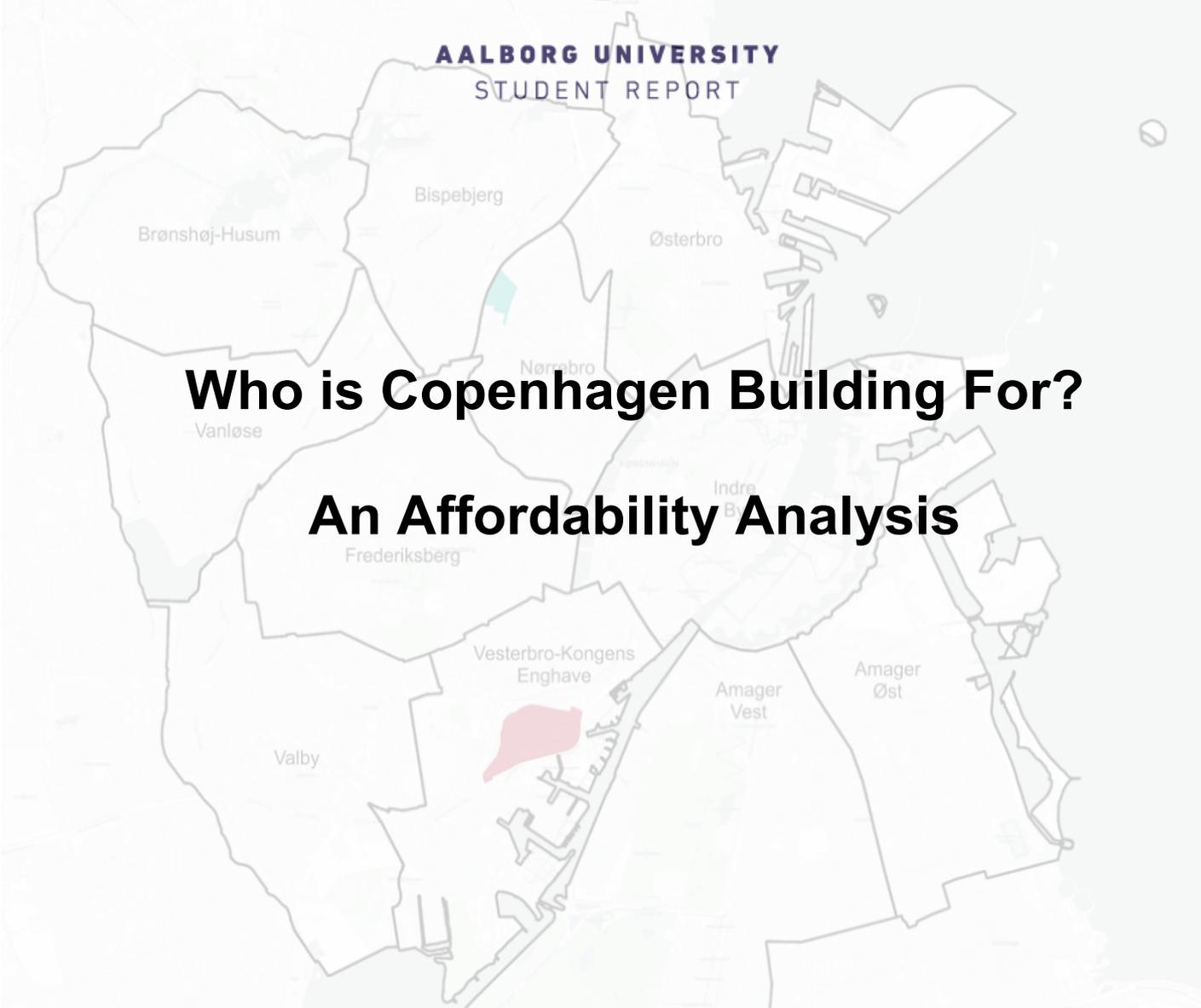




AALBORG UNIVERSITY
STUDENT REPORT



Who is Copenhagen Building For?
An Affordability Analysis

Project Period: Autumn Semester 2025/2026

Program: Sustainable Cities (MSc), Department of Sustainability and Planning

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Abstract

Migration to European cities increases housing demand and housing costs. Housing affordability has become a growing challenge in Copenhagen, where a mismatch between construction and demand leaves residents at risk of cost overburden. Policy interventions seek to improve affordability through planning practices and promote socially mixed neighbourhoods.

This research analyses who will be able to access and afford rental housing in two case areas in Copenhagen. Jernbanebyen represents a new development area in central Copenhagen with only a limited number of existing buildings. Mjølnerparken was chosen as a transformation area, where tenure shifted from exclusively non-profit housing to a mixed tenure structure, including for-profit housing, because of the Parallel Society Agreement.

A mixed methods research design is applied to analyse the two cases. Qualitatively, policy documents are examined, and semi-structured interviews are conducted with housing market experts. Quantitatively, housing affordability is assessed by applying income deciles to three household types: youth, senior and family households. Minimum flat sizes are used to determine whether different household constellations can afford standard housing at estimated square metre prices without being overburdened. Spatial and visual tools are used to illustrate the quantitative results.

Overall, non-profit housing offers rents that are more affordable than those in for-profit housing. The findings show that for youth, the bottom three income deciles, and for families in FPH, the bottom 1-2 deciles are structurally excluded from standardised minimum dwelling sizes under equalised income conditions. While smaller flat sizes may be affordable for some households, larger units are generally unaffordable and can be overburdening. Even under optimistic assumptions of a 40% income increase, results indicate that part-time workers, youth households and caregiving households remain disadvantaged.

This research reveals a policy contradiction between social mixing intentions and planning practices. Large flat size standards and tenure structures emerge as key drivers of exclusion. Redevelopment measures in Mjølnerparken resulted in the relocation of residents, indicating state-led gentrification, in the name of social mixing. Access to housing in new and transformed developments is structurally limited for lower-income households. The study highlights a need for a substantial expansion of non-profit housing and more income-sensitive access mechanisms to improve affordability across income deciles and prevent exclusion.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BL | Boligselskabernes Landsforening |
| CMC | Metroens klar-gøringscenter (Metroselskabet's preparation centre) |
| DTI | Debt-to-income |
| EU | European Union |
| FPH | For-profit Housing |
| GIS | Geographic Information Systems |
| KAB | Københavns Almindelige Boligselskab |
| NBF | National Building Fund |
| NPH | Non-profit Housing |
| NREP | Nordic Real Estate Partners |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| RQ | Research Question |
| UNECE | United Nations Economic Commission of Europe |

Terminology

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Affordable housing | Costs 30% or less of gross income |
| Capital Region of Denmark | Hovedstaden |
| Construction cost cap | Maximum amount for subsidised housing construction |
| Cost-based rent | Omkostningsbestemt husleje |
| Danish Rental Act | Lejeloven |
| Equivalised disposable household income | Household's after-tax income adjusted for household size and composition |
| Flexible letting | Fleksibel udlejning |
| Housing Court | Boligretten |
| Housing cost burden | Costs 30-40% of disposable income |
| Housing cost overburden | Costs more than 40% of disposable income (Rosenfeld, 2017) |
| Housing for the elderly and people with disabilities | Almene Ældreboliger; with no permanent staff (Statistics Denmark, 2018) |
| Housing shares or utility costs | Repeating monthly costs to cover utilities, including electricity, heat, homeowners' insurance, etc. These costs are excluded when calculating Boligstøtte (Agency for Digital Government, 2024) |
| Internal floor area | Space people can realistically live in |
| Local Committee | Lokaludvalg |
| Local Plan | Kommuneplan |
| Municipal Rent Board | Huslejenævn |
| Non-profit housing | Almene boliger |
| Nursing homes | Plejehjem: Nursing homes with permanent staff (Statistics Denmark, 2018). The municipality must provide care and support for practical needs regardless of age (Serviceloven, 2018) |

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Parallel Society Agreement | Parallelsamfundsaftalen |
| Planning Act | Byplanloven |
| Public Housing | Publicly owned housing |
| Public Housing Act | Almenboligloven |
| Senior living community | Seniorbofællesskab (no permanent staff, shared spaces and own flats (KAB, n.d.)) |
| Social Housing | Housing reserved for vulnerable groups called skæve boliger |
| Social Service Act | Service-loven |
| State pension | Folkepensionister (Agency for Digital Government, 2026) |
| Value of the rental property | Det lejedes værdi |

1 Introduction

Housing is a basic need. It provides social stability and inclusion when moving to a new place. Cities offer work and educational opportunities, leading to increasing housing demand. However, it has become more difficult to find affordable housing in cities which struggle to provide enough housing. Housing affordability is an issue in cities worldwide. Housing prices in the European Union (EU) increased by 53% on average between 2015 and 2024 (Knight Frank, 2024). In 2024, Denmark had the second-highest share of housing costs in household consumption of all the countries that are part of the intergovernmental *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD). This share has been increasing over the past decades (OECD, 2026).

There is a structural mismatch between housing construction and demand. Land in cities is scarce, and higher construction costs have driven up rental prices. These structural issues require regulation; however, housing has not yet been regulated at the EU level. Member states still manage housing issues themselves.

In Denmark, there is universal access to non-profit housing (NPH) units (Almene boliger). The private NPH is not based on income. It is not only accessible to the poorest but also to everyone, promoting social cohesion. However, while people with higher incomes can afford to live in private for-profit housing (FPH), lower-income individuals theoretically compete with everyone for NPH units. Since only 21% of housing units in Denmark are NPH, where one million residents reside, some people are forced to live in FPH (OECD, 2026). Therefore, it is relevant to investigate who can still afford the Danish rental market. Because of rising rental prices and low NPH rates, some tenants are at risk of being overburdened. This is a structural problem, not an individual one (Brenner et al., 2012).

Planning practices shape where people can live. In Denmark, municipalities design and approve development plans which, among other things, aim to promote social mixing. This is influenced by political decisions such as the Parallel Society Agreement (Parallelsamfundsaf-talen), which affects certain income groups and demographics more negatively than others. The intention is to mix neighbourhoods by diversifying their social composition (Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2021). Often, tenants are overlooked in the debates, as the focus lies on housing types and tenures. In practice, this can be seen in cases where social mixing is pursued through redevelopment measures that may require relocating existing residents if densification is not possible, as was the case in Mjølnerparken. Danish regulation, while officially aiming for inclusion, creates gentrification pressure and contributes to displacements.

