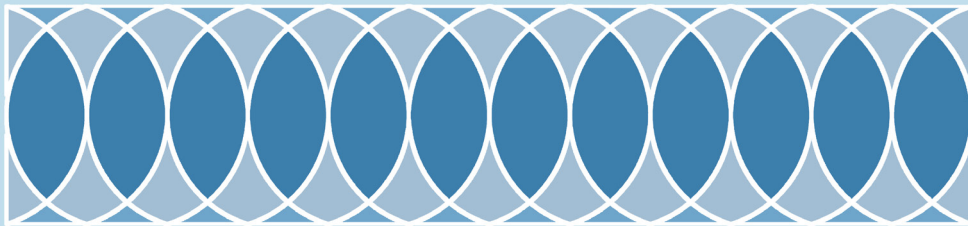
GARDA

Garda Brand Identity

Top: motto
Bottom: car



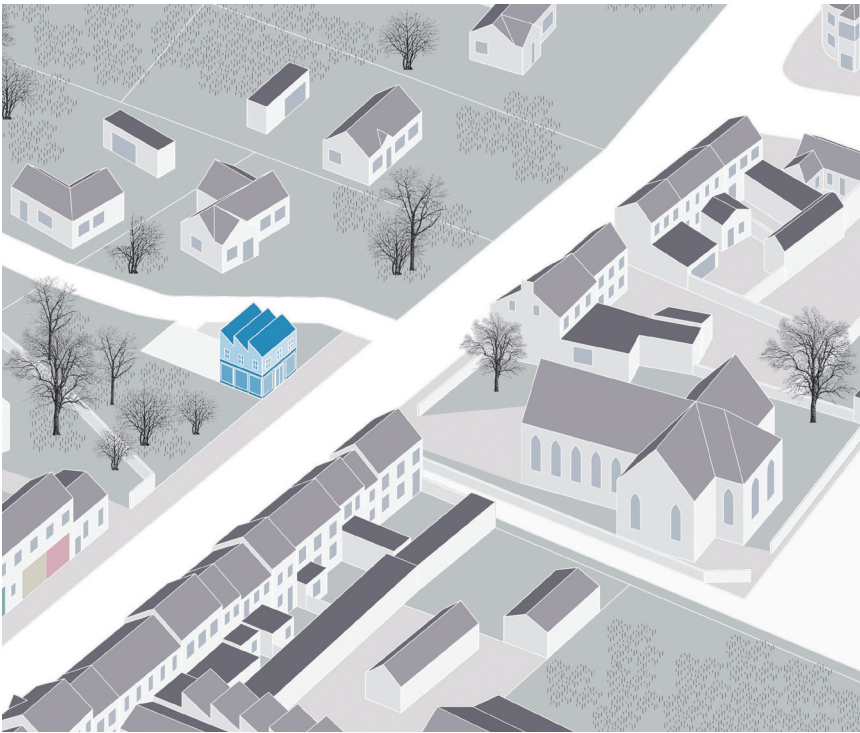
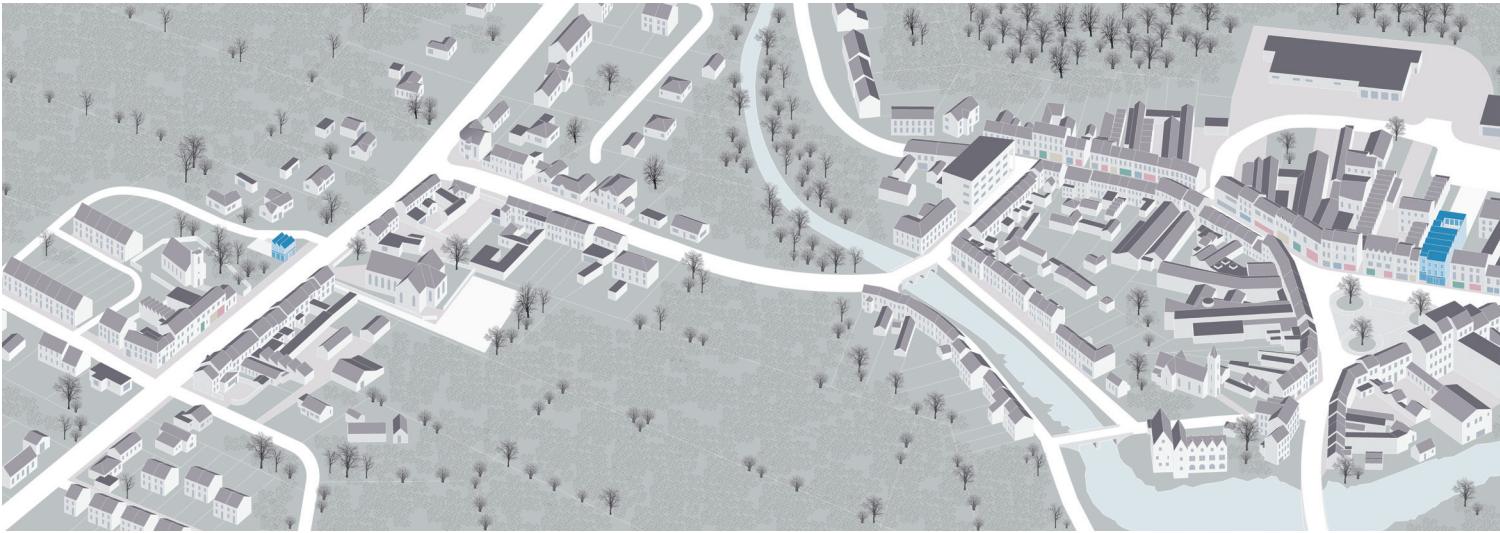
