

*Forgive Us Our Trespass*  
A Re-imagining of Religious Land in Cabra

Eimear Butler

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## Abstract

In the one hundred years since the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922, the cultural identity of Ireland has changed drastically, which has unique implications on the urban and suburban grain of cities around the country. The first governments of Ireland sought to create a national identity which would set Ireland apart from Britain, and Catholicism was fundamental to this national identity. Establishing the dominance of the Catholic Church was an aim of government policy across all areas, including planning. Planned new suburbs of Dublin in the 1930s and 40s, such as Cabra, were designed to strengthen the stronghold of the Catholic Church, with their urban fabric consisting of a church in the centre of the neighbourhood and residential streets sprawling out from the church nexus. The suburbs were designed with only a Catholic Ireland in mind: a mono-culture of mass-going, Roman Catholic, Irish people. Since then, the demographics of Ireland, and especially Dublin, have changed immensely, with significant increases in the number of people of other faiths and no religion. Roman Catholic is the only religion in Ireland that has experienced a decline in recent years, according to the Central Statistics Office. The national and cultural identity of this country, it could be argued, is no longer intrinsically linked to Catholicism. Therefore, Cabra's urban form is a physical manifestation of a cultural identity which no longer exists, and religious spaces should be reimagined if they are to be the centre of communities of the future as they once

were the communities of the past. The implications of this demographic shift are extreme when considered in the context of climate change and social deprivation, both issues for the people of Cabra today. One key question underpinned the development of the thesis: how can under-utilised religious spaces at the heart of the neighbourhood better serve the needs of a more religiously-diverse community, experiencing issues related to social deprivation and climate change?

This thesis imagines what those under-utilised religious spaces, like the ones in Cabra, could become if they were altered in response to a community need. In this case, a community need was identified through demographic and social research of Cabra, framed by the themes of urgency and radical inclusivity. Food poverty was found as a current and serious issue facing the people of Cabra, and requires urgent and radical solutions. Following the testing of the thesis idea in Semester 1, a programme emerged which would allow the community as a whole to benefit from the conversion of religious land to productive farmland, in which fresh fruit and vegetables can be grown, cooked, and consumed by the whole community. The aim is to create spaces which bring various communities into religious spaces which have long excluded them, while also providing an architectural scheme that mitigates the impact of food poverty and social deprivation.

## Glossary

*Townland* – Land unit of Gaelic origins, used for the purpose of identifying a small area of land at local level for civil administration. The term is still used by state authorities today.

*Parish* – Ecclesiastical territory originally each overseen by one priest, and usually comprising of multiple townlands. In modern times the implications of the parish boundary include determining the catchment areas for religious schools, sporting clubs, and any religious associations.

*Civil Parish* – Land division used by state administrative authorities as a means of recording births, marriages, deaths and later, properties and land taxes. They were formalised as a civil land division during the Elizabethan Plantation of Ireland in the late 16th Century. Civil parishes are of the same origins as ecclesiastical parishes, but do not align with Roman Catholic parishes due to the decline of Catholic clergy during the Penal Law Era. There are roughly 2,500 civil parishes in Ireland.

*Barony* – Historic means of land division, usually comprising of multiple Civil Parishes. Prior to the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898, baronies were used as a method of recording property and land taxation details. The last report documented 33 baronies across the island.

*Diocese* – Ecclesiastical land unit; a grouping of ecclesiastical parishes (Roman Catholic or Church of Ireland) all under the authority of one Bishop. There are 26 Catholic dioceses in Ireland today.

*Archdiocese* – A grouping of multiple dioceses, all under the authority of one Archbishop. There are four Catholic archdioceses in Ireland; Dublin, Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel.

*Tuath* – Originally meaning clan or tribal family, it became an Old Irish term for the basic geographical and political land unit used for administrative purposes in Gaelic Ireland. Also refers to the people who resided in the territory. Occasionally, ancient boundaries of the Tuath align with parish boundaries thousands of years later.

*Meitheal* – Describes the co-operative labour practices in ancient and medieval Ireland whereby neighbours would come together to assist each other in the saving of crops during poor harvests or harsh weather conditions.

*Rundale* – A system of joint land-holding in Ireland evidenced up until the mid-20th Century. The system functioned whereby a group of neighbours, occasionally whole villages, leased long, thin, stretches of land and farmed them cooperatively, and plots were periodically redistributed and boundaries shifted.

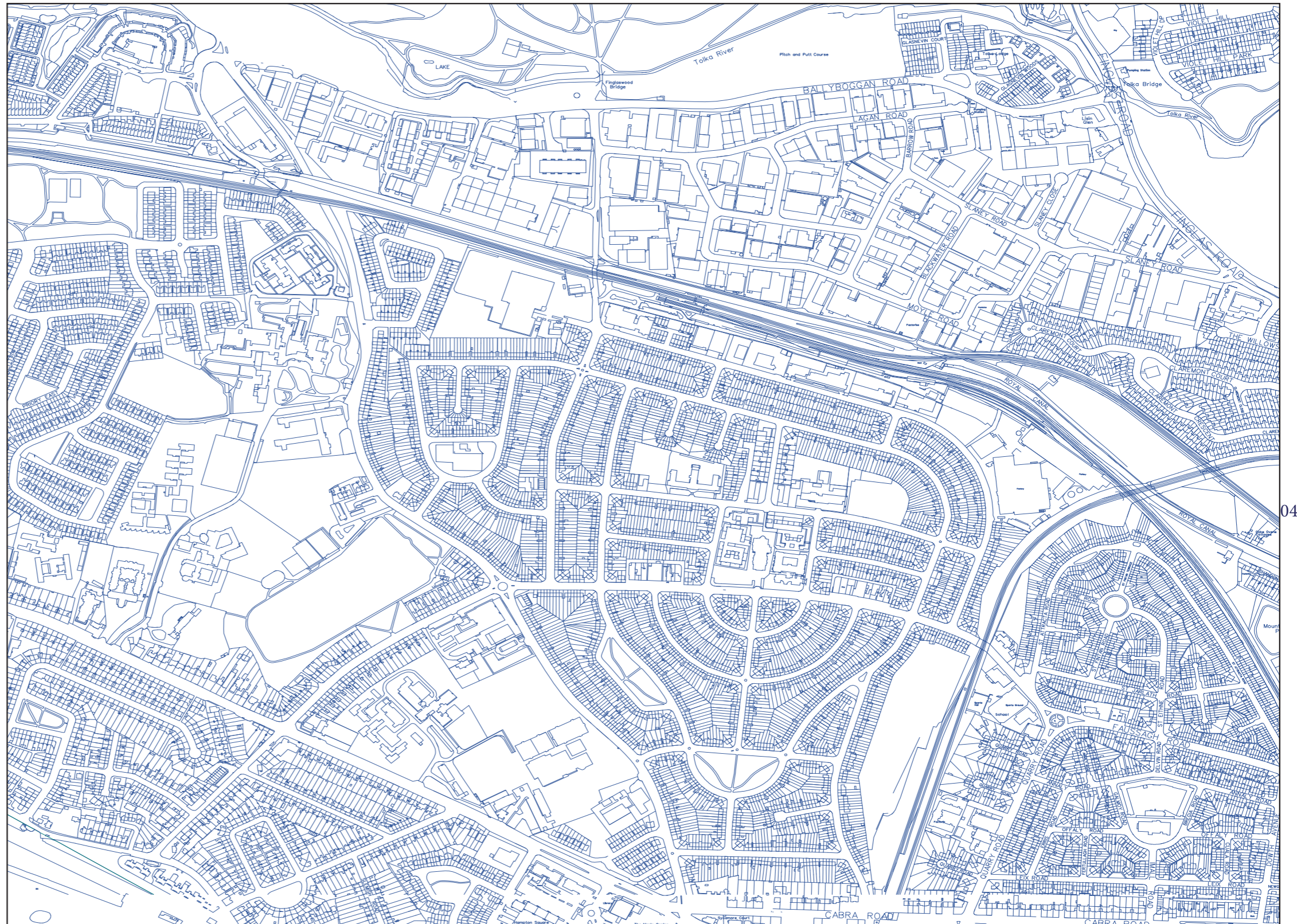
*Zoning* – Modern method of planning land developments, outlining objectives for specific land areas and establishing rules to which proposed new developments must abide, based on the zoning objectives.

*GAA* – Gaelic Athletic Association; sporting association involved in the formal organisation of Irish games Gaelic Football, Hurling and Camogie. It is the most widespread sporting association in the country with over 2,200 clubs.

## Introduction

The thesis idea emerged, mainly, from an analysis of the urban grain of the Tolka Valley, particularly Cabra, framed by an interest in the role of architecture in facilitating cultural exchange and promoting social cohesion. Through researching the various cultural factors influencing the built fabric of Cabra, the author explored ideas of adapting potentially irrelevant religious sites in order to best fill the needs of the surrounding community as a whole. Identifying a community need, through demographic and social research, informed the site and programme of the thesis. From developing an understanding of the social issues facing the people of Cabra, a need was identified in the form of an architectural solution to the issue of food poverty. Food poverty is an extremely contemporary issue that families across Ireland are experiencing, and people from Cabra are suffering at a higher proportion than most other areas in the country. It is paramount that left-over land that is in abundance in suburbs like Cabra, be adapted in order to help sustain the community which surrounds them. In this case, nearly 10 hectares of under-utilised green space was found at the Dominican Convent, Cabra, and this thesis provides an example of how the land may be adapted to combat the issue of food poverty in the area.

The thesis research consisted of a historical account of the religious influences on Cabra's urban form, an analysis of constructed political and religious land boundaries in the area and their connection to the communities which surround them, and a study of historic communal land practices which could be considered in the transformation of private land to communal land. Historic ways in which land was held in common offers a valuable insight into potential ways religious land could be re-imagined as land held in common by the people. Once a programme emerged as a result of these analyses and thesis testing, research took the form of investigating various farming techniques of an appropriate scale and climate impact, as well as precedent studies and demographic research.



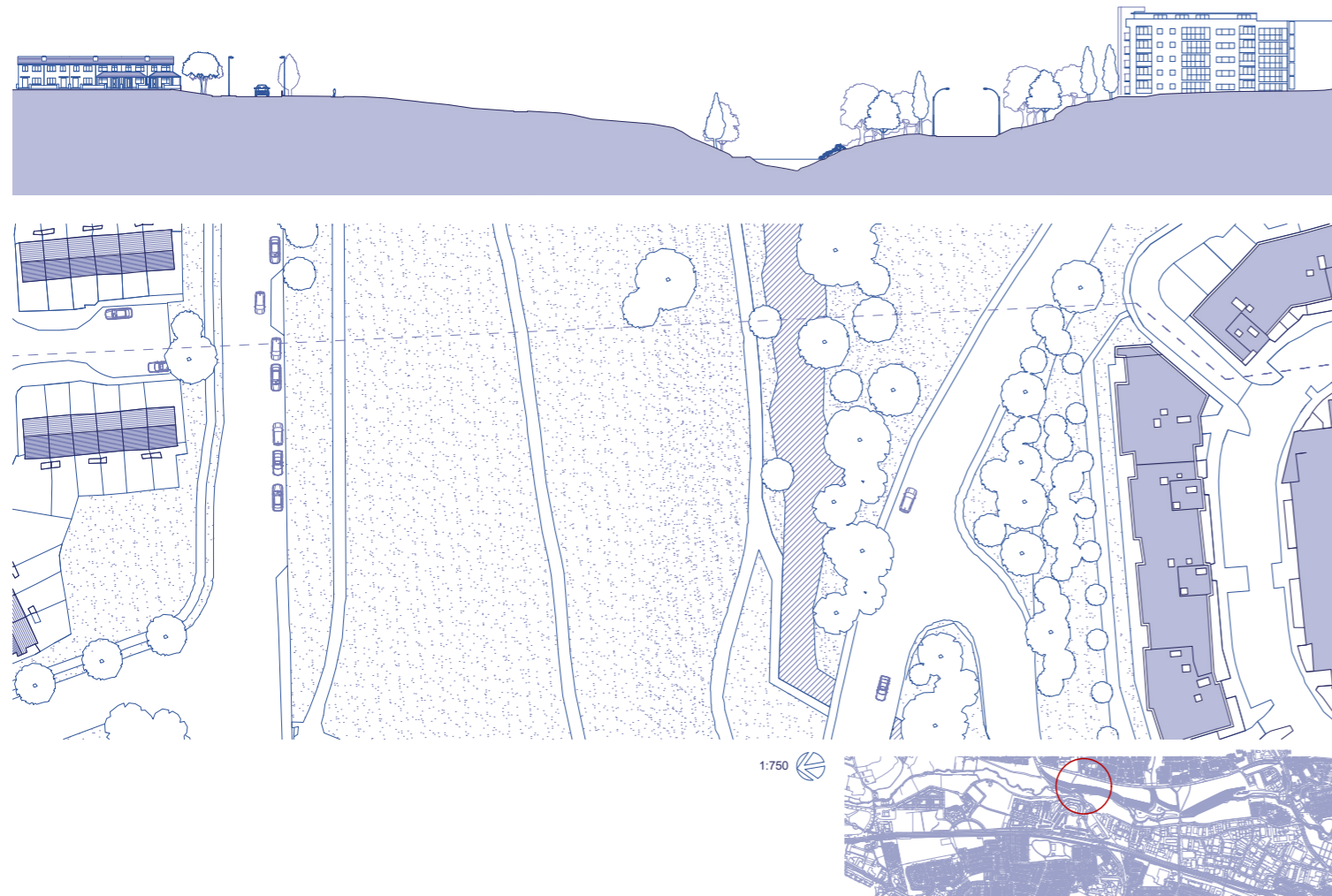
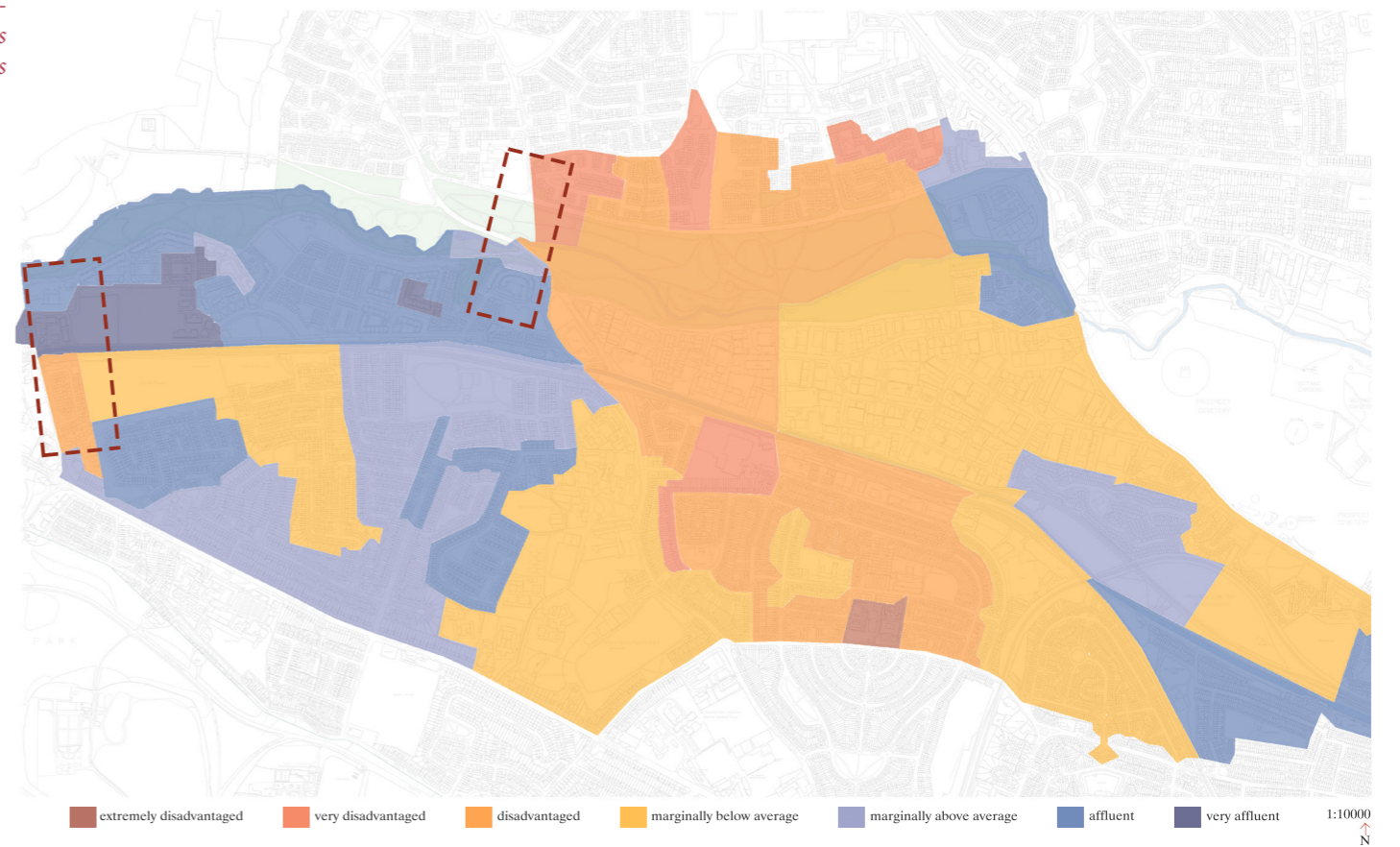
*Fig. 1: Map of Section of the Tolka Valley showing Cabra, Cabra West, the Royal Canal, Dublin Industrial Estate and Tolka Valley Park*

*Fig. 2: Social Boundary Map identifying areas of different socio-economic class, and marking in red boxes where sections were cut to show social boundaries*

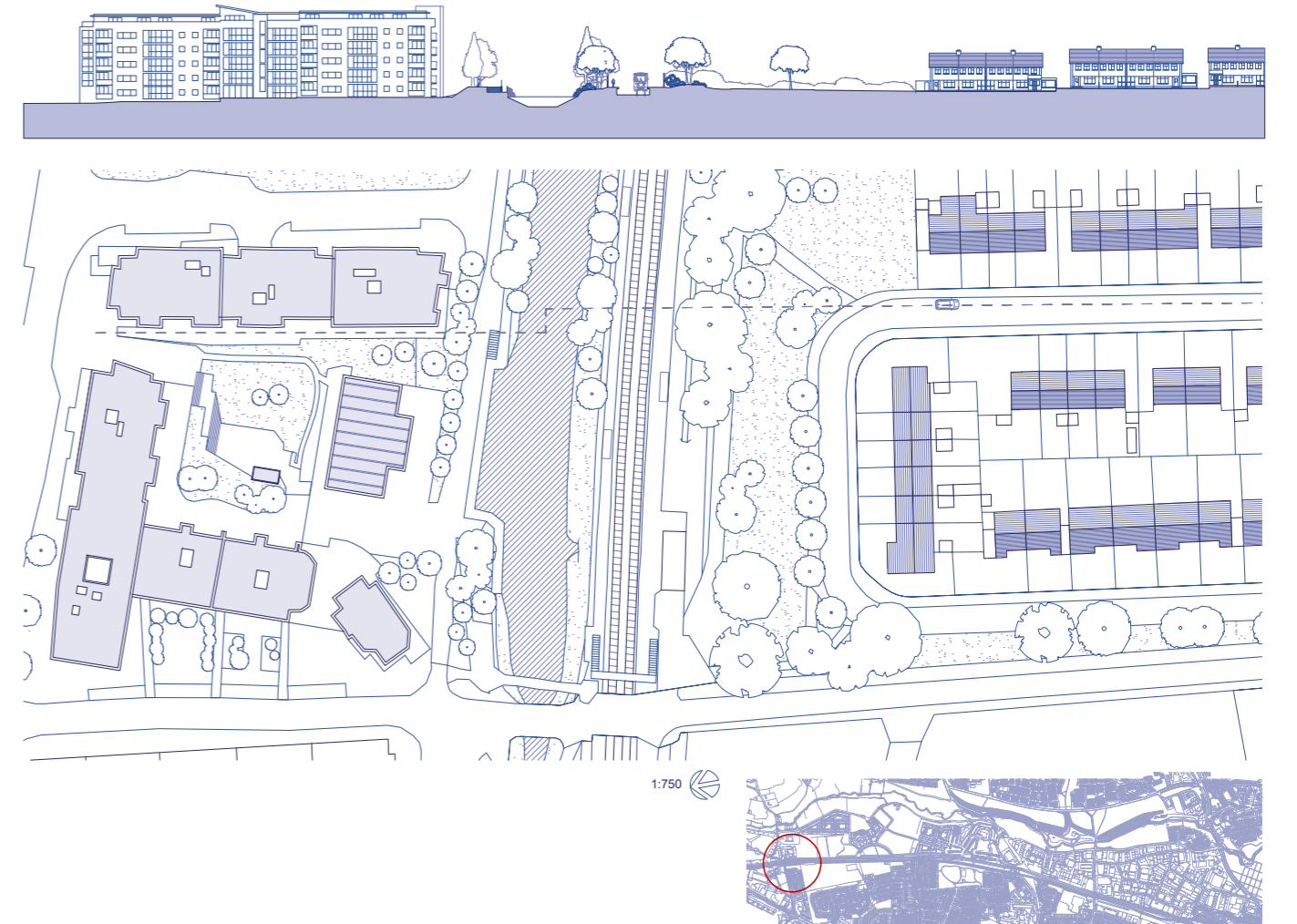
## Boundary Studies

Early investigations of the Tolka Valley included studies of the various boundaries in existence across the area. One particular detail that became apparent after initial research, was that the area is brimming with both physical and social boundaries. The site contains separate zones which are each very distinct in their form: the Dublin Industrial Estate, Tolka Valley Park, 1930s-60s housing estates in Finglas and Cabra, and new housing developments in Ashtown and Pelletstown. Boundaries between the zones are few, and can be harsh and impermeable. While physical boundaries are widespread and take the form of a vast array of structures such as The Tolka River

and the Royal Canal, all the way down to garden fences, it was the existing social boundaries across the site that formed a big part of the studies. The studies shown on this page depict the borders where 'affluent' areas in blue meet more 'disadvantaged' areas in red or orange, using data from the Pobal Deprivation Index which takes Census information to identify areas based off of their level of affluence. The drawings investigate the physical borders which make up the social boundaries, and are shown in plan and section below. It is interesting to note the borders between existing housing estates and new apartment complexes and the relationship between them.



