



DICHTUNG AND WAHRHEIT¹ OF SPATIAL PLANNING: LEGAL FRAMEWORKS VERSUS THEIR APPLICATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

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Abstract. The countries of Central Europe share a common tradition of urban planning and settlement, and their history of governance also shows a number of intersections. Many common features survived after the Great War, nevertheless the division of Central Europe by the Iron Curtain influenced the eastern part of the region dramatically. However, the return of open market to former socialist states was manifested also in legal environment, including the spatial planning system. Governments sought the inspiration in countries that experienced continuous development, but the differences in the legal and cultural environment led to dead ends in many cases. Eventually the main source of inspiration for spatial planning reform logically became the German-speaking countries of Central Europe.

Overview in the initial part of the text, aim and method is clarified. Further on, tiers on which spatial planning tools are elaborated, with regards to specifics of unitary and federal states. Following this basic orientation, the legal frameworks in each of the countries in question are described and their specific features, namely their connection to the overall legal environment, are analysed. The conclusion shows certain gap between a first-sight similarity among the national spatial planning arrangement and its practice in spatial management, particularly on the local level of municipalities.

Keywords: spatial planning, planning instruments, Central Europe, Czechia, Slovakia, Germany, Austria.

Introduction

The countries of Central Europe share a common tradition of urban planning and settlement, and their history of governance also shows a number of intersections. A number of these common features survived the disintegration of empires and the rise of nation states after the Great War. Later, the division of Central Europe by the Iron Curtain, however, marked the eastern part of the region, which for forty years became part of the culturally different Soviet bloc.

The return of open market and the restoration of property rights in the countries of Central Eastern Europe was manifested also in legal environment, including the spatial planning system. Forms and tools for the transformation were transferred from countries that experienced continuous development, and supported by international assistance projects. Attempts to implement elements of spatial planning from UK and North America, which were the easiest to reach linguistically thanks to English, soon encountered a number of differences in the legal

¹ Facts and fiction; it refers to the title of Goethe's reflections of his life where he distinguished the objective truth from subjective feelings and fiction.

and cultural environment. Eventually the main source of inspiration for spatial planning reform logically became the German-speaking countries of Central Europe.

Aim and method

The aim of this contribution is to show how the process of transformation back to market and property rights resulted in the spatial planning instruments and the practice of their implementation in spatial management in Czechia and Slovakia, on the background of German and Austrian systems of spatial planning. The authors did not consider it beneficial to delve deeper into the planning situation in Poland, instead they would welcome the input of Polish colleagues into the discussion on how the transfer of the spatial planning system has succeeded in this country. Nevertheless, at least Polish planning tools related to particular tiers of planning were studied from the legislature (Nowak et al., 2023) and some information was received from the Internet.

The research questions of the study were

- to what extent the formal organization of spatial planning tools in Central European countries is comparable?
- are the practices of applying these tools in the management of urban development different?

Based on the empirical analysis of the system of spatial planning tools in Central European countries and their implementation in planning practice, the article deals with the similarities and differences between them. It shows up that sometimes seemingly minor differences in legal frameworks, together with the different nature of the culture of governance and planning can lead to very different outcomes in urban development.

The desk research method was combined with certain authors' knowledge related to these systems in the case of Germany and Austria, somewhat more comprehensive knowledge of spatial planning in Slovakia and finally long-term experience of spatial planning in Czechia. Most of the resources was found via official Internet pages providing national laws and presentations of planning professional bodies. The relevant resources are indicated immediately with the information received from them.

Tiers of spatial planning

The 1990s' and 2000s' reforms had at first to adjust the structure of spatial planning legal instruments to the pattern of tiers of administration and local government. The principle of subsidiarity had to be reflected in the system of spatial planning tools, which had to respect the administrative arrangement and the division of power between its individual levels. However, this was a rather complex process, because at that time the territorial organization of the state was also subject to significant changes. Actually, the regional tier of administration was even abolished in Czechoslovakia in 1990, which concentrated major responsibilities for planning in communities and municipalities; regions were re-established to comply with the EU standards as part of the pre-accession measures as late as in 2001. Poland also sought for a new pattern of regional governance by several reforms of voivodships and powiats; and former German Democratic Republic had to adjust their former regional pattern to a new system of federal States with their legal powers over spatial planning.