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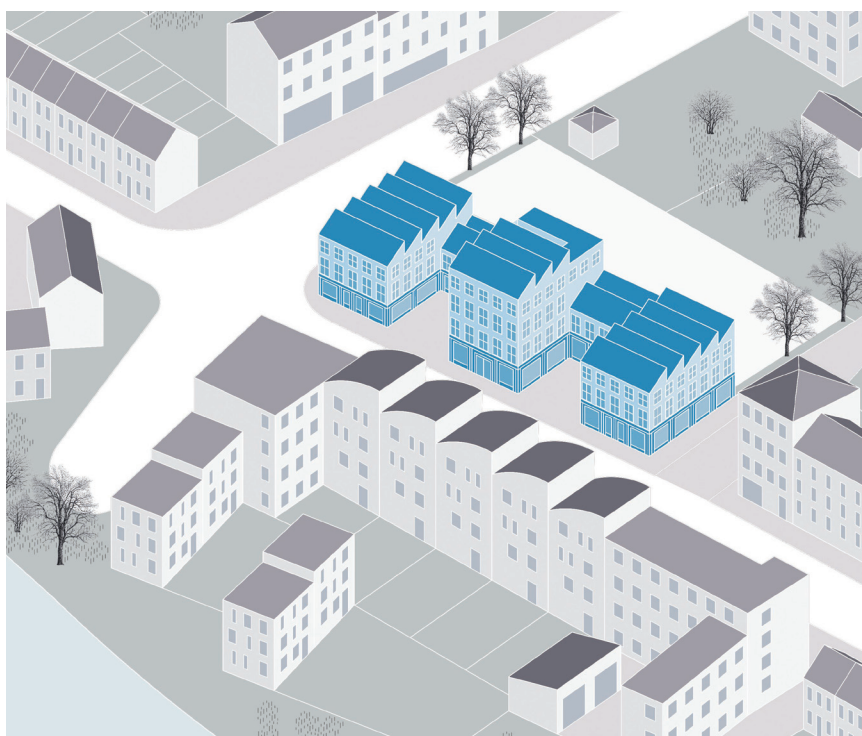
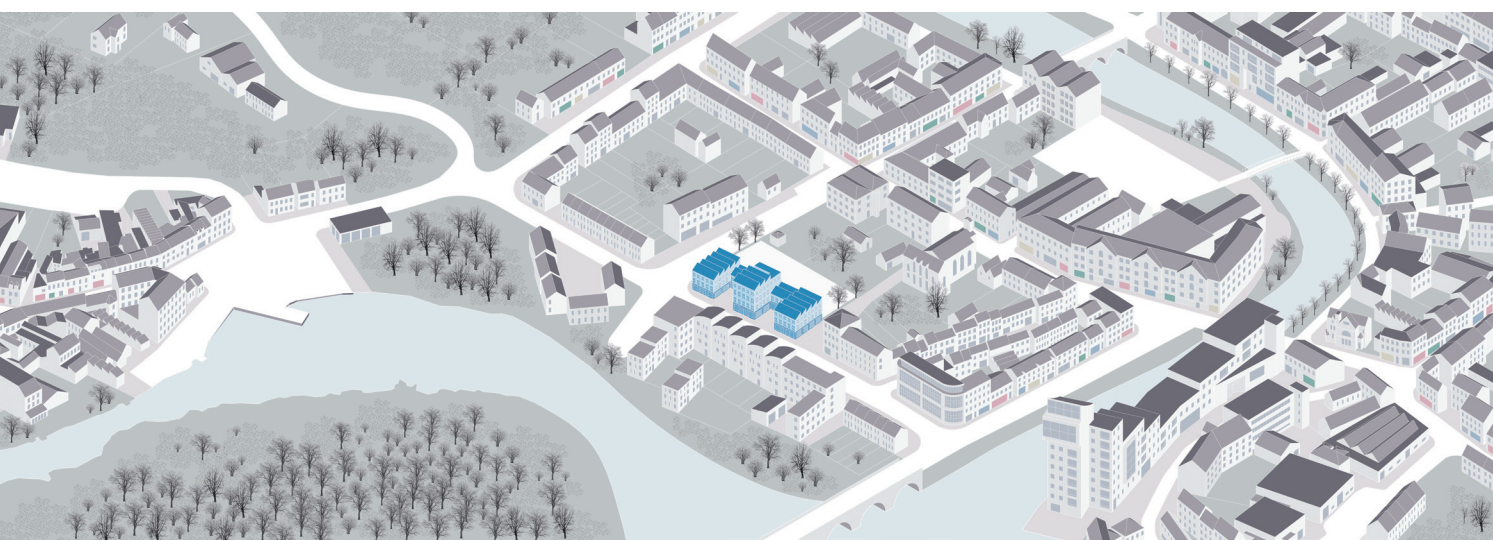
Garda Brand Identity