*Fig. 3: Plan and Section of social boundary at Finglas to Pelletstown across the park and Tolka River*



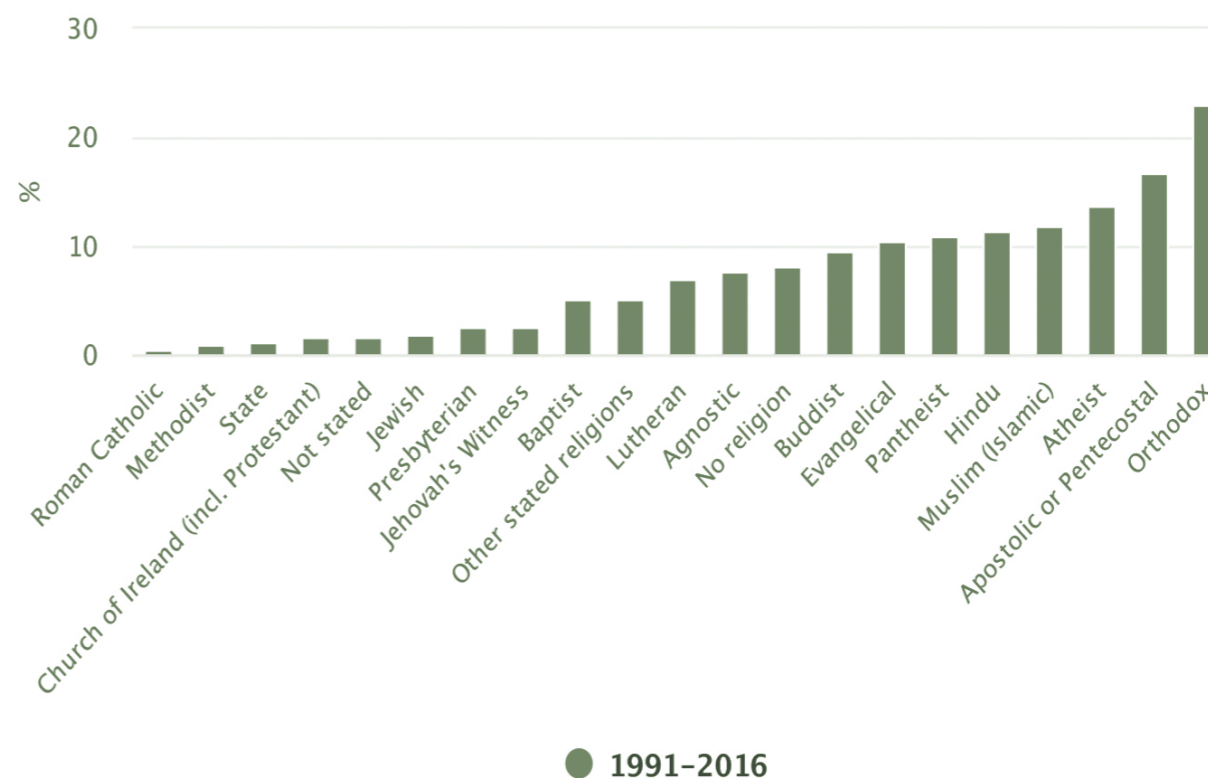
*Fig. 4: Plan and Section of social boundary at Ashtown Rail Station showing new housing development, the Royal canal and existing 1960s council housing estate*

## Thesis Research

In 2016, the Central Statistics Office reported that the proportion of the population in Ireland that identified as Roman Catholic had continued its recent trend and fallen since the previous Census in 2011; in fact the number was lower in 2016 than it had ever been since the first official Census of 1881 (CSO, 2016). However, the rate at which the drop in numbers was occurring had increased – the number had dropped nearly six percent from 84.2% to 78.3%, as opposed to the average of a fall of around two percent every Census year. At the same time, religions like Orthodox, Muslim and Hindu are growing. If it is to be believed that the numbers of Catholics in Ireland will continue to fall at an increasing rate, there are certainly implications not just from a cultural standpoint, but also physical implications on the built fabric of towns and cities across the country. Current and historic land boundaries across Ireland are, and have been, intrinsically linked to cultural and religious identities of the communities which surround them. Throughout history, Ireland and parts of Ireland have undergone religious and cultural shifts, and analysing shifting land boundaries as a narrative of changing communities can offer a new way to approach urban and suburban grain. As Ireland as a whole, but especially Dublin, is consistently showing signs of sustaining a more culturally di-

verse population, some of the pre-existing land boundaries are becoming irrelevant and prohibitive to communal interaction and social cohesion. Vast amounts of land dedicated for religious use, particularly Roman Catholic sites, acting as the nodal point in the neighbourhood, define a hierarchy of space that may not be beneficial to a wider, more religiously diverse community resident in the surrounding area today. As current and future planning policy must strive to adhere to, as closely as possible, the U.N. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it is paramount that development of these sites is considered with due regard to their ability to fulfil the SDGs, namely Sustainable Cities and Communities. This research paper will outline the cultural and religious factors at play during the formation of the Cabra and Cabra West social housing schemes, and investigate the nature of land divisions as a physical manifestation of religious and cultural identity. The paper will speculate a new approach to dealing with large and potentially irrelevant religious sites through this research. Essentially, the author will strive to answer questions surrounding the future for urban and suburban areas built with a different, more religiously uniform population in mind, and how land divisions may be rethought to better fulfil the needs of a diverse community.

Figure 4.2 Annualised growth rates of religions in Ireland, 1991–2016



Source: CSO Ireland

Fig 5: Graph showing the annualised growth rate of religions in Ireland. Note Roman Catholic as the religion with the lowest growth rate



### Cabra and Cultural Identity

The influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and particularly in Dublin, on planning policy and suburban development in the mid-twentieth century has been the topic of recent research by a number of different authors. The tenement slum-clearing scheme in Dublin which occurred in the 1930s through to the 1950s was one of Ireland's largest and most extensive public housing schemes, and its main aim was to improve poor living conditions caused by the overcrowding in inner city tenements. Development was mostly planned for the western fringes of the city, where space was plentiful and contemporary urban design ideas could be made real. Suburbs like Crumlin and Cabra were heavily influenced by the idea of the early 20th Century English 'Garden City' (Howard, 1898) Movement in their design, with an emphasis placed on providing three and four-bedroom homes with large front and back gardens. They were satellite suburbs, and they supported through their street layout the individual personal car rather than the human or the bicycle. This, in its essence, alienated those in the suburbs who were without a car from the city their town was designed to support, effectively until the majority of homes in working class suburbs like Cabra owned a vehicle

late into the 1980s. As well as being inspired by the English Garden City ideal, Dublin Corporation Chief Planner Michael O'Brien was involved in an extensive level of influential correspondence with Archbishop of Dublin, John McQuaid, during his work in planning Cabra and Cabra West. McQuaid was continuously consulted over the location of churches and schools within the new neighbourhoods, as well the typology of housing, and his say was evidently final. The Catholic Church preferred the schemes to include individual family homes with private gardens rather than apartments or flats, as it considered the family unit to be the basis of a pious and moralistic society. In uncovering archival correspondence between McQuaid and O'Brien, the power that the Church had in the creation of these suburban social housing schemes becomes stark, and the reasoning behind it as a way to essentially have moral and religious control over the communities, is inferred. As Ellen Rowley writes, "[...] if Ireland's Catholic hierarchy 'managed' the demographic crisis, the cities could become prime Catholic breeding grounds in 1950s and 1960s Ireland – or more particularly, the new housing estates fringing those cities." (Rowley, 2015)



*Fig 6: Aerial image of Cabra in the 1940s. Note the prominent position of the church within the neighbourhood.*



*Fig 7: Diagram showing the urban form of Cabra and Cabra West, consisting of the 'church nexus' highlighted in red in the centre of the community*

One piece of information that becomes clear after understanding the role that the Catholic Church played in the setting out of 1940s social housing schemes like those in Cabra and Crumlin, is that the culture of religious integration with state affairs was widespread throughout early to middle 20th Century Ireland. The aim of the State was to provide adequate housing for working class communities, while also accommodating the Church's aim of realising its ideal nation of pious, mass-going Catholics. The State, however, had another agenda which the Church could help fulfil;

in their mission of post-colonial nation building in the 1920s, the first governments of Ireland wanted to go about creating a national identity that was set apart from their former colonial power. Catholicism was absolutely central to this new national identity, and the parish was structural unit within which the Church could take hold. The new suburbs were designed as brand-new Catholic parishes, with the monumental church building at their heart and a homogenous typology of residences sprawling out into the surrounding agricultural land. Fundamentally, the 1940s parish acts as

a physical manifestation of the religious and cultural identity of Ireland at the time in which they were designed. Cabra was be made up of two separate parishes: Cabra, and Cabra West. The parish of Cabra, which surrounds Christ the King Catholic Church, was created in 1933 and constituted from St Paul's Parish on Arran Quay, and Cabra West parish, the Church of the Most Precious Blood, was created in 1946 and constituted from both Cabra and Aughrim Street parishes. At the opening mass of Christ the King Catholic Church in October 1933, Rev. Cullen's sermon referenced

the importance of the church as a building: 'There was epitomised in the expression "the house of the people" a great idea that the church was the alpha and omega of their existence.' (Rowley, 2016) These new parish boundaries, as means and methods of land division, were arguably the first in the country to be so extensively and systematically laid out and designed, and the divisions they created have had implications for communities throughout the area.



Fig.8: Urban Grain Map of Cabra and Cabra West

Today, one hundred years on from the formation of the Irish Free State, the urban planning policies which sought to solidify Catholicism as the reigning religion in Ireland now hinder the potential for meaningful cultural exchange, and therefore our ability to fulfil the SDGs in the age of the worsening climate catastrophe. The parish boundary can determine such important factors to a local community as school catchment areas, GAA clubs, church groups etc. The boundary can separate different social classes and serve to impede upon social cohesion and integration between different groups. Analysing the ‘visible’ along with the ‘invisible’ boundaries within the parishes of Cabra and Cabra West allows us to better understand the contemporary social implications of these out-dated religious and political land divisions. Figure 8 above examines the ur-

ban grain of the two parishes through identifying the private housing blocks in black, and depicting the church, school and shop sites as open public space, left in white. It is clear from this map that the church is the very centre of the community, and if it were treated as an open public amenity, it would be in a prime location to serve as many residents in the surrounding area as possible. The map beside it, Figure 9, shows the ‘invisible’ or social boundaries through identifying areas on a varying scale of social deprivation, based off the Pobal Social Deprivation Index, 2016. The darker orange indicates very disadvantaged areas, while blue indicated affluent areas. On the whole, Cabra is more affluent than Cabra West, and interestingly the site of the Church of the Most Precious Blood in Cabra West shows a high level of deprivation.

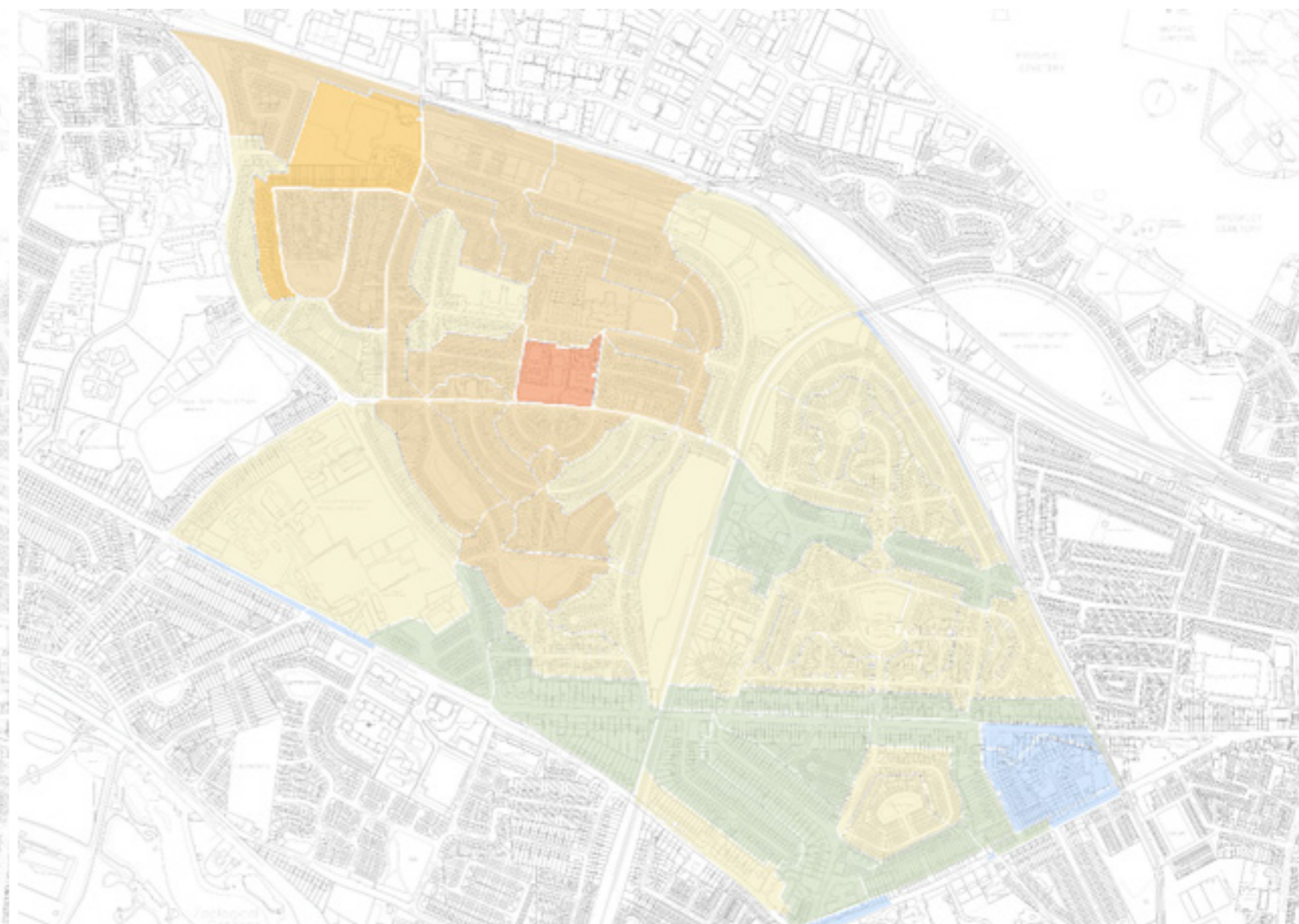


Fig. 9: Data from Pobal Deprivation Index shown on a map of Cabra and Cabra West. The Index takes into account such factors as age dependency, education level and unemployment. Darker orange shows a higher level of disadvantage, while blue indicates above average level of affluence.



Fig. 10: Aerial image of Cabra West, showing the Church of the Most Precious Blood within the community



Fig. 11: Aerial image of Crumlin, showing the position of the Church alongside schools and shops in the centre of the neighbourhood.

## Changing Communities and Shifting Boundaries

In order to make an approach at rethinking the suburban grain of a mid-century working-class housing scheme like, for instance, Cabra West, analysing the historic influence of cultural identity over land boundaries offers a possible solution. The Parish as a land division has provided a way to operate civil and religious control over communities, and its boundaries have, and have had, very real implications for its parishioners. The parish, for the ‘artisan’ or working class, was described by American Jesuit sociologist Alexander Humphreys in 1949 as:

“the liturgical and sacramental centre that effects a strong, over-arching unity among the artisan practitioners [...]. It is the most immediate and articulate source of many of the major values that impregnate its parishioners’ lives. From it, the artisans imbibe most of their great definitions of the world, and their place and meaning in the cosmos.”

(Rowley, 2015)

The parish in its current recognisable sense, has been a means of dividing land in Ireland since the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century, and it has its roots in pre-existing Gaelic territorial divisions called the tuath. In the tuath, the secular priest lived usually with family rather than fellow clergy, could be married, operated among the community under the authority of a bishop, and provided pastoral care to all of the population. The

invasion of the Anglo-Normans brought about immense cultural changes in Ireland, and essentially marked the beginning of direct involvement in Ireland by English and British powers. Land divisions were created and existing boundaries altered as a result of the cultural change brought about by the invasion of the Anglo-Normans in 1169. The structural system which was implemented from that period onwards divided and subdivided land into dioceses, baronies and parishes, and its influences on today’s existing land boundaries can still be seen and felt. The Parish was formalised as an administrative land boundary in the 1600s during the Plantations, with the creation of Civil Parishes. Civil parishes are a separate entity from both Catholic and Church of Ireland parishes, and they became a state unit which recorded land and tax information up until the middle of the 20th Century. The civil parish fell out of use as a civil structure by the 1950s, as it had long been replaced by local authorities and town and county councils. Their boundary lines are more closely related to those of the Church of Ireland Parishes, as during the Penal Law Era (1685-1829) Catholic parishes often merged together due to the decline of Catholic churches and clergy members. Through investigating the parish boundaries in Cabra throughout some of these momentous sociocultural transformations, we can begin to speculate what existing boundaries may transform in the wake of the current movements towards religiously diverse communities.

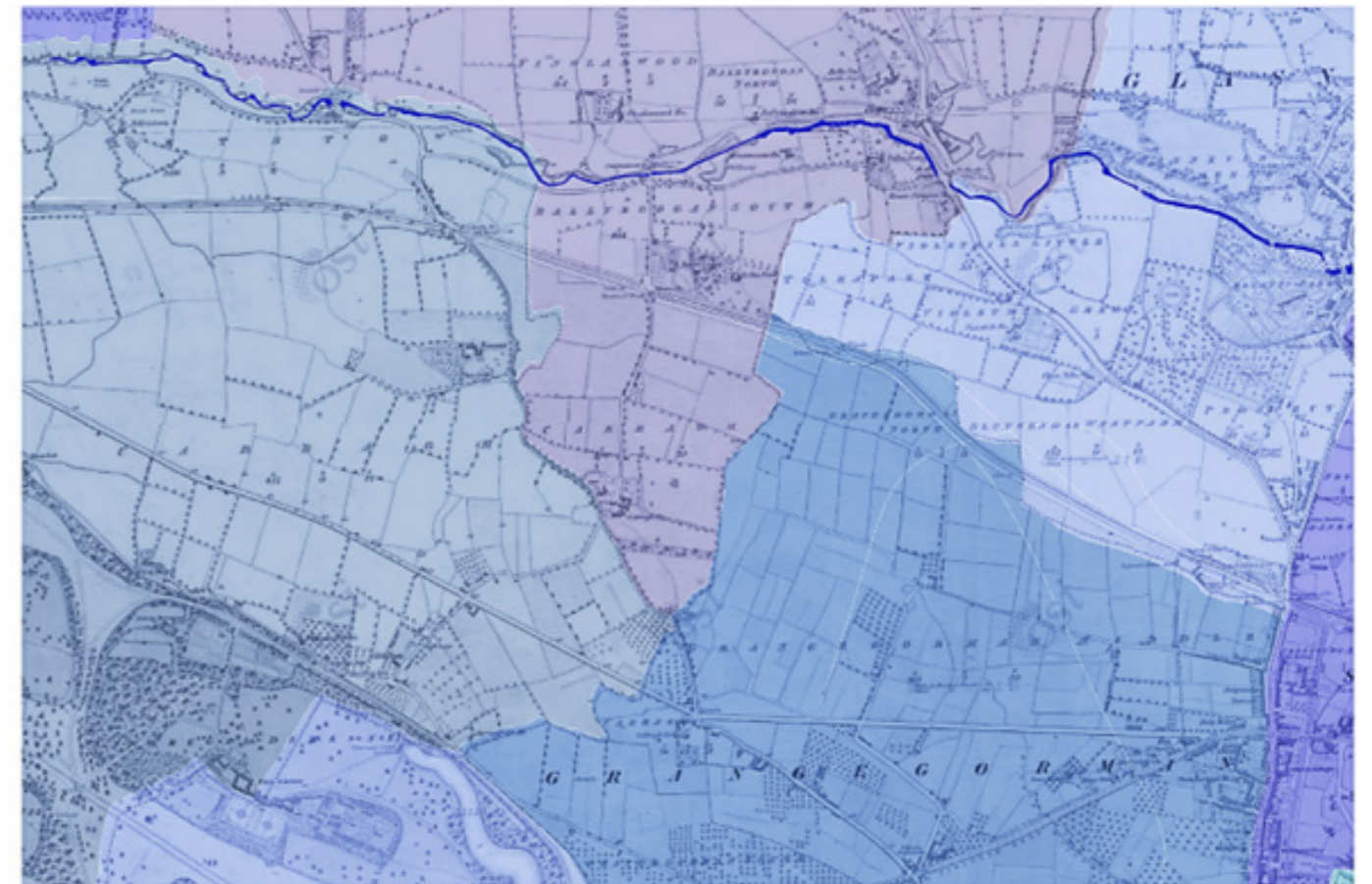


Fig 12: 1830s OS map showing the different Civil Parishes, indicated by the different shades. It becomes clearer when viewing the Civil Parish boundary on this map, how linked it was to pre-existing physical land boundaries like rivers, roads and fields.