Table 1. Tiers of spatial planning in Central European Countries and their relevant planning tools*

Country	National /Federal	States / Provinces in Federal State	Regions	Municipality	Detailed Local Plan
Austria	Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz – ÖROK Austrian Spatial Planning Conference	Landesraumordnungsprogramm / Landesraumplan / Raumordnungsprogramm Spatial Programme for Federal State	regionales Raumordnungsprogramm regional spatial planning programme	Ortliches Entwicklungskonzept / Flächenwidmungsplan local development concept / zoning plan	Bebauungsplan development plan
Czechia	Politika územního rozvoje Spatial development policy		zásady územního rozvoje Development principles	územní plán land-use plan	regulační plán regulation plan
Germany	Raumordnungsplan-Monitor (ROPLAMO) Monitor of Spatial Planning	Landesentwicklungsplan Spatial Development Plan for Federal States	regionales Raumordnungsplan regional spatial plan	Flächennutzungsplan land-use plan	Bebauungsplan development plan
Poland	Koncepcja przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju (repealed in 2020) National Concept of Spatial Development – not valid	Koncepcja przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju → Koncepcja rozwoju kraju (repealed in 2020)	plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego województwa voivodship spatial development plan	plan gminy plan of municipality	plan miejscowy – plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego site plan
Slovakia	Koncepcia územného rozvoja Slovenska (KURS) Slovak Spatial Development Concept		Koncepcia územného rozvoja regiónu plan for region	územný plan obce / územný plan mikroregionu municipal / micro-regional land-use plan	územný plán zóny plan for zone

* The table represents the stand of legislation in 2023. In case of Poland in 2020 KPZK 2030 was repealed. And in 2023 a significant reform of Spatial Planning Law came into effect (the changes include e.g. expiry of existing Zoning Studies and introducing General Master Plans to be adopted by all municipalities). Thus, while writing this article, authors decided not to analyse deeply the Polish case before implementation of the reform.
Source: authors' own elaboration.

While the names of statutory spatial plans vary among the countries and even federal states, all of the countries cover the national/state, regional and local tiers as well as they contain detailed regulatory plans for urban zones (ESPON, 2018). The main difference is obviously between the federal (Austria, Germany) and unitary states (Czechia, Poland, Slovakia). Particularly in Austria, ÖROK is only a co-ordination platform without legally binding effects on the federal provinces. Also the role of federal tier in Germany is rather co-ordination, with setting common frameworks for spatial planning in federal states (Table 1).

For a deeper analysis of the common features and differences in spatial planning systems, it is necessary to study the role and interdependence of individual tools, but also with the links between spatial planning tools and other land management tools.

Germany

The research on Germany is based mainly on the source *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (BD, 2008), completed by personal experiences. Spatial planning in Germany is generally dealt with in the Federal Building Act (*Baugesetzbuch*). The state governments issue their building regulations (*Bauordnung*) and implementing decrees (*Richtlinien*) (Fig. 1). The system of spatial plans is closely connected with regional policies and strategies on state (*Länder*) level, which is subdivided to regions.

The municipal spatial plan (*Flächennutzungsplan*) is binding only for the authorities (*behördenverbindlich*). It distinguishes stabilized areas from areas for urban development measures – urban development areas (*Gebiet für städtebauliche Maßnahmen – städtebaulichen Entwicklungsbereich*). While in the stabilised areas builders may be requested to pay the development fee (*Erschließungsgebühr*) to receive a right for building, in all other cases the right to build goes to the builder only at the moment of approval of the regulatory plan (*Bebauungsplan*), which is mandatory in all unstabilized areas.