Top: badge
Bottom: pattern

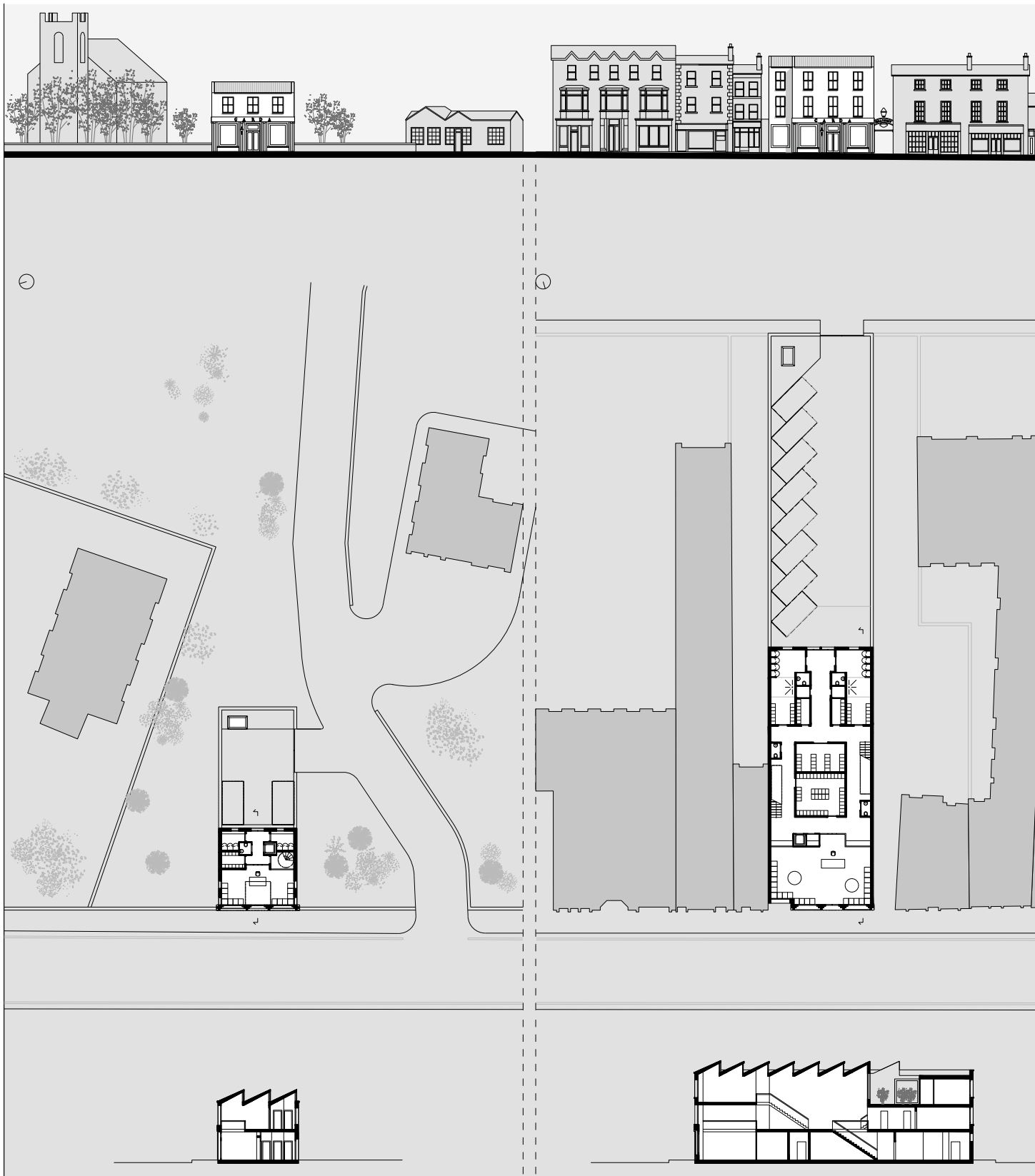


Kinlough
Garda Station

Donegal Town
Garda District Headquarters



Sligo Town
Garda Division Headquarters



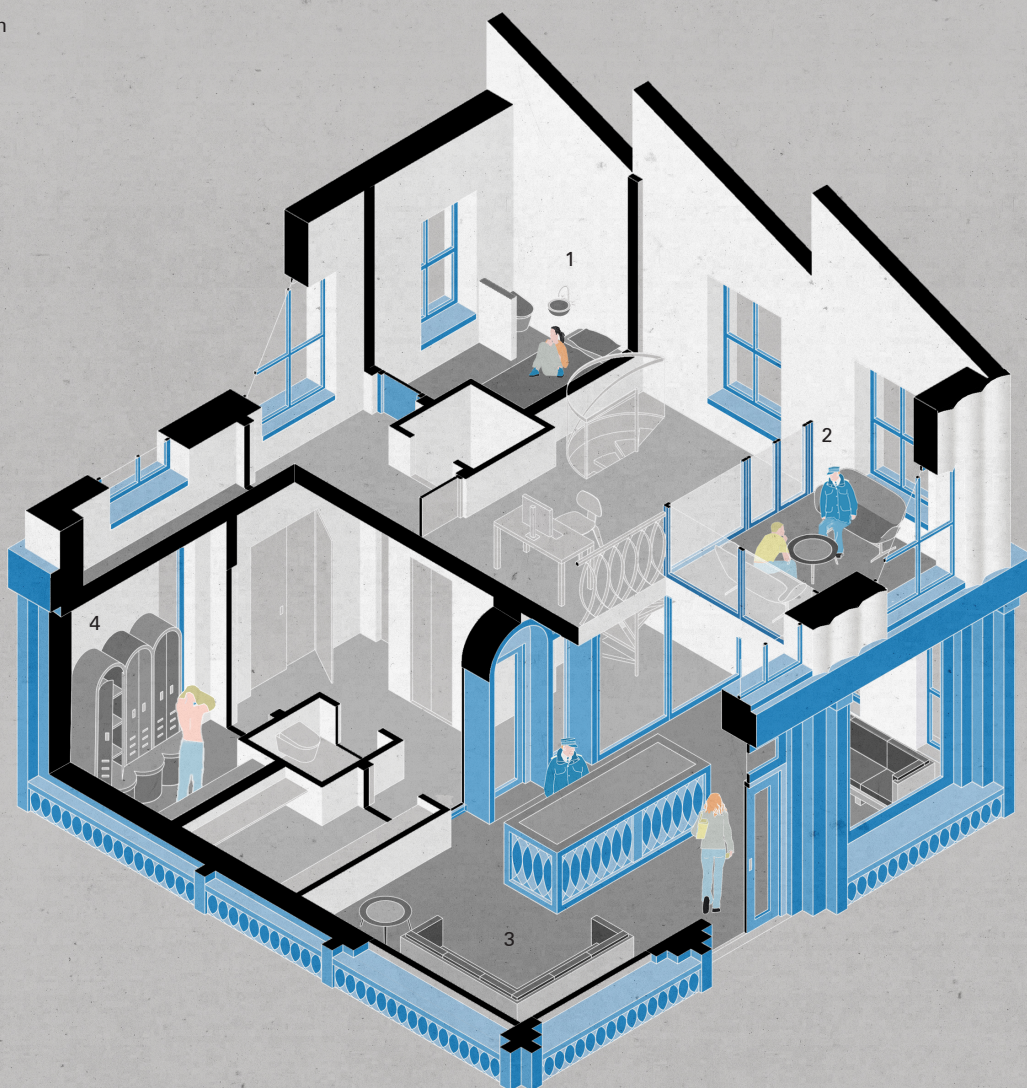
Plan, section and facade of Kinlough
