

13 | HLUBOČEPEY—NOT JUST A PREFABRICATED HOUSING ESTATE



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The Hlubočepy neighbourhood is bordered by natural boundaries on the eastern, southern, and northern sides. The Vltava River defines the eastern border, while the southern part is delimited by the Chuchle Grove. The northern part is separated from other Prague districts by the Děvín Hill and the slopes of the Prokop Valley, through which the Daleje Stream flows. In the westward direction, Hlubočepy is bordered by the New Barrandov housing estate and the adjacent Prague-Slivenec municipal district with the settlements of Holyně and Slivenec. The territory of Hlubočepy represents a set of three main subareas which differ in their historical development, terrain morphology, and urban character as well as the socio-demographic profile of their residents. These consist of Old Hlubočepy with Zlíchov, the villa neighbourhoods of Old Barrandov, and the New Barrandov housing estate.



Figure 13.1: Old Hlubočepy around 1925.

Source: Klub Za starou Prahu (2013).

Old Hlubočepy consists of the historic core of Hlubočepy near the confluence of the Daleje Stream and the Vltava River, the surrounding buildings (mainly) from the first half of the twentieth century, and Zlíchov (Hudeček, 2016). The first mentions of the local settlement date to the thirteenth century when the ownership of the local hamlets was split between the Vyšehrad Chapter and the Strahov Monastery (Zelinka, 1955). Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the development was primarily determined by the favourable valley terrain and the intersection of roads connecting the central parts of Prague with the outlying villages (Hudeček, 2016). The settlement pattern began to change considerably with the industrialisation of the second half of the nineteenth century and the consequent full utilisation of extensive local limestone and stone mines and quarries, followed by the establishment of numerous industrial businesses (Boháč, 1923). Gradually, lime, cement, and earthenware factories were established, but also a steam-powered brewery, a dairy, a mill, a sawmill, a distillery, and a glass factory (Hlídaek, 1933; Zelinka, 1955). The enterprises in the Zlíchov area were then linked with the nearby industrial area of Smíchov¹. The industrial phase was also inherently associated with the construction of two intersecting railway lines. In 1872, what was known as the Buštěhrad Railway was opened, creating a distinctive curve in Hlubočepy and overcoming the local rugged terrain via two viaducts (the Prague Semmering) that have shaped the visual character of the neighbourhood to the present day. In 1873, the railroad leading through the Daleje Valley in the direction of Rudná and Nučice was put into operation (Hudeček, 2016). Today, a railroad of national importance also crosses Hlubočepy—the third transit corridor connecting Prague with Pilsen and Germany.



Figure 13.2: Zlíchov at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Source: Zelinka (1955).

¹ Since 1947, the northern part of Zlíchov (containing mainly the premises of industrial plants) has belonged to the cadastral area of Smíchov.

The industrial growth continued during the inter-war period (Broncová-Klicperová, 2010), yet Hlubočepy never matched the development of other Prague working-class districts from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g., Holešovice, Smíchov) and retained its former rural character (Boháč, 1923). Its proximity to untouched nature also made the area a popular tourist destination among Prague residents (Otto, 1897; Votrubec, 1965). In connection with Hlubočepy, Hansl (1899, p. 221) mentions “the modern brewery with a nice garden restaurant, where numerous visitors resort under the shady trees during the summer”. Tourism was also boosted by the aforementioned railway development, along with the tram connection that was completed in 1927 (Broncová-Klicperová, 2010). Still, the industrial boom resulted in residential housing growth and the densification of the historical core of the neighbourhood, including the construction of tenement houses occupied by industrial businessmen and workers (Hlídek, 1933; Hudeček, 2016). Hlubočepy was annexed to Prague by the Greater Prague Act in 1922 (Boháč, 1923).

The Old Hlubočepy subarea (Figure 13.1 and 13.2) further changed during the 1930s in connection with the construction of villas between the historical core of the neighbourhood and Zlíchov, in a locality called Žvahov and in an area called V Bokách located towards the future New Barrandov housing estate (Zelinka, 1955; Votrubec, 1965). However, the development during this period was not as pivotal for the overall character of Hlubočepy as the preceding industrial phase (Hudeček, 2016). After 1945, a gradual decline of the industrial Hlubočepy appeared due to increasing competition and insufficient capacity among the local factories. The retreat of industry was also associated with the out-migration of some residents, especially from the older, poor-quality housing (Votrubec, 1965). From the second half of the twentieth century until today, no major residential development has been built. Rather, detached family or apartment houses appear complementing the aforementioned Žvahov and V Bokách localities or the core of the neighbourhood itself. Simultaneously, a majority of the industrial buildings have been gradually or are still being demolished (Hudeček, 2016). Last but not least, Hlubočepy (and especially Zlíchov) was affected by infrastructure construction such as the Strakonická motorway and the Barrandov Bridge with its numerous overpasses (completed in 1988), which basically cut the neighbourhood off from direct access to the Vltava River and significantly increased the traffic intensity in the vicinity of the neighbourhood (Hudeček, 2016).