In areas of special public importance, the urban development measure (*städtebauliche Entwicklungsmassnahme*) can be issued. The city can set development goals for land owners in the area with the measure, e.g. a certain proportion of social housing, the size of the park, the requirement to build a new school, etc. If the owner agrees with these goals, she/he must develop her/his land in such a way as to enable their creation. Any intention to change the territory must not be in conflict with them. After the affected owners have declared their preparedness to fulfill the development goals with their construction activities, the city starts negotiations with them to conclude a planning agreement. In this case, the corresponding contractual relationship between the municipality and the private owner is called an aversion agreement (*Abwendungsvereinbarung*). If the land owners concerned are reluctant or refuse to fulfill the development goals or are reluctant to sign the planning agreement, the so-called urban development measure (*städtebauliche Entwicklungsmassnahme*) can apply. The city can compulsorily buy out private land at an officially determined market price (*amtliche Bodennutzung*) and organize the area so that the set goals can be achieved.

The German municipal spatial plan (*Flächennutzungsplan*) is therefore a conceptual document with a significant possibility to direct future construction through the granting of construction rights within the planned development areas. Individual builders cannot start their projects just on the base of the municipal spatial plan (*Flächennutzungsplan*). Unstabilized areas without a regulatory/development plan (*Bebauungsplan*) cannot be built on and their value is therefore lower than stabilized areas with the same planned function. Planning at the municipal level is thus controlled by detailed regulation which provides a builder with clear frameworks for development,

and it is closely linked to economic instruments that ensure the acquisition of the necessary infrastructures for newly built or rebuilt development projects.

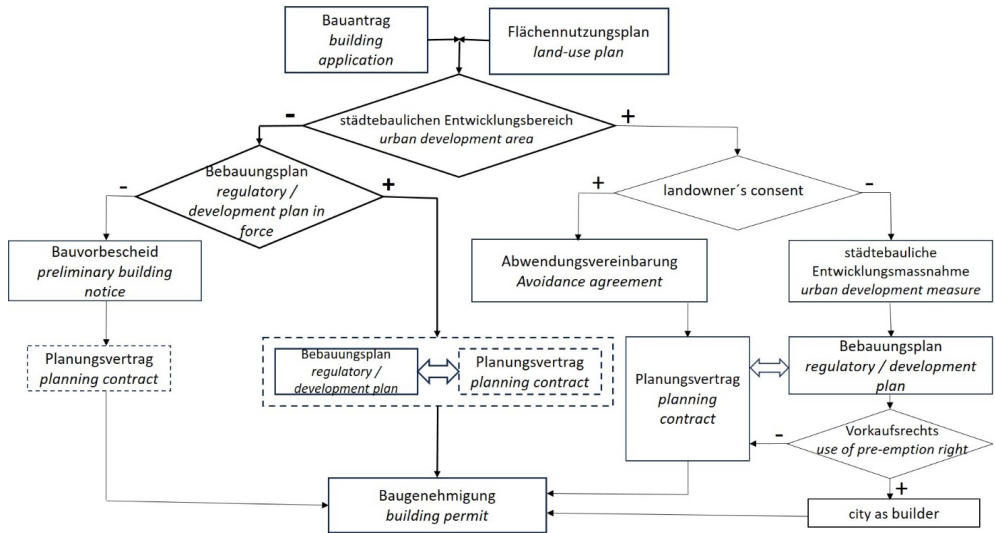


Figure 1. Spatial planning tools on municipal level and their linkage to planning and building permit in Germany

Note: Bold lines show the most frequent procedure.

Source: Maier and Řezáč (2019); adjusted.

Austria

For Austria, the main resource was the report published by the Office of the Austrian Conference on Spatial Planning (ÖROK, 2018), with some added information from personal knowledge of the authors. In Austria, there is no legal regulation at the federal level. Each federal province (*Land*), including the Capital City of Vienna, has its own spatial planning legislation, which creates a legal framework for spatial planning policies and plans for the individual *Länder*.

The Austrian Conference on Spatial Planning (*Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz*, ÖROK) acts as a platform for the informal cooperation of the federal government, the *Länder*, the municipalities, the interest group representatives and the social partners. It achieves a balance for the lacking formal and legal coordination procedures for topics relating to spatial development policy in Austria.