Garda Station

Plan, section and facade of Donegal
Town Garda District Headquarters



Plan, section and facade of Sligo Town
Garda Division Headquarters

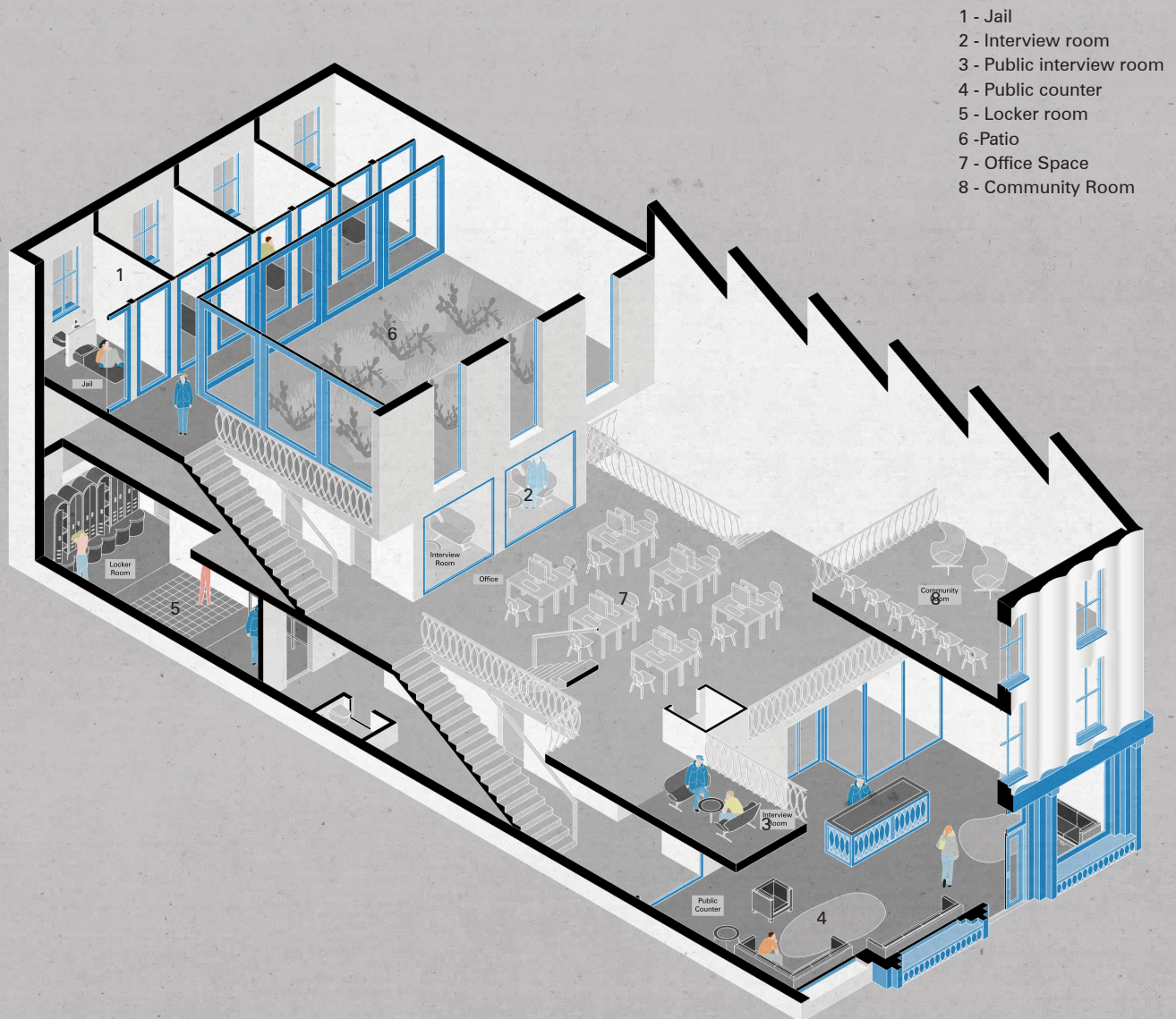
- 1 - Jail
- 2 - Interview room
- 3 - Public counter
- 4 - Locker room