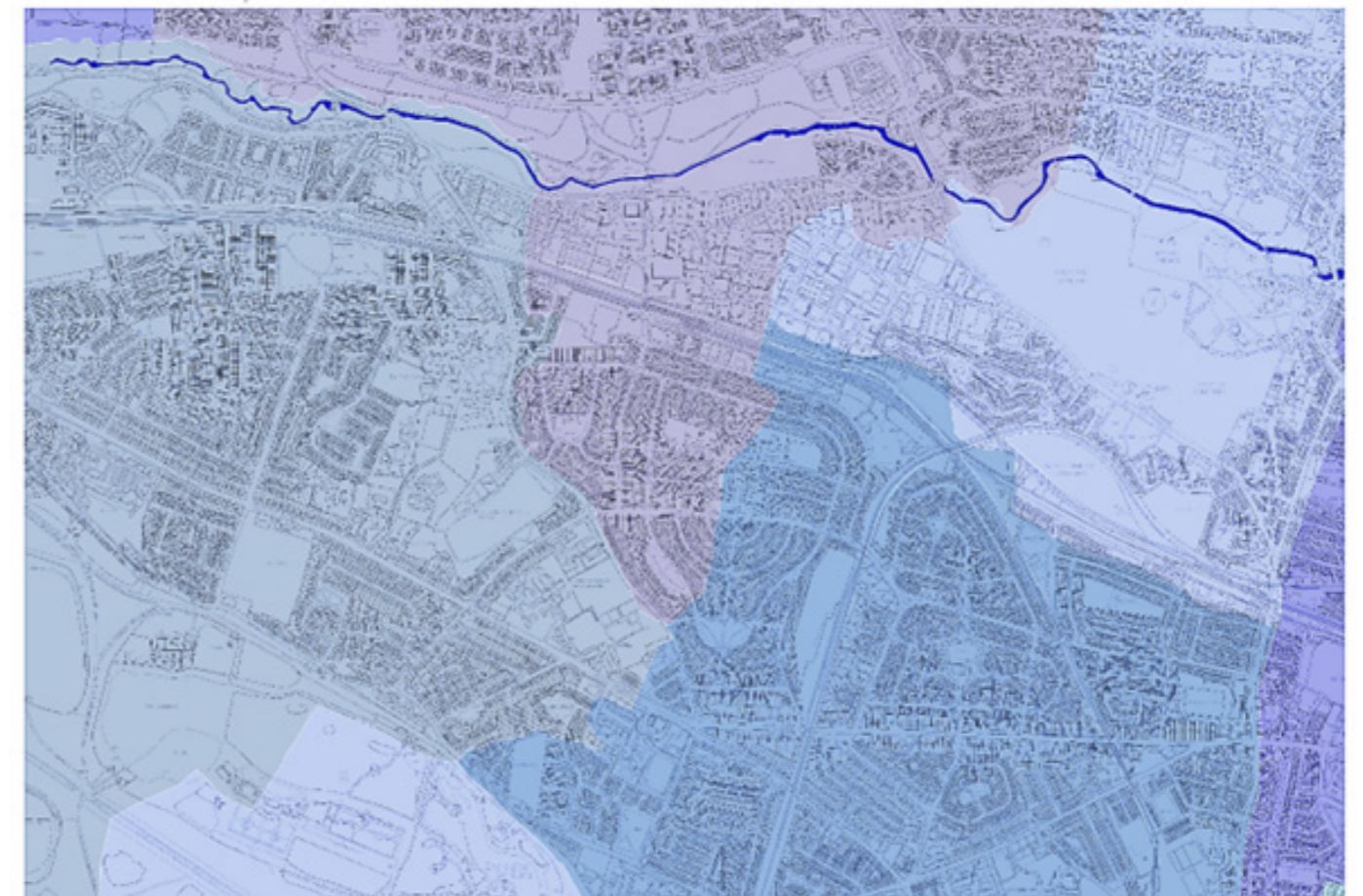
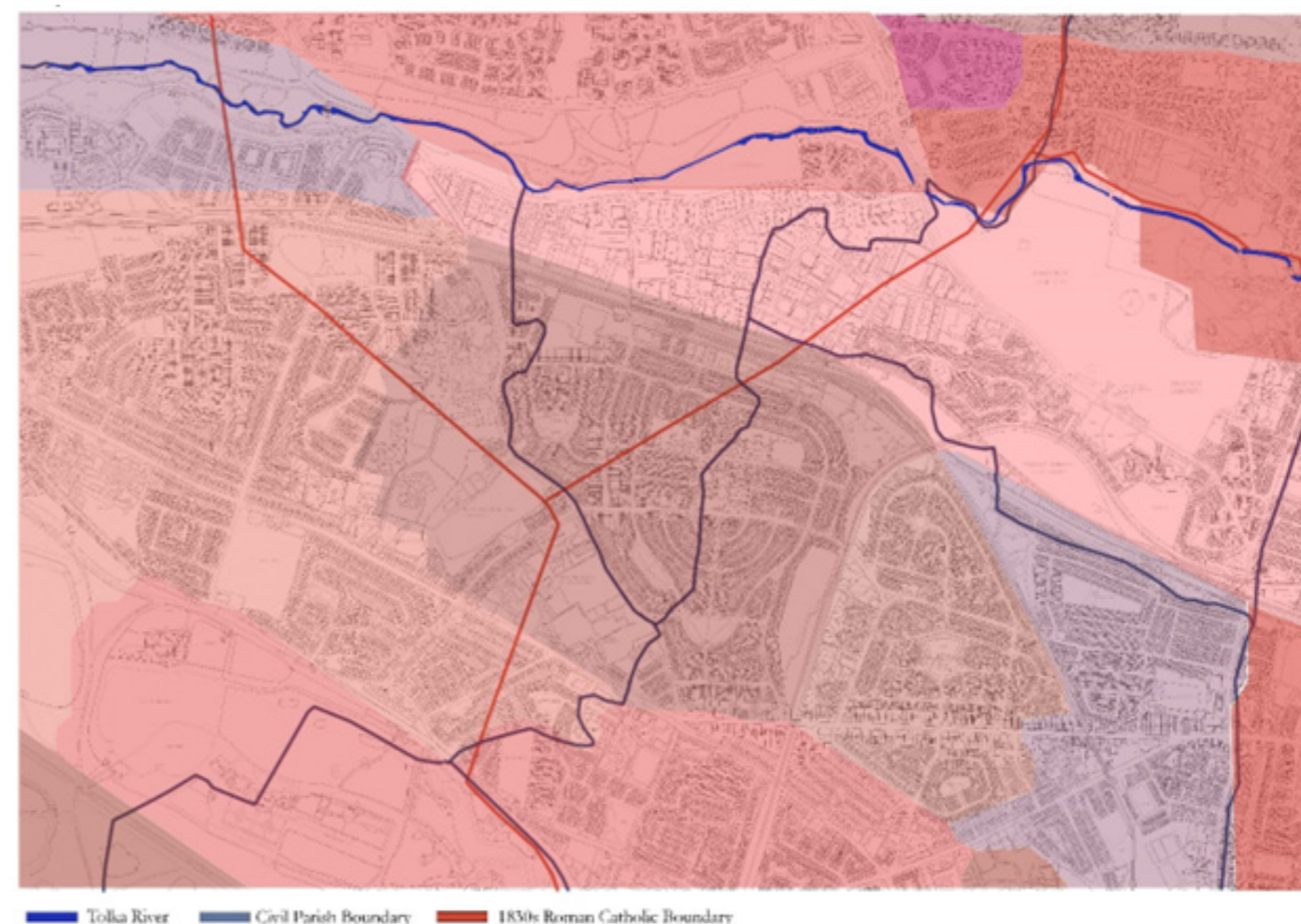
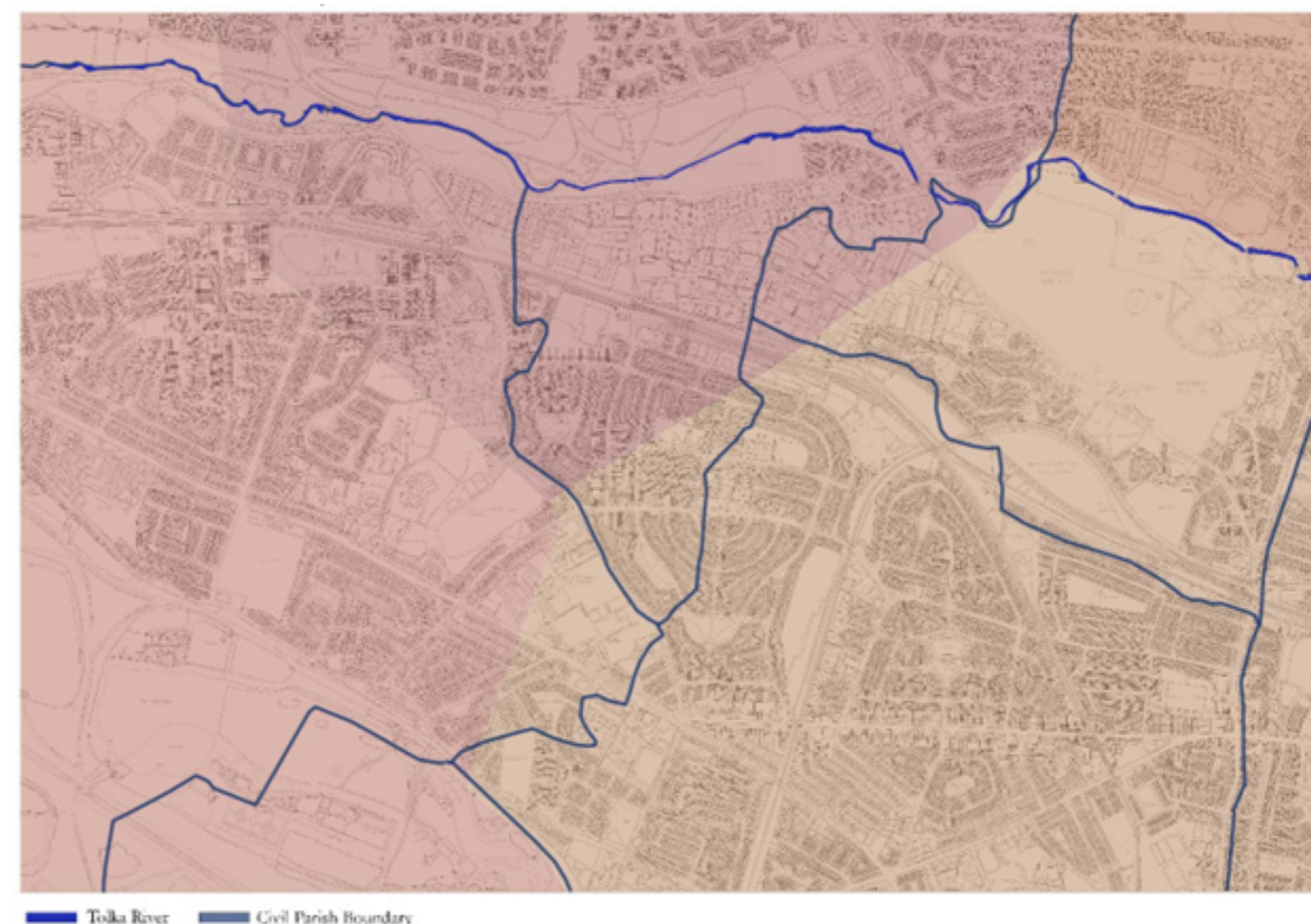


Fig 13: Current OS Map with Civil Parish boundaries overlaid. It can be seen that the new suburbs of Cabra and Cabra West do not pay much regard to the existing Civil Parish boundaries, and span across borders.

Cabra provides an intriguing example when analysing these influential boundaries and their relationship to community, as its location sits at the intersection of a number of current and historical boundaries, religious and political alike. Most of Cabra today lies within three civil parishes: Grangegorman, Finglas and Castleknock. Their boundaries are overlain onto the first edition OSI map, created in the 1830s, and the current OSI map on the previous page. It is interesting to consider the new parish of Cabra being created in the context of the pre-existing civil parishes, which were still a somewhat relevant civil boundary at the time of Cabra's design. The new parishes in Cabra of the 1930s and 40s spanned across the civil parish boundaries with seemingly little to no regard of the boundary as a physical land division. Perhaps, this is due to the civil parish and its closer relation to the Anglican parishes of the Church of Ireland rather than Catholicism. The enlargement of Catholic parishes throughout the 18th and 19th centuries was a result of Penal Laws implemented by Britain, and hence, residents in these large expansive parishes were not closely involved, through the

parish, with their immediate locality. Following the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922, the parish as a means of bringing together members of a community, was extremely influential in forming a new independent nation. The idea of the Archdiocese, and of the Dublin Corporation in designing these new suburbs was to create parishes smaller in geographical size but dense in population. It is clear from the formation of many new, smaller parishes throughout Dublin's western fringes that the parish was the means in which these new solely-Catholic communities would function. Comparing the Roman Catholic parishes of the 1800s that encompassed Cabra, with today's Catholic parishes, can be seen also. There are far more Roman Catholic parishes in and around Cabra and the Tolka Valley now, than there were throughout the 19th century, despite the percentage of Irish residents identifying as Catholic is lower. Again this begs the question, what considerations should future development have for the existing suburban grain of Cabra, when it was designed with a religious spatial hierarchy that is becoming increasingly irrelevant?

*Fig 14: 1800s Roman Catholic parish boundaries, indicated through different colour overlays, on today's OS Map. Blue lines indicate Civil Parish boundaries as shown on the key.*



*Fig 15: Current Roman Catholic parishes shown on a modern OS Map, indicated by different shades. The difference in the number of Roman Catholic parishes between the 1800s and today is apparent. Red lines are the historic Roman Catholic Parish boundaries.*

1830s Electoral Constituencies



Fig 16: The Electoral Constituency Divisions of the 1830s. The north circular road separated Dublin City from Dublin County.

Today's Electoral Constituencies

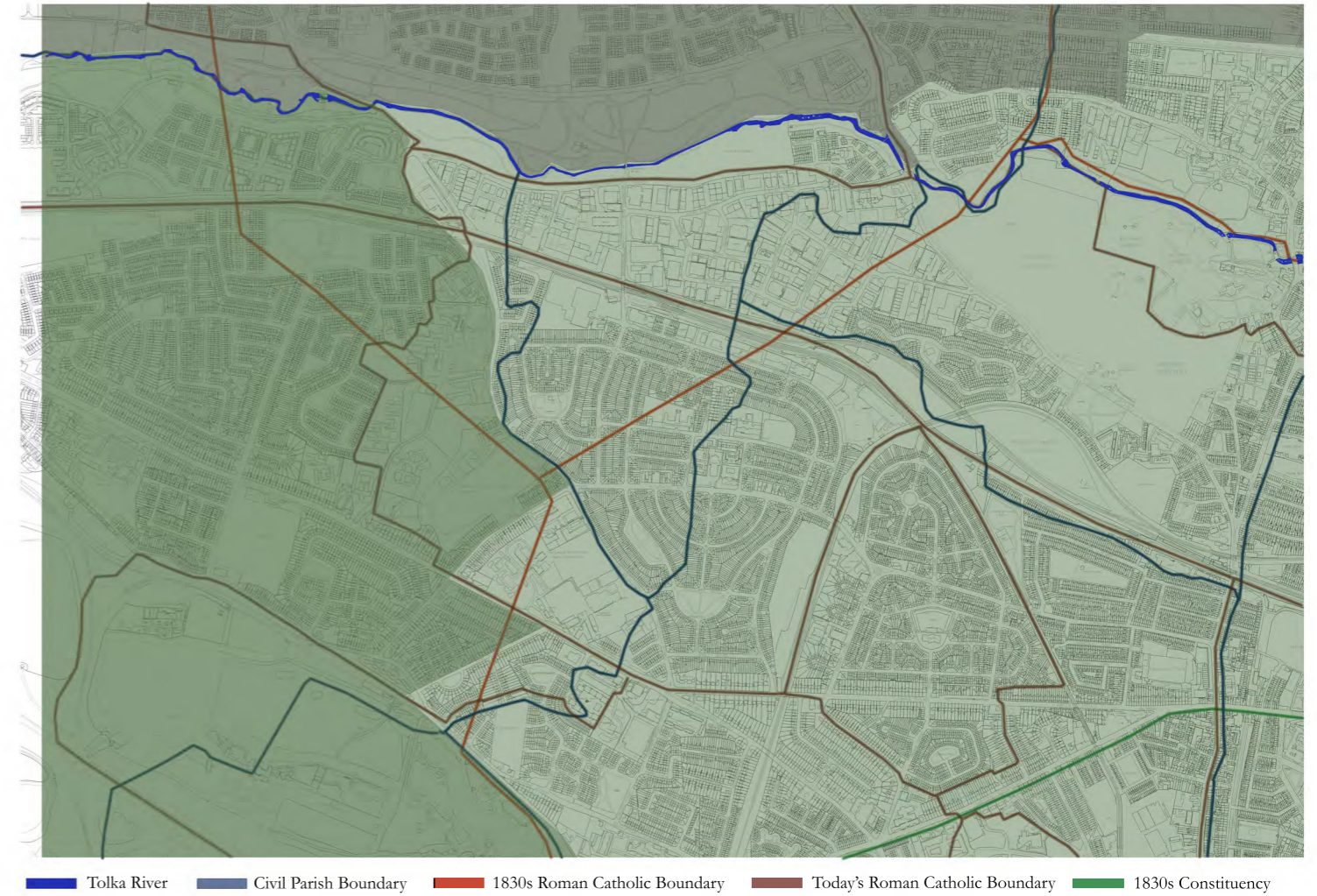


Fig 17: The Electoral Constituency Divisions of today. The three electoral divisions in the area today are Dublin Central, Dublin North West and Dublin West.

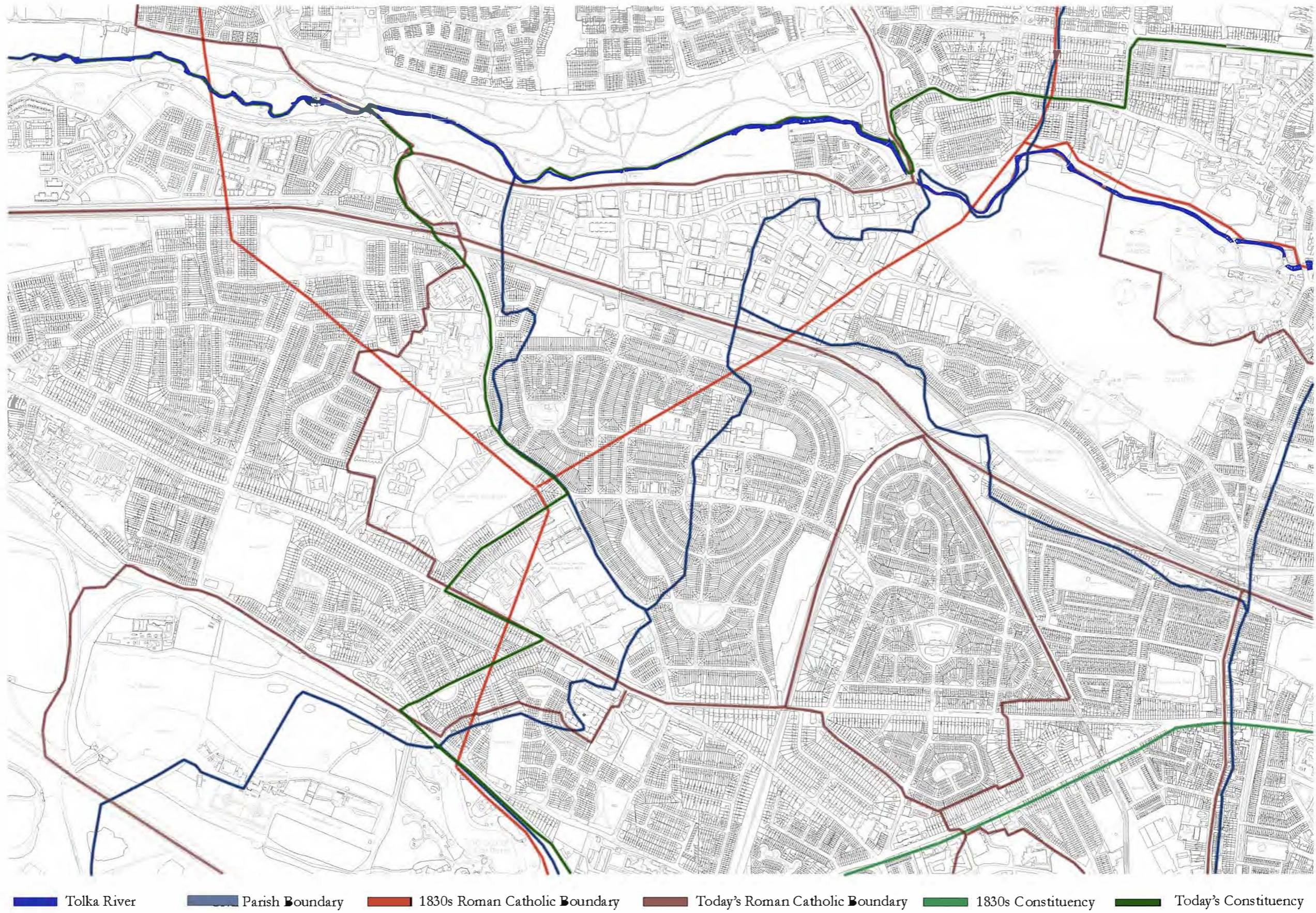


Fig 18: The final boundary map showing all of the studied constructed religious and political boundaries in the area.

## Cultural Land Practices of the Past, for the Future

Following on from an analysis of parish boundaries and their relationship to communities, one begins to think of community as a union of residents to support their shared physical realm, as well as to provide pastoral support to each other. This, at its core, is what the parish system has been based off since at least the time of the tuath, dating back over a thousand years ago. Communal land practices and land boundaries are closely linked to religious identity, and looking back to land practices of a religiously integrated community of the past can give us a way forward for proposing methods of development for the new diverse cities of today. There is something to be retained through the ideals of the parish system if Sustainable Cities are at the heart of climate crisis mitigation strategies.

People, inherently, must be allowed cultivate a sense of responsibility over the place in which they live if they are to actively seek change in the development of their locality. The ‘city’ as a place in which the benefits of small, local, religious communities could be lost and individual freedoms take precedence is the topic of Richard Sennett’s writing, “Medieval economic and religious developments pushed the sense of place in opposite directions, a dissonance which echoes down in our own times. The economy of the city gave people a freedom of individual action they could not have in other places; the religion of the city made places where people cared about each other.” (Sennett, 1994).



Prior to the introduction of the parish system as a means and method of dividing land, communities had been operating agricultural land practices which were based off of fulfilling a common need, and sustaining a community in a more secular sense. The old Irish term *Meitheal* describes how neighbours would come together to assist in the saving of crops or in other tasks, and prescribes the interconnectedness between land use and communal solidarity. This was a common practice among farming communities in Ireland prior to industrialisation. The Rundale system is a method of cultivation which was continued in some isolated parts of Ireland right up until the 19th century, and is characterised by collective landholding and shared allocation, through communal governance. Common structural qualities of the agricultural system were the joint farm which was leased in common by the joint tenants who cooperated in the work of the farm, open plots and strips of land scattered throughout arable and grazing-quality land. E. Flaherty outlines the functionality of the land practice: “The institutions and practices of rundale were thus oriented toward the equalisation of opportunity, and distribution of risk amongst joint stakeholders, governed

by institutions of collective allocation and regulation.” The Rundale system, through its emphasis on communal progress, puts forward the idea that the ‘economic individualism’ that Sennett writes about could co-exist with this sense of place brought about by religion, and the tension between the two could be eroded. As E. Flaherty writes, “the notion of an agricultural system based not on competition, but on reciprocity and cooperation offers much to capture the imagination.” Fields were separated by low banks of earth, and their boundaries could shift and change depending on the quality of the land, the weather, the type of crops or animal. The boundaries created by the land practices were not defined, and fields not individually owned, unlike the capitalistic nature of agricultural systems that have taken hold in Ireland since the Industrial Revolution. The economic individualism which is the central focus of agricultural practices today have led to competition between neighbours, and thus there is, naturally, a loss of community through the globalisation of the food supply chain. Reinstating this sense of community while also allowing opportunities for economic growth is integral to providing a Sustainable City.