Raumordnung refers to strategic planning (e.g. by the *Länder*), while *Raumplanung* refers to the concrete execution of planning activities, for example, by the municipalities (Fig. 2). Spatial development (*Raumentwicklung*) is usually used in connection with strategic and conceptual planning instruments (e.g. development schemes), with the term ‘development’ indicating the stronger influencing and dynamic nature of the term, revealing a significance that goes beyond just regulatory tasks.

The local development concept (*Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept*) – which has different names in the different federal provinces – has the task of serving as guidance and a framework for action for municipal planning with a long-term horizon, requiring the designation of the municipal planning objectives and the required measures.

The zoning plan (*Flächenwidmungsplan*) is a traditional instrument of sovereign spatial planning. It is mandatory and as such all municipalities in Austria have issued zoning plans and have made key statements on the zoning and use distributions. The purpose of a zoning plan is the orderly structuring of settlements by breaking down the entire area of the municipality into different zones that serve different (building) purposes. A building permit may be issued only on a site that is determined as a building plot by the zoning plan (*Flächenwidmungsplan*).

To promote the actual realisation of the intended zoning, contractual variants are being increasingly established in the laws ('spatial planning contracts' – *Vertragsraumordnung*). The spatial planning laws also specify the zoning category 'reserved areas' that give municipalities the opportunity to reserve areas for their own needs (public purposes, municipal facilities). Reserved areas are a separate zoning category in most federal provinces. In order to enforce the zoning, an application for expropriation may be filed (for compensation) in some federal provinces.

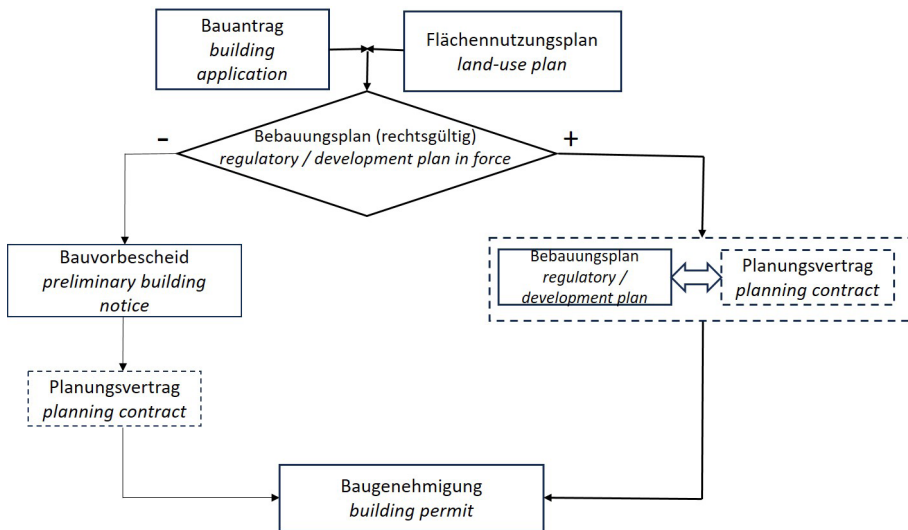


Figure 2. Local planning and its linkage to building permit in Austria (example).
 Note: Bold lines show the most frequent procedure.
 Source: [Maier and Řezáč \(2019\)](#); adjusted.

Development plan (*Bebauungsplan*) is hierarchically subordinate to the local development concept and the zoning plan and must not contradict these plans. Unlike the zoning plan (*Flächenwidmungsplan*), it is not mandatory in all the federal *Länder*. It stipulates specific provisions for building such as their detailed position on the lot and their shape and height, as well as accessibility from public spaces. These regulations may vary in different municipalities. Wherever a development plan is available, building permits may only be granted if the project proposal does not contradict the regulations of the development plan. While some federal provinces empower municipalities to prepare development plans, other mandate their preparation. In these cases, the granting of building permits is contingent on a development plan (e.g. Vienna). The scope

of application for development plans is partly defined in the zoning plan and for certain uses in the spatial planning laws (e.g. location of shopping centres) or in major planning projects (e.g. areas of more than 1 ha). The preparation of a development plan may be mandatory for such sensitive urban and spatial planning areas, in particular, areas that are to be newly built up or which are affected by land consolidation.