Axonometry of Kinlough Garda Station



Facade of Kinlough Garda Station

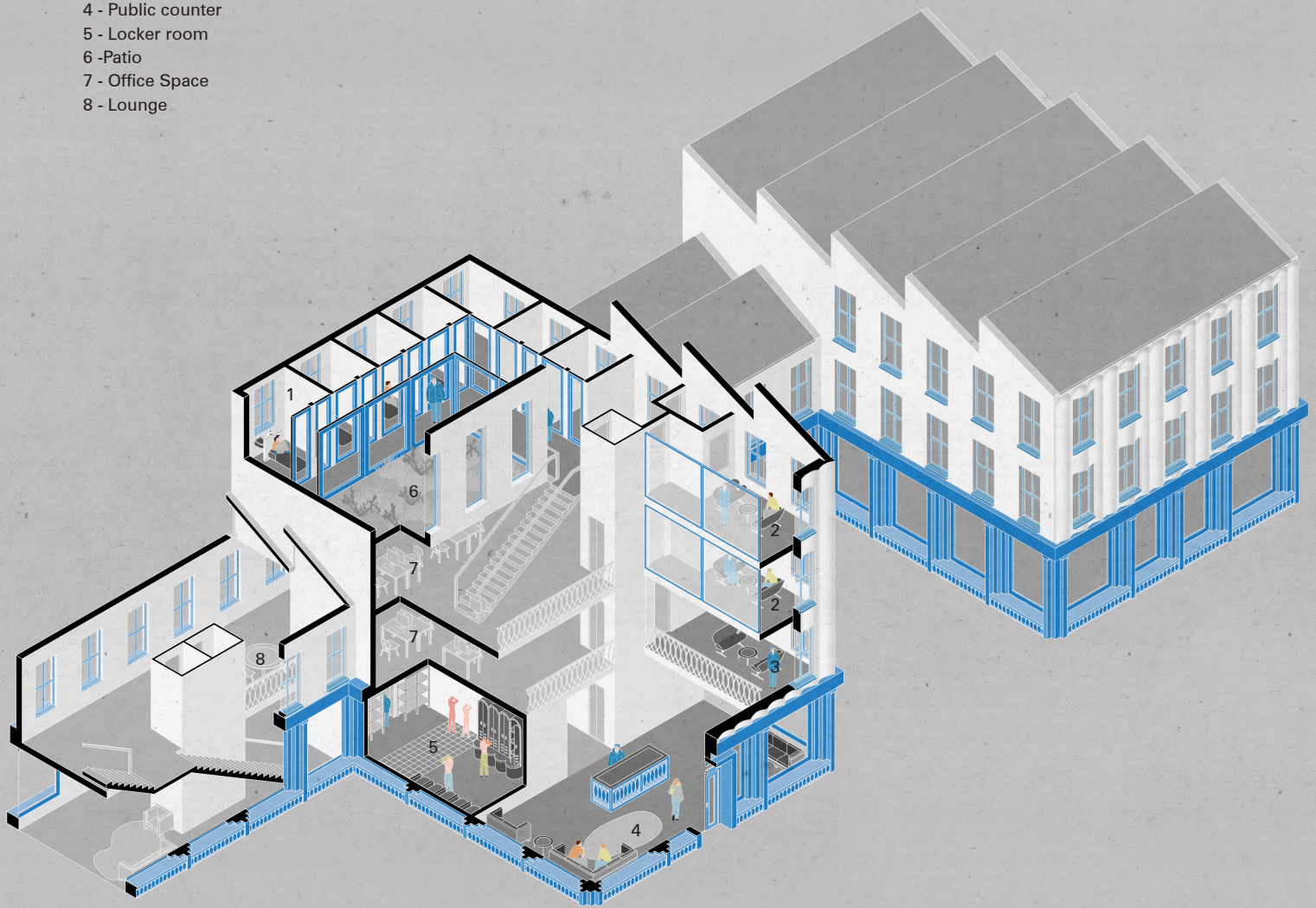


Axonometry of Donegal Town Garda District Headquarters



Facade of Donegal Town Garda District
Headquarters

- 1 - Jail
- 2 - Interview room
- 3 - Public interview room
- 4 - Public counter
- 5 - Locker room
- 6 -Patio
- 7 - Office Space
- 8 - Lounge



Axonometry of Sligo Garda Division
Headquarters



Facade of Sligo Garda Division
Headquarters

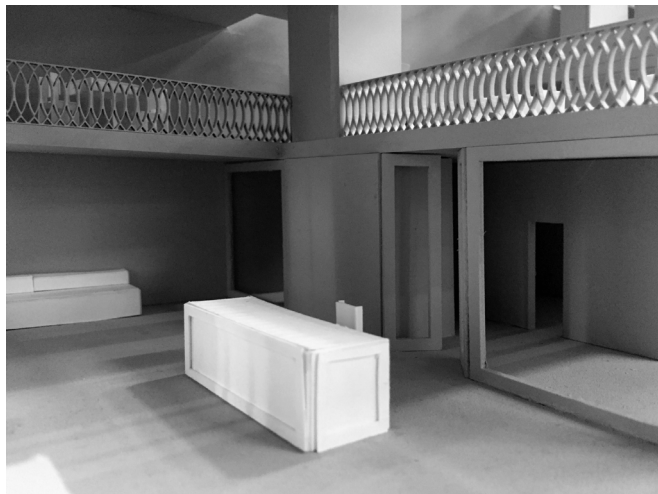




