Prague is a vibrant and growing city facing significant land-use pressures related to rapid peri-urban growth. This report examines land use and governance trends in Prague and the broader metropolitan area, including the formal elements of the planning system and broader governance arrangements such as rural-urban partnerships. It provides a number of recommendations to ensure the sustainable development of regional transportation and infrastructure, affordable housing and quality public amenities.
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Notes

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Prague (Praha) is a vibrant and growing city. It is the economic, cultural and political centre of the Czech Republic and the largest city in the country. Prague covers 49,613 hectares (ha) and has a population of 1.26 million inhabitants – representing 12% of the population of the country. A further 300,000 individuals commute or visit Prague daily. Prague’s economy forms 25% of the national gross domestic product (GDP) and is dominated by the services sector, which accounts for approximately 80% of its economic base.

As a central city, Prague faces many pressures for land use and development. It has a historic urban core dating from the 10th-18th centuries that is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This area is a magnet for tourists. Land uses must balance the needs of residents, visitors, workers and commuters in this area while maintaining monuments and heritage buildings. The city also needs to manage occasional flooding from the river Vltava which runs through it and land uses need to be compatible with water management. The city’s industrial heritage has left a large number of brownfield sites, which require conversion into new uses. There is a need to balance the interests of heritage conservation and environmental protection with urban and local economic development.

Prague is seeing rapid sub- and peri-urban growth, which puts growing pressure on transportation infrastructure as the number of commuters grows. It further challenges the city to ensure compact and sustainable development practices. These issues, together with the need for affordable housing and quality public amenities, are among the most important land-use issues the city faces today.
Prague’s territory and governance presents unique co-ordination challenges

While the city of Prague has a population of approximately 1.26 million, its functional urban area (FUA, the area across which people live, work and commute) is larger, at approximately 1.9 million. Prague’s FUA spans 435 municipalities and includes larger municipalities, such as Kladno which lies northwest of Prague and has a population of approximately 68 000, along with a large number of small municipalities, such as Krhanice, which lies to the south of Prague and has a population of under 1 000. The interconnectedness of municipalities large and small across this urban system has obvious implications for spatial planning and land use – it raises the importance of a co-ordinated approach across the functional territory. Prague stands as the tenth most fragmented FUA in the OECD, with approximately 23 municipalities per 100 000 inhabitants.

Prague is both a city and a region. It is surrounded entirely by the region of Central Bohemia. The city of Prague has a single elected self-government as well as 57 self governing municipal boroughs, of very unbalanced size (from 300 to 130 000 citizens), which have been further grouped into 22 numbered administrative districts. As such, one can say that the city/region of Prague has either three or two layers of government, depending on whether one counts an administrative district or borough. Boroughs have an elected council with a mayor, as does the city of Prague (city-region).

Prague co-operates with the region of Central Bohemia as well as the municipalities in its FUA on transportation issues. There are also nascent projects to pursue co-ordinated development in a few other areas as well. However, there is no metropolitan governance body and there is no legal or regulatory mechanism to co-ordinate on spatial development.
Land use in Prague has changed rapidly over the past several decades

Prague has seen the most intensive urbanisation and suburbanisation of any municipality in the Czech Republic. Between 1985 and 2000, built-up areas increased from 1.1% of the territory to approximately 8.1%. However, Prague continues to have a very large share of agricultural and natural lands in its territories. Around a quarter of the city’s land is open countryside and almost a quarter is agricultural land. Large areas of suburban woods are integrated with residential areas. Forested areas in Prague have increased by almost a third over the past century. Housing covers 12% of Prague’s area while 5.5% is reserved for public services and amenities.

Flood water management along the river is critical. Prague sits in the heart of the Bohemian Basin and is bisected by the Vltava River, which is prone to occasional flooding. Erosion along the river’s blanks and flood protection are a critical element of land-use planning for the city.

Prague is experiencing rapid peri-urban growth. Between 2000 and 2012, developed land across Prague’s FUA increased by 0.7% per year, which is higher than the European FUA average, at 0.40%. By far the greatest increases in developed land were seen in Prague’s commuting zone, which grew by 1.03% per annum over this period. This is almost twice the European average for the same period (0.52% per annum).