Old Barrandov began to develop in the 1920s near a settlement called Habrová which had been uninhabited for a relatively long time due to the rugged terrain and poor transport accessibility. However, its relative proximity to Prague and its elevated position have gradually led to its redevelopment (Hamouzová, 2009). As part of his business plan, Václav M. Havel decided to build a new neighbourhood here based on the *garden city* concept (Hlídek, 1933). The new district was to provide housing for middle-class residents at the intersection of the city and the countryside, with good transport connections with the rest of Prague and above-standard services. Concurrently, the locality was to become Prague’s new centre for the

cultural and social elite, which was to be supported by the construction of film studios and the Barrandov terrace restaurant (Krajči, Líbal, 2018, Figure 13.3).



Figure 13.3: Barrandov Terraces in 1931.

Source: Fotohistorie (2010).

The first zoning plan of the neighbourhood envisaged a connection with Old Hlubočepy and a built-up area across the entire plain from the north to the eastern slopes towards the Vltava River. However, this considerably extensive proposal was not implemented because the Prague administration rejected the construction due to the high costs of connecting the site to the public utilities and communication, sewage, and water supply networks. While planning a second built-up variant, Havel decided to use his own financial resources to cover the necessary infrastructure costs. The development study was assigned to the architect Max Urban and was approved in 1927. The proposal no longer envisaged the massive development of the entire Barrandov plateau. The new district consisted mainly of villa, but also of low-rise apartment houses. A key aspect was the emphasis on a high proportion of greenery according to the principles of the garden city. The residential development was then to be complemented by the usual civic amenities (e.g., post office, school) and other services. This led to the

construction of a panoramic restaurant with outdoor open terraces, an outdoor swimming pool, and a pavilion known as the Trilobit Bar. These commercial spaces became the cultural centre of the neighbourhood and were a widely visited, especially during the inter-war period. The social and cultural significance was also enhanced by the proximity of the film studios, whose construction began in 1931. Nevertheless, the facilities were not intended solely for the wealthier social classes; hence, the prices were adjusted for a wide range of visitors. The growing overall prestige of the neighbourhood, however, led to the purchase of building plots for housing particularly among wealthier households (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018).

Still, the original plans to build a self-sufficient garden city for residents of middle socioeconomic status were only partially fulfilled. Firstly, the planned amenities were not completed in full. Secondly, the project phase involving the build-up of the plots westwards towards Slivenec was never implemented. Thirdly, housing was becoming more accessible to the upper social classes due to the neighbourhood's growing exclusivity. The economic crisis of the 1930s and the Second World War further contributed to the neighbourhood's inaccessibility but also to the failure to complete the planned development (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018).

With the onset of the communist regime, the uniqueness and prestige of the locality gradually diminished. The idea of a neighbourhood between the city and the countryside was further held back by the construction of high-capacity infrastructure projects separating the area from the remaining parts of Hlubočepy (the four-lane roads K Barrandovu and Strakonická, the highway-type Barrandov Bridge). Nevertheless, several buildings were built even during the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., four apartment buildings for the employees of the film studios). Simultaneously, several plots were developed with detached houses, which, however, often failed to reach the aesthetic and architectural quality of the neighbouring buildings (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018). Presently, the reconstruction of the dilapidated panoramic restaurant and the entire area of the Barrandov Terraces is underway.

The most significant physical and population changes in Hlubočepy were induced by the construction of the **New Barrandov housing estate** in the 1980s (Figure 13.4). The estate's architects (Zdeněk Hölzel and Jan Kerel) emphasised basic urban elements such as streets, squares, significant landmarks, and a precise hierarchy of public spaces combining fully public spaces with semi-public, front gardens and courtyard areas. The central elements have become the pedestrian colonnade and the Chaplin, Tille, and Trnka Squares allowing one to pass through the central part of the estate without the need to interact with car traffic (for which the main streets are Högerova and Voskovcova). The public transport connection was only sufficiently resolved with the construction of a tram line at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The prefabricated buildings themselves comprise a combination of semi-closed 4 to 12 storey apartment blocks. The housing estate further includes traditional civic amenities (e.g., kindergartens and primary schools, shops, a polyclinic, post office, and restaurants) (Koukalová, 2016). Compared to other Prague housing estates, New Barrandov was supposed

to represent a more human place to live, with its own identity but respecting of the local context. These aspects are manifested, for instance, through emphasis on greenery, a large amount of film-inspired street art, or the deliberate separation of pedestrian, vehicular, and public transport (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018). In its eastern part, the housing estate absorbed the older residential buildings called the Prague Quarter. Furthermore, along with the housing estate, a four-lane highway-type road was built connecting the Barrandov Bridge with the outer ring road around Prague.