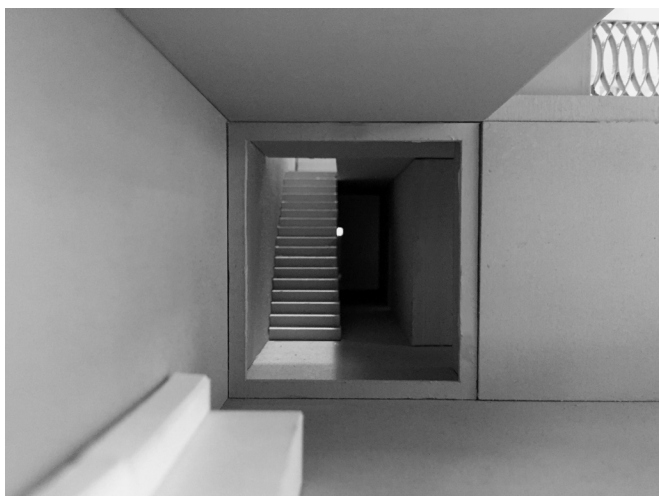
Model view



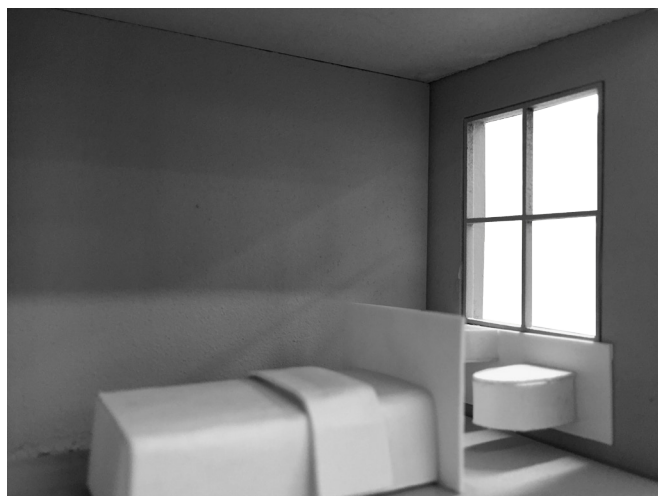
As the witness enters the Garda station...



...she is confronted by a counter, where a guard is sitting. "Good Morning Miss!", he says, " Please wait here while I call my colleague".



She sits on a couch in the lobby and peaks through the glass wall into the depth of the station. She waits for Stephen to come downstairs.



Meanwhile Leopold wakes up in his cell. Stephen the guard is calling from the corridor.