Czechia

As Czechs, the authors are familiar with the legal frameworks and practice of spatial planning in the country. However, most of this part follows the recent publication (Maier, 2020). Czech spatial ('territorial') planning system focuses only on physical aspects of development and is regulated in detail by the Building Act which was recently updated in 2021. There exist also strategic plans for cities, towns and regions (parallel to the spatial plans), but there is no legal definition of strategic planning there. The connection between spatial and strategic plans and also the budgeting of public bodies is rather loose, which is a matter of concern in some governmental documents like the 'Strategic Framework Czech Republic 2030' (Maier, 2020).

The Building Act defines the levels, activities, actors, instruments, responsibilities and powers of spatial planning. Planning materials and documents are prepared by the planning departments of the relevant regional or local offices as a delegated competence, i.e. under the control of the state administration, but the regional and local planning documents are approved by the relevant council (Maier, 2020). The content of the plans is defined by the decree to the Building Act, and standardization of the graphic form of the plans is currently underway.

The central government sets national priorities and development objectives in the Spatial Development Policy (*Politika územního rozvoje*), which is binding for all lower levels of spatial planning. This document is approved by the government and is subject to review every four years. On the regional level, regional councils approve the Principles of Spatial Development (*Zásady územního rozvoje*) as a binding document, which specifies development areas and axes, indicates the hierarchy of centres and defines areas and corridors for infrastructure projects of national or regional importance. On the local level, procurement of plans depends on the decision of the local council. The respective local councils approve those plans. Actually, most communities/municipalities have valid land-use plans (*územní plán*) but only some of them also detailed regulatory plans (*regulační plán*) for some local areas (Maier, 2020).

The structure of planning instruments is subject to a robust hierarchy, whereby the plans on the lower territorial level must comply with all the requirements of the plans of a higher tier. While most of 6.2 thousand municipalities in the country have their local plans, the total number of detailed regulatory plans is only around 140 (ÚUR, 2024). Therefore, in practice, the detailed regulation of the shape, height, setback of a building is negotiated and finally set individually by the respective Planning and Building Office (*stavební úřad*) which impacts severely on the duration of the procedures leading to planning and building permit.

A new trend in Czechia is the introduction of economic instruments into spatial planning. The most widespread form is the introduction of so-called planning contracts. These are agreements between the municipality and the builder, or the builder and the region or the owner of public infrastructure. Their purpose is to bind the rights and obligations of the parties involved in the context of construction on the territory of, for example, a municipality (in the vast majority of cases, these will be development projects). The planning agreements regulate the relations be-

tween these entities in the context of all obligations relating to the possible construction of both public infrastructure and civic amenities.

The 2006 Act on Planning and Building attempted to introduce economic instrument in spatial planning. Planning agreements between municipalities and builders on participation on infrastructure costs were linked to regulatory plans but as only few regulatory plans are made in practice, the use of the planning agreements has become limited (Fig. 3).

The new Building Act of 2021 (ČR, 2021) introduced planning agreements as an attempt to connect spatial planning with economy by participation of builders on infrastructure costs. Starting in 2024, a request for planning agreement for development of specific site(s) can be incorporated in spatial planning document. This will expand the range of possible arrangements for the benefit of municipalities and developers, but the use of the planning agreement is optional and even if the requirement is established for certain site, it expires after four years.