While Prague has seen growth in developed land in the commuting zone, this growth has been slower than population growth and more than in the core over the same time period. In the core, the percentage change in developed land per capita was just -0.15 between 2000 and 2012, indicating that growth in developed land is only slightly lower than population growth. Meanwhile, developed land per capita in Prague’s commuting zone declined by -0.62% per annum between 2000 and 2012.

Prague’s 1999 land-use plan (currently in force) assigned land for the development of single-family homes within its outer areas. However, for the most part, such developments have skipped this zone, moving instead to nearby communities in Central Bohemia. This peri-urbanisation is driven by a number of factors: there are cultural preferences for home and car ownership; land is in many cases cheaper in the peripheral areas; and finally, the building permission process in peripheral areas can be less onerous than in Prague itself due to differences in zoning and administration.

This peri-urbanisation has important environmental implications. High-quality agricultural soil is being lost as a result of urbanisation. Between 2006 and 2012, a total of 2 816 ha of agricultural land were converted into built-up areas in Prague. A study by Spilková and Šefrna notes that this urbanisation of high-quality agricultural land is occurring despite the existence of Czech legislation to protect the highest quality soils (2010).
Prague is a major contributor to national economic growth with a strong service-based economy

Among OECD FUAs, Prague stands in the top quartile in terms of GDP growth (2000-13), labour productivity growth (2000-13) and GDP as a share of national value (2013). In terms of the levels of GDP per capita (2013), Prague FUA is ranked slightly lower than its OECD FUA counterparts, falling in the second quartile. In light of the fact that Prague substantially exceeds the economic indicators of the other parts of the Czech Republic, it is only eligible for limited support from EU Cohesion Funds.

Tourism in Prague has been growing steadily – from approximately 16 million overnight stays in 2012 to approximately 17.5 million in 2014. The number of visitors reached 6.1 million in 2014 and the vast majority of this tourism is concentrated in Prague’s historic city centre, which spans just 8.6 km². The number of residents in this area has decreased, from 170 000 in 1900 to 53 000 in 2001. Much of the existing population has been displaced due to a steep rise in property prices in the core. Today there are debates about how the central area can retain touristic functions while also being a place that local residents can enjoy.

The city’s many cultural heritage sites, historical zones and natural zones require preservation. There are over 2 000 protected heritage monuments in Prague and its centre is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The UNESCO World Heritage Site covers 898 ha (its buffer zones spans another 9 016 ha) and is the site of 20% of all places of employment in the city. Further, Prague has 12 nature parks that comprise 20% of the city’s territory which hold special protection status.
Population projections for Prague anticipate growth to 2050. According to most probable (middle) scenario, Prague’s population is anticipated to increase by 20%, to 1.49 million by 2050 (this scenario has been used for the new land-use plan – the Metropolitan Plan Prague). An increase in life expectancy is also anticipated such that that Prague will have an ageing population. For example, under the middle range population scenario, the percentage of the population aged 65 and over is anticipated to increase by 36% between 2016 and 2050, while for those under 25 it is anticipated to increase by 21% and for those aged 26-64, by 12%.

This has important implications for how land is used. A growing population will require new housing, public amenities and infrastructure. Further, different age cohorts will have additional specific needs. For instance, Prague’s growing senior population will create demand for accessible and affordable housing and good public transportation in order to ensure that they are able to successfully age in place. It is also anticipated that there will be an increase in the share of children. This will increase demand for schools, recreation facilities, parks and other public amenities.

### Prague population forecasts, 3 scenarios

![Image of population forecasts graph]

### Middle range population forecast, by age grouping

![Image of middle range population forecast graph]

Housing prices in Prague are higher than that of the rest of the Czech Republic, reflecting higher demand. In 2016, the average price per square metre of an apartment in Prague was 30% greater than that of the next largest city in the country, Brno. Prices also vary considerably across the city. In 2016, the average price per square metre of an apartment in the Prague 9 district was almost 2.5 times higher in the central historical district. There is a growing demand in Prague for low-cost homes on the one hand and luxury homes on the other – demand for mid-range housing is fulfilled in large measure by the satellite communities surrounding Prague. There are growing concerns about housing affordability in Prague given rapidly rising purchase prices over the past year.

Prague – those with the potential to transform entire neighbourhoods and districts – are located in central brownfield sites. It is a major local government priority to work with developers/investors and local residents to make the most of these sites – to develop them into new and dynamic mixed-use spaces.