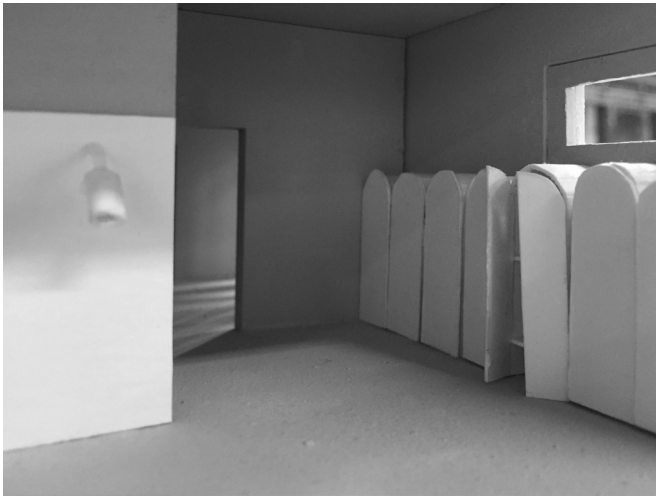


The suspect was arrested late last night. He is the only inmate in the jail at the moment. "You have an interview", the guard says.

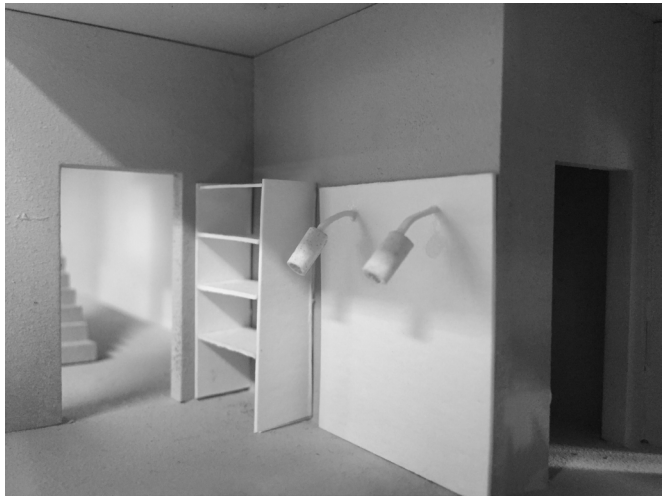


The suspect steps out of the cell. He walks with the guard through a corridor stuck between the cells and a green patio.

Model views



Downstairs the inspector has just arrived. She is leaving her civilian clothes in the locker. "I am running late for the interview", she thinks.



The inspector skips the shower and grabs a clean uniform from the rack. She puts it on, then she heads upstairs to the office.



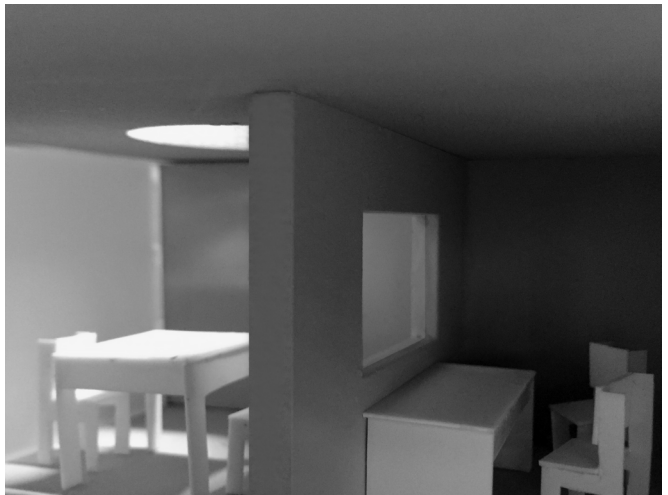
In the main office space Stephen salutes and points at the interview room. "I already brought him down, he is in there", he says.



The inspector nods to the guard and enters the interview room. The suspect is sitting opposite to the mirror. "Coffee?", she asks.



Stephen is taking the witness upstairs. "We need you to identify the suspect" he says.



As they enter in the observation room, the guard points to a man through the one-way glass. "Is that the person you saw last night?"

Model views

Expert Interview

Mark Neocleous is a Professor of Critique of Political Economy at Brunel University, London, with research interests in the political imagination. He is author of *The Fabrication of Social Order: A Critical Theory of Police Power*, among numerous other books and articles. The following is an excerpt from a skype conversation. The interview took place in May 2018.

I am fascinated by the thesis that police is not really about fighting crime but rather an instrument for the maintenance of social order. Am I defining this correctly?

Yes. My thesis is that police originated at the end of the middle ages when the feudal system started to be put into question in rural areas: peasants revolts and so on. Police is actually a Burgundian term, as many of these revolts were happening in that area.

Police was developed as an instrument to guarantee that peasants would go to work in the field and abandon their ideas of social change.

Quite like the Fascist Italian Black Shirts.

Indeed. Police started off as a blatantly violent instrument of power. The idea of crime fighting institution we have today was actually developed much later.

When was that exactly?

I argue it was established following the enlightenment. Mind you though, I have a British perspective on this. The idea of police was very uncomfortable for the liberalist philosophers, specially for Adam Smith. They reframed the idea of police as the stronghold of liberal values, a tool to guarantee liberal rights, and specifically the right to property. This is the moment when crime was invented. Crime was defined as an attack to liberalist values, and police was the institution to stand against it. What I argue is that the function of police actually remained the same despite this reframing process. Police is not about crime, it is about order and specifically about the maintenance of the current order.