While this outcome is observed in Copenhagen, other capital cities have other strategies to manage social mixing and affordable housing. To contextualise

Copenhagen's approach, these other examples can be explored and demonstrate that Copenhagen's housing crisis is not unique.

An internationally recognised example of a large-scale subsidised housing model is the city of Vienna. In Vienna, approximately two-thirds of the residential floor area of newly built housing on rezoned land is dedicated to subsidised housing, including developments on former industrial land and land in high-demand areas (Global Policy Leadership Academy, 2024). Subsidised housing in Vienna is delivered by both NPH associations and public entities owned by the city (Glaser, 2022). On the other hand, according to the Planning Act (Byplanloven), Copenhagen requires that 25% of the residential floor area in new development plans is allocated to NPH (Byplanloven, 2015, §15(2)(9)). While Denmark provides universal access towards NPH, Vienna applies social access criteria such as a minimum period of residency in the city (Wohnberatung Wien, n.d.).

Berlin is a case where social-mixing policies had unintended consequences. A part of the district Neukölln was portrayed as a deprived area due to an above-average low-income rate and less educated residents who were first- or second-generation immigrants. State-led interventions were justified through a narrative that problematised the tenants of these areas. As a result of redevelopment actions, new residents with, e.g. higher education levels moved in to decrease the "social segregation" (Huning & Schuster, 2015). This Berlin case provides a relevant parallel to the Copenhagen case. In Berlin, plans aimed to strengthen social cohesion through spatial interventions, and the promotion of mixed-income neighbourhoods contributed to market-driven gentrification. Similarly, Copenhagen's recent Parallel Society Agreement seeks to increase social mixing by redeveloping and liberalising housing.

These cases demonstrate the limitations and potential of policy tools to promote social mixing and affordable housing. They can produce different outcomes depending on how they are embedded in local governance.

1.1 Research Aim and Objective

Research on housing affordability shows that residents in Copenhagen are distributed across different income deciles and that some have difficulty affording housing (Turk, 2021). Particularly, low-income residents are at risk of being overburdened by housing costs. However, there is a gap in researching affordability, especially in newly developed or transformed areas. Therefore, this thesis focuses on whether all income deciles can afford housing in the chosen neighbourhoods in Copenhagen. The thesis also considers recent regulatory developments to predict how the housing market will evolve. It investigates who Copenhagen is building for and whether the socio-economic mix can be achieved with the current legislation.

The pressing issue of finding affordable housing in Denmark's capital has led to the following research question (RQ):

Given the official intention of social mixing, who can access and afford rental housing in Copenhagen's new and transforming urban developments of Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken?

This research will analyse affordability disparities by testing the following hypotheses:

1. The households in the bottom three deciles are excluded from both new developments and from transformation areas.
2. There is a contradiction: The policy goal is integration and a social mix, but the actual outcome is displacement and exclusion. The dynamics of the housing market reinforce socio-spatial inequality.

1.2 Scope and Case Selection

There are several development areas in Copenhagen. The focus lies on Mjølnerparken, where the Parallel Society Agreement achieved a reduction in NPH following renovations to housing units, and on Jernbanebyen, a new central development area with few residential homes yet. This thesis analyses housing affordability in those areas in the near future, once the rent is finalised in Mjølnerparken and the developments in Jernbanebyen are finished. Together, these cases allow concluding what ensues from applying national legislation and municipal planning tools in a transformation area and a new development area. Theoretically, those areas hold great potential to realise more affordable and inclusive neighbourhoods.

2 Literature Review on Affordable Housing

The literature review defines affordability and provides an overview of policies and the national housing system. It goes into detail on Danish housing policies. It discusses the discourse on social-mixing strategies as a planning tool, since this is a much-discussed topic in Danish housing policy. Subsequently, municipal instruments are presented, focusing on Copenhagen, where the two case areas are located. Lastly, the overarching Danish and Copenhagen housing market trends in the last decades are described. Rising rents and income trend statistics are shown to outline the current situation.

2.1 Defining Housing Affordability

Affordable housing is relative to a person's circumstances, based on the cost of housing and the person's income (Noring et al., 2022). While housing systems across EU countries are set up differently, with varying types of financing, purpose, and tenure, housing affordability is an international issue (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2025).

The term *affordable housing* is used for different housing types. Often, it is used as a synonym for social housing and low-cost rentals (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2025). In this thesis, the definition of affordability follows that of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), which defines affordable housing as housing costs that do not exceed 30% of a household's disposable income. When this threshold is exceeded for lower-income households, it can negatively affect mental health (Galster & Lee, 2020). This debt-to-income (DTI) ratio approach is a widely used method for measuring housing affordability because it is well-suited for comparisons and relatively objective. It is used for both home ownership, based on mortgage payments, and rental housing, looking at rent payments. Since this measure can be less useful for higher-income groups, where it might only reflect household preferences, the H30/40 indicator can be applied to assess housing stress and the risk of housing-induced poverty. This indicator identifies households in the bottom 40% of the income distribution that spend more than 30% of their income on housing (Galster & Lee, 2020; UNECE, 2024). Finally, the cost overburden rate indicates if a household spends more than 40% of its monthly disposable income on rent (Eurostat, 2025). In 2024, this overburden applied to 9,8% of European households in cities, and to more than 20% of Danish households, which shows that this topic is relevant (European Parliament, 2025; OECD, 2026)

2.2 Affordable Housing as an International Policy Responsibility

In 2021, the European Parliament requested that member states recognise adequate housing as a fundamental human right (European Parliament, 2025). The right to adequate housing is loosely defined as criteria including affordability, availability of services, accessibility, and cultural adequacy (UN Committee on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1991). This shows that providing affordable housing should not be *optional* but a *must*, to be provided and ensured by governing bodies.

However, a shortage of available housing is evident, due to fewer construction investments since 2008 and slower construction due to the COVID-19 pandemic (European Parliament, 2025). This leads to big cities, including in Scandinavia, having issues with affordability, even for mid-income households (Granath Hansson et al., 2024).

To tackle this issue and develop an affordable housing plan, the EU Commissioner for Energy and Housing launched an affordable housing dialogue in 2025. This plan shall include measures to support member states in increasing the number of affordable homes. Establishing an investment platform across member states, changing state aid regulation, investigating the results of housing speculation and other general goals are published already, teasing the affordable housing plan (European Commission, 2025). The European Trade Union Confederation demands more restrictions on short-term rentals, EU investments in non-profit housing provision, and an increase in the share of non-profit, public, and social housing. Moreover, rent price increases should be regulated. However, this plan shall only support public national housing policies, not undermine them (European Trade Union Confederation, 2024). Since this plan will be finalised after this thesis has been completed, it is not part of this analysis, but it demonstrates the urgency.

EU rights are not directly enforceable at the municipal level, and housing remains a national competence. National law is therefore critical. Nevertheless, EU frameworks shape state regulations based on EU rights, non-discrimination laws and state aid rules. Housing policy, however, is essentially put into practice at the municipal level, where cities translate these frameworks into concrete action (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2025).

The adoption of EU regulations into Danish law is relevant to this thesis's understanding of housing in Copenhagen. Denmark has not adopted housing as a human right; however, for example, allocation practices are supposed to support the economically vulnerable. This will be laid out in 2.4.1, after an overview of the Danish housing tenures is given.

2.3 Danish Housing Tenures

There are different housing types in Denmark, mainly divided into owner-occupied and rental properties (see Figure 1). The largest share of residents' lives in rental properties. However, there are different types of rental contracts, including those with companies or individuals renting out FPH (highlighted in light blue in Figure 1) and with NPH associations (highlighted in green). In cooperative housing, tenants own a share of the property, not the whole property they live in, unlike owner-occupied units.

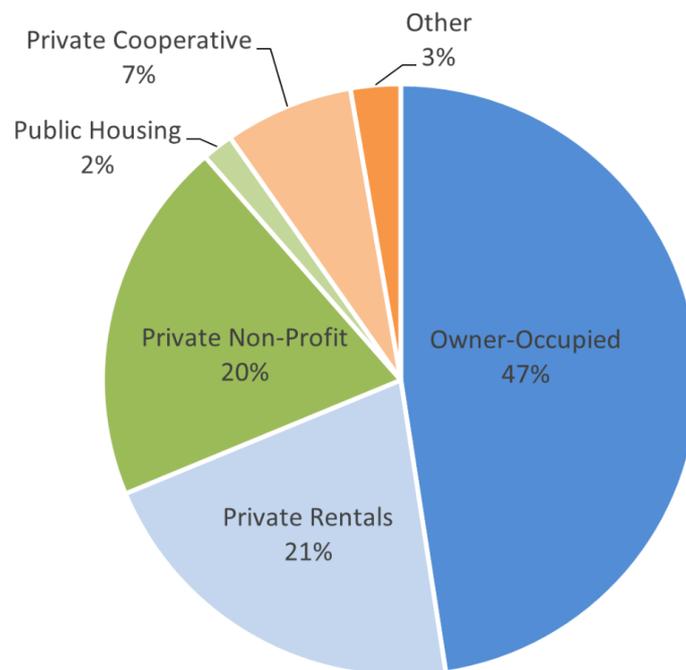


Figure 1: Share of housing types in Denmark in 2025 (Statistics Denmark, 2025a)

In addition to the housing types shown in Figure 1, there are some special housing types among the shares shown which are relatively affordable. However, these types are not accessible to everyone and are available in limited quantities, which is why they are considered in the discussion.

2.4 Danish Rental Regulation

Two main acts shape the Danish housing market. The Danish Rental Act (Lejeloven) regulates the for-profit Danish rental market, while the Public Housing Act (Almenboligloven) regulates the non-profit market. These regulations are relevant to the case selection. In the case of Mjølnerparken, NPH built before 1992 was renovated and is now partly regulated FPH. In Jernbanebyen, NPH and unregulated FPH are compared on affordability. The state and municipalities also have regulations in place to control housing allocations to housing applicants to a certain degree. This is laid out in this chapter.

2.4.1 Allocation Practices

Urgent subsidised housing needs in Denmark are met through the Public Housing Act. This includes that municipalities have the right to allocate tenants for 20% of NPH dwellings (Almenboligloven, 2021, §59). If housing associations agree, municipalities can even decide over up to 100% of the residents, such as in student dorms and nursing homes (Nielsen & Haagerup, 2020). Assignments are based on an assessment of the housing applicant's needs and the composition of residents in the department to which the housing applicant is assigned or in which they live at the time of assignment.