While Prague has a low degree of social-spatial segregation, gentrification and a growth in gated communities present a risk for the future. Prague, like cities across the Czech Republic, has generally low levels of poverty and socio-economic inequality. However, at the neighbourhood level, there is growing gentrification in some parts of the city. Over the longer term this could lead to new areas of spatially concentrated poverty as lower income residents are induced to move to seek more affordable housing options. There are also a growing number of gated communities that, by their very nature, have low social mixity. Further, the overall high price of housing has restricted in-migration of lower income residents to the city, which leads to lower levels of social mixity overall. It is also important to note that there are marginalised residents – mainly elderly people, single parents (mostly women), persons with disabilities, homeless persons and Roma – who face disproportionately high costs for housing and who concentrate in substandard housing, often dormitories with short term and insecure leases.
Prague has an integrated transport system that includes all forms of public transport in the city. Between 2007 and 2015, regional passenger transport increased significantly (by over 50%) while total urban passenger transport remained static. This demonstrates growing demand for public transportation in the city’s surrounding locales. Like Prague, the Central Bohemian region also has an integrated transport system. Part of Prague’s transport system extends beyond its borders into five external zones in Central Bohemia that are funded by the Central Bohemian region. The regional transport systems of Prague and Central Bohemia have co-ordinated since 2015, and are discussing further integration to create a single transport system.

Growing sub- and peri-urbanisation has led to increasing pressure on the roadways and an increase in car ownership. The number of passenger cars (and vans) in Prague as a proportion of the population increased between 2009 and 2015 by 8.4% overall. It also increased in Central Bohemia over the same period, though by a smaller amount – approximately 5%. Traffic has increased in Prague’s outer area far more than in its inner one, particularly in the case of car traffic, which increased between 2000 and 2015 by around 59%. Traffic intensity in Prague is often at a road’s full capacity and this congestion has attendant negative environmental consequences, such as air pollution, and economic consequences, such as increased commuting time. Ongoing peri-urbanisation processes require new transport solutions and efforts to manage dispersed developments. Public transportation infrastructure does not extend to many of the “bedroom” communities where residents commute to the city of Prague on a daily basis.
The governance of land use in Prague

The Czech Republic has a hierarchical system of plans; lower level plans generally must comply with higher level plans.

The National Spatial Development Policy sits at the top of this hierarchy. It contains general guidelines for planning, specific requirements for sustainable development, and outlines the key spatial relations within the country and the objectives of the national government related to them (e.g. areas important to the development of technical and transport infrastructure). At the regional level, development principles play a similar role as the Spatial Development Policy at the national level. However, they provide more details for specific policy areas (such as roads) or for zones of particular importance. At the municipal level there are three types of plans: 1) a land-use plan that shows permitted land uses for the entire municipality; 2) regulatory plans for specific areas, such as redevelopment zones; 3) non-statutory and non-legally binding planning studies.

Prague’s governance is unique. It has some of its own legislation, such as its own municipal act and building code. It has the powers of a region and the powers of a municipality, but some of these powers have been delegated to the city districts and boroughs. There is an interplay among these levels that makes planning processes more complex.
Prague’s new building regulations are grounded in urbanism principles – aiming to create walkable, attractive neighbourhoods with high-quality public and green spaces.

Prague’s land-use plan is in part operationalised by the city’s building regulations. These determine the technical standards regarding the height of the buildings, their placement on a lot, the distance between buildings, the height of individual rooms inside the buildings, the amount of parking places per building, and so on. Prague’s new building regulations also contain traditional urban planning instruments, such as street or building lines.

Prague has a lengthy two-step building approvals process.

While the administrative costs related to building approvals in Prague are relatively low compared to other European cities, the length of time that it takes to receive a permit is much longer and the process is more complex. For example, the World Bank’s “Doing Business” report finds that it takes on average 247 days to obtain a planning permit to construct a warehouse in the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic ranked 183rd out of 213 countries surveyed by this measure. For more complicated projects, the Czech building permit process can take between three to seven years.