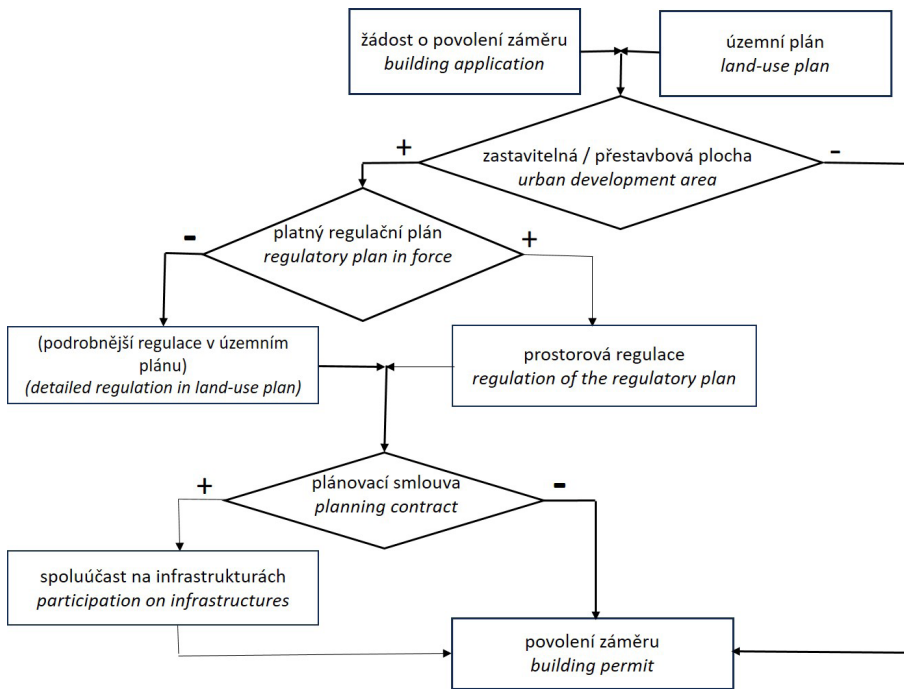


Figure 3. Local planning and its linkage to building permit in Czechia (pending Building Act.)

Note: Bold lines show the most frequent procedure.

Source: author's elaboration.

Practice will show how much the planning agreements will be in use in future and if they can contribute not only to infrastructure provision but also to improved urban quality with still lacking regulatory plans. The differences in details compared to Germany and Austria and the generally weaker position of the Czech city administration vis-à-vis developers represent certain risks. Moreover, in the case of planning agreements associated with an increase in the value of the project as a result of re-zoning, there is a risk of non-conceptual trading with changes to zoning plans by municipalities.

Slovakia

The part devoted to Slovakia mostly refers to the sources of the Slovak branch of the KPMG advisory company (Schifferdeckerová & Miklóssyová, 2022), the presentation of new Planning Code by the Authority for Spatial Planning and Construction of the Slovak Republic (ÚUPaV, 2023), and it also reflects the personal knowledge of the authors. Two new bills entered into force by April 1, 2024 in Slovakia: The Construction Act No. 201/2022 Coll. and the Spatial Planning Act No. 200/2022 Coll. (SR, 2022). The new law replaced almost five decades old planning legislation accompanied by 43 amendments since 1990. The goal of new approach is to change the philosophy of planning and building laws and reflect the current needs of the state. There has been a strong criticism of questionable flexibility of plans, due to slow and long planning procedures. The desired outcome shall be simplification and faster elaboration of building permits, digitization, as well as introduction of effective sanctions against unauthorized constructions.

The Spatial Planning Act will regulate the competencies for the newly established Office for Spatial Planning and Construction. Its main task will be to procure the Concept of Spatial Development of Slovak Republic and to act as a coordinator of a unified procedure and processes of spatial planning through methodological guidelines (ÚUPaV, 2023).

The basic principle that local authorities enjoy planning autonomy remained untouched. Indeed, current types of spatial planning documentation were respresented, and a new one is added – the spatial plan of the micro-region. This new instrument will be approved by the self-governing region together with a generally binding regulation declaring its binding part. The capital city of Bratislava and the city of Košice are allowed a special regime of a metropolitan plan followed by a special methodology (Schifferdeckerová & Miklóssyová 2022).

Spatial planning should become a basic procedure, where with the help of an uniform methodology and uniform principles of spatial planning, the competence is given to municipalities and cities to plan development in their own territory (ÚUPaV, 2023). This way a unified structure of spatial plans throughout the Slovakia shall be achieved. Recently introduced legislation focuses more on a conceptual approach, which shall mitigate practical problems of planning. In the same time it must deliver a relatively stable binding document required for building permitting. It thus seeks to eliminate processes in which in the past municipalities procured minor land use plan changes separately, without any coherence of proposed changes of plan, so the final plan was not uniform. Currently, new requirements are set for the preparation of spatial planning documentation and more strictly regulated conditions for their changes are in force (ÚUPaV, 2023).