Since 2000, the municipality has also had the power to decide who can skip the NPH waiting list. This is called flexible letting (fleksibel udlejning) (Nielsen & Haagerup, 2020). There are a few criteria that can lead to a prioritisation on the waiting list. These criteria cover employed people, young people moving away from home, people who otherwise need to commute, people with children, recently separated people, seniors and people with disabilities (Danmark Bolig, n.d.).

Additionally, the Danish Social Service Act (Serviceloven) states that the municipal council must offer temporary accommodation in residential facilities to people with special social problems who do not have or cannot stay in their own homes and who need housing and other support (Serviceloven, 2018, §110). Those are usually subsidised.

2.4.2 For-Profit Rental Market

The municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg are both regulated by the Rental Act (Copenhagen Municipality, 2022b). This is why the rent for residential buildings built before 1992 is still regulated according to the Rental Act. Therefore, property owners must set a *cost-based rent* (omkostningsbestemt husleje) where the property owner includes only the operating costs and calculates a reasonable return to set the rent (Lejeloven, 2022, §§19–24).

If the property of an owner is not regulated under §§ 19–24, the rent can be calculated based on the *value of the rental property* (det lejedes værdi) (Lejeloven, 2022, §§42-45). This alternative requires that the rent not substantially exceed that of comparable housing units in the same area. If the rent seems to exceed the lawful level, tenants may challenge it before the Municipal Rent Board (Huslejenævn), and the board's decision can be appealed at the Housing Court (Boligretten) (Lejeloven, 2022, §45). Where necessary, the board may determine a lawful rent (Lejeloven.dk, 2026). Generally, rent increases are permitted when operating costs increase, improvements are made, or an agreement is in place that sets the rent to the net price index. However, if the rent increase based on improvement exceeds a certain threshold per square meter, tenants must be offered alternative housing (Lejeloven, 2022, §106).

The rent of FPH built after 1991 is unregulated and may be freely negotiated at market levels. Rent increases may be based on contractual agreements, including the net price index (Lejeloven, 2022, §54). However, tenants may still challenge unreasonable rents, which will be compared to local market rents under §45 of the Lejeloven. It is much harder for tenants to argue for an unreasonable rent because, as long as another property owner in the area charges a similar rent, the rent is considered justified. Therefore, it is especially relevant to investigate the effects of deregulation on the rent of buildings built after 1991.

2.4.3 Non-Profit Rental Market

NPH rental agreements are regulated under the Public Housing Act. The rent is cost-based, covering construction costs and running costs (Lejeloven, 2022, §45)

In January 2026, the Danish government adjusted the maximum construction cost for NPH by introducing a *temporary high-price scheme*. Particularly in the Capital Region, the costs can be increased by up to 20 per cent from 2026 to 2035, and these maximum amounts will be revised quarterly to ensure that NPH construction cost caps follow market developments (Ministry of Finance, 2025). As of December 2025, only the funding of 10% out of the 20% is ensured and will affect the rent (Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025). Additionally, a 1% climate index is added to rental housing construction costs and, therefore, to the construction cost cap (Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025).

2.5 Housing Cost Pressures in Denmark

Before discussing affordability issues and the groups experiencing the highest housing cost pressure, the rent and income trends in Denmark are presented.

2.5.1 Rent Development

Since 1992, the rents in Denmark have increased. This is also due to the recently rising land and construction costs (Turk, 2021). Figure 2 shows how rents in Denmark have risen in recent years.

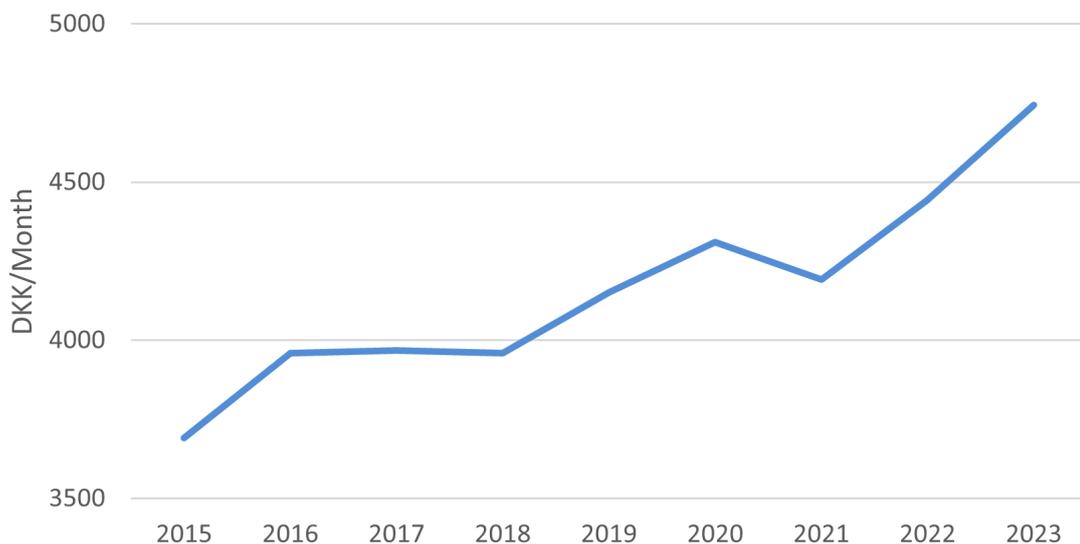


Figure 2: The average rent of rental properties in Denmark from 2015-2023 (Statistics Denmark, 2025c)

In the Capital Region of Denmark (Hovedstaden), rents have risen the most in recent years. Figure 3 shows the comparison between the different regions. On average, the rent in Copenhagen in 2024 is 1.017 DKK per square metre, while the average annual inflation rate has been 2,9% per year (Vasiljeva, 2024).

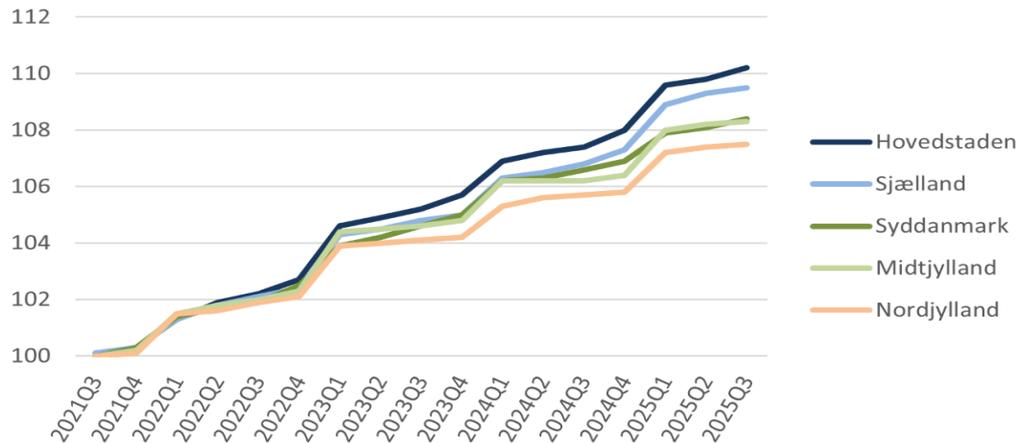


Figure 3: Danish rent indices compared to 2021, by regions (Statistics Denmark, 2025d)

In the Capital Region, the rent in NPH units rose by roughly 3% in 2025 compared to the previous year. This constitutes a higher rise than for FPH the same year (Statistics Denmark, 2025d).

2.5.2 Income Trends

Since 2021, incomes in Denmark have decreased, and while the average income and median income are increasing again, there is a gap between these two, which can point to an increasing wage gap (see Figure 4). This is supported by Alves (2022) who explains that, while socio-economic equality in Denmark is currently high, inequalities are increasing. The thesis will focus on income deciles to clarify the distribution of income.

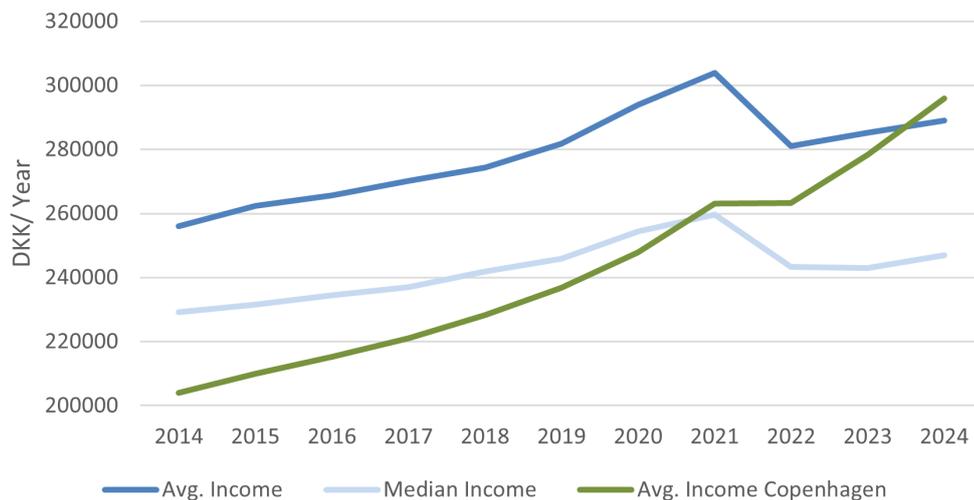


Figure 4: Average and median personal income in Denmark and average income in Copenhagen (Statistics Denmark, 2025f, 2025g)

2.5.3 Vulnerable Groups

In 2023, Denmark received international attention as the only EU country that was in a “critical situation” regarding the housing cost overburden rate (European

Commission, 2023). This burden falls disproportionately on the groups seen in Figure 5 below.