Fig 19: Rundale system in place in Co. Galway in 1838 OS Map. Long, vertical field patterns are visible. Source: OSI

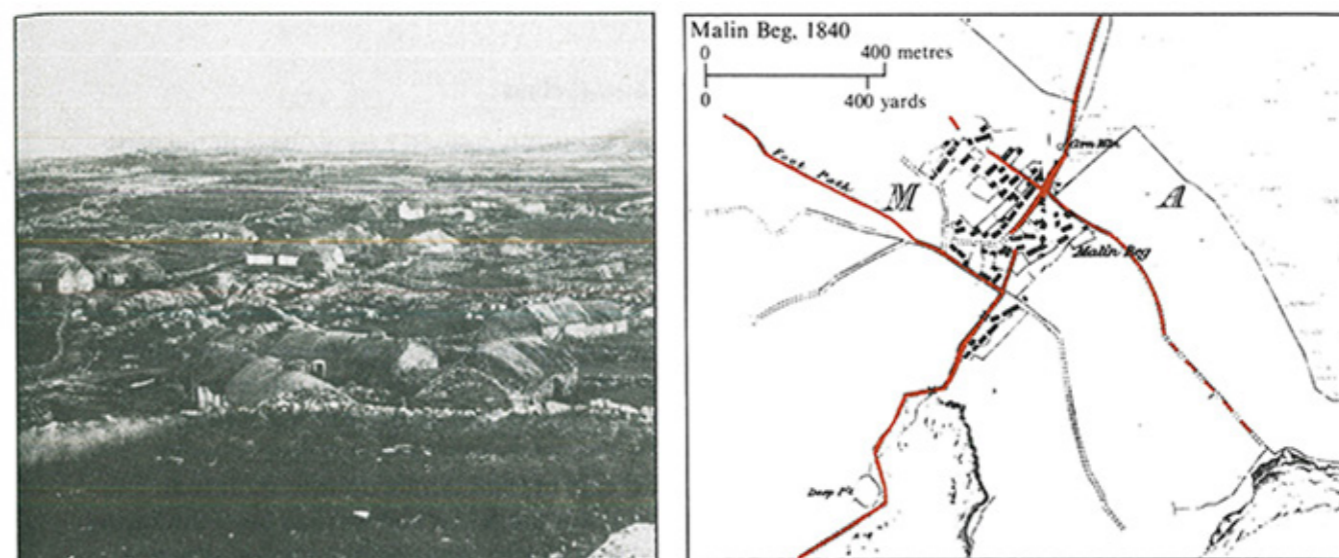


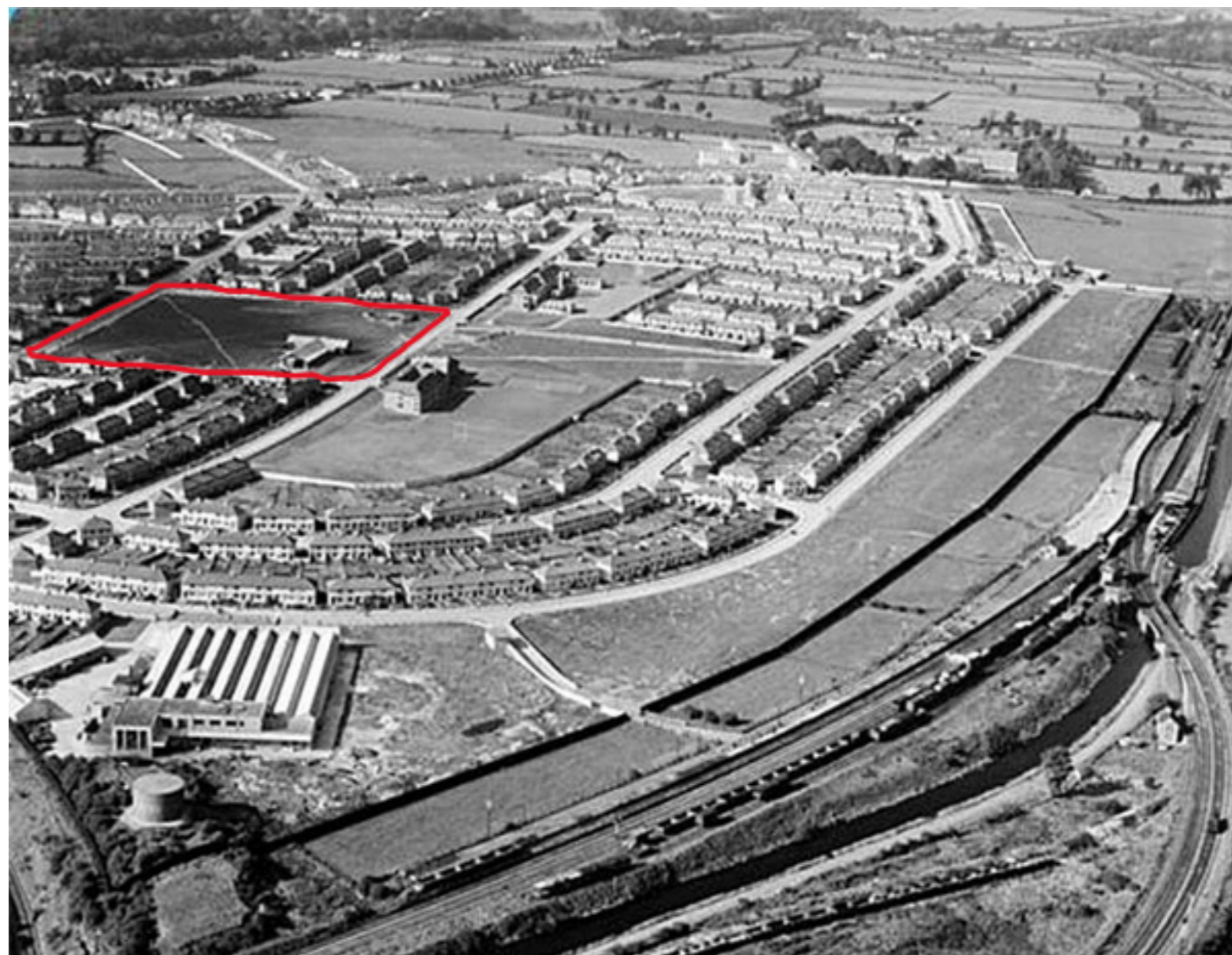
Fig 20: Rundale System in Malin Beg, Co. Donegal in 1840, showing cluster of dwellings surrounded by tillage fields and grazing beyond. Source: Pat Jess

There is evidence of the Rundale agricultural system being used in the land around the Wicklow Mountains, which, in its close geographical location to our case study Cabra, offers an interesting insight into the adaptation of these practices in a modern suburban context. In designing our urban fabric, local authorities, in this case Dublin City Council, produce a Development Plan, quantified through the division of land into zones separated by their zoning objectives. Development on the fringes of the city has historically been planned through the rezoning of agricultural land to, for example, residential, industrial, institutional or religious uses. This has led to an extremely homogenous nature of land zones, and harsh, impermeable boundaries between them. In Cabra, on the once expansive site of the Church of the Most Precious Blood, land has been chopped and sold off to developers to provide apartment residences that abut onto the surrounding church lands, symbolising its decline as both a building and an institution. In this instance, where the church stands at such a pivotal location in the neighbourhood, and its elevated position above vast spiralling streets and repeat-

ing patterns of concrete houses, residential apartments appear jarring in their location. With their lack of reference to 'place', these buildings don't, even remotely, engage with the site's pre-existing condition as the centre of the neighbourhood, the 'alpha and omega of their existence'. One could argue that the typology of development is to blame here, regarding the intrusion of private homes onto the public and sacred spaces. However, it is the formation of poorly considered and harsh land boundaries on the site which really disregards community and diminishes the communal nature of the church to a post-mass gathering in a carpark. Reimagining the land with the communal qualities of the Rundale system opens up a whole new wave of possibilities which reinstate community and combine it with the sacred, as well as providing economic opportunities in our capitalistic society. Giving individual and localised control of the food production system back to local communities has a unique potential to act as a vessel to deliver these common and economic goals, allowing for the establishment of a 'Modern Meitheal'.

To conclude, this research study began as a way to better understand the implications on community of the dominative nature of Catholicism throughout the built fabric of Cabra. It has been through research of the parish boundary as a cultural and civil land division, that new forms of 'boundary ideology' has emerged. The impact of the parish boundary on communities, and vice versa, poses such crucial and interesting questions for the future of a communities all over the country which are now sustaining a multitude of religions and non-religious people. Through uncovering historic land and parish boundaries in the area and their relationship to communities, a new speculative future for these 1940s parishes in the context of the cli-

mate crisis, has been imagined and depicted. Looking at the past methods of land distribution offers a new way to think about zoning and development in its current iteration. Land zoned exclusively for residential use has the potential to offer more than just housing, and land zoned for religious and spiritual use can serve a communal and productive function that a wider and more diverse community can benefit from. The stringent and divisive boundaries that have been implemented around churches, which help to establish the dominance of the Roman Catholic religion, can shift in line with the changing communities around them.



*Fig 21: Cabra West Parish in the late 1940s. The current site of the Church of The Most Precious Blood (built 1953) is highlighted in red, in the left middle-ground, showing the temporary 'tin church' built on the site before the erection of the*

## An Ecumenical Matter: Testing the Thesis

The testing of the thesis took the form of designing two multi-denominational worship spaces: one in the existing Church of the Most Precious Blood, and one in an existing warehouse-come-church in the Dublin Industrial Estate. In this stage of the thesis, a community need was identified through an observation of the amount of minority religions that were occupying warehouses in the industrial estate to use as a worship space. It was concluded from these observations that integrating the religions into one communal worship space would be a more efficient use of land, facilitate cultural exchange, as well as potentially solve the issue of left-over space in existing Catholic churches like the Church of the Most Precious Blood in Cabra West. The purpose of proposing two schemes on two different sites was to be able to analyse and compare the benefits found from both projects.

The brief was to design a multi-denominational worship space that catered to the needs of all the churches currently residing in the industrial estate. The approach

must be sensitive with consideration for each denomination's religious beliefs, existing practices, and spatial requirements. The proposed territory should be open to the public to allow interactions between religious and non-religious members of the surrounding communities and beyond. It should provide a flexible space which can serve communal and religious functions without the former compromising the latter.

In the two schemes, an auditorium was proposed which would serve as the main worship space, and could cater to the needs of all the various religions practicing currently within the industrial estate. Research was undertaken on the spatial requirements of all the separate religions, such as Orthodox, Pentecostal and Baptist. The scheme included non-religious multi-purpose community rooms such as study spaces, offices, rehearsal rooms and meeting rooms. A main aim of the project was to create a space which facilitated the mixing of different cultures and religions, and so, the project proposed that religious and non-religious events would take place in the same space, at different times.

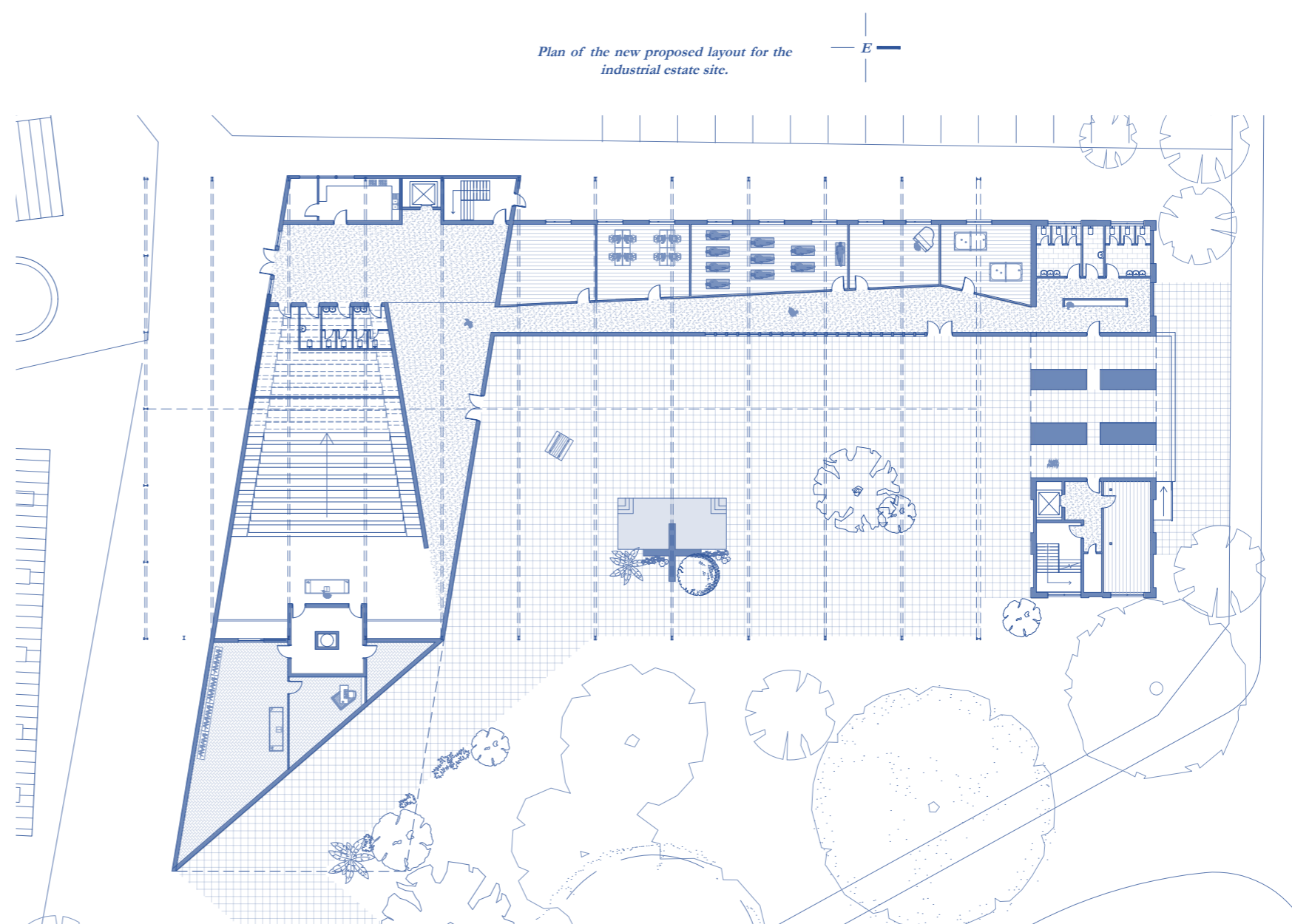
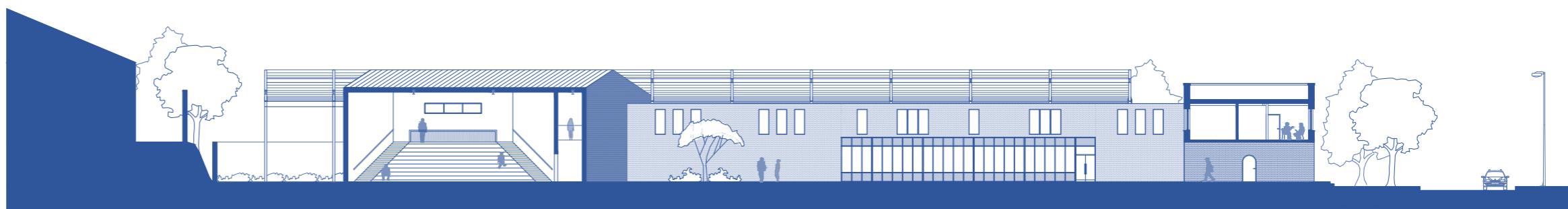
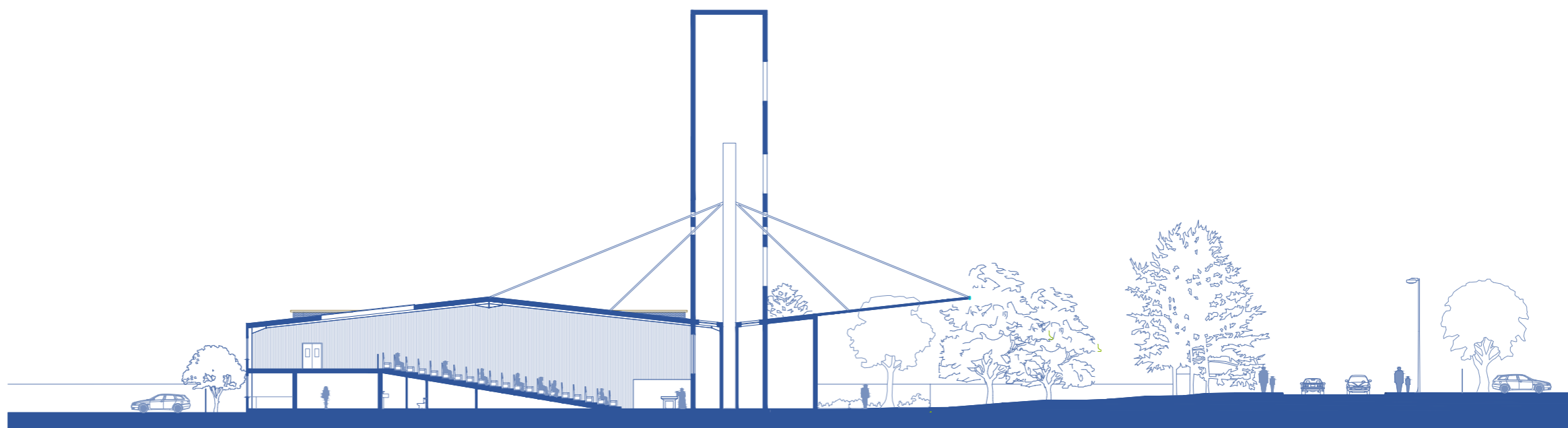
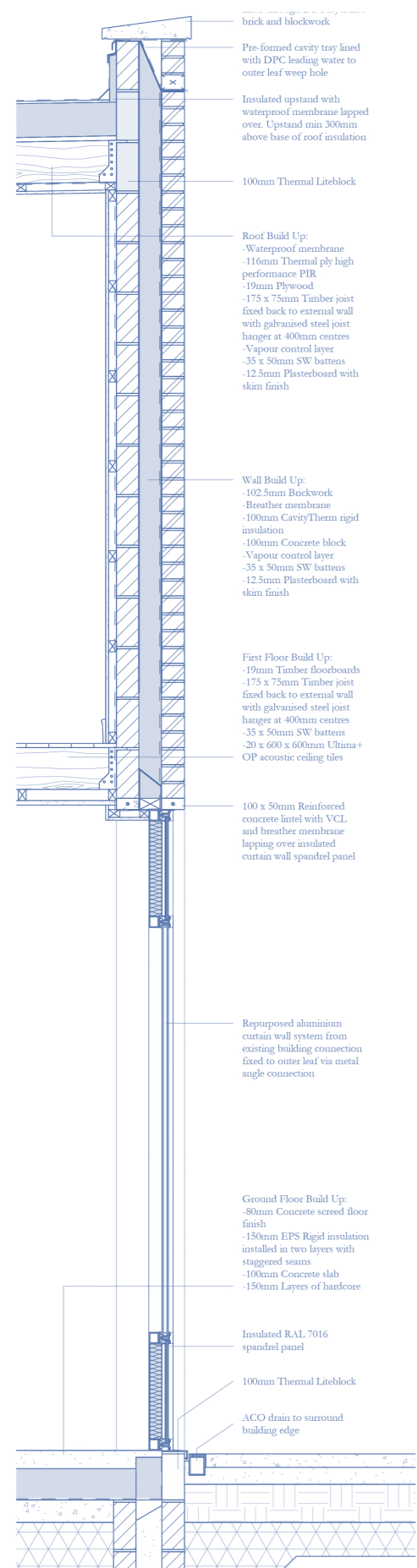


Fig 22: Industrial Estate Church, the site of the existing Peniel Church Dublin, Site Plan



Introduction

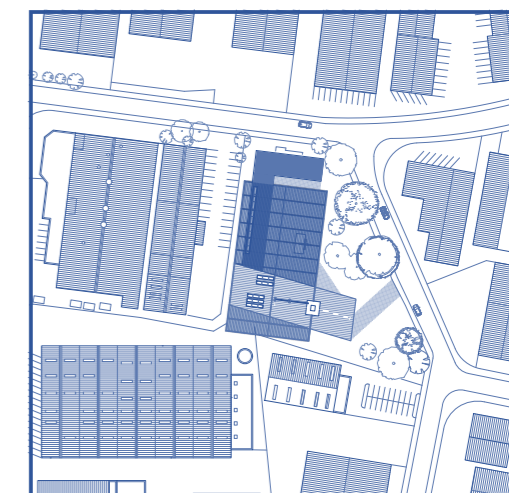
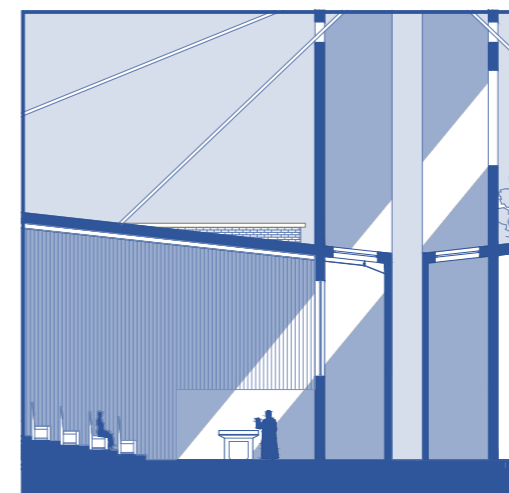
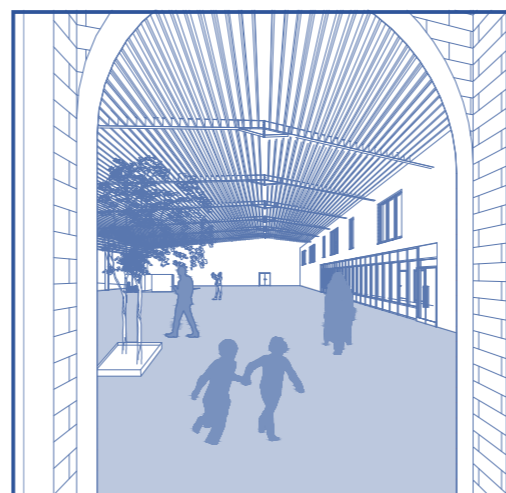
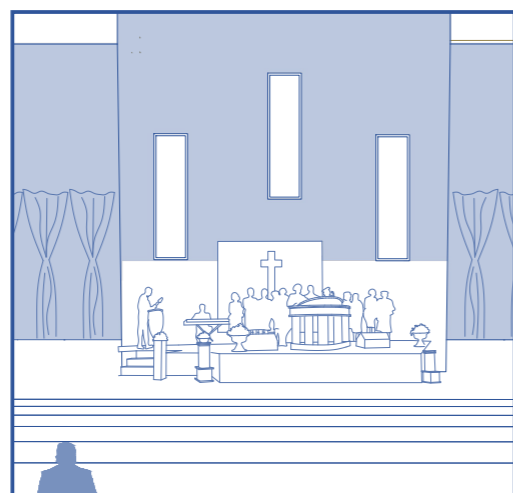
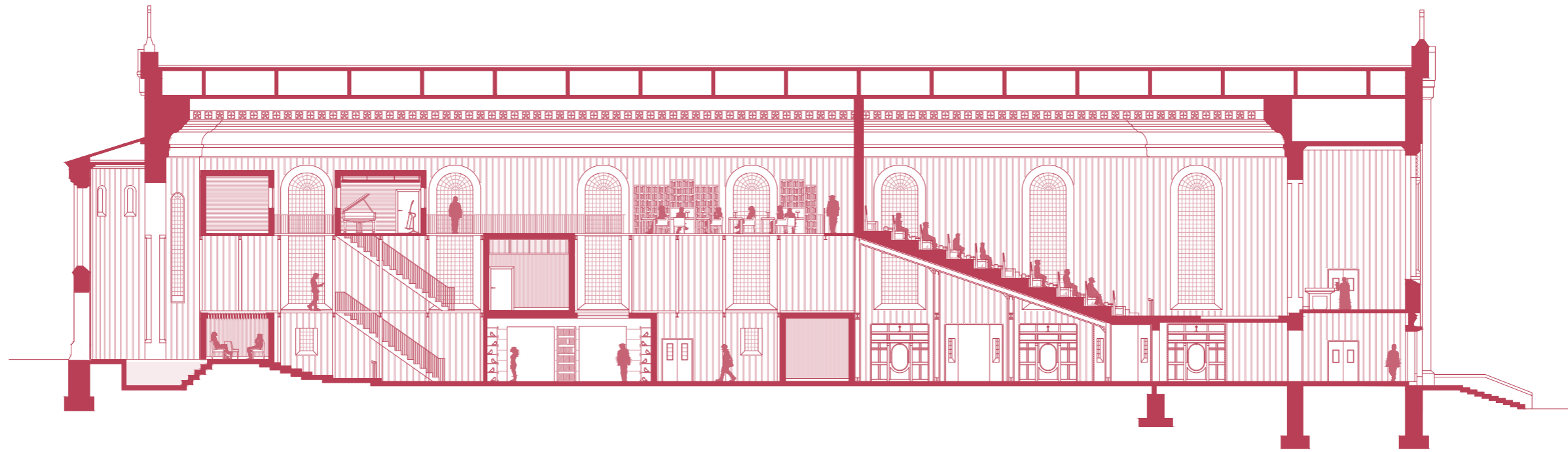
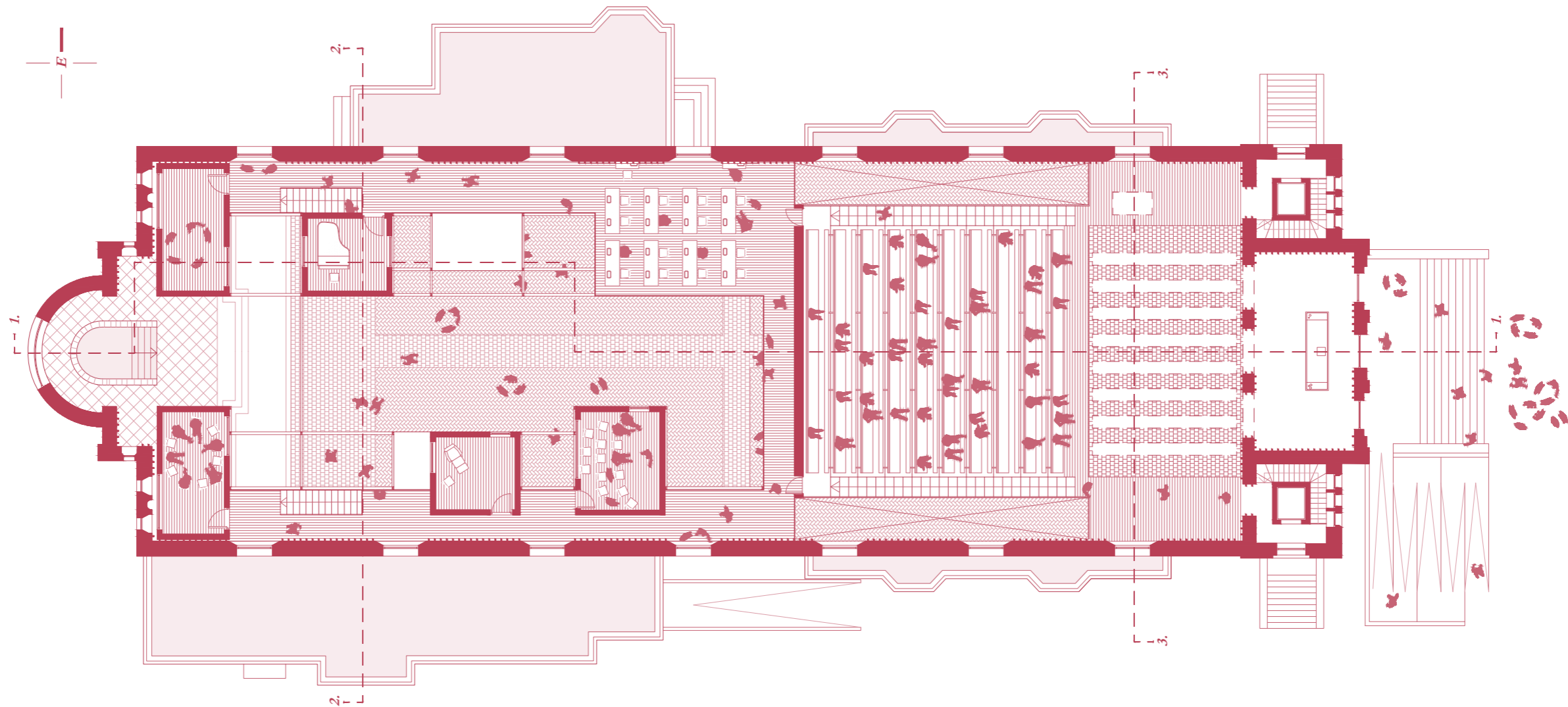