With the two-step approval process there is more space for objections, which the regional planning authorities must address. If any of the involved bodies do not agree with the result, it is possible to request an opinion or decision of the Ministry for Regional Development on the matter. Afterwards, there is also the possibility to appeal to the regular court. Further, the process is administratively onerous, requiring the binding opinions of 23 authorities for both steps. In some cases, opinions are also required by state authorities. In total, up to 45 different approvals may be required by state and municipal authorities. In some cases, the approvals of different levels of government or different departments can be contradictory, which presents further obstacles and delay.

In acknowledgement of the need to streamline this complicated approvals process, an amendment to the Building Act has been proposed. The amendment would permit municipal authorities to issue a joint ruling for a town and country planning (zoning) procedure, and for a building procedure. To date, these two procedures are separate. Under the proposed amendment, a binding assessment of the environmental impact of construction would form the basis of permission to build and this decision-making process would be integrated into a joint permit. These are important amendments that could reduce regulatory burden and streamline the building approvals process without reducing environmental diligence.
Prague has limited fiscal autonomy and few fiscal tools to shape spatial development

Prague has low fiscal autonomy and limited financial instruments at its disposal. This means that, on the one hand, it does not face strong expansionary pressure in order to raise revenues; nor does it face inherent competition with surrounding municipalities for the location of residents on fiscal terms (though it does on environmental and other terms). However, at the same time the city does not see strong benefits from economic growth. Fiscal planning and urban planning are poorly co-ordinated. For example, the fiscal implications of land-use plans are not considered.

The vast majority of Prague’s revenue comes from either taxes or, to a lesser extent, transfers. The taxes Prague receives are non-direct – they are collected by the national government and transferred back to the city. Therefore, while Prague fiscally gains from, for instance, new residents, businesses and the tourism economy, it does not see a direct link from these gains. Overall, the taxes and fees for which Prague has local discretion are low, such as the property tax and other taxes. Prague’s real estate taxes are approximately 1% of total revenue.
This is an important time for spatial and land-use planning in Prague. The city’s updated strategic plan sets a course of action which will be complemented and reinforced by the new Metropolitan Plan and the updated set of building regulations. After years of outdated and not respected strategic and regulatory spatial planning documents that had limited public and political support behind them, efforts have been made to develop more inclusionary processes that offer a strong assessment of the major issues facing the city and directions for reform.

In the coming years the focus will turn to implementation. Will Prague be able to meet its spatial development goals? Will it be able to, for instance, transform existing brownfield sites into new residential and commercial areas that are well linked to transportation networks and services; will the city be able to improve the quality of its public spaces and parks; will the desire for dynamic and mixed-use neighbourhoods come to fruition; can the expansion into greenfields, which has characterised so much of the metropolitan area’s development over the past two decades, be halted in favour of more sustainable forms of development; and, critically, how can Prague work with other municipalities and the region of Central Bohemia to better co-ordinate on spatial development? The tools and instruments that the city has at its disposal to shape these changes will greatly impact its ability to meet these ambitions. The following recommendations offer priority areas for action.
Prague cannot enforce its vision of development on nearby local governments. It instead needs to adopt a collaborative approach to jointly manage development with proximate municipalities and Central Bohemia. The European Union’s Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) funds create an important new incentive for such collaboration. The 2016 Integrated Territorial Investment Strategy for the Prague metropolitan area, which involves joint projects with Central Bohemia and other partners, promotes co-ordinated metropolitan approaches in a number of areas. While the ITI will address aspects of transportation planning, it does not as yet include projects for co-ordinated spatial development more broadly. It will be critical to translate this programme into longer term partnerships that address those issues that are not just mutually beneficial, but also potentially contentious.

Incentives need to be in place to encourage ongoing partnership. The national government has a critical role to play in this regard by either establishing ongoing fiscal incentives for such collaboration and/or regulatory frameworks that can overcome the inherent co-ordination challenges. There are many options in this regard. On the regulatory side, the national government could establish a new type of spatial strategy to govern functional areas in the territory, much as France has done with its plans of territorial coherence. Such plans help to overcome France’s territorial fragmentation and large number of communes – a feature which is pertinent in the Czech Republic as well. In terms of funding, the national government could create a specific funding stream that is linked to co-operative spatial development projects and/or plans. One objective in this regard should be to enhance the co-ordinated spatial planning capacities of sub- and peri-urban communities that are seeing the greatest population growth and/or commercial and industrial expansion. Prague’s FUA by the OECD definition encompasses 435 municipalities, with the city of Prague and the municipality of Kladno forming its core. Given the large number of municipal actors involved, partnerships should be prioritised based on the greatest need.
Use of fiscal tools, instruments and incentives to complement spatial development objectives