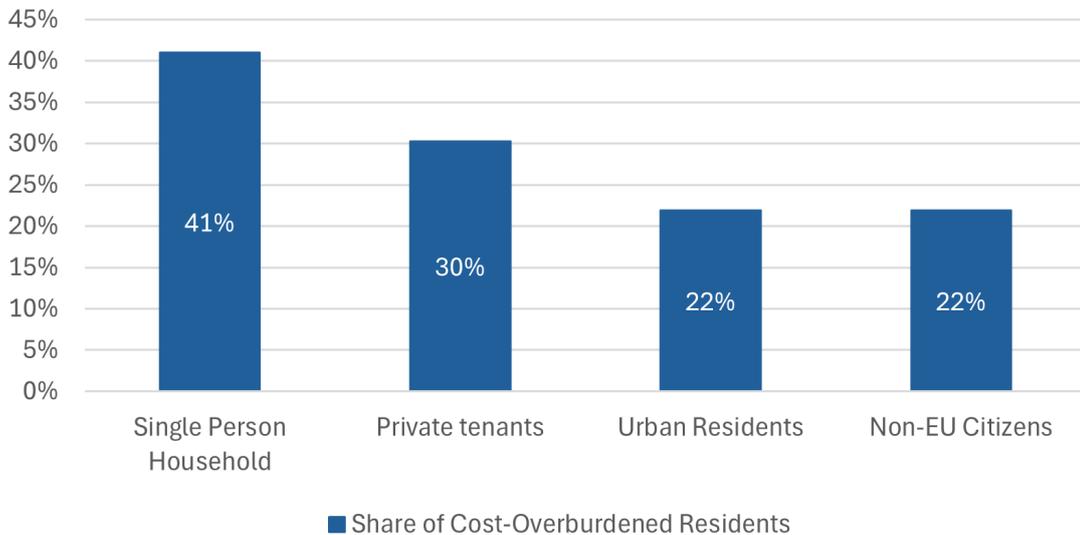


Figure 5: The most affected groups of being housing cost-overburdened in 2023 (European Commission, 2023)

This shows that 41% of all Danish single-person households, roughly 30% of private tenants, almost 22% of city residents, and nearly 22% of non-EU citizens are overburdened by housing prices. Although prices have begun to decline, they remain elevated (European Commission, 2023).

This is relevant to the case selection and the thesis's focus. Choosing two areas in a city, one of which has undergone a transformation which is more than controversial, especially concerning non-Western immigrants and the general emphasis on comparing FPH with NPH.

While economic vulnerability is decreasing, it still applies to 8,3% of Danish residents. According to a Statistics Denmark survey, especially unemployed people and single parents are financially vulnerable. Moreover, tenants are six times more likely to be economically vulnerable than owners (Statistics Denmark, 2025b).

Being at risk of poverty is another indicator that proves the relevance of affordable housing. A person is at risk of poverty when their income is less than 50% of the median income. In Denmark, this applies to 11,6% of the population. When a person is unemployed, the chance of being at risk of poverty is much higher, at 20,2% (Trading Economics, 2025).

Additionally, Figure 6 shows that youth are having difficulty finding NPH because there are more study places than accommodation, resulting in students living in FPH, where rent is unregulated, and students pay, on average, 42% more than in NPH (BL, 2024). Figure 6 includes students who are 17-34 years old and in higher education institutions in 2023 (BL, 2024).

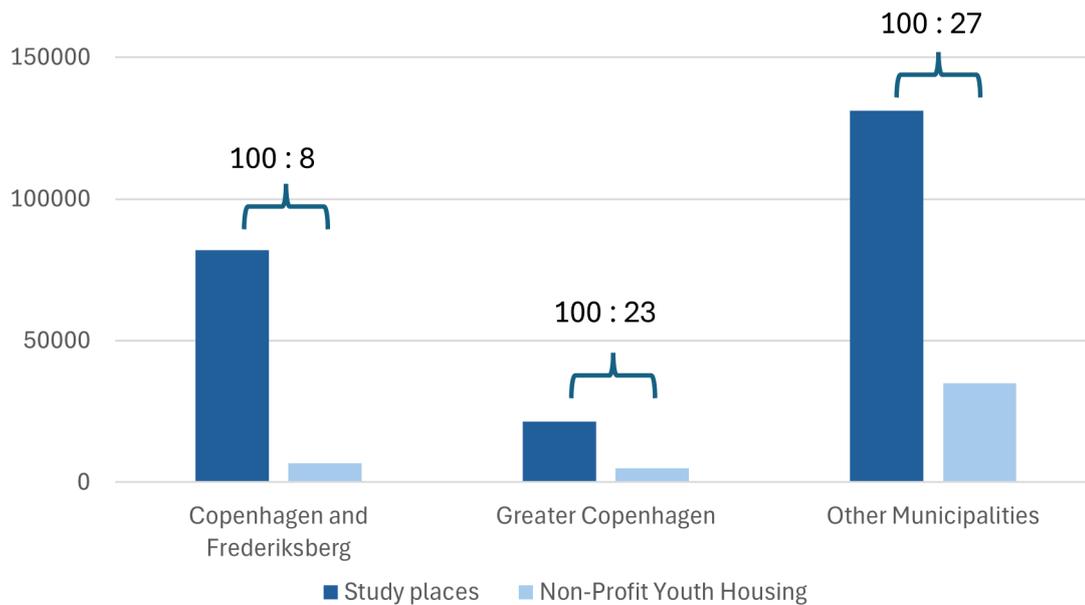


Figure 6: Relationship between the number of study places and non-profit youth housing in Copenhagen and other municipalities (own illustration adapted from BL (2024))

2.6 Social Mixing as an Urban Strategy

Two main methods are mentioned to achieve greater social mixing in Denmark. One interferes with established neighbourhoods, and the other provides new affordable housing as a land-use planning tool (Alves, 2022). An example of the first method of interference is the Parallel Society Agreement. The second is tool included in the Planning Act of 2016.

Urban policies often promote social mixing to foster neighbourhood prosperity. However, this approach is frequently criticised for contributing to gentrification. Depending on the planner's perspective and the narratives surrounding the practice, different action needs are identified. Gentrification occurs when redevelopment measures displace lower-income residents from so-called deprived inner-city areas. A key risk in these debates is placing blame on new residents for altering the social composition of neighbourhoods, rather than addressing the underlying political, economic, and structural factors at play. Therefore, this research is analysing whether social mixing interventions reproduce inequalities (Huning & Schuster, 2015).

2.6.1 Social Mixing in Danish Housing Policy

Since 2000, immigration has become more central in the public discourse. NPH is seen as a risk of creating so-called parallel societies and, therefore, a threat to society. The Social Democrats stated that there needs to be more social housing, also in more attractive neighbourhoods, before people are displaced, but municipalities lack the money to do so (Huning & Schuster, 2015; Noring et al., 2022).

Since 2010, a so-called *ghetto list* has been published in Denmark. In 2018, the Parallel Society Agreement became the legal framework for interfering with the listed areas categorised as vulnerable or parallel society areas. A neighbourhood of more than 1.000 residents is listed as a vulnerable housing area if two out of four criteria apply to this area. Those criteria entail a low employment rate, low educational attainment, a high conviction rate, and low-income levels. The same criteria apply to areas listed as parallel societies. If more than 50% of the population is non-Western immigrants or their descendants, it is considered a parallel society. If this listing does not change for four years, the area becomes a transformation area, formerly known as *hard ghetto*. The respective housing association is obliged to intervene by reducing the rate of non-profit family housing in the area (Noring et al., 2022). This applied to Mjølnerparken.

The Parallel Society Agreement aims to ensure that no neighbourhoods have a non-Western immigrant rate exceeding 30% by 2030. In 2021, a political majority introduced a new categorisation called “prevention areas”. This label for the prevention area results in the obligation to provide flexible letting. This means that housing seekers who are employed or undergoing education are prioritised (Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2021).

The official goal of this policy is to ensure more mixed neighbourhoods, although at the risk of discriminating against socio-economically vulnerable people and people with a non-Western immigration background.

An alternative approach is building NPH in new areas, which is supported by the Planning Act of 2016. According to this act, the municipalities can demand an NPH construction rate of up to 25% in newly developed areas (Nielsen & Haagerup, 2020). However, an example that shows the practical issues of fulfilling this ambition is that in 2022, due to high construction costs, only 27% of the planned NPH construction projects were in progress, while the other 74% were either abandoned or on hold (BL, 2022).

2.7 Housing Governance in Copenhagen

2.7.1 Copenhagen Housing Tenures

The two case areas selected for analysis are in Copenhagen, and their housing tenure distributions differ from the Danish distribution. As shown in Figure 7, the share of rental units is much higher than the Danish average (see 2.2). This makes the cost of rent a relevant topic for most of Copenhagen’s residents.

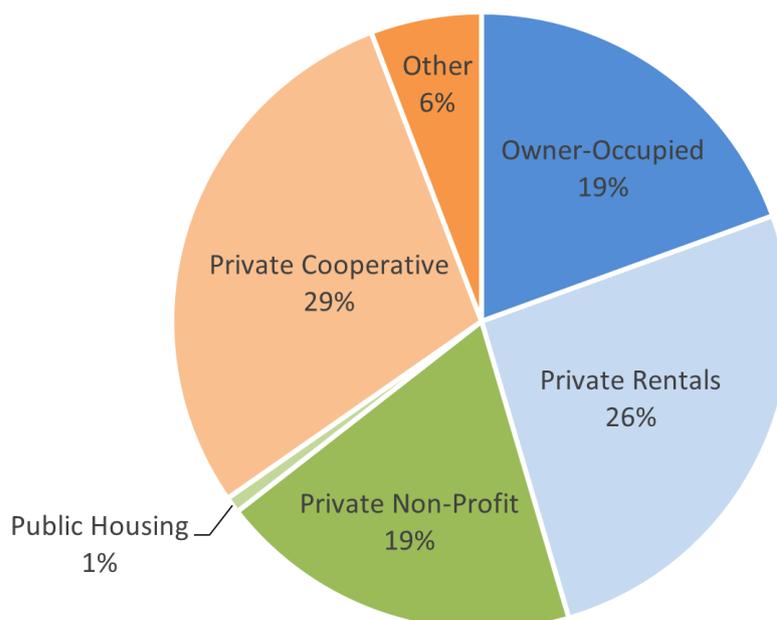


Figure 7: Share of Housing Tenures in Copenhagen in 2025 (Statistics Denmark, 2025a)

In the following subsection, the main administrative processes and policies are outlined, which are at the core of the Copenhagen housing market.

2.7.2 Municipal Planning in Copenhagen

The municipality of Copenhagen, namely the Department of Technical and Environmental Administration, manages local policies and approves new constructions based on the Planning Act. These policies are then included in the revision of the municipal plan, every four years, in which new development areas are announced. Such a municipal plan is carried out over 12 years (Byplanloven, 2015, §11). Based on the municipal plan, the local plan is developed. The local plan defines how an area and its buildings will be used and which buildings must be constructed or preserved. It includes specific requirements and draft documents for the area under development. Landowners must comply with this legally binding local plan (Copenhagen Municipality, n.d.-b). When it comes to providing affordable housing, the municipality can enter into agreements with developers before granting its approval (Byplanloven, 2015, §21b).