Fig 23: Industrial Estate Church, the site of the existing Peniel Church Dublin, sections and atmospheric images

Fig 24: Church of the Most Precious Blood proposed sections



1. Section through The Church of the Most Sacred Blood, Cabra with proposed internal layout.



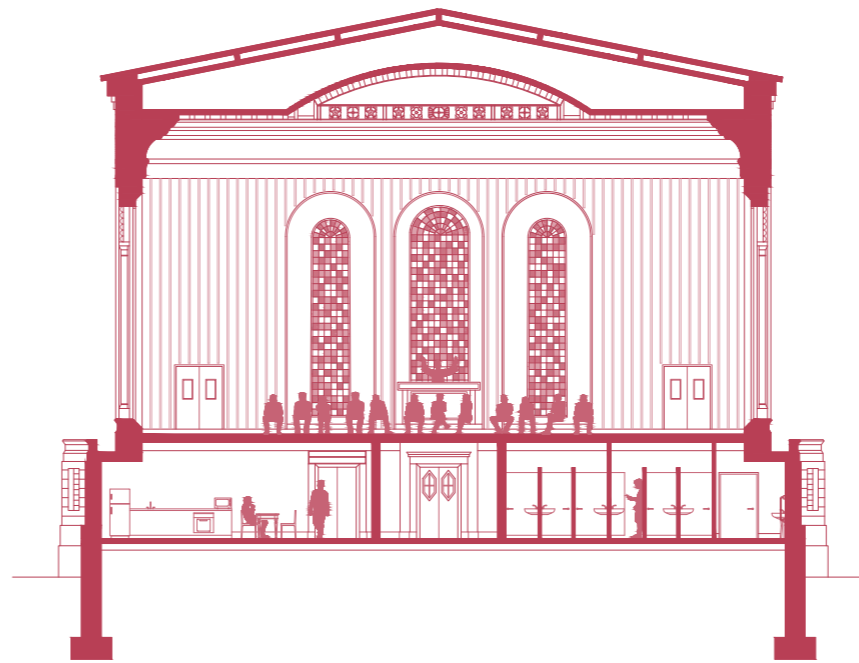
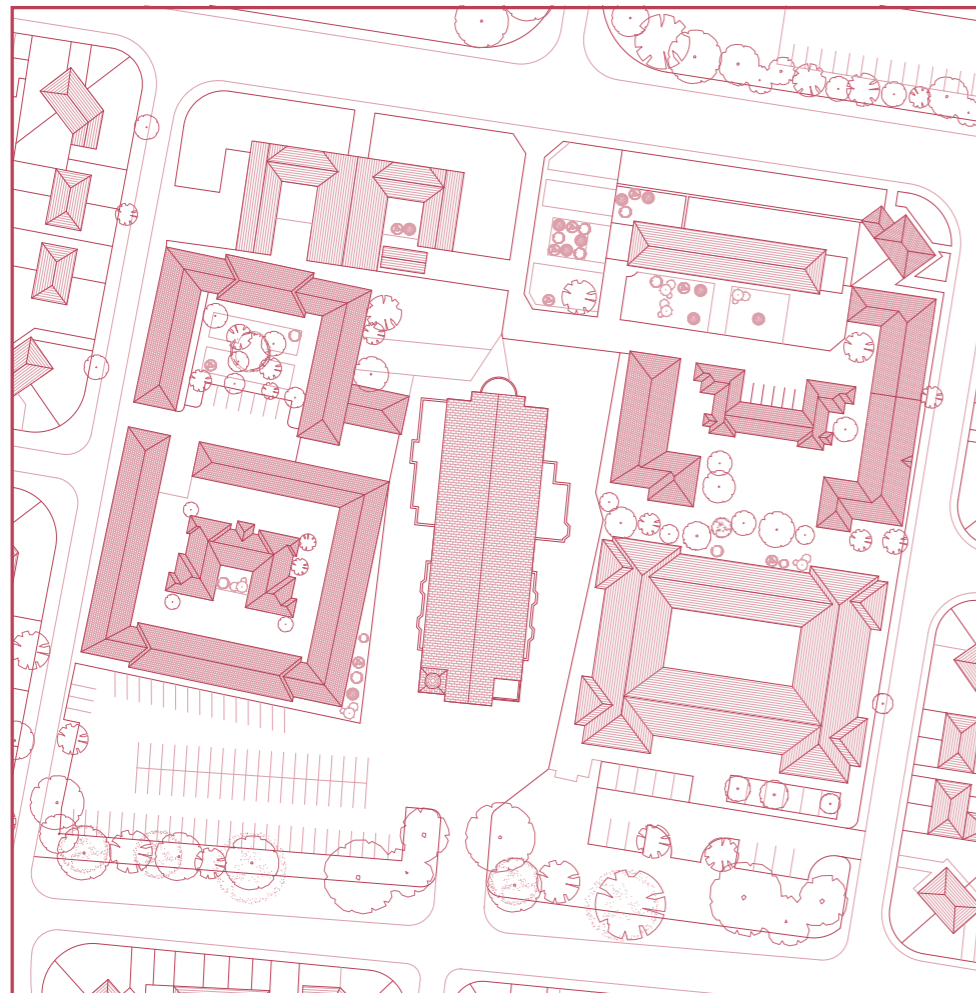
The conversion of the Church of the Most Precious Blood in Cabra West provided an interesting response to the brief in that it took an existing under-used religious structure and provided a space in which all the denominations that occupy warehouses in the industrial estate, as well as the established religion Catholicism, can use. The idea of this intervention was that it can take place in towns and suburbs all around Ireland which currently contain a church which is spatially superfluous to the needs of one singular religion or denomina-

tion. The existing church structure, made of mass concrete walls and a steel roof system, became the shell in which religious and non-religious activities could take place. The worship space was reversed in orientation and elevated, so that members of the community not attending a religious service could walk through a small passage and arrive at the large open hall space containing a scaffolding-like walkway leading to communal study rooms, offices and rehearsal spaces. A kitchen was included and spaces for post-service community interaction.

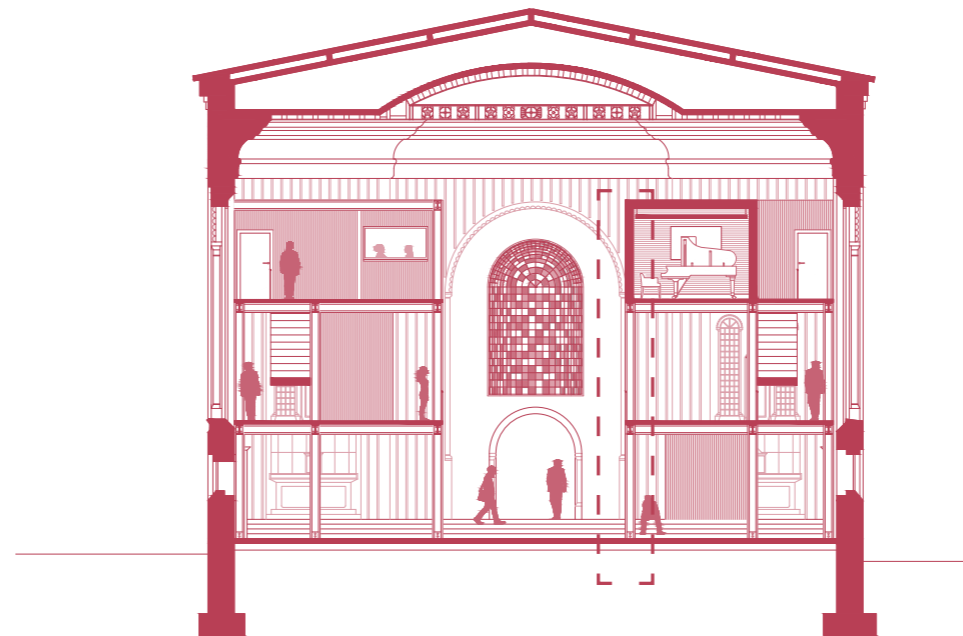
3. Section through The Church of the Most Sacred Blood with proposed internal layout.



E



2. Section through The Church of the Most Sacred Blood with proposed internal layout.



3. Section through The Church of the Most Sacred Blood with proposed internal layout.

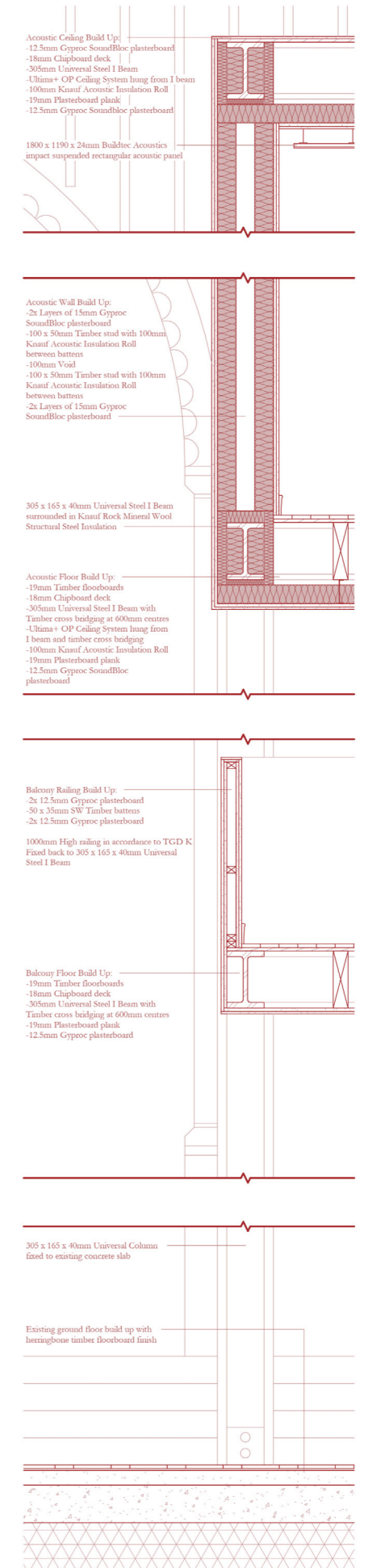


Fig 25: Church of the Most Precious Blood proposed site plan and sections.

### Cabra and Food Poverty

As mentioned, one of the main drivers of the thesis was the ability of architecture to positively impact communities through responding to a communal need. The need for many people in Cabra to gain greater control over their own food supply was identified as particularly urgent in the current economic climate. The cost-of-living crisis, combined with issues brought about by climate change, has meant that an increasing number of people in urban areas are suffering from food poverty. Food poverty is defined as ‘unable to afford at least one substantial meal with meat or a vegetarian equivalent every other day.’ This is especially an issue for people in Cabra, as currently more people on average in Cabra are listed as being in a lower-than-average socio-economic status, according to the Pobal Deprivation Index. Parts of Cabra reported unemployment rates of 26% in 2016, well above the average national rate of 8.37%. Along with research of social deprivation statistics, the author undertook research specifically on food poverty in Cabra, and found that it is an issue which is pertinent to the people of Cabra at this time. For example, it was found that local charities such as St. Vincent de Paul are currently fundraising to assist people in the community experiencing food poverty.

A report published in February 2022 based on research from Barnardos Charity and Aldi Ireland found that:

- The food poverty rate in Ireland in 2021 was 8.9%, down from 12% in 2020, but up from 7.4% in 2019.
- 25% of parents often worry about not being able to provide food for their children.
- 19% of those looking after children said they have skipped meals themselves or reduced portion size, so their family and children have enough to eat, increasing to 40% of those not working.
- 43% of people have cut down on spending in one or more area to afford food costs.
- 3% of families had used a food bank in the past 12 months.
- 14% of parents do not feel they can provide their children with a sufficiently nutritious diet.

*(Amarach Research, 2022)*

One woman interviewed stated:

“While I will always provide food it sometimes mean less heat and travel. It also means they don’t get all the clothes they would like which bothers them as teenagers. One is also annoyed that we don’t have loads of food in the fridge/cupboard. I worry about their confidence.”

*- Female, age 40, not working/homemaker, educated to degree level, married, income < €20k, renting home from a private landlord, Wicklow*

Food cooperatives are operational currently around Ireland and their aim is to increase access to affordable fruit and vegetables and other healthy foods. Some, such as the Dublin Food Coop (DFC), seek to de-privatise the food production and supply industry, while raising awareness of the benefits of eating a healthy diet. Volunteers who are involved in the scheme, according to the DFC, have experienced improved well-being and increased self-esteem, confidence, and a sense of purpose. From taking the power away from multi-national corporations and placing it in the hands of local people, food cooperatives not only help minimise food poverty, but also reduce the effects of climate change brought about by the large scale production and supply of food to people in Ireland.



Site

Situated on the west side of Ratoath Road, is a Dominican Convent which contains approximately 34 hectares of land, and encompasses several institutes including one Catholic church, four schools, three aged-care facilities, five sports pitches, and the Apostolic Nunciature, or the residence of the Pope’s representative in Ireland. The site is bounded by Ratoath Road to the east, the Royal Canal to the North, Navan Road to the south, and various small and private residential streets to the west.

The Catholic Church adjacent to the Navan Road gates of the convent, Our Lady Help of Christians Church, is located on the south-west of the site, was built with a capacity of around 1,500 people and has a large and expansive car-park to the rear. Between the rear of the church and the carpark is a parish centre, which is partially blocked from the public, and contains offices and meeting rooms necessary for the administration of the parish. From the author’s own observations as well as anecdotal evidence, the carpark is mostly totally empty aside from a few hours every Sunday, and even then it is not even half full. The Church itself, it was observed, contained no more than 100 people for a family Mass on an average Sunday at midday. The capacity of the church is at least 1,500 people.

Some of the constraints of the site included the fragmentation and separation of the different institutes; all having their own hard borders and each acting independently of the context in which they sit. Apart from being linked along the main spinal route which runs through the site from the Navan Road entrance to St. Dominic’s, the several schools, aged-care homes and religious buildings have no interaction or relationship to each other.

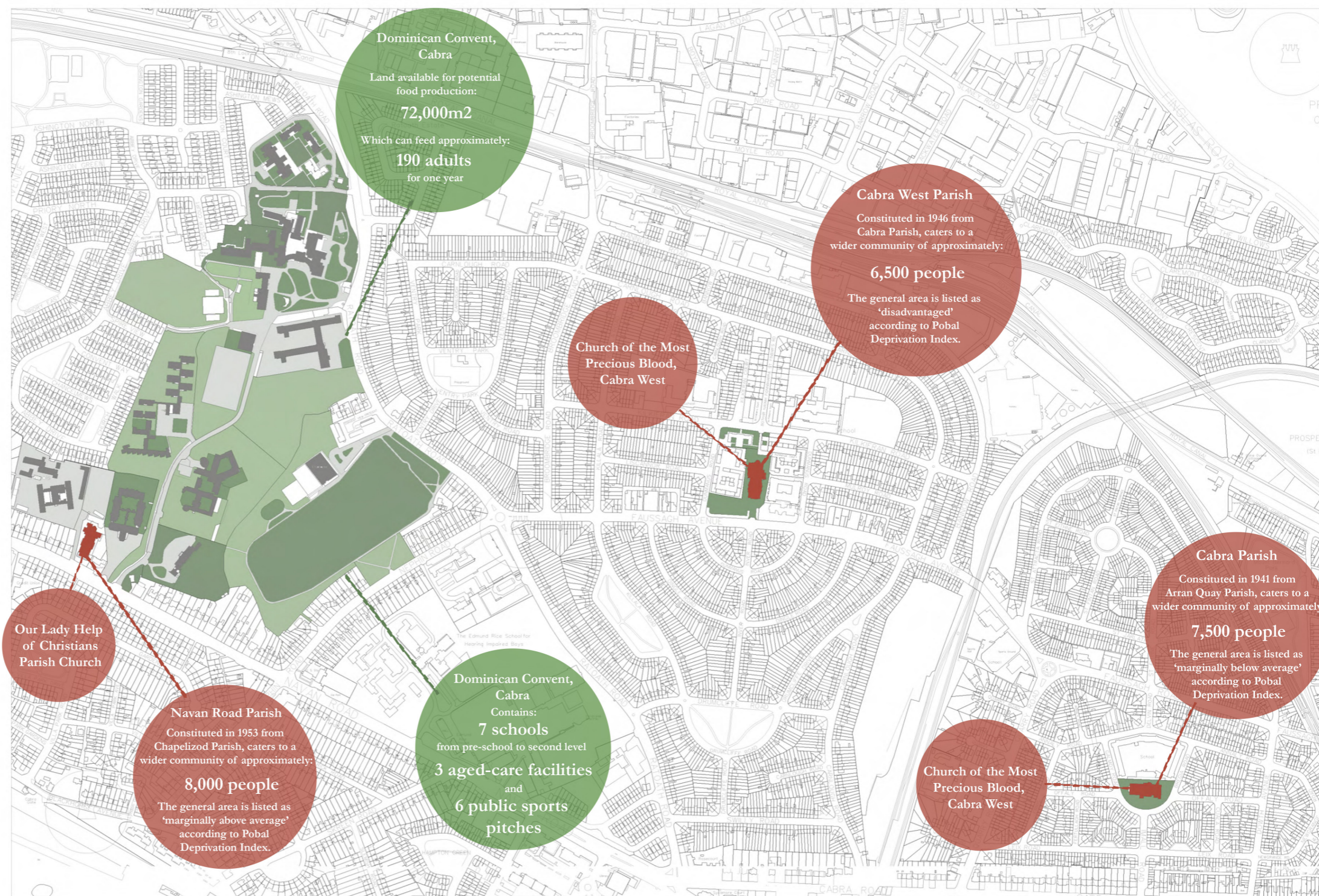


Fig 26: Diagrammatic site analysis

Left-over Space at the Dominican Convent



Fig 27: Site photos

## Site History

The convent was founded in 1819 by a group of nuns in the Dominican Order, having moved out to Cabra following the termination of their lease at the Chapel Row Convent on Brunswick St in the northwest inner city. They purchased an existing Seagrave mansion on a 12-acre site, and soon began setting up a school for poor children, St. Catherine's School. Later, in 1832, the convent was placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, meaning that the Catholic Church had authority over the use of land on the site and made decisions regarding the convent in accordance with the laws of the Church. In 1835, the nuns set up another school on the site; a boarding school for girls and boys, which is now known as St. Dominic's School. In 1846, Fr. Thomas MacNamara of St. Peter's Parish Phibsboro, with the permission of the Dominican nuns, set up a school dedicated to the education of deaf children on the convent site called St. Mary's Deaf School. Construction on the chapel at the site began in 1851

and the building was extended in 1905. It is now a part of St. Dominic's School. In 1865 a new primary school was built, and between 1865 and the 1930s the various schools and convent buildings on the site were extended and adjusted. Following the influx of people to Cabra in the late 1930s due to the construction of government housing schemes, a new school was planned and in 1944 St. Catherine's Infant and Senior School was built just south of the original convent building. In 1953, Our Lady Help of Christians Parish Church was built on the site, and a new entrance to the convent was built adjacent to the church on the Navan Road. Later, in 1988, a purpose-built primary and secondary school for deaf children opened to the east of St. Catherine's School. Since then, construction on the site has continued with the formation of two aged-care facilities, a girls' and boys' primary school, a new convent building separate from St. Dominic's School, and the Apostolic Nunciature to Ireland.



*Fig 28: Historic site photos, ranging from the 1920s to 1970s.*

## SCHEME

### Farm

The proposed suburban farm on the convent site is an organic, permaculture community farm. The main aim of the farm aspect of the scheme, is to allow as many members of the community to grow their own fruits and vegetables as possible. Therefore, it was paramount that the farm be designed in accordance with farming principles which seek to maximise outputs, while allowing for small scale and individual planting and harvesting. It is crucial to the success of the thesis idea that the farm can be maintained by members of the community who may not possess any prior gardening knowledge, and so, small and simple systems are adopted instead of large and intensive practices. Permaculture, coming from a combination of the words 'permanent' and 'agriculture' is a form of agriculture of which one of the aims is to maintain good soil health in order to maximise outputs throughout the whole year. The degradation of soil can be caused by only farming one crop, little or no disturbances to the soil, and intensive practices like over-grazing. The farm seeks to increase permeability from the residential areas through the site, while also maintaining and reinforcing existing security boundaries around the various schools and care facilities. Field boundaries are not rigid or constant,

and the landscape is endlessly morphing and transforming depending on a multitude of factors such as seasonal harvests, climate and demand for certain crops. At times portions of the land is left wild, and people are free to roam the gardens as they please, both practices which benefit the health of the soil. Research was undertaken into which fruit and vegetables are suitable to be grown using this type of agricultural method, and at what times of year, so that the land can be productive at all times.