Fiscal instruments can provide powerful incentives for how land is used. Properly structured, they can create incentives (or disincentives) that shape individual behaviour in terms of how space is used and land is managed. There are a wide variety of fiscal instruments that the city could draw on to more effectively meet its spatial objectives. For example, the property tax does not capture market value; it is spatially neutral and does not capture, for instance, increases in the value of properties due to public investments in infrastructure. A shift to an ad valorem tax on property is warranted – i.e. a tax that takes the actual market value of the property into account. Effective tax rates should be raised to increase the share of revenues that municipalities directly control and their calculation should be based on property value rather than property size, with these values updated regularly, as in most OECD countries. This should be combined with land-use planning instruments at the municipal and regional level to avoid unintended consequences such as urban sprawl.

Properly structured, property taxes can act as a land value-capture tool – an instrument that has great potential and is not being presently used in Prague. Such tools capture the changes in land use that are occurring as a result of public investments in, for example, green spaces, amenities and new transportation linkages. Rather than allowing private individuals and businesses to retain the market value benefit from increased property values attributable to public spending and investment, the city should take steps to “capture” a portion of the increases in value. Beyond a value-based property tax, other “value-capture” mechanisms linked to specific public infrastructure projects can be used, such as betterment levies (sometimes called special assessments).

Other potential fiscal instruments include parking rates, which could be used to manage congestion with rates set highest in the historical core and lower farther out with discounted rates provided for residents (as is done in Amsterdam). At present, national legislation places limits on the amount that can be raised in parking fees or new tolls. Further, the city does not currently employ any fiscal instruments to encourage density, despite this being a critical spatial objective. The city could use, for example, transfer of development rights (TDR), which preserve open space and limit density in underserviced/peripheral areas and increase density in well-serviced ones (i.e. limit sprawl and preserve open space). Another critical tool for the city could be brownfield redevelopment incentives that could offer subsidies or grants as an inducement to develop; these could be attached to other criteria – e.g. making high-quality public spaces part of the project. Another possibility is to introduce a differentiated hotel tax with higher rates in the urban core, which could encourage visitors to stay in areas outside of the city centre, thus lessening the environmental impacts in this high-use zone.

Prague is significantly constrained by national laws but it may be able to find specific charges or subsidies it can adopt and certain fiscal tools it could use. However, matters such as the shift to an ad valorem property tax fall to national jurisdiction and would require changes to revenue-sharing arrangements among levels of government.
Prague’s strategic plan is the critical framework document that forwards an integrated approach to spatial and land-use policy. It sets the city’s strategic objectives across a number of policy areas. However, the strategy’s effectiveness is undermined by the fact that borough-level strategic plans are not obliged to confirm to its objectives. Moreover, other municipal strategies and frameworks, programmes or sectoral concepts prepared by the city administration are also not obliged to confirm to the strategic plan. This fundamentally undermines the co-ordinative purpose of such a strategy and its ability to be implemented. The persistence of sectoral divisions undermines the city’s ability to solve complex challenges.

The city’s strategic plan should be the guiding document for investment for both the city and its boroughs. It is both a political document, signalling investments for the future, and a public document that was elaborated through a process of public dialogue and engagement. The implementation of the strategic plan should be monitored and reported on regularly in a way that holds both government actors and elected officials to account. This will, in turn, serve to build trust with residents, which is a priority for the city, particularly when it comes to spatial planning.
Improve the relationship between residents, developers and local government

Monitor and report on strategic spatial goals

Improving the relationship between residents, developers, and the city and boroughs is a high priority; it is mentioned in both the city’s strategic and metropolitan plans. This critical work should continue and should be expanded to include reporting on the progress on spatial strategies and monitoring neighbourhood change. Key indicators should be developed and communicated to the public annually; these could include subjective indicators that ask residents about how they experience their environment.