The municipality of Copenhagen has also published the *Boligaftale 2024–2027* in collaboration with BL (Boligselskabernes Landsforening). BL is the Danish federation of NPH providers that bridges the interests of tenants, NPH associations and municipalities. This agreement aims, among other things, to keep at least 20% of all housing non-profit and to construct 25% NPH in new plans. In state-supported areas, this ratio is supposed to be up to 40%. Besides municipal basic capital and land purchase loans, the national fund for mixed cities is to support expanding NPH with 10 billion DKK until 2035 (Copenhagen Municipality, 2023; Ministry of Finance, 2024).

2.8 Gaps and Contradictions in the Literature

Affordability is often used as a general term, based on the median or average income. This obscures the fact that income inequalities result in different rents that could be considered affordable. This is an issue, especially for the bottom 40% of income earners. The thesis addresses this problem by analysing affordability using detailed income distribution data.

The urban strategy in Denmark, including the Parallel Society Agreement and flexible letting mechanisms, aims to create socially mixed neighbourhoods. However, research shows that these interventions often result in displacement or the exclusion of residents, particularly non-Western immigrants (Alves, 2022; Noring et al., 2022). This cuts off people in need from housing that they could afford in the name of social mixing.

National and municipal policies set ambitious goals, e.g., 25–40% NPH in new developments, but cases like Carlsbergbyen, where NPH construction is delayed, illustrate that targets are not always realised. The actual share of non-profit housing, therefore, decreases (Copenhagen Municipality, 2023).

Some topics are identified as not sufficiently addressed. This includes affordability measured by income deciles and showing the outcome of policy implementations. Moreover, there is a gap in knowledge on relocations, meaning where people move to if they cannot afford to live in their homes anymore.

While spatial inequality is discussed conceptually, there is a lack of empirical research on the effects of state-led interventions and new developments on exclusion in Copenhagen. This thesis analyses the contradictions in policy goals by examining rental prices in two areas, Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken. One of them is a new development area, and the other one is a transformation area. Affordability will be measured by decile, providing an approximation of reality and showing for whom *affordable housing* is actually affordable. QGIS is used to visualise ownership patterns.

The thesis aims to provide new insights that bridge housing policy with socio-spatial data, showing how exclusion is embedded in both law and land-use practice.

3 Methodology

Since this thesis aims to problematise exclusionary urban policies and housing markets that favour the wealthy, the perspective of the urban planner and critical theorist Peter Marcuse guides the reflections throughout this research. A mixed-methods research approach combining qualitative and quantitative methods is used.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Marcuse argues for the decommodification of housing and views it as a human right. This perspective is helpful when contrasting Copenhagen's developments with affordable housing needs (Brenner et al., 2012).

He states that the root problem lies in privately provided housing, so prices must cover not just costs but profits. People end up paying excessive shares of their income for housing, cutting back on essentials. According to Marcuse, this capitalist system increases exploitation and alienation. He demands a just, democratic urban society that enables both material equality and emotional fulfilment, in which everyone not only consumes but also produces the city. This is called the right to the city, a term coined by Henri Lefebvre. While housing is an essential right, the right to the city encompasses a wider moral and political claim for a different social order. This includes exposing injustices and contradictions in urban society, proposing alternatives, and politicising ideas by linking them to collective action (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). An injustice exists in Copenhagen because not all households can afford to live in newly developed and transformed areas.

Peter Marcuse applies his framework of Expose, Propose, and Politicise (see Figure 8), for example, to the U.S. housing crisis, which can be used as a case study of how capitalism shapes housing inequality.

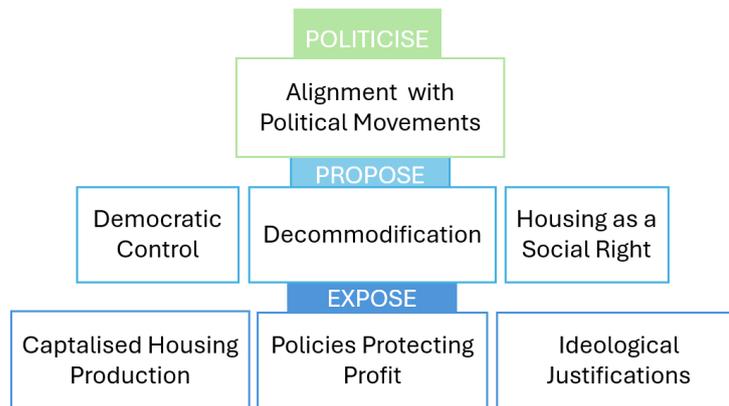


Figure 8: Illustration of Marcuse's framework to expose how the housing system is supporting profit more than needs, propose alternatives, and mobilise politically (Madden & Marcuse, 2016)

Marcuse distinguishes between surface reforms that leave the capitalist housing system intact, such as stricter loan disclosure rules, and reforms that undermine the system's core, the commodification. When housing is treated as a commodity, it is valued for its exchange value (profit potential) rather than its use value (shelter, stability, community). An essential transformative demand is the improvement and provision of public housing in new developments (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). This overlaps with this thesis's focus on subsidised housing, especially the share, costs and management of NPH in Copenhagen (Brenner et al., 2012).

Moreover, Madden and Marcuse (2016) argue that ongoing public investments in housing are important, as well as a guaranteed income or housing subsidies for those who cannot pay market rents, and the recognition that public funding will always be needed unless housing is removed from the market. Strong democratic pressures are deemed necessary to realise these reforms. Therefore, the movement against the housing crisis must work with other movements fighting interconnected issues, including feminist and migrant rights, community health, etc. While this thesis focuses on class struggles, structural struggles are discussed after the analysis. Besides that, housing management and funding must be democratised. For NPH in Denmark, this is already an integral part of its organisational structure (Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

3.1.1 Conceptualising Marcuse

Access to urban areas and their social, economic and spatial advantages is described as *the city* created through urban development. In accordance with Marcuse's expose, propose and politicise framework, the thesis contributes to revealing patterns of exclusion from housing of certain income groups. At the same time, the discussion focuses on possible alternatives, political inequities and disproportionately affected groups.

3.2 Methods

This thesis employs a mixed-methods design to examine the research question. Both qualitative methods, including interviews and document analysis, as well as quantitative affordability calculations, are used. The methods are applied to two cases, Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen, which are selected based on their development stage, tenure structure and regulatory context.

As Marcuse highlights, housing affordability is not an individual but a structural problem. Therefore, income deciles, household compositions and minimum dwelling sizes are combined to analyse the structural affordability of flats in these two areas. Assumptions are explicitly stated, and a robustness check is applied to validate the results, which are supported by visualisation.

3.2.1 Desktop Research

Desktop research covers the initial research to identify rent control measures, enforced policies and municipal plans. Based on this, the case areas are selected. Through an initial brainstorm, a mind map structures the research (see Appendix A).

Stakeholders are contacted to gain information on the potential areas. Contact is made through mail, telephone calls and interviews, which are a central part of the research.

3.2.2 Stakeholder Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are conducted for exploratory purposes. They provide insights into the housing market, support the identification of key stakeholders, and inform data selection for the analysis.

The interviews are recorded with Apple's application Voice Memos and transcribed with Microsoft Word 365 Version 2508. The interviews are transcribed according to the basic principle of parsimony described by Smith et al. (1995). This means that only analysable contents are transcribed (e.g. no laughter, "yeah", or "ehm"). The interview guidelines and transcripts can be found in Appendix B & C. After transcribing the interviews, predefined key topics are identified, and the content is summarised. These key topics include the *housing market structures, public and private stakeholders, policies, data sources and availability, and market constraints*. The software MAXQDA Analytics Pro (26.0.0) is used for the qualitative analysis of the interviews.

To identify where the interviewed stakeholders agree and where they disagree, common and differing views are summarised. For this, only relevant statements from the interviews are used, as they either influence the analysis or explain the results.

3.2.3 Stakeholder Mapping

As a result of desktop research and interviews with contacted stakeholders, the stakeholders in the cases of Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen are identified. Stakeholder overviews are mapped to visualise the different interest groups and to find other potential interview partners.

3.2.4 Calculations and Forecasting

To identify which income deciles and, thereby, which residents can afford to live in the areas, nominal equivalised disposable household income and nominal rent levels are linearly extrapolated from trends until 2029 (see Appendix D). These projections are used for comparative affordability scenarios according to the minimum flat size per household rather than as forecasts of actual future income or rent levels, due to uncertainty. Excel Version 16.105.1 is used for these calculations. The following basic equation is used to calculate the rent.

Equation 1: Calculation of monthly rent in a chosen year

$$Rent_a \left[\frac{DKK}{month} \right] = Flat\ size [m^2] * Rent_a \left[\frac{DKK}{m^2 * month} \right]$$

The Danish equivalised disposable income in nominal values by upper decile thresholds are available at Statistics Denmark until 2024 (Statistics Denmark, 2025e; IFOR20). This measure of household income adjusts for differences in household size and composition. It is calculated by summing all net incomes within a household, after taxes and social contributions, and dividing this total by an equivalence scale that reflects shared consumption. The modified OECD scale assigns a weight of 1,0 to the first adult, 0,5 to additional adults, and 0,3 to each child under 14. The resulting income represents the household's welfare-adjusted income per equivalent adult and is attributed equally to all household members (Eurostat, 2021a). Because equivalised disposable income already accounts for household size and composition, income is not scaled by the number of adults in each housing scenario. This metric is used instead of individual income deciles because Statistics Denmark has more detailed data available. Additionally, fewer assumptions are made for the scenarios, making them more comparable. Moreover, when two adults live together, they share costs and usually do not have the same paying capacity.

For this research, three categories are differentiated to analyse affordability for different household types: Students for youth housing, total for family housing and pensioners for senior housing. Using linear forecasting, income levels are calculated for 2025-2029 (see Appendix D1).

Utility costs are a secondary cost component relative to rent, assumed constant for both years analysed, and added as fixed nominal per-square-metre costs. For the shares, the price/sqm/year is assumed to be 160 DKK. It is important to mention that this value is consumption-based and can therefore fluctuate. However, this thesis does not consider any reimbursements from shares. The

value for family flats is retrieved from Juli Living's UN Village, which started construction in 2021 (Juli Living Denmark ApS, 2026). However, the value is set for family flats. It is assumed that youth and elderly housing have 10% higher shares (Personal Communication, BL Chief Analyst, 13.01.2026). This is because youth flats have higher administration costs per square metre and elderly flats have higher cleaning standards (Personal Communication, BL Chief Analyst, 13.01.2026). Further, the housing shares are assumed to stay constant, referring to the Expenditure Statistics where the same value is set for several years (National Building Fund, 2025) (Personal Communication, BL Chief analyst, 09.12.2025). It is argued that the housing costs only represent a small share of the total housing costs which is why they do not have a big impact on the affordability ranking.