The architectural programme for the farm aspect of the scheme is a simply-constructed array of sheds: machine and tool sheds, tractor sheds, food store sheds, potting sheds, small greenhouses as well as some supporting rooms like locker rooms. The sheds are constructed using glu-lam timber frames and clad with corrugated steel. The buildings in the farm are supporting structures which help to facilitate the production of food. The design of the farm architectural infrastructure has not been developed to a general arrangement level, as the architectural focus of the project lies in the conversion of the Our Lady Help of Christians Parish Church site.



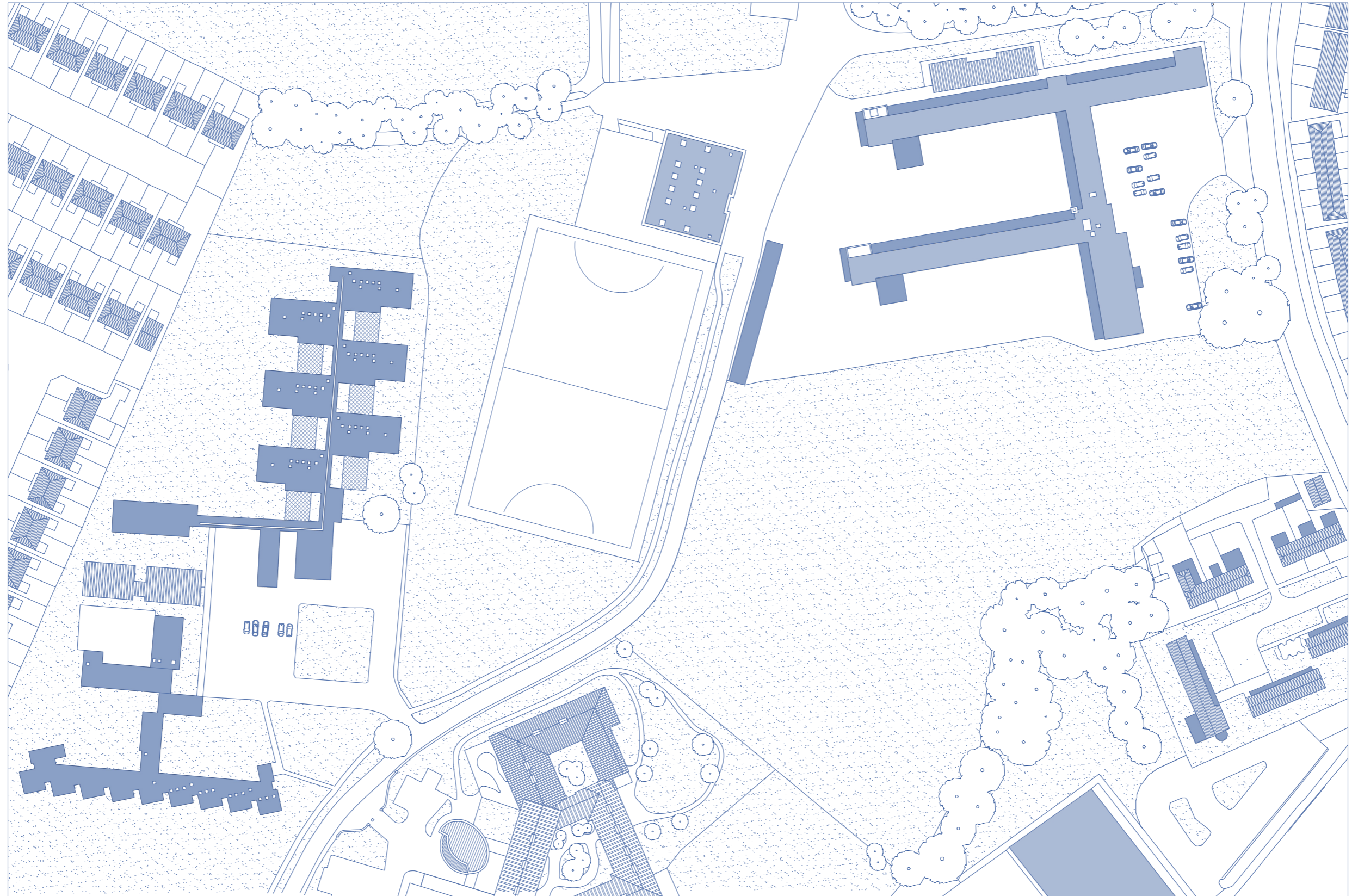
*Fig 29: Existing site*



*Fig 30: Proposed site*



Fig 31: Proposed site masterplan



*Fig 32: Plan of portion of existing site*

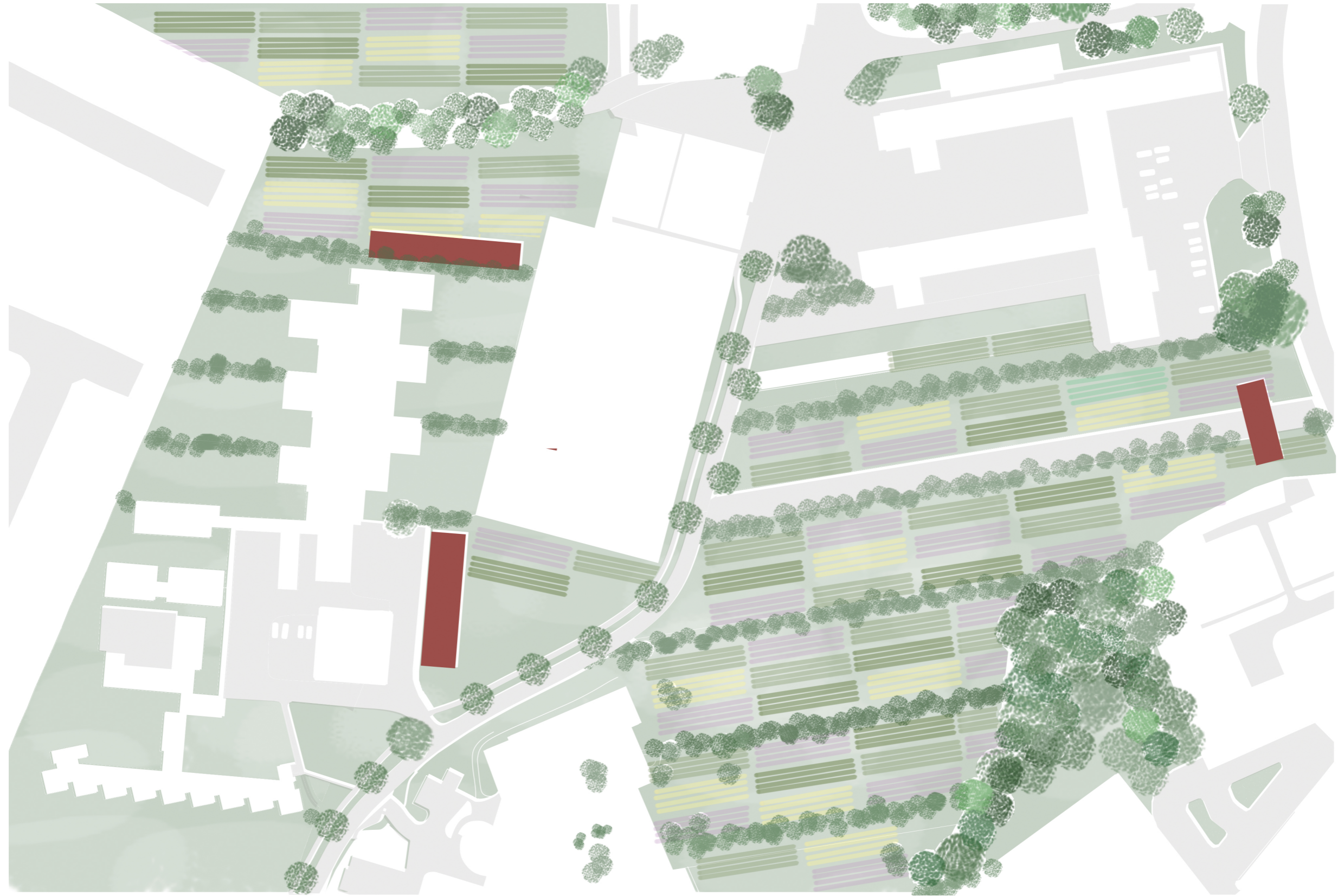


Fig 33: Proposed plan of portion of site

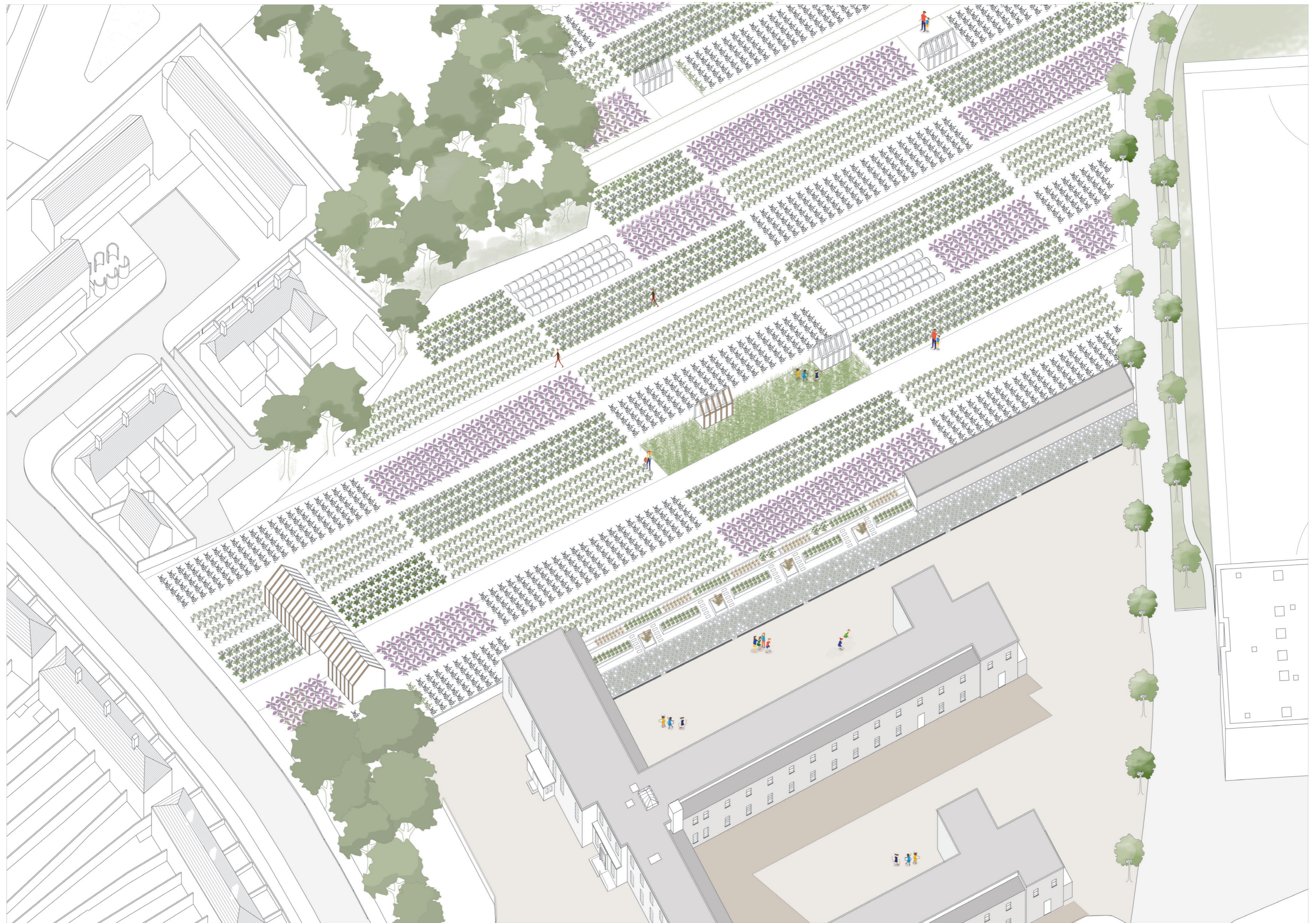


Fig 34: Axonometric of permaculture farm



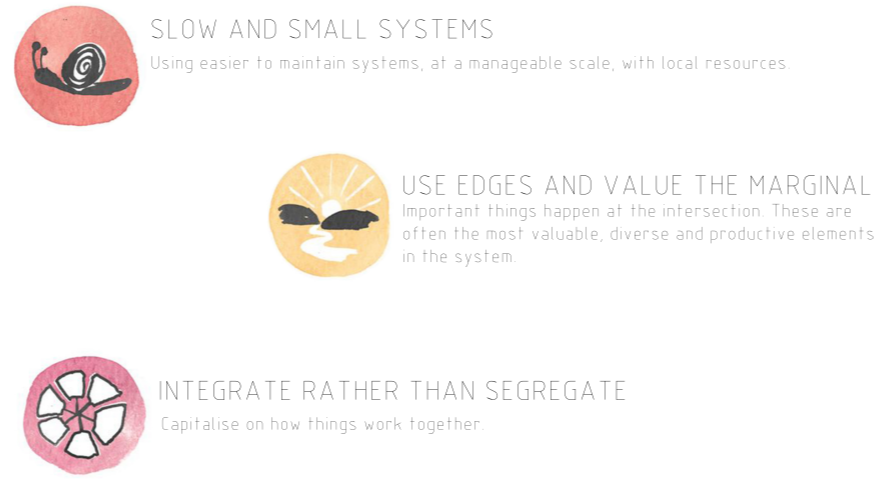


Fig 35: Some of the principles of permaculture which have been adopted in the design.

Fig 36: Diagram showing planting and harvesting season for an array of vegetables which could be grown on site.

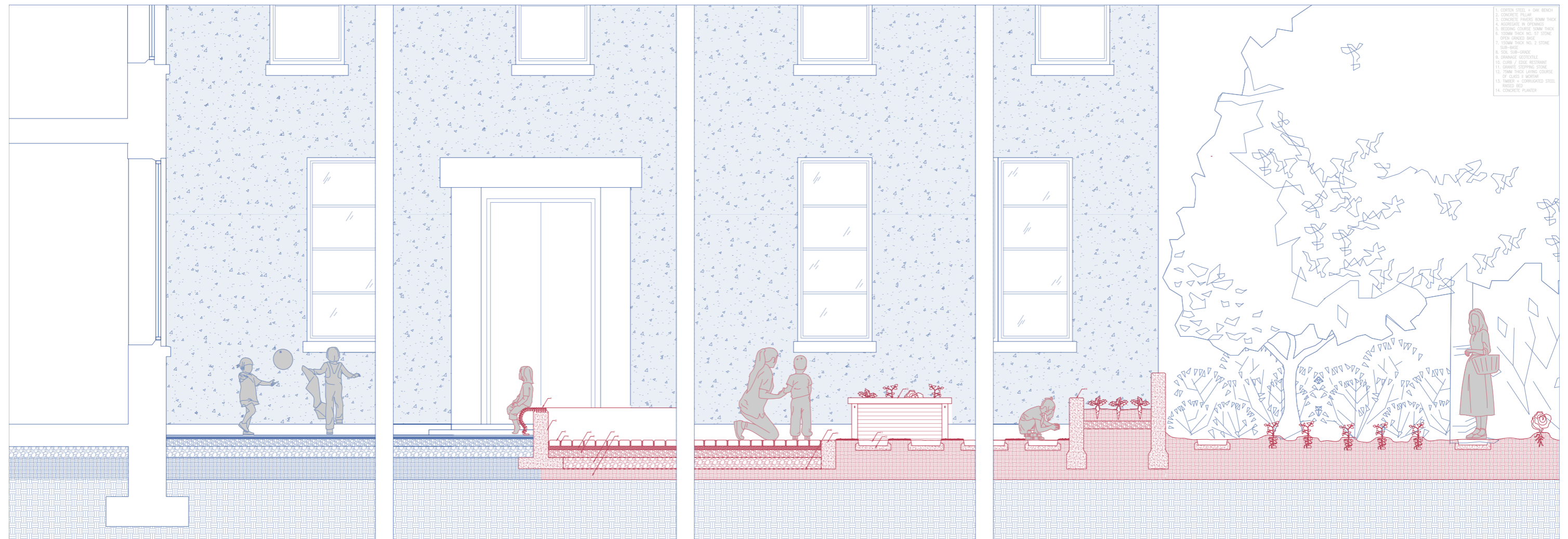


Fig 37: Detail landscape section showing how boundaries to schools are maintained while allowing the farm scheme to become part of the school grounds.

## Market

An important part of the brief was to create a space in which communities can gather and members of other faiths can engage in combined activity, outside of the practice of farming. Behind the church currently exists an under-used carpark which forms the site of the new market, youth centre, sorting and packing warehouse and external courtyard. The market was designed with the idea that a permanent grocery store would form part of a building which could also facilitate weekly or bi-weekly farmer's markets. This is where food, which is not used to be cooked and consumed at the on-site dining hall in the church, can be sold. The permanent grocery store is the point at which, at any time, any surplus fruit and vegetables can be sold. As well as this, spaces were created within which markets could be held at particular points of the week, to give people local, affordable access to the fruit and vegetables grown on site. Prior research into the potential yield of the land lead to the conclusion that there was enough land to totally sustain approximately 200-250 people on a vegetarian diet per year. This would mean that, for the approximately 1,800 people in Cabra currently experiencing food

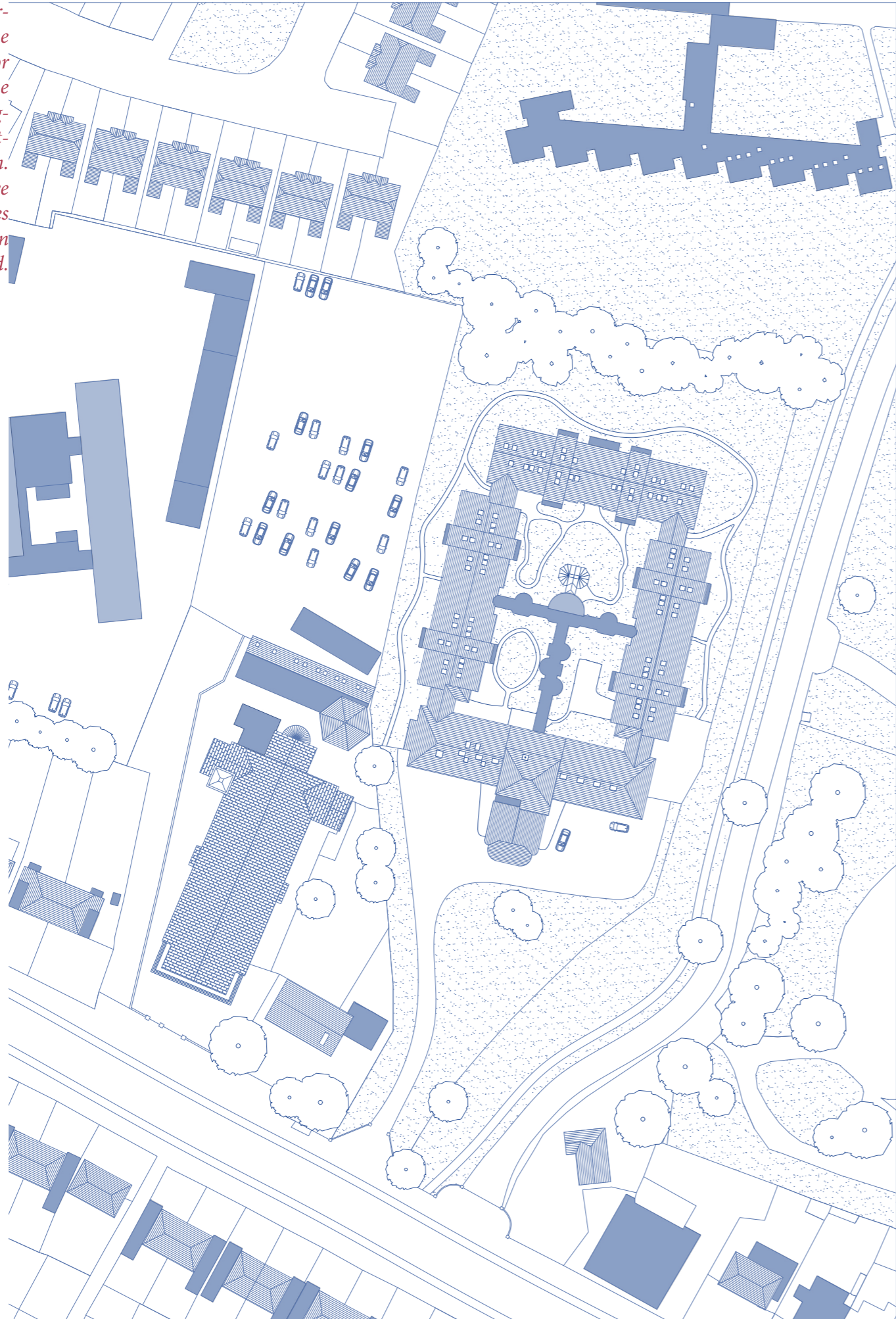
poverty, there would be enough produce to provide them with healthy food for a substantial meal every second day. The food could be supplied both in the form of raw fresh fruit and vegetables, at the market or grocery store, or in the form of hot, prepared food served from the kitchens proposed for the intervention in the church.

The permeability of the space was a key design driver, in that it was important to the delivery of the project objectives that people be able to move through from the street, past the church, through the market courtyard and past the packing and sorting warehouses out through to the farm scheme. The architectural approach was similar in the market as well as the church, in that new structures sit independent of existing, but still interact and maintain a relationship to them. The existing parish centre is untouched, however new terraces are proposed alongside it. The interaction between solid and see-through was an important design aspect also, as some parts of the scheme perform more of a semi-private function, like the youth centre, and some are intentionally public and permeable.



Fig 38: Market area site proposed plan

Fig 39: Early outline proposals for the scheme showed alongside the existing site plan. Speculative new structures are shown in red.