The highest strategic planning document in the country is The Concept of Territorial Development of Slovakia (KURS). It contains the main objectives and principles for the development of the entire territory of Slovakia. It describes in words and maps what the territory of the country looks like and within what rules to further develop it in the social, economic and environmental spheres. It deals with buildings, areas and territories of national importance, ecological, cultural, infrastructural, defensive and others. Its binding part also applies to other levels of land-use plans (regions, micro-regions and municipalities).

The concept of spatial development of the region is the second level of planning of spatial development – after the KURS – and is approved by the respective self-governing region. The purpose of the region's spatial plan is to capture regional specifics that are significant and common to the whole region. Thus they cannot be dealt with separately by municipalities and cities. The regional spatial plan includes areas of historical, natural, and cultural significance that need to be protected and developed as a region.

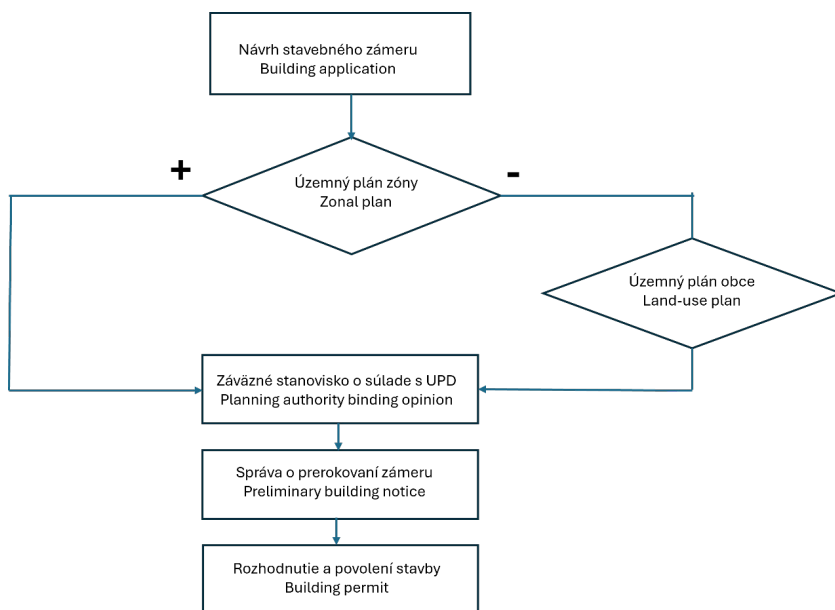


Figure 4. Local planning and its linkage to building permit in Slovakia
Source: authors' own elaboration.

Micro-region land use plan is newly introduced type of planning documentation (cf. Fig. 4). This form shall help to meet the goal of the reform, that all municipalities will be obliged to approve spatial plans. Today, when the obligation is valid for municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants, about 1500 municipalities from 2891 have no plan (ÚUPaV, 2023).

Micro-region land use plan justification lies primarily in the cooperation of neighbouring towns and villages, the so-called micro-regions, which should be able to agree on the development of bordering territories. In this way, harmonious transitions are formed between the borders of towns and villages, whether along roads, cycle paths or in common cultural, historical or tourist areas. It is a breeding ground for cooperation in the development of territories that go beyond the borders of municipalities, but do not reach the significance of the entire region.

Land use plan of the municipality remains the most important document, on the basis of which a municipality or city develops its territory. Planning reform fosters its role and deepens the scope of regulations in a way which reminds of the regulatory plan. It describes in maps and in words, which part of the territory serves what purpose and according to what rules it is further developed. Where roads and infrastructure lead, where residential, work, commercial, production or recreational areas are located. It is approved by the council and is binding for individual builders and landlords. Plan is sufficient basis for investment, as it covers all aspects, including regulations and strategic investments. If the territory of the municipality is entirely contained in the land-use plan of the micro-region, the municipality no longer needs to create its own plan.