Mjølnerparken

For FPH, 2024 rental prices, excluding utility costs, were shared by Nordic Real Estate Partners (NREP), the private investment firm that bought two buildings in Mjølnerparken. Moreover, NREP elaborates that the family homes will receive a discount until 2028 to make the area more attractive for residents. Due to this discount, which skews the actual prices, the rental prices are analysed after the discount expires in 2028. The dataset only includes one example of the price development for a 3-bedroom flat (see Appendix D2). This example is used to calculate the rise from 2024 in comparison to 2028 (see Equation 2). Due to a small error of less than 0,5 percentage points, the estimations for 2028 are off by that margin of error.

Equation 2: Calculation of family FPH price rise in 2028, after the discounted rental level expires

$$Rise [\%] = \frac{Rent_{2028} \left[\frac{DKK}{month} \right]}{Rent_{2024} \left[\frac{DKK}{month} \right]}$$

With the calculated rise, the rent in family flats is calculated, with which the square meter prices of 2028 are estimated (see Appendix D3).

For youth FPH, the discount does not apply. Therefore, the rise is linearly forecasted based on the rent indices of FPH in the Capital Region from 2021 to 2025 (Statistics Denmark, 2025d, HUS1) (see Appendix D4.1 & D4.2). To calculate the rent for 2028, the following equation is used:

Equation 3: Calculation of FPH rent for youth in 2028

$$Rent_{2028} \left[\frac{DKK}{month * m^2} \right] = Rent_{2024} \left[\frac{DKK}{month * m^2} \right] * \frac{Index_{Rent\ 2028}}{Index_{Rent\ 2024}}$$

For NPH, the rents of 2025 were only partly shared by the housing association Bo-Vita. In order to differentiate the annual square metre price increase between family, youth and senior, the Denmark-wide rises are used. This differentiation is assumed to approximate the rental rises in Copenhagen closer than only using

one general rental rise in the Capital Region. The average of the yearly rental rises between 2020 and 2025 was used to project the rise until 2028 (see Appendix D5). Thereafter, the potential rent in 2028 can be calculated according to Equation 1.

Jernbanebyen

For Jernbanebyen, the construction of the first residential buildings will start in 2027 with move-ins in 2029 (Personal Communication, NREP Urban Developer, 15.12.2025). Hence, linear forecasting is more speculative, due to many variables still being unknown.

To approximate FPH costs in the future, the average square metre rental price, including operating costs and taxes, for newly rented out flats in Copenhagen is retrieved from Colliers for the years 2017 until 2025 and linearly extrapolated for 2029 (Colliers, 2025a, 2025b, 2025c; Winther, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2023, 2024, 2025) (see Appendix D6.1)

Together with the shares of 160 DKK/square metre the rent can be calculated according to Equation 1 (see Appendix D6.2).

For NPH, the calculation is more complex. The housing shares are calculated as elaborated in the introduction of this chapter. In addition, since the rent is cost-based, a share of the construction costs is included in the rent. The construction costs are calculated for the construction start in 2027. The annual resident payment of the total construction costs constitutes 2,8% (Ministry of the Interior and Housing, 2021). The following Equation 4 is used to calculate the move-in rent in 2029 (Appendix D6.3).

Equation 4: Calculation of NPH initial rent in 2029

(Housing Committee, 2009) (Personal Communication, BL Chief Analyst, 09.12.2025)

$$Rent_{2029} \left[\frac{DKK}{month} \right] = \frac{2,8\% \text{ Construction costs}_{2027} \left[\frac{DKK}{a} \right]}{12} + \frac{\text{Housing shares}_{2029} \left[\frac{DKK}{a} \right]}{12}$$

To calculate the construction costs, the *maximum amount for subsidised housing construction* (construction cost cap) is used (Authority of Social Services and Housing, 2026). It is assumed that a new construction project will exhaust the maximum amount (see subsection 2.4.3). Therefore, Equation 5 shows how to calculate the construction cost cap (see Appendix D6.3).

Equation 5: Calculation of the new construction cost cap (Authority of Social Services and Housing, 2026)

$$Cap_{2027} [DKK] = \left(\text{Room size [m}^2\text{]} * Cap_{2026} \left[\frac{DKK}{m^2} \right] + Cap_{2026} \left[\frac{DKK}{\text{Housing unit}} \right] \right) * Indices_{2026}$$

In order to forecast the construction cost cap for 2027, several indices need to be calculated first. This can be achieved with the following Equation 6.

Equation 6: Calculation of indices for the construction cost cap (Authority of Social Services and Housing, 2026; Executive order on subsidies for public housing, etc., 2020, §13)

$Indices_{year} = 50\% \text{ wage index} + 50\% \text{ inflation} + 1\% \text{ climate} + 10\% \text{ temporary high} - \text{price scheme}$

The net-price index, commonly referred to as inflation, and the wage index rates are linearly forecasted. The net-price index PRIS116 and the wage index SBLON1 values for a time span over 10 years are retrieved from Statistics Denmark (Statistics Denmark, 2025h, 2025i). The forecasted indices are used to calculate the sum of the indices per year which is required for the calculation of the new construction cost cap (see Appendix D6.4).

Additionally, a climate index of 1% and a temporary high-price scheme are added to the rental housing construction costs and therefore to the construction cost cap (as elaborated in Subsection 3.2.4). Therefore, the forecasted construction cost cap includes an additional 11% which are not linearly forecasted. The construction cost cap is taken for 2026 and extrapolated with the linearly forecasted indices according to Equation 5.

3.2.5 Robustness Check

A sensitivity analysis is conducted to test the robustness of the affordability results to alternative assumptions regarding household income and flat size. First, for couple households, a partial dual-earner scenario is tested by increasing equivalised income by 40% (see Appendix D6.5). Second, selected family and senior scenarios are recalculated using larger, observed or planned flat sizes instead of minimum normative sizes (see Appendix D6.6).

3.2.6 Data Visualisation

To explore developments in the areas and various distributions, different visualisations are created in Excel and with Flourish Studio.

Charts and Diagrams

Available data and deduced data is used to generate bar charts to categorise amounts, pie charts are used to show shares and scatter plots to clarify trends. Line charts visualise the projected income levels and prices. The different types inform the results and discussion.

GIS Maps

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are used to show housing inequality by visualising spatial relationships which are not obvious in raw data. Spatial analysis enables a combination of multiple datasets to visualise distributions.

As an example, Figure 9 shows a choropleth map to display the density of NPH by colour coding the different municipalities. By applying a colour code, the map shows where NPH has been built, is delayed or absent.

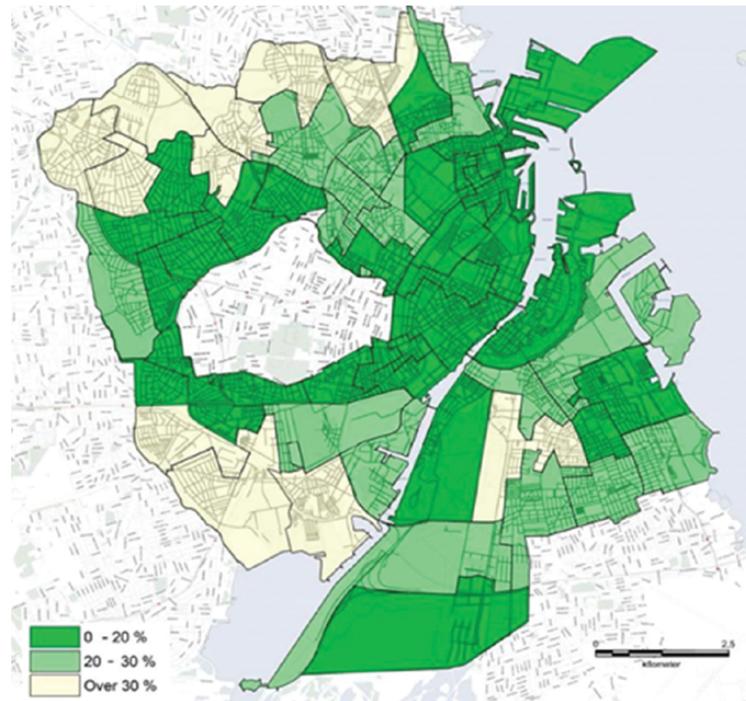


Figure 9: Density of non-profit housing in Copenhagen in 2015 (Turk, 2021)

For this thesis, QGIS 3.40.5-Bratislava is used to map the current and future scenarios. A coloured map is created to display both case areas in relation to Copenhagen's administrative boundaries (Copenhagen Municipality, n.d.-a) (see Figure 10). For Mjølnerparken, a choropleth map is created to visualise the division between NPH and FPH.

Jernbanebyen is an area that will be developed in the forthcoming years, but so far there is only the *Proposal for Local Plan* showing which buildings are planned. A layer is created to display all preserved buildings using the data set *Buildings (DK_Building / DK INSPIRE Building)* (Danish Climate Data Agency, 2024) and the information on which buildings will be preserved from the *Proposal for Local Plan*. The administrative boundaries are retrieved from OS2opendatadk (Copenhagen Municipality, n.d.-a). Additionally, a layer is created to display the potential new buildings. For this step of the analysis, it is necessary to georeference the *possible development plan* in QGIS (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024, p.14). Due to the blurriness of the map, a *Linear* or *Polynomial 2* mode is used with at least ten reference points to georeference the possible development plan and hence draw the buildings.

Drawing 2d, in the *Proposal for Local Plan*, is used to show which buildings are likely to be owned by NPH associations and which ones by FPH companies (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024, p.136). Each building is colour coded as NPH or FPH.

4 Case Context and Description

This section introduces the two selected areas and elaborates why this research focuses on these cases. Figure 10 shows where Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen are located in Copenhagen.