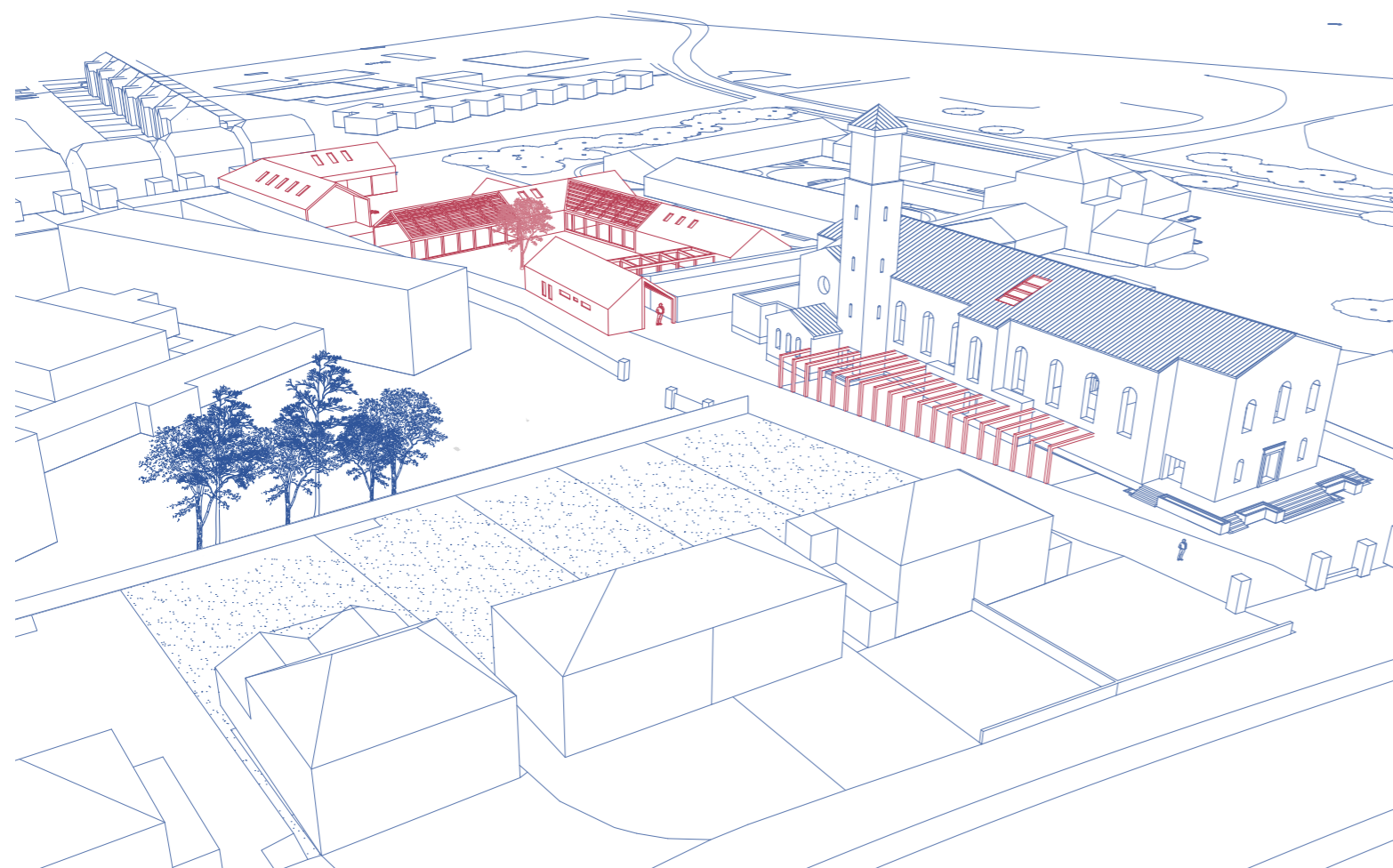


Fig 40: Site Proposed Axonometric showing new interventions in red.



Fig 42: Perspective image of courtyard space and market areas.

Fig 41: Section through market space showing communal courtyard space in the centre.



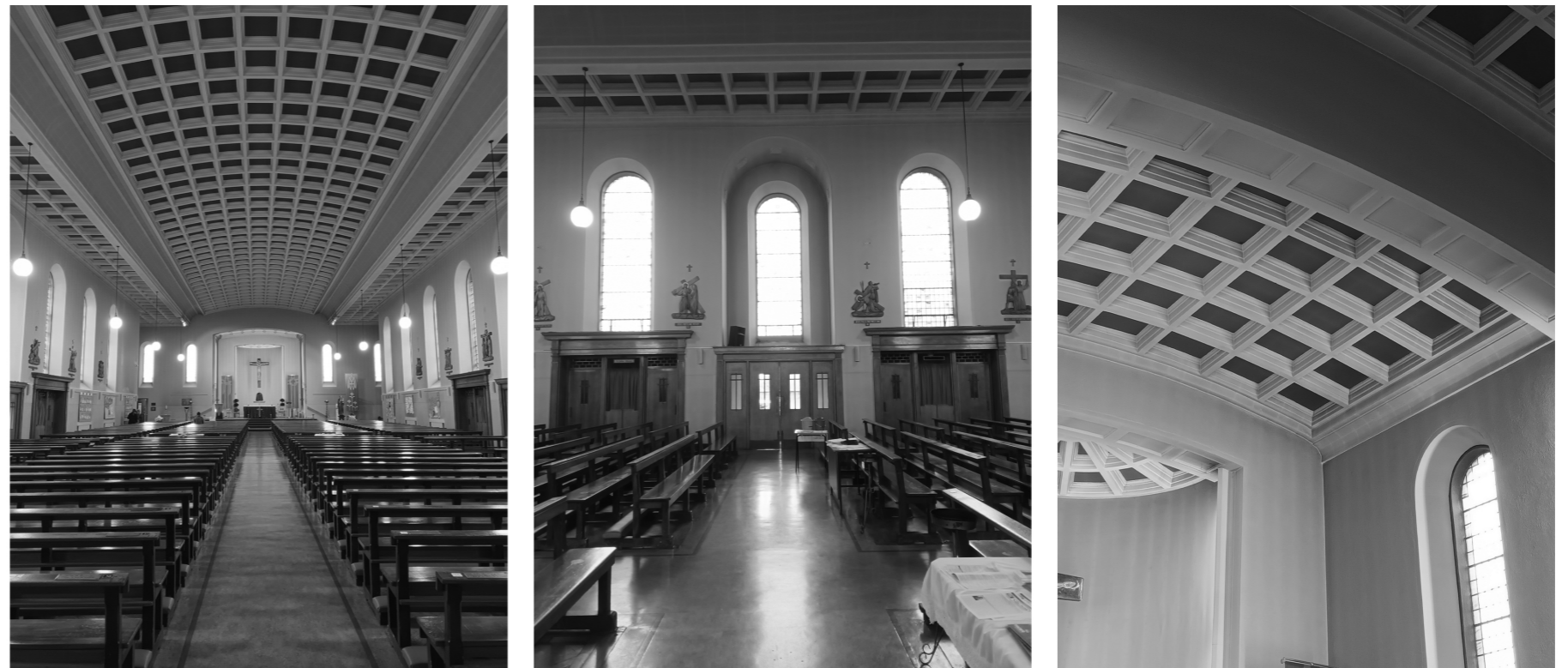
## Church Intervention

The church aspect of the scheme had two main objectives: to provide a communal, non-religious function in association with the proposed farm, and to maintain an existing worship space for those people who are currently using the church attending Mass and parish activities. The current church can hold approximately 1,500 people, and from personal observations church services are at average attended by between 50-150 people. The gallery is unused and Mass choirs sing from the front of the space.

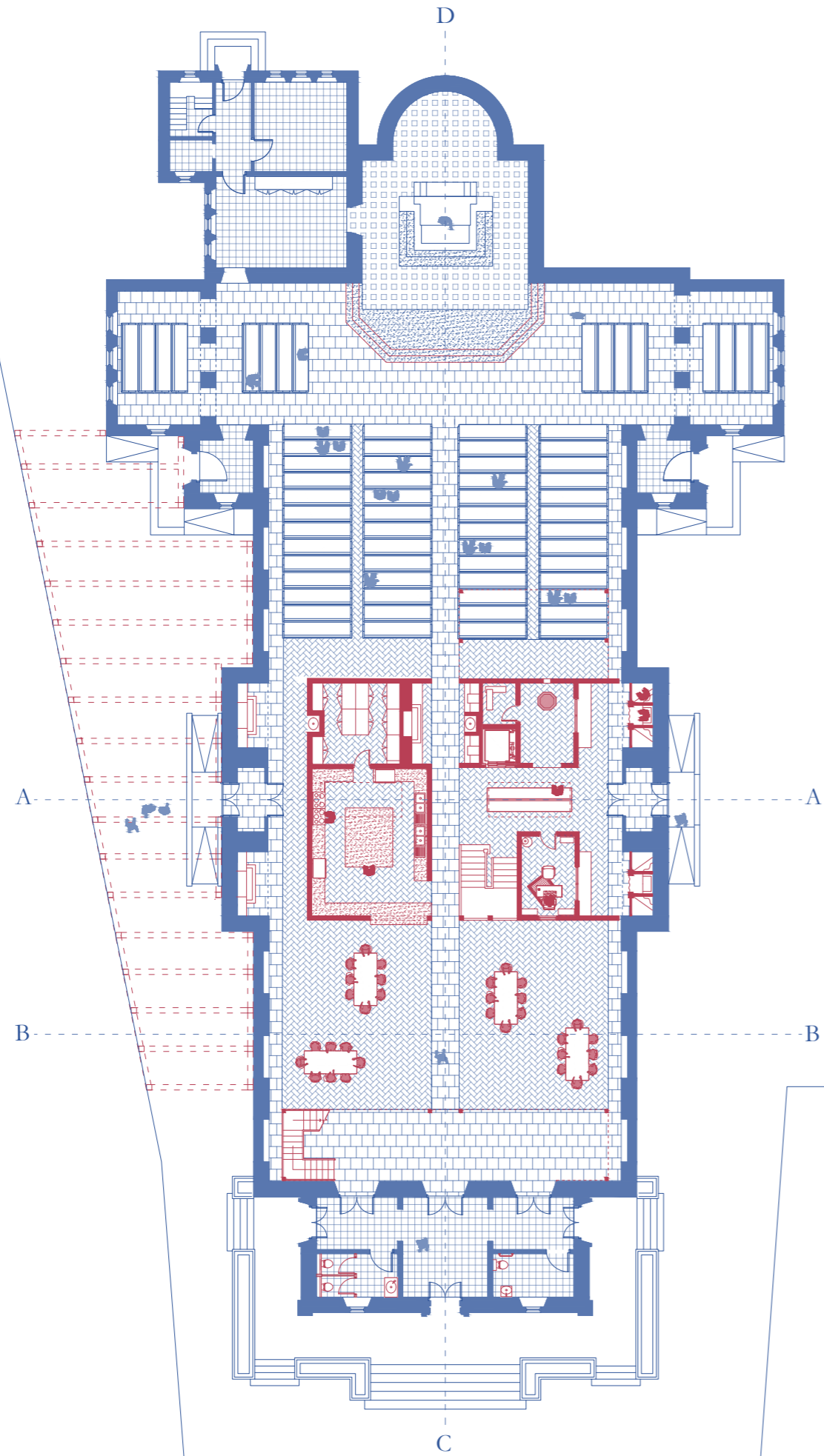
The proposed intervention reduces the size of the worship space to approximately 30% of its original size, which is hoped will be more than large enough for regular services and suitable in the cases of larger services. The existing main church hall is hence partitioned into three spaces. The first is entered on arrival to the main church hall, and now houses a dining hall, where people can come and avail of a substantial meal served every second day. This is

a space which could also be used by the church to host their own meals or meetings.

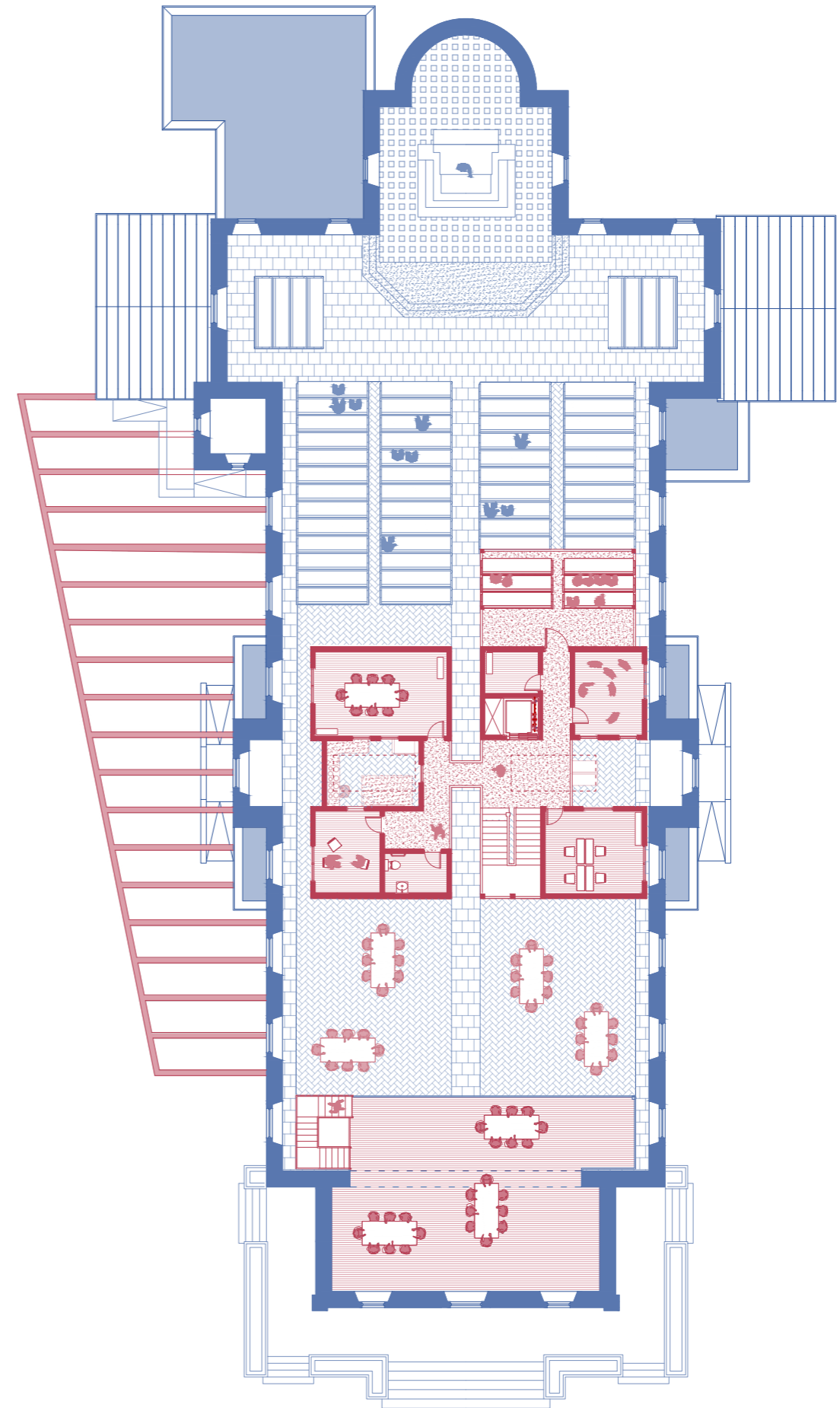
The mechanism which partitions the church is a timber post-and-beam structure which contains an open kitchen along with the supporting rooms such as community development officer's office, choir practice room, baptistery, meeting rooms and confessional booths. The main processional aisle is maintained, so that people entering the church attending a religious service are able to see the altar and move through the communal spaces in order to get to the sacred worship space. The existing finishes in the church such as the waffle plaster-work is stripped back so as to expose the steel truss roof structure and solid concrete walls are finished with a lime wash. The purpose of these architectural moves is to remove the institutional nature of the existing space, while also keeping the continuity of the roof patterns leading the eye to the altar.



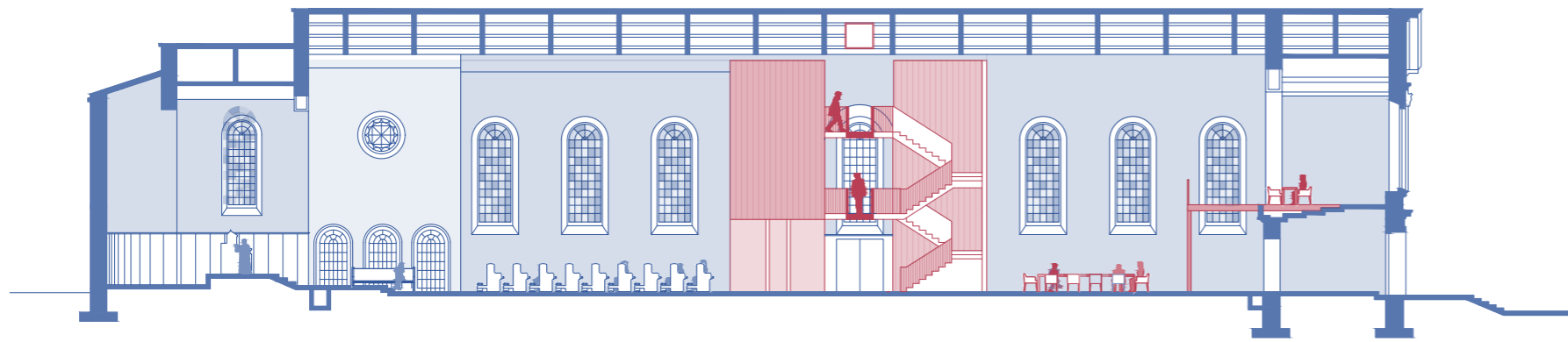
*Fig 43: Interior photos of Our Lady Help of Christians Parish Church*



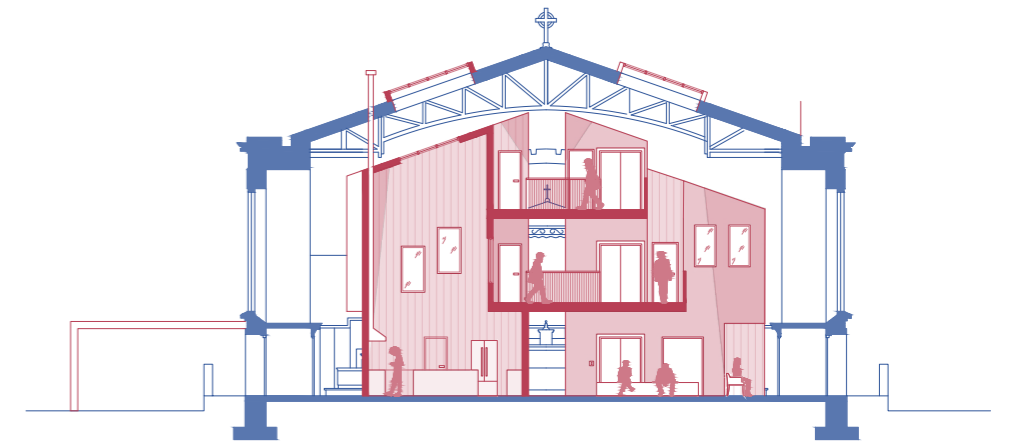
Proposed Ground Floor Plan



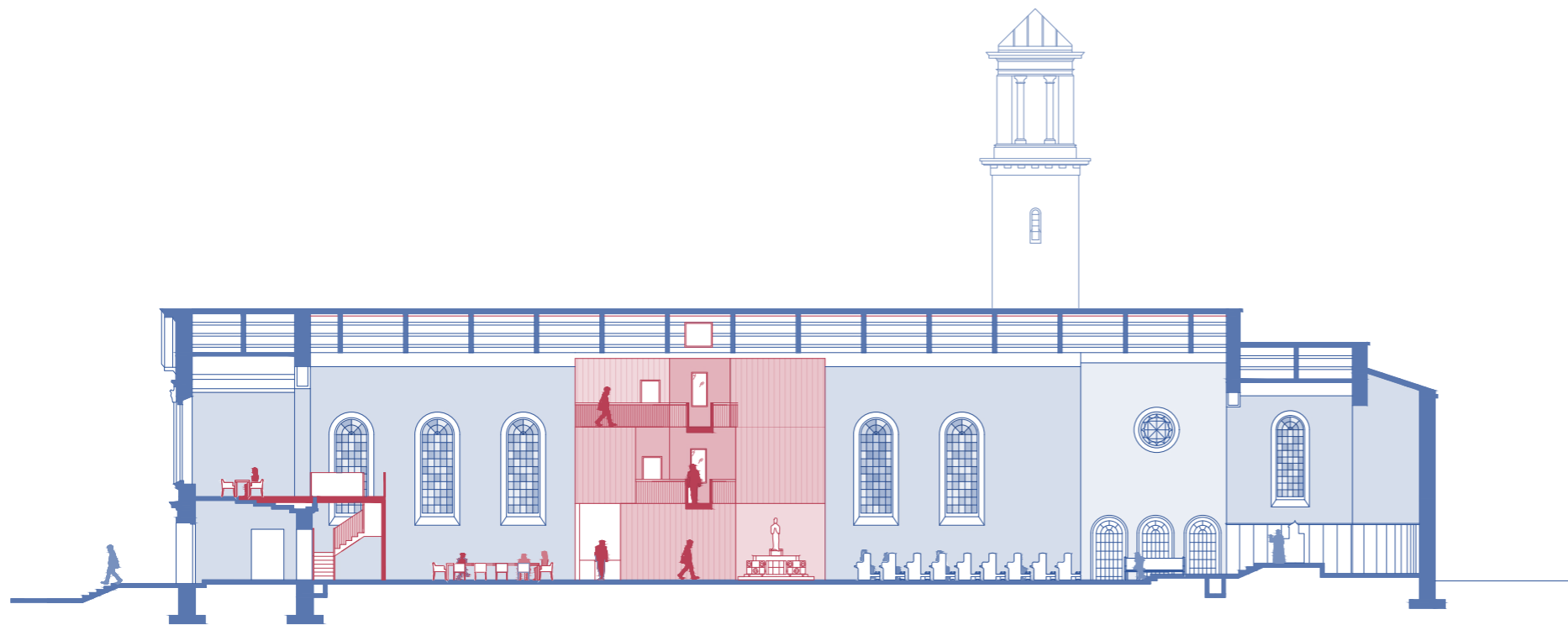
Proposed Gallery Level Plan



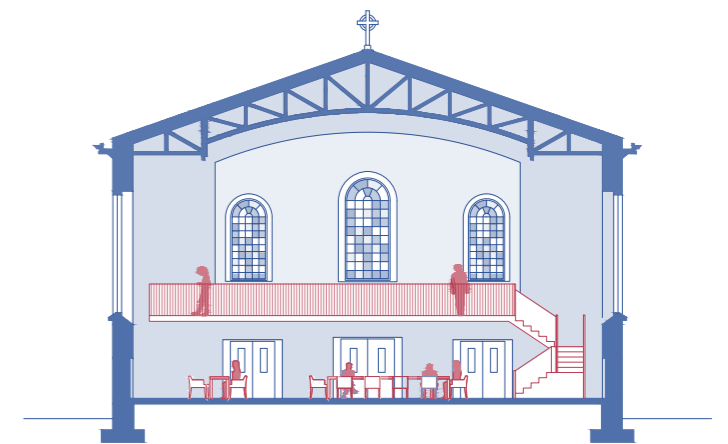
Proposed Section D-C



Proposed Section A-A



Proposed Section C-D



Proposed Section B-B



Proposed Roof Plan

Fig 44: Drawings showing the adaptation of Our Lady Help of Christians Parish Church