Figure 13.4: *The New Barrandov housing estate today.*

Source: *www.mapy.cz (2021).*

Originally, the housing estate was designed for 40,000 inhabitants living in 12,000 apartments. The estate was supposed to reach the village of Holyně, but only the eastern half was built, with a capacity of approximately 17,000 inhabitants. However, the estate development and the construction of new houses has continued from the 1990s to the present, especially in the western part towards Holyně (Figure 13.5) and along Geologická Street towards Old Barrandov. The contemporary development of the housing estate can be characterised by intensive housing construction with poor-quality renovation of public spaces, frequently disrespecting the ideals of the originally designed housing estate, that is, a compact urban unit with hierarchical spaces and interconnected blocks of houses (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018).



Figure 13.5: Future development proposal of the western part of the New Barrandov housing estate.

Source: MČ Praha 5 (2020).

Development of the number of inhabitants, houses, and apartments

Population and housing development corresponds with the historical phases of the neighbourhood development described above. The first industrial period (the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century) is characterised by extremely intensive growth in the number of inhabitants and houses (see the main map). However, this was not a significant increase in absolute numbers since in 1843 only three hundred inhabitants lived in Hlubočepy. Another interesting feature of this period is the relatively high population density inside local houses and flats—the average rate was 20 inhabitants per house in 1890–1921. This is probably related to the existence of relatively large houses compared to other suburban areas of Prague and to the massive influx of the working-class population (Boháč, 1923). The industrial phase peaked in the inter-war period, during which the population reached approximately 4,500 inhabitants. However, the growth rate was already beginning to slow down (Table 13.1). This stage in the population's development already partially overlaps with the second phase, that is, the construction of villas in Old Barrandov which took place primarily during the 1930s. The character of the newly emerging housing—villas for the middle and upper social classes—was the reason the population growth did not reach high values compared with the development of the old working-class Hlubočepy. This is visible in the near doubling of the number of houses between 1921 and 1947 compared to the 17% increase in the number of inhabitants.

Settlement	Character	Number of houses	Population
Hlubočepy	village	148	2,361
Zlíchov	district	84	1,785
Křenkov	cluster of houses	5	158
Klukovice	village	17	144
Slovanka	cluster of houses	6	57
Barrandov	cluster of houses	8	56
dispersed temporary dwellings	dispersed temporary dwellings	8	33
Švagerka	cluster of houses	3	24
U Horů	colony, cluster of temporary dwellings	4	13
Horův Mlýn	farmyard	1	5
Habrová	cluster of houses	2	3
Hlubočepy – total	village	286	4,639

Table 13.1: Settlements forming the cadastral territory of Hlubočepy (Census 1930).

Source: Statistical Lexicon (1934).

The period between the end of the Second World War and the construction of the housing estate is characterised by a rather stagnant population level despite the continued growth of the housing stock (e.g., Žvahov, V Bokách, Old Barrandov). This is because the immigration of new residents was offset by out-migration from Old Hlubočepy due to the gradual decline of the local industry (Votrubec, 1965), but also thanks to population ageing and natural decline (Broncová-Klicperová, 2010). The population decline is particularly evident in Zlíchov, with a 77% decrease in the number of inhabitants between 1930 and 1970 (lowering to approximately four hundred people in 1980). To some extent, the decline in Zlíchov was owing to the transfer of part of the area to the neighbouring Smíchov cadastre, which also corresponds with a substantial reduction in the housing stock. The decreasing number of inhabitants in Hlubočepy was not balanced by the nationwide wave of births during the 1970s (Broncová-Klicperová, 2010). As a result of the abovementioned changes, the number of residents before the construction of the housing estate was almost identical to that of the beginning of the twentieth century.

The construction of the New Barrandov housing estate resulted in a fourfold increase in the size of the population and housing stock during the 1980s. The population and housing growth has continued to the present day as a result of the completion of the estate and new housing developments. The population increase caused by the immigration of new inhabitants has also

been supported by growth in fertility and natural population increase in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Dvořáková, Nemeškal, 2015). Nevertheless, the intensity of population growth is somewhat decelerating, which is also supported by a slightly negative migration balance in the oldest prefabricated housing areas starting in 2000 (Ouředníček et al., 2014). Currently (in 2019), Hlubočepy houses approximately 23,500 residents. Three-quarters reside in housing estates built during the 1980s and 1990s and one-fifth in older areas (e.g., Old Hlubočepy, Zlíchov, Old Barrandov). Recently, the new housing areas adjacent the New Barrandov housing estate have seen the most dynamic development recording high immigration rates (e.g., around Geologická Street, westwards towards Holyně). Currently, approximately one-tenth of the Hlubočepy population resides in these locations.