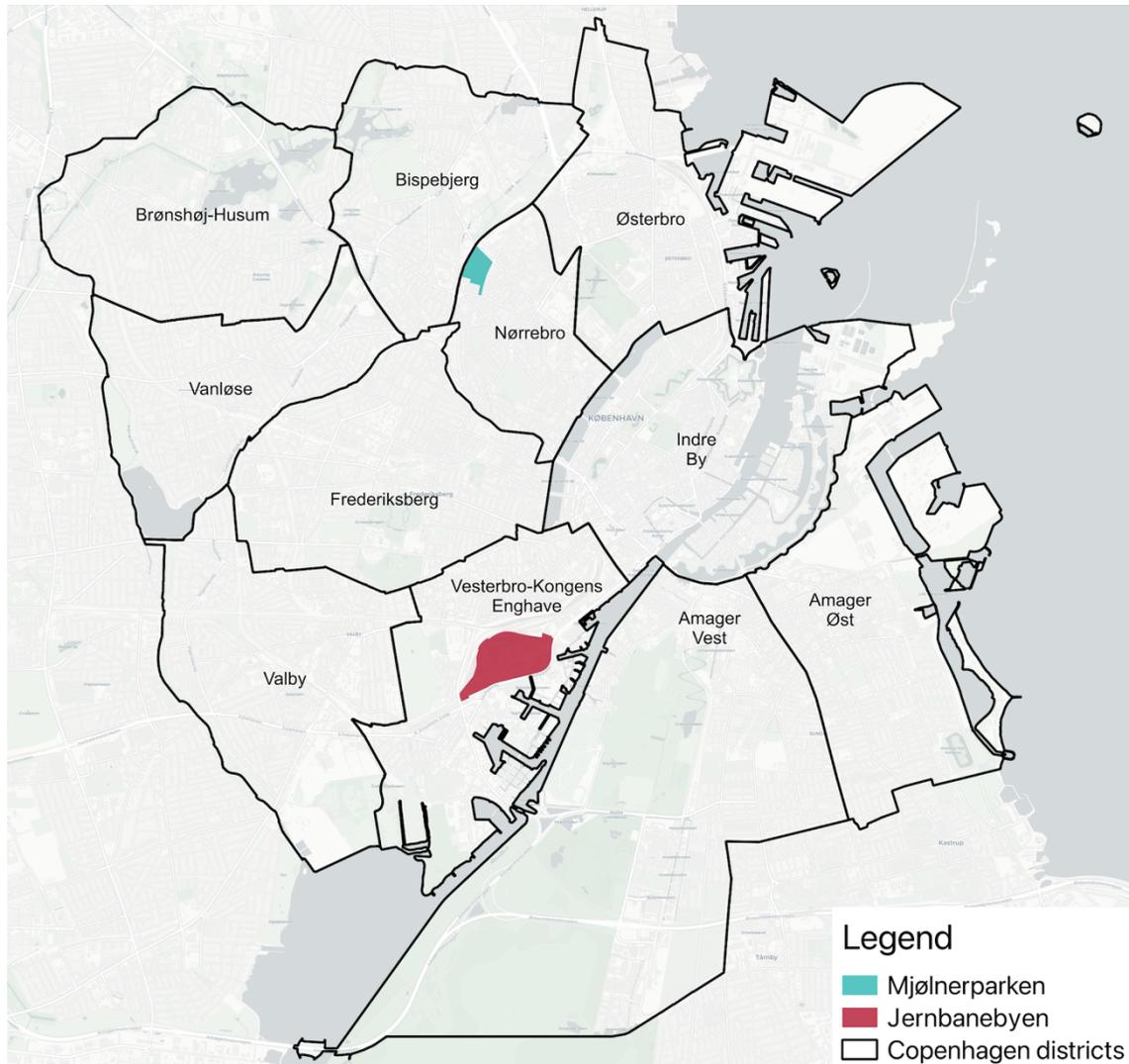


Figure 10: Case selection overview (own illustration)

4.1 Mjølnerparken

Mjølnerparken is a redevelopment area in the Mimersgade neighbourhood in the Nørrebro district in Copenhagen. It lies close to a metro station, Nørrebro Station and Bispebjerg Station and between Mimersparken and Superkilen, which makes

it an attractive location. The complete area encompasses 117.000m² (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014).



Figure 11: Drawing no.1-e. The boundary of the local plan area (in red) and the cadastral boundary (in blue) (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014, p.33)

The surrounding area of Mjølnerparken is dominated by owner-occupied housing and rental FPH (Copenhagen Economics, 2019).

4.1.1 Why this Case?

Based on section 61a of the *Public Housing Act* from 2010, Mjølnerparken has been categorised as a parallel society (Ministry for Cities, Housing, and Rural Districts, 2012). It was labelled a transformation area in 2018, which was one of the reasons for redevelopment (Khawaja, 2020). The neighbourhood used to have 100% NPH, and family NPH family is now reduced to approximately 36%. Blocks were either sold to private investors or renovated (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021; Nordstern ApS, 2021; Juli Living, 2025). This makes Mjølnerparken an ideal area to analyse housing affordability with different shares of non-profit housing. It also allows the researchers to dive into the social mixing debate.

4.1.2 Public Perception & Debates

An area is classified as a parallel society instead of a vulnerable area, when the non-Western immigrants' rate is exceeding 50%. After four years, the area is then categorised as a transformation area and according actions must be taken. Other areas which have similar socio-economic challenges, but fewer residents of *non-Western origin*, must not (Khawaja, 2020). As a response to the redevelopments due to this categorisation, tenants went to court against the Ministry of Transport

and Housing, arguing that improving the living conditions is not the actual target of the development. The aim of the court case is judging if the parts of the Public Housing Act (Section 61a) are discriminatory based on race and ethnic origin. This would violate Section 3(3) of the *Ethnic Equal Treatment Act* of the EU. Moreover, the violation of Article 14 of the *European Convention of Human Rights* is being judged. This is due to a potential violation of private life, the right to protection of property, and the freedom to choose residence. (Khawaja, 2020)

It is argued that the development of Mjølnerparken affects persons of ethnic minorities in greater proportions. The Transport, Construction and Housing Authority has acknowledged that using the criterion of *non-Western origin* for allocating public housing is not legitimate. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recommends abolishing the criterion of *non-Western* in defining a parallel society and the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities has expressed serious concern over the use of *Western* and *non-Western* immigrants and descendants (Khawaja, 2020). There has not been a final judgement yet, but the Advocate General of the EU Court of Justice has issued her opinion, stating that the Danish legislation is discriminatory (Ćapeta, 2025).

The applicants who are getting evicted also lose the network and community that they have built up in Mjølnerparken. Especially for children this is difficult since it often goes hand in hand with changing schools. Moreover, other vulnerable residents, such as dementia diagnosed persons suffer under an eviction (Khawaja, 2020).

This relates to Madden and Marcuse's statement:

People do not only live in homes. They live in neighbourhoods and communities. They occupy buildings but also locations in a social fabric. (Madden & Marcuse, 2016, p.198)

4.1.3 History

Mjølnerparken consisted of NPH estates from the 1980s, back when there used to be a paper factory (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014). These non-profit homes were mostly built for families. They were supported by the state and municipality and managed by the housing organisation Bo-Vita, formerly known as Lejerbo København. Mjølnerparken has always been a home for various ethnic minorities and people with lower income. Two train tracks used to pass by which have been replaced by two parks. Figure 12 below shows the key events in the redevelopment timeline for Mjølnerparken. It can be limited due to its reliance on official reports.

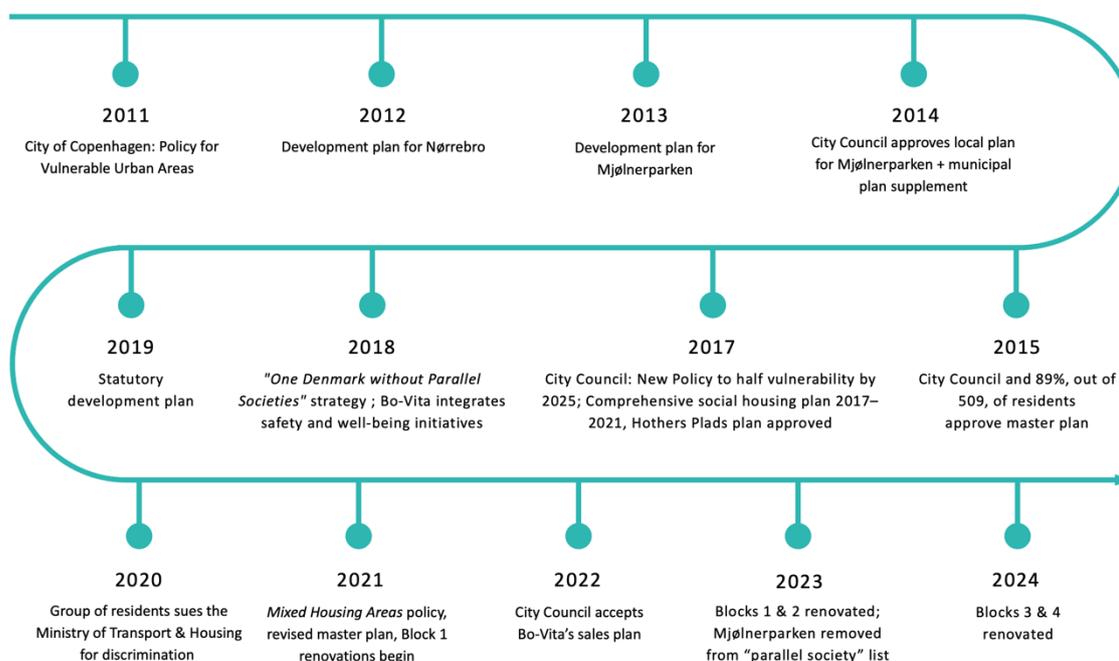


Figure 12: Timeline of redevelopment of Mjølnerparken from 2011-2025 (Bo-Vita, 2025; VIVE, 2022)

4.1.4 Reasons for Redevelopment

Due to the national strategy against parallel societies from 2018, after Copenhagen Municipality let Bo-Vita create a master plan for Mjølnerparken and Hothers Plads, a development plan is published with the intention of changing properties to achieve a residential mix (see Figure 12) (Copenhagen Municipality, 2019b). The municipal plan, among other things, includes a higher building ratio (Khawaja, 2020).

Table 1 shows details on Mjølnerparken's categorisation as one of six parallel societies in Copenhagen in 2019. The areas residents met two criteria, in relation to education and income, plus the criteria regarding non-western immigrants or descendents (Employment and Integration Committee, 2020).

Table 1: Criteria for getting listed as a parallel society and the areas statistics (Employment and Integration Committee, 2020)

| Criteria | Mjølnerparken 2019 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Residents 1.000+ | 1.659 persons |
| Non-western residents > 50% | 80,5% |
| Unemployment rate > 40% | 38,0% |
| Convicted > 2,03% | 2,02% |
| Only basic education of residents between 30-59 years > 60% | 75,2% |
| Income compared to average gross < 55% | 49,6% |

4.1.5 Plans & Outlook

Before the redevelopment, Mjølnerparken consisted of four red brick building blocks with four levels and high saddle roofs. There was no traffic going through, the flats on street level had front gardens, with staircases that could be reached through the courtyards, where there were also common areas (Bo-Vita, 2025).