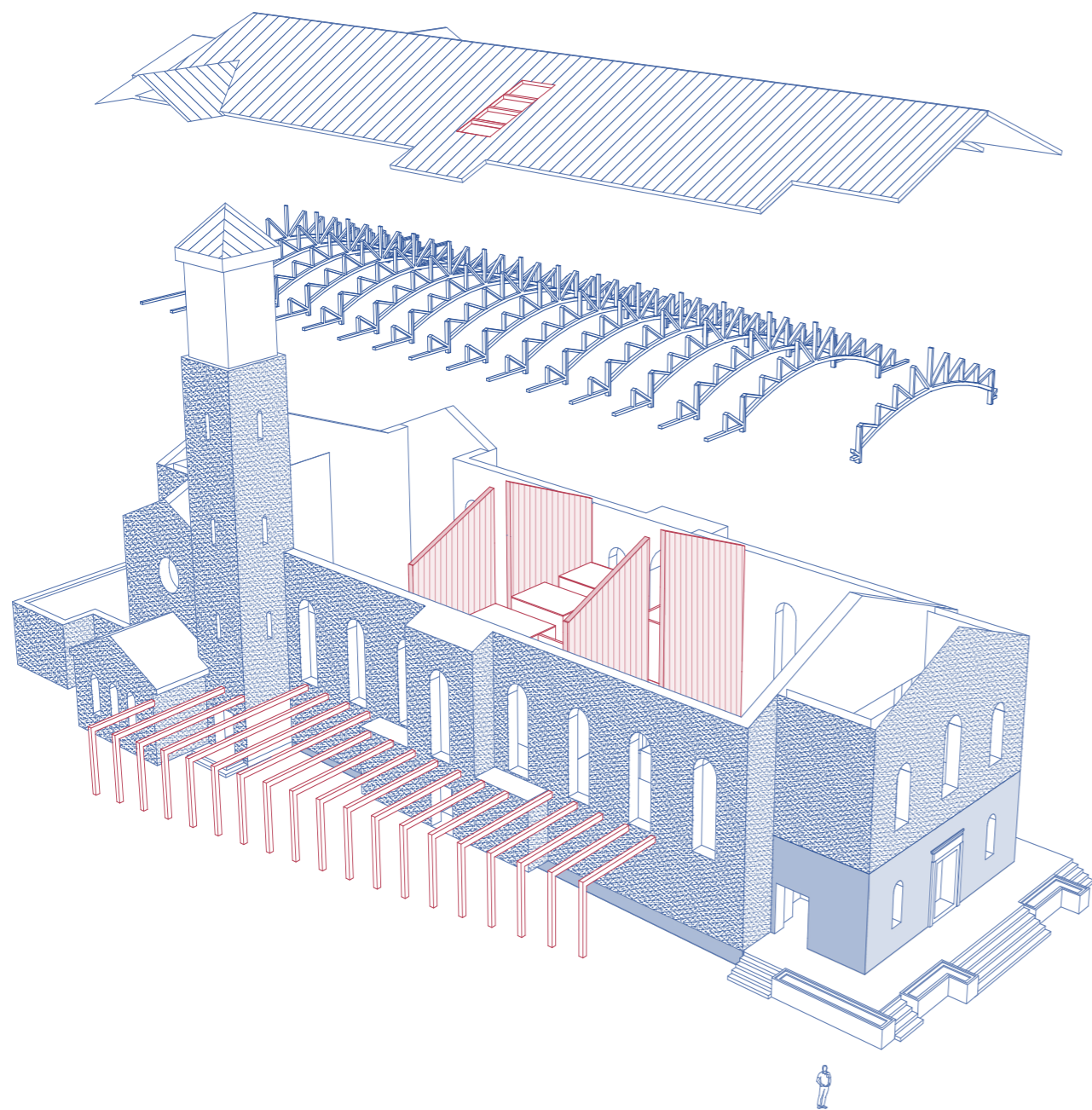
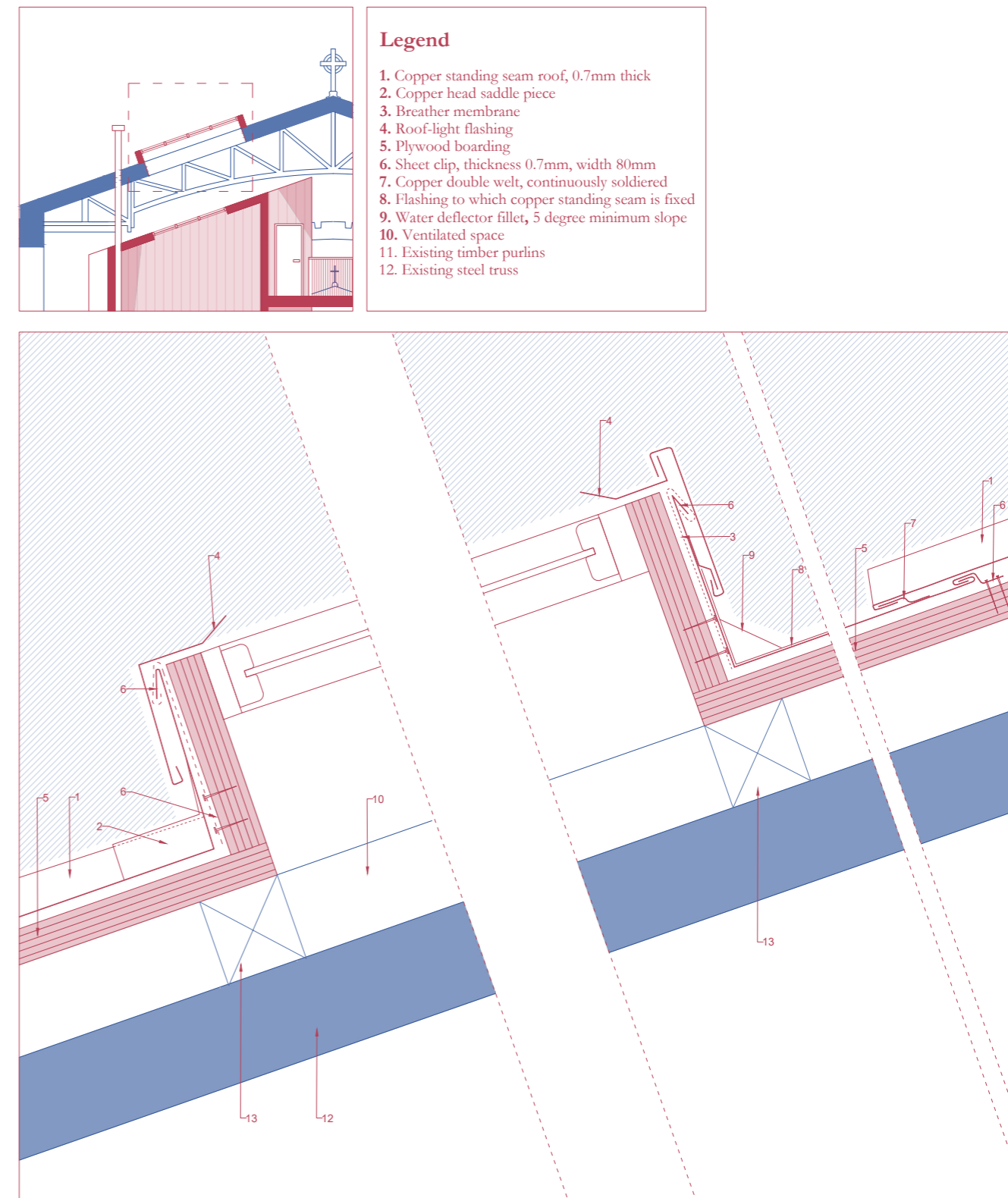


Fig 45: Axonometric drawing of one iteration of the church design.



Roof-light Detail 1:5

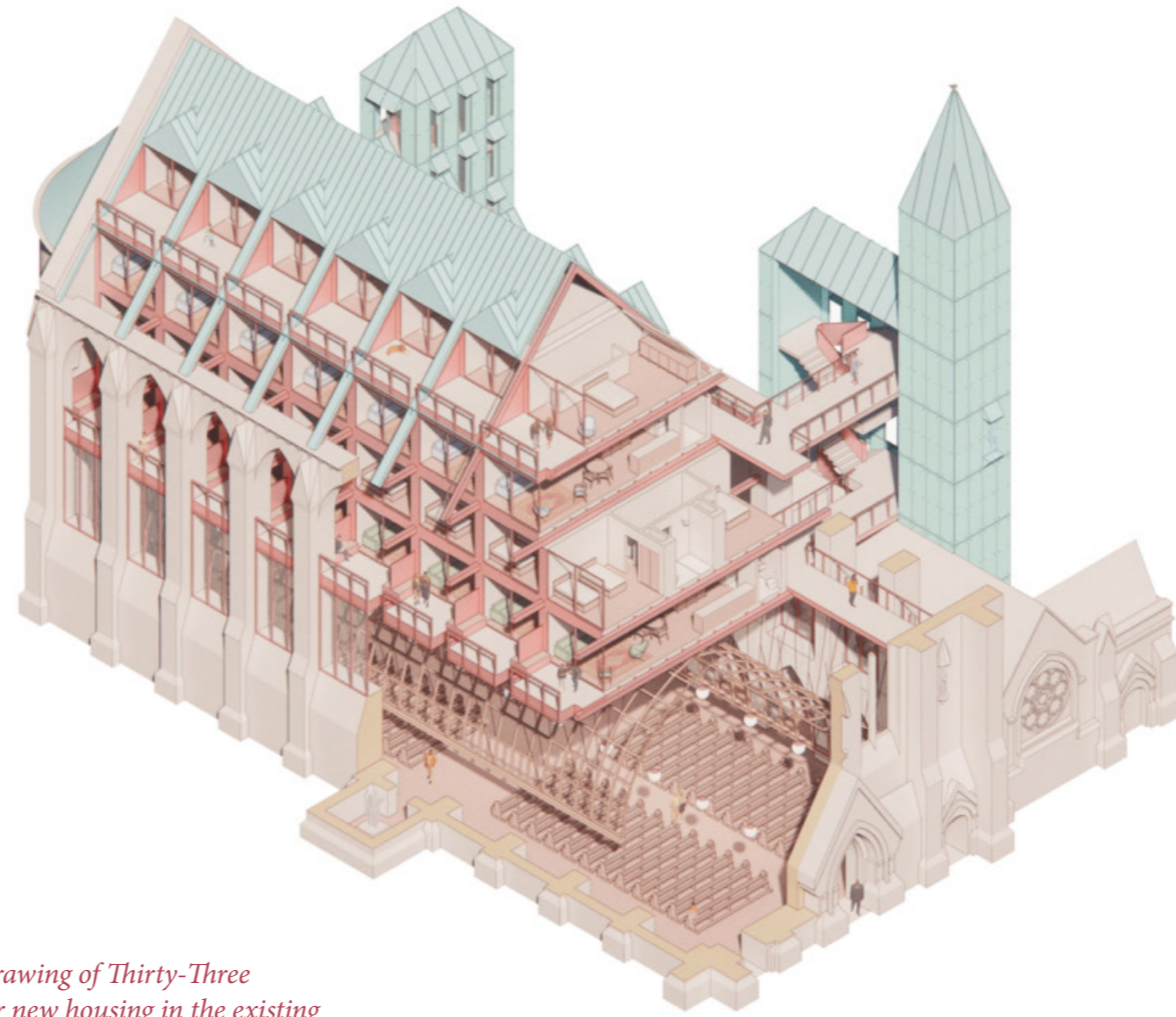
Fig 46: Detail showing how new roof-lights will be installed in the existing copper roof of the church.



## Precedent Studies

A number of examples were looked at in the search for projects that had undertaken a similar brief. The work done by David Lawless and Sophie Kelliher for the Housing Unlocked Exhibition in 2022 proved to be a relevant and inspiring reference for the development of this thesis. Their project, *Thirty-Three Churches*, outlines thirty-three churches across Dublin identified by the Archdiocese of Dublin for potential rezoning to residential use. Through their design for the adaptation of St. Mary's Church of the Angels on Church St., they display an intriguing example of how architects can tap into the potential of church sites to deliver a programme independent of religious service, while still functioning as a place of worship.

Other examples include the Castelvechio museum in Venice designed by Carlo Scarpa, which provided inspiration to this thesis through its use of new intervention sitting alongside old, with the utmost care and attention for the already existing structures. The Jinan Changzhuang Church in Jinan, China, combines traditional industrial warehouse architecture with sacred worship space and through that juxtaposition between industrial and sacred a beautiful and simple, stripped back church was created.



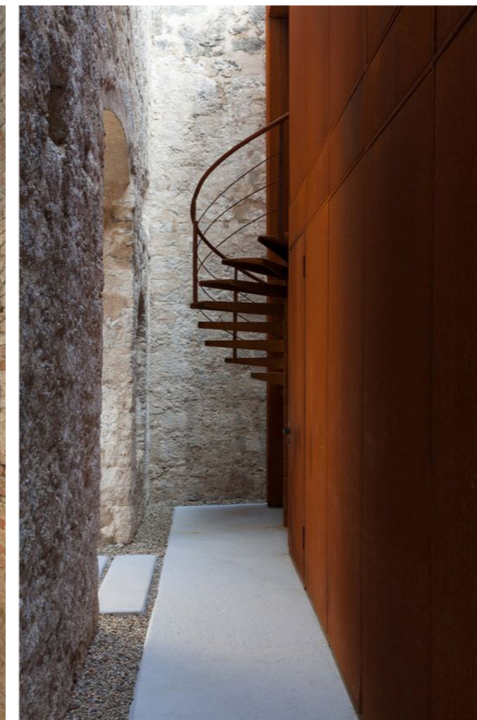
*Fig 47: Isometric drawing of Thirty-Three Churches design for new housing in the existing St. Mary's Church of the Angels.*



Lorem Jinan Changzhuang Church  
Archipoetry Studio



Castelvechio Museum  
Carlo Scarpa



Summer Stage at Kastav, Croatia  
Nenad Fabijanic

## Conclusion

To conclude, the architecture in this thesis seeks to carry out the objectives outlined from the thesis research: to benefit the community as a whole through identifying, and responding to a community need. It was through an analysis of the Catholic influence on the planning of Cabra, that an idea emerged about how best to intervene in order bring diverse communities into partially-empty religious spaces. From studying methods of common land holding, and the Rundale system, it was discovered how a new layer could be added to the urban grain palimpsest of Cabra. A new community can be layered on top of the existing through the mixing of majority cultures and people on the margins of society, for whom there are few purpose-built spaces. This cultural exchange can occur simultaneously to the system which exists in order to alleviate issues around poverty which people in the area experience.

The scheme, through its inclusion of existing land, seeks to provide a new example for the adaptation of under-utilised religious spaces, of which there are many, around Dublin and Ireland as a whole. As referenced, the Archdiocese of Dublin have identified thirty-three churches which are currently not achieving the capacity they were designed for, and could perform a different function as, in this case, housing was identified as a urgent community need. This, in itself, shows that the Catholic Church themselves see the need for these excess spaces to be adapted.

The social objectives outlined go hand in hand with the architectural themes of integration, permeability, and efficiency. The architectural language of the scheme allows people to mix, boundaries to shift, and enables simple, small-scale buildings to make a big impact.

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## Thesis Engaged Writing Submission to DCC

### Thesis Engaged Writing Submission

Eimear Butler  
C17403982

### Observation to the Planning and Urban Form Committee, Dublin City Council

The principles laid out in Chapter 4 of the Dublin City Council Development Plan 2022-2028 ('Shape and Structure of the City') highlight the importance of social inclusion and integration in relation to the sustainable development of Dublin City. Promoting cultural exchange and social cohesion should be paramount in the planning and developing of Dublin's urban form. Planning with due regard to changing demographics can positively impact the health and vibrancy of an area, and help to realise the goal of a sustainable and resilient city. In an increasingly diverse city such as Dublin, existing irrelevant and exclusive religious sites must be utilised for their potential to benefit the wider community more greatly. This issue is incredibly pertinent in Cabra and Cabra West.

Many of Dublin's Western suburbs, such as Cabra and Crumlin, were planned in the 1920s and 30s, when the cultural and religious identity of the country was notably different than today. Vast swathes of land in these suburbs are, to this day, dedicated to performing a function of the Catholic Church, and, through its urban form, Cabra continues to demonstrate the dominance of Catholicism within Ireland. Maintaining this hierarchy of singular religious spaces within these neighbourhoods will only serve to exclude a growing proportion of the population for which Catholic spaces hold no function. Church sites in Cabra such as the Church of the Most Precious Blood, Cabra West, and Christ the King Catholic Church, Cabra, have the potential to be inclusive and vibrant hubs of the community, and their ability to fulfil the needs of a diverse population must be considered.



Urban Grain Map of Cabra and Cabra West Parishes. Both consist of residential streets formed around the central Church site.

In addition to the parish churches of Cabra and Cabra West, the Dominican Convent on the Navan Road, Cabra, is a prime example of under-utilised land under the control of the Catholic Church. The 32-hectare site consists of a convent, six schools, two aged care facilities, one Catholic Church (Mary Help of Christians Parish Church) and the Apostolic Nunciature, which is the office of the papal representative in Ireland. All but one school on the site is run by a Catholic institution. Although open to the public to roam, the site's history as a stronghold for the Dominican order certainly excludes a large proportion of the surrounding residents, who may be of a different or no faith, and have no need to enter or use the site the majority of the time. The land is categorised in the Development Plan Zoning Map as Z15, or land zoned for 'community and social infrastructure.'

I am of the opinion that the current uses of the land at the Dominican Convent do not adequately fulfil the objectives of land in the Z15 category, which are to 'protect and provide for community uses and social infrastructure.' The site is fragmented, and each institution that sits within it is, in some way, bounded by fences and cut off from each other, leading to huge amounts of left-over land and multiple greenfield sites inaccessible to and unusable for the public. The development plan states that land zoned in this category should serve a communal function, and this should be prioritised when considering proposed developments on the site:

'[...] protecting and facilitating the ongoing use of these lands for community and social infrastructure, as well as their use in some instances for charitable purposes, is a key objective of the Council. The Council are committed to strengthening the role of Z15 lands and will actively discourage the piecemeal erosion and fragmentation of such lands'

The left-over land on the Dominican Convent site, should be developed in a way that can improve both the existing institutions, as well as the surrounding community, while promoting biodiversity and implementing the U.N. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of Sustainable Cities and Communities. There is, at least, seven hectares of left-over land the site which could be used to facilitate social and cultural cohesion, while potentially minimising the level of socio-economic disadvantage in Cabra and the surrounding areas. According to the Pobal Deprivation Index, most small area divisions in Cabra are classified as 'marginally below average' or 'disadvantaged.' Lone parent family rates are higher in Cabra than elsewhere, and it has been found that, statistically, lone parent families experience food poverty in greater numbers and at a more severe level than families with two or more parental figures.



Cabra West Parish to the East of Dominican Convent, Navan Rd

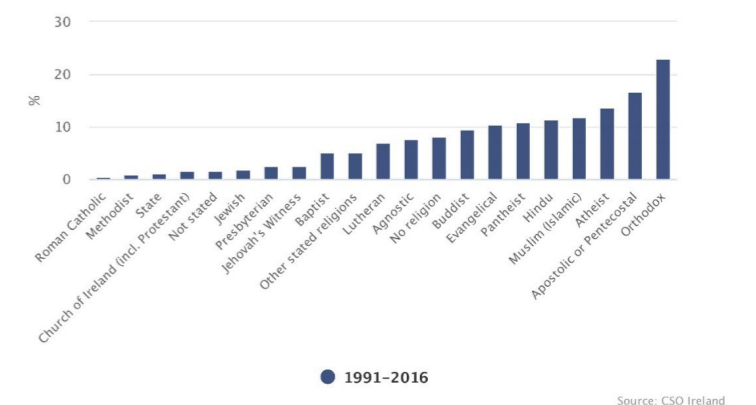
The development of potentially redundant or under-used religious sites should, as mentioned previously, have due regard for the surrounding community and their possible needs. As Cabra experiences higher levels of food poverty than average, the capacity for the land at the Dominican Convent to become a productive landscape should be considered, and its benefits should be explored. The seven hectares of left-over land could provide a number of substantial healthy meals a week to around approximately 1200 people for one year. If the land was sustainably and ethically farmed by members of the community working together, real issues faced by the people of Cabra such as food poverty and social exclusion, could be minimised.

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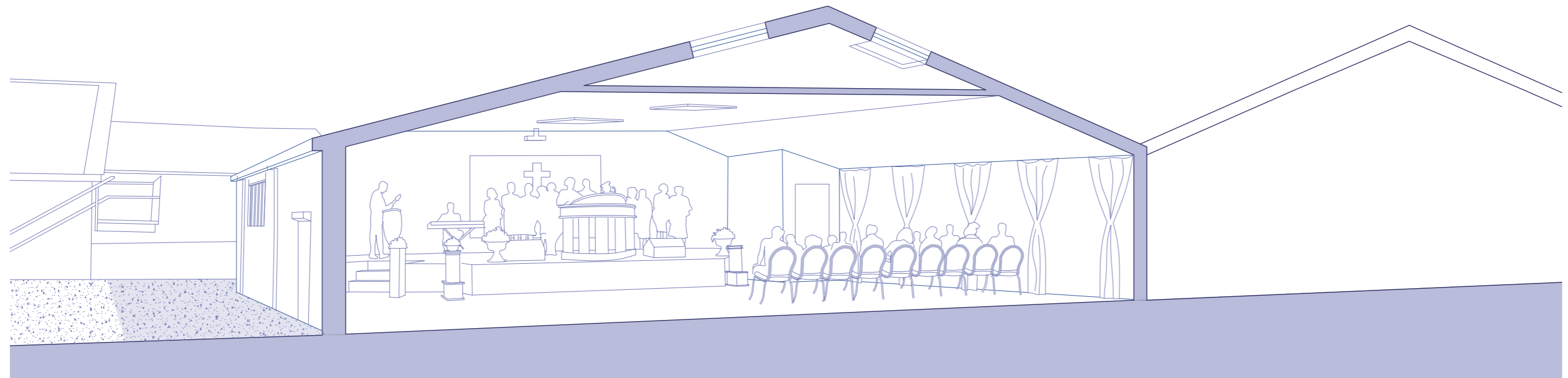
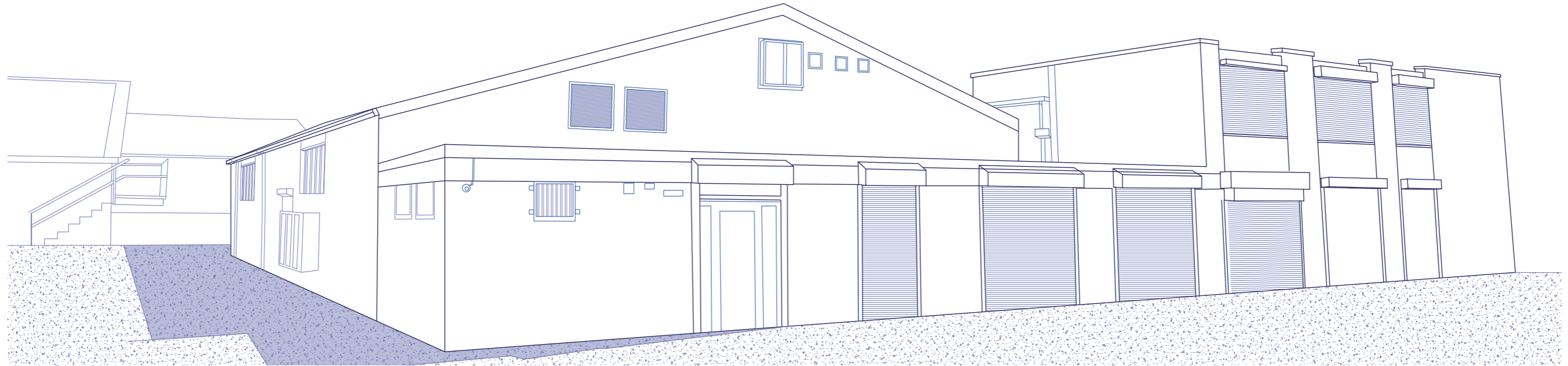
Figure 4.2 Annualised growth rates of religions in Ireland, 1991-2016



Source: CSO Ireland

# Appendix

## Individual Observation



Heading: A3 Individual  
Subheading: Worship in a Warehouse: The Redeemed Christian Church of God, Dublin Industrial Estate

Info: Investigating the juxtaposition between the vibrant and spirited church services that occur within the Industrial Estate, and the unsuspecting buildings in which they take place. The human resilience to transform seemingly soulless warehouses into lively, social spaces filled with singing and dancing.