Development of the social environment and age structure

The urban development of Hlubočepy is also reflected in the character of the social environment and age structure. During the inter-war period, the neighbourhood was a rather younger locality (Pospíšilová, Nemeškal, 2015), which was typical for most Prague suburbs (Moschelesová, 1937). On the contrary, just before the construction of the housing estate, Hlubočepy was a rather older neighbourhood with a relatively high proportion of older residents (over 55 years of age). They were the first generation of residents of industrial Hlubočepy but also the newcomers to the family houses built in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1970, younger adults (20–29 years old) were also relatively strongly represented in the population, probably reflecting the increased birth rates after World War II. On the other hand, residents aged 30–39 accounted for a lower proportion. This may reflect either the economic crisis of the 1930s and the associated lower birth rates, but it may also be related to the post-war decline of industrial activity in Hlubočepy and the subsequent outflow of workers or the lack of new housing with limited opportunities for new residents to move in. The social environment during the 1970s can be considered rather spatially polarised. Old Hlubočepy and Zlíchov were typical for their lower social status, with an above-average share of workers and a lower educational level (compared to Prague) corresponding with the working-class character (Votrubec, 1965). On the contrary, Old Barrandov was a high-status locality even within Prague reflecting the character of the residential buildings designed for higher social groups (Krajčí, Líbal, 2018).

The housing estate has radically changed the neighbourhood's population character. The older parts of Hlubočepy are becoming practically invisible in the graphic visualisation of the age composition, while the characteristics of the newly arrived inhabitants of the estate have begun to dominate. In 1991, the neighbourhood was defined by a typical two-generation age structure with a high proportion of children and their parents. During the following three post-socialist decades, these early residents of the estate have gradually aged, but simultaneously additional residents were added to the neighbourhood through the completion of the estate and the subsequent new housing developments. Therefore, the age composition of the original estate has been somewhat replicated, although the dominance of children and younger adults

is not as pronounced. Firstly, the current age structure is characterised by a relatively high proportion of children and their parents. Their share in the population has been reinforced because they are, in general, part of the large generation known as “Husák’s Children”. Secondly, the population ageing continues as the first residents of the estate and new buildings from the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century gradually age. So far, the share of seniors (above 65 years of age) is rather average compared to Prague, but residents over the age of 50 represent more than a third of the total neighbourhood population. Such trends in the age structure are particularly evident in the case of housing estates, but Old Barrandov—22% of residents are older than 65 years—and some parts of Old Hlubočepy and Zlíchov are also ageing relatively intensively. On the other hand, some areas of Old Hlubočepy currently show a relatively high share of children indicating a certain natural turnover of generations in the older parts of the neighbourhood.

The present state of the social environment (based on educational attainment in 2011) shows a slightly above-average social status in Hlubočepy compared to Prague. The areas with the highest social status are the localities of new residential development and several sites of older family houses (e.g., Old Barrandov, some parts of Old Hlubočepy). On the contrary, Zlíchov remains the area with the lowest social status among inhabitants. The housing estate residents are characterised by above-average social status within Prague, which the estate has retained since its construction (Špačková, Pospíšilová, 2017). The consistently high level of education is linked to the fact that New Barrandov belongs to rather younger housing estates, where the residents’ education level has improved over time (Špačková, Pospíšilová, 2016). Moreover, the proportion of seniors remains rather low compared to other Prague neighbourhoods or housing estates.

In terms of the foreign population, the Hlubočepy neighbourhood does not exceed the average of the capital city—13% of the population are foreigners compared to 15% in Prague. To some extent, the foreign population differs in citizenship composition. The first three rankings are equally dominated by Ukrainians, Slovaks, and Russians. While in Hlubočepy these three groups account for two-thirds of the foreigners, in Prague they comprise approximately half of all foreigners. This is mainly due to the higher proportion of Ukrainians (32% of foreigners). Another difference is the lower share of Vietnamese (only 2% of foreigners in Hlubočepy). Although foreigners are mainly concentrated in the most populated parts of Hlubočepy, their concentrations are highly variable in the context of the population levels of individual localities. The most prominent significant concentrations are in the new housing areas (e.g., around Geologická Street, to the west towards Holyně). Russians, in particular, are more concentrated here as they generally move to new housing developments (Sýkora et al., 2018). In contrast, the oldest parts of the housing estates with the highest absolute number of foreigners show rather below-average concentrations, with foreigners making up approximately 7–12% of the residents. Compared to other Hlubočepy localities, there are above-average shares of Ukrainians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, and Vietnamese, while the share of Russians is below average. Therefore, in the Prague context, the New Barrandov housing estate

is not a significant destination for foreigners. Nevertheless, it confirms its role as an attractive residence especially for foreigners of a rather lower social status from Eastern European countries, which is typical for many Prague housing estates.

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