The land-use plan of a city or village is followed by a zonal plan. Zonal plans refer to zones and are more detailed than general plans (contain detailed regulatory plans of a zone). It is a very detailed description of a selected location within the city or municipality. It is crucial for the development of the territory, because it specifically and in detail determines the parameters of how to functionally use the land, how to spatially arrange the buildings, what conditions to meet to pro-

tect the nature and culture, how to develop the character of the territory, how to provide services to citizens tied to the territory and to preserve or improve the state of the environment. Nevertheless, the reform weakened its role as many regulations will be newly introduced in land use plans.

Discussion

The brief survey of national systems of spatial planning presented in this article is just an entry to much more complex issues of planning as part of governance and administration culture frameworks in particular countries. The common historical roots from the 19-century origins of the management of urban growth in central European Empires of that time are helpful in understanding the systems but these common bases were significantly biased in the countries under Soviet domain. Although these countries have been trying since the 1990s to return to the planning systems of their western neighbours where the historical break did not occur, the results are apparently significantly influenced by the changes in governance culture that occurred there during the period of central planning. So we are still rather at the beginning of the discussion about which paths the territorial planning systems should take, given the different conditions of the governance culture and the various burdens from the past history.

Conclusion

The comparison of the formal organization of the spatial planning systems in the analysed countries showed that the systems are quite similar, distinguishing local, regional and national/state level. Additionally, the federal countries have two tiers of higher level, where the federal powers in Germany are rather limited and Austria is lacking federal law on spatial planning at all. However, the scope of spatial planning tools at individual levels differs, as does the relationship of individual tools to authorities' decision-making on the admissibility of investment plans, and above all the connection of spatial planning with economic tools. All of this together means that the application of spatial plans and their impact on building development differs significantly in the examined countries.

There are also differences in the degree of use and binding of plans at the local level. Germany and Austria primarily use binding regulatory plans as a basis for decision-making in the territory, which in Germany are linked to planning agreements as a condition for issuing a territorial decision. On the other hand, the minimal use of regulatory plans in Czechia with only less than 400 regulatory plans adopted for the whole country since 2007 (ÚÚR, 2024) and spatial plans of the zone in Slovakia (only about 300 plans of zones valid (ÚUPaV, 2023) leads to an enormous burden placed on spatial plans of municipalities and on individual administrative procedures at building authorities. While Slovakia is looking for a solution in deepening and detailing regulation in spatial plans (SR, 2022), Czechia focuses more on connecting development projects with economic assurance of public investments (ČR, 2021). From the Internet presentations of Polish cities, obviously Poland has come the farthest among the East-Central European group of countries in the development of spatial planning system at the local level and has been gradually covering urbanized areas, especially in large cities, with site/regulatory plans. Warsaw shows 360 pieces of regulatory plans (*plany miejscowe*) (UmstW, 2024) and Cracow over 260 plans (UmK, 2024).

The huge gap between the scale of a city-wide land use plan and the scale of the building to be permitted affects negatively the quality of building environment. A land use plan can only define regulations for new constructions in general terms, whereas a building is quite concrete. However, since the land use plan is sufficient tool for permitting construction, regulatory plans appear to be redundant. Another significant barrier against a wider use of regulatory plans in Czechia and Slovakia is the non-enforceability of spatial adjustment of ownership titles to land by regulatory plans, in contrast to Germany and Austria, where there exist mechanisms to enforce land parceling.

The lack of connection between territorial planning and the financing of expenditure on the acquisition of public infrastructures is another characteristic that distinguishes individual national spatial planning systems. The most elaborate link in this regard was found in German planning. The new legislation in the Czechia tries to create prerequisites for a similar system, while respecting the actual non-existence of a more detailed regulation of development by regulatory plans.

In addition, the missing connection of spatial planning to the financing of public infrastructures in Czechia, Slovakia, and probably also in Poland burdens public budgets and leads to the search for 'cheap' solutions.

It can therefore be concluded that under the apparently similar structure of national spatial planning systems there are many differences that have a fundamental influence on the effectiveness of planning and the quality of territorial development as the ultimate goal of the entire planning effort.

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