Enhance the public engagement function and review appeals regulations

Objections and appeals for building approvals and other plans and documents within the Czech planning system are common. Such appeals are relatively easy and low cost to submit. The system has evolved in a confrontational and litigious manner. A number of actions need to be put into place in order to improve relations and reduce the recourse to the formal appeals process. Dialogue on projects should be opened at the conceptual stage of the planning approvals process, particularly on large projects. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) should be involved in a regularised way and efforts should be made to provide information in a clear and transparent manner in order to facilitate public input. In the case of larger projects, it may be useful to support an intermediary NGO between the city and developer to work with residents. This is a practice that has been adopted for example in Amsterdam, with positive effects.

Beyond this, the rules around public appeals and engagement should be revisited, including their time frame. For example, there should be limits on nuisance appellants, which is a common practice in many OECD countries. Beyond appeals for building/planning permission, at present there is a three-year time frame during which individuals can appeal at court against approved and accepted plans – at all levels, for any reason. This can create a litigation chill with planning authorities becoming risk adverse and potentially adopting less effective (and innovative) solutions as a result.

Establish clear guidelines for the negotiations between developers and planning authorities

According to Czech building law, a development contract can be created between the municipality and developer to co-finance transport and technical infrastructure. However, this is not a common practice among Czech municipalities; it is a legally complicated process that is rarely used in Prague. Prague and its boroughs should develop a clear framework to support developer contributions for infrastructure. There should be a transparent framework for such negotiations that is uniformly applied; this would improve negotiations and the trust between the investor and the public bodies. In the case of large-scale projects, developer contributions should be negotiated upfront and the resulting agreements should be subject to public input and scrutiny.

Limiting developer contributions to only technical and transport infrastructure should be reconsidered. It could, for instance, be expanded to include contributions to public spaces, schools and amenities, which are critical investments to support dynamic neighbourhoods. Boroughs have a right to discuss with investors whether they are prepared to participate in changes in the public space prior to the building permit process and recent experience has shown that such negotiations can be positive for all, with developers benefiting from self-promotion and improved neighbourhood relations. However, there is no legal instrument that supports this type of negotiation and city districts cannot sign planning agreements.
Reduce the regulatory burden facing developers in the building approvals process

The city should work to lessen the regulatory burden on developers by, for example, establishing a one-stop process for building permits so that it is not on the onus of the developer to obtain multiple approvals from individual departments. At present, the process is long, complex and administratively complicated. As a consequence, developers may choose to take their projects outside of Prague’s administrative borders, thus going against the city’s objective to be an attractive area for investment and to promote more compact development. This need not entail a lessening of regulatory requirements, but rather improved administrative processes among the various municipal and district departments involved.

Enhance the monitoring and evaluation of spatial trends – for both Prague and its functional urban area

Improved monitoring and evaluation of spatial trends (social-spatial, economic, physical/environmental) will help assess the impacts of the new Metropolitan Plan, once it has been adopted, and determine whether the city is on track to meet its spatial development goals. It will help monitor and respond to change and communicate this to citizens. It will further help the city monitor and respond to risks, such as growing social segregation, or to respond to demographic trends, such as a growing elderly population. Special attention should be paid to monitoring compact city indicators. The national government – e.g. the Czech Republic’s National Institute for Spatial Development – could support the elaboration of spatial development strategies in peri urban areas by convening a thematic research project that will both monitor peri urban spatial trends and assess the policy implications for, for example, service delivery and transportation provision. This should also be a prerogative for regional governments to support coherent rural-urban spatial strategies. Such evidence-based assessments will help establish priority areas for collaboration.
About the OECD’s work on the Governance of Land Use

The report The Governance of Land Use in the Czech Republic: The case of Prague is part of the OECD’s Regional Development Policy Committee (RDPC) and its Working Party on Urban Policy (WPURB) and the Working Party on Rural Policy (WPRUR) programme of research on the Governance of Land Use.

This study of spatial and land-use planning in the Czech Republic is one of several land-use case studies that the OECD has undertaken (i.e. Poland, The Netherlands, Israel and France). This report, together with other governance of land use case studies, have in turn informed The Governance of Land Use in OECD Countries: Policy Analysis and Recommendations (2017), which provides policy analysis and a synthesis of the main recommendations from OECD work on land use. The OECD has also produced a companion volume to the aforementioned report—Land-Use Planning Systems in the OECD: Country Fact Sheets (2017)—which provides a descriptive overview of land-use planning systems across OECD countries.

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