I listened to a conference of yours about the topic of resilience, is it related to police as well?

Yes! Police and resilience are both essentially antirevolutionary ideas. Resilience is all about reverting to a status quo ante, and so is police. Resilience for me leads to a very dangerous mindset, one in which every possible change is seen as a destabilizing force.

I guess this is quite an obsession of mine: define what forces are established to prevent change. Resilience and police respond to the same need of stability.

As the project is located in Ireland I was reading about this Robert Peel, who seems to be the founder of modern police in the British Isles. I was finding the argument contained in his principles of policing quite persuasive. What do you think about his role?

You have to be careful not to forget the context in which these figures were operating. Peel was essentially a conservative politician who witnessed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. His main objective was that of maintaining a certain way in which society was ordered and that allowed people like him privileges. Peel is largely responsible for the institution of many Victorian institutions aimed at marginalizing the working class and defining unruly behaviour as criminal.

The workhouses for instance. And about Ireland, Peel also happens to be the British prime minister during the Great Potato Famine. He is largely responsible for the lack of aid Ireland was subjected to. As you delve into history you have to keep in mind to retain a critical mindset and actually question the motives that drove people to act.

What about the Peelian Principles?

They are a very influential document indeed. Arguably they are a practical reduction of Adam Smith's lectures on Jurisprudence. A quite imprecise reduction I should add. Yet they are part of the liberal whitewashing of police power that I was describing earlier.

My main interest is the police station as a building. Have you ever thought of the interactions between architecture and the practice of policing?

I have always been interested in the symbolic nature of police buildings. When I travel I am always fascinated by the different forms police stations take around the world, and frankly I've had a project in the back of my head for a while: create a catalogue of symbols that police uses to convey their message of authority and order. It hasn't happened yet, though.

Is there any specific literature in the field of social studies, other than your book, that you would advise to read about police stations?

Police stations are curiously understudied. There is really no book I can think of that focuses on the police station as an object. Prisons are way

more covered, but they are a sensibly different thing.

Prisons enforce a static condition, police stations are necessary to enforce the smooth movement of goods and people. I mean, let's face it, police's historical primary objective is to force people to go to work. We can say that prisons control internal circulation while the police stations control external circulation. There is a lot of interesting literature on the policeman though. Micheal Lipsky's definition of street level bureaucrat, which defines the policeman as the sovereign of the street.

Then of course there is Foucault, but I am not a big fan. I mean, I find his speculations and theory very interesting and can't deny to be strongly influenced by him, but you can read a thousand page of Foucault or one of his followers and you will never encounter a policeman.

So, can the police be any good in your opinion?

Well, there are many different positions in our research group. How would police look like in a proper socialist society?... I don't know... Many colleagues of mine believe in a form of civilian policing that doesn't involve repression but I can't really see it... I think considering police as an inevitability is actually quite restrictive but frankly it isn't easy to imagine a society where enforcement is completely absent... Did I answer your question at all?

It sounds like a no.

No?

Like, police can't really be any good.

Well, yes. I guess that's my opinion.

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Afterword: Reflection of Project in Relation to Discourse

Vitruvius defines order (*ordinatio*) as the first of the fundamental principles of architecture. Order is paired with arrangement (*dispositio*), and followed by proportion, uniformity, consistency and economy.

Architectural order is “the adjustment of size of the several parts to the several uses, and requires due regards to the general proportions of the fabric: it arises out of dimension (*quantitas*) [...] Dimension regulates the general scale of the work, so that the parts may all tell and be effective”. Order is a metaphysical principle that is grounded on mathematics. Its manifestation in the physical world is guided by the principle of arrangement (*dispositio*), or the “putting of things in their proper places”, which is expressed through “ground plan, facade and perspective”. According to Vitruvius, architectural order is the platonic principle that guides the design. It cannot be expressed by itself, but it relies on Cartesian representation to become manifest to the world. “The word type does not represent so much the image of something that must be copied or imitated perfectly, as the idea of an element that must serve itself as a rule for the model. [...] The type is an object on the basis of which everyone can conceive of works that may not resemble each other at all”.

Resonating with Vitruvius’ order, Quincy’s type is the “rule” that generates a model. Both definitions seem to ground architecture in an immutable platonic realm based on *quantitas*, but they also admit that the generation of architecture cannot be a simple process of imitation, rather being an interpretation that might end up with wildly different results.

Quite in the same way, the discretionary power of police in applying the law is an interpretation of state order. The architecture of police stations is thus located at the intersection of two interpretative processes: it is the manifestation of the order of architecture as much as the order of the state. This charged position makes the police station ideal for reevaluating the idea of architectural order.

In Ireland, where classic architecture has historically been a symbol of

British domination, this question is of particular relevance. The root of an Irish architectural order shall thus not be searched in the Palladian Anglo-Irish Big Houses, which tower imposingly in the Irish countryside, but rather on the shop front, the most common vernacular interpretation of the classical order in Ireland. The Irish police station is thus defined: not by grandiose columns or cupolas, but the by creaking leg of the stool on which an Irishman is sipping his stout.