The residential floor area for Mjølnerparken including Hother Plads encompasses 53.000m². Mjølnerparken consisted of 560 housing units. Hother Plads was built shortly after Mjølnerparken and consisted of 103 one and two room flats for seniors, owned and managed by Bo-Vita (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014). Even though Tagensvej 135-137 is also included in the local plan, only Mjølnerparken, including Hother Plads are included in the analysis.

Blocks 1 and 4 remain non-profit housing and are renovated for former residents or for new residents. Blocks 2 and 3 were sold and are now rental FPH properties. All residents from sold or demolished homes had to leave and were offered another housing option. When allocating families, the composition of residents in their new neighbourhood is paid attention to (Bo-Vita, 2025).

Plans included demolishing the ground-floor flats and turning them into shops, etc. Moreover, other flats are merged to create four and five room flats and youth housing. The large roofs are turned into family homes with terraces, moreover, densification measures are taken by filling the gaps with housing to create courtyards. A new community centre is being built, after the old one was demolished in 2022. Figure 13 gives an impression of the area.



Figure 13: Mjølnerparken (own photo, 2026)

Mjølnerparken was taken off the parallel society list automatically in 2023, because there were less than 1000 residents.

Families with children consisted of on average, 4,3 people per home in Mjølnerparken. The Copenhagen average is 3,6. When it comes to different types

of families, there were 3,5 people per home in Mjølnerparken, vs 1,9 in Copenhagen average (Bo-Vita, 2025; Copenhagen Municipality, 2014).

4.1.6 Stakeholders

The key stakeholders which are active in Mjølnerparken that are identified through desktop research and interviews (see Subsection 3.2.3), are shown in Figure 14.

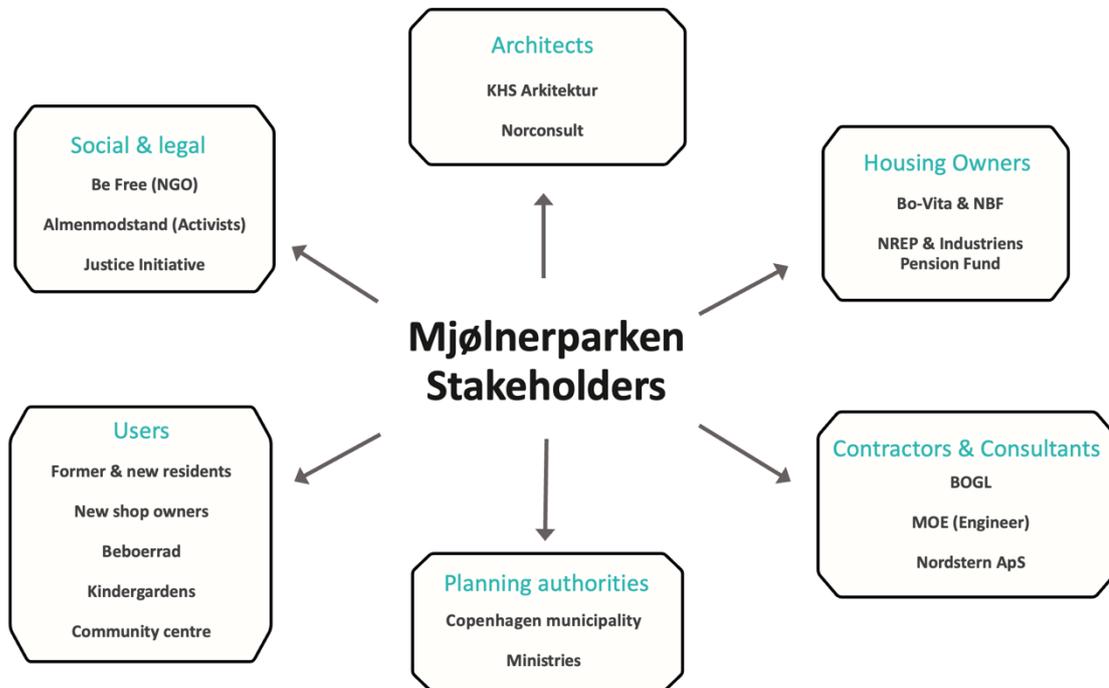


Figure 14: Involved Stakeholders in Mjølnerparken in 2025 (own illustration)

The figure illustrates the key public and private actors who are involved in the transformation and/ or are affected by it. They are grouped according to their main role in Mjølnerparken.

4.2 Jernbanebyen

Jernbanebyen is an area located in Vesterbro South between Vesterbro and the harbour in Copenhagen and has mainly been used by the railway company DSB which has their workshop and Metroselskabet's preparation centre (CMC) located within this area. An aerial overview, including the access points to Jernbanebyen highlighted in red circles, is shown in Figure 10.

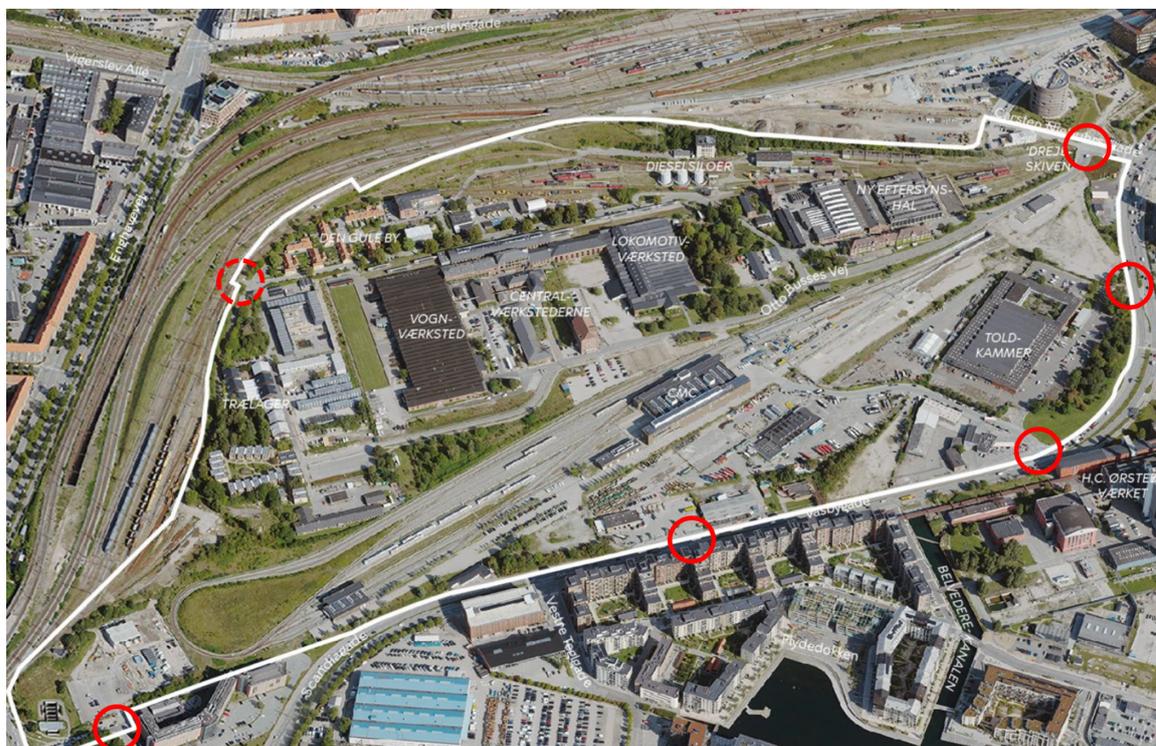


Figure 15: Overview of Jernbanebyen (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024, p.2)

The name Jernbanebyen translates to “Railway City” which shows the connection of this area to trains. In 2019, Jernbanebyen was designated for urban development in the Copenhagen local plan (Copenhagen Municipality, 2019a), after which socio-economic concerns have arisen in the public sphere. The *Proposal for Local Plan* has been introduced in 2024, however, the local plan is under development but has not been published and is expected in mid-2026.

4.2.1 Why This Case?

This area is particularly interesting for this thesis due to the potential of new developments in Copenhagen. According to the Planning Act 2016 municipalities can reserve 25% of non-profit housing in newly developed areas. In November 2025, the construction cost cap for NPH associations has been adjusted (see Subsection 2.4.3) making it more feasible for NPH associations to construct now.

4.2.2 Public Perception & Debates

There are vested concerns about Jernbanebyen’s affordability. The Vesterbro Local Committee (Lokaludvalg) criticises the Master Plan 2024 and invites residents to participate in debates to ensure residents’ needs are heard (Vesterbro

Lokaludvalg, 2024). The main concern from the Vesterbro Local Committee is that the Master Plan prioritises the desires of private investors such as the Baneby Konsortiet resulting in unaffordability for the residents. Additionally, the Danish Labour Movement's Business Council emphasised that NPH in Copenhagen is mainly occupied by ordinary wage earners and ensures affordability for this particular income group, leaving the question open of whether a new development project can ensure that even low income earners can live in the city centre (Caspersen, 2025).

Additionally, concerns were raised about the size and integration of community facilities with a focus on youth. Not only has the Vesterbro Local Committee held a workshop with the youth in Jernbanebyen, but NREP and Copenhagen Municipality have been setting up a community hub at Spor10 (Vesterbro Lokaludvalg, 2024). A meeting with the two community managers at Spor10 provided insights into the dynamics of the development. One of them explained how special the area is, since there are no residents living there or direct neighbours. It is quite unique that a central area is untouched offering room for the project to prioritise the creation of a strong social infrastructure before construction start, offering a completely different approach than in an already established residential district (Interview Spor10, 2025). This is an attempt to build a community that is socially diverse from the outset, focusing on shared activities and accessibility of public spaces to all incomes and backgrounds, making the area inclusive regardless of the housing type one can afford.

Nevertheless, the vision of Jernbanebyen is ambitious, which heightens the expectations. By the media, for example ubm.magazine. and C40, the plans are mostly discussed positively (C40 Cities, 2023; Schneyder, 2024).

4.2.3 History

Jernbanebyen started as a railway terrain in the late 19th century with the oldest building dating back to 1903 (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). Throughout the century, railway operations became the flagship by extending operations and building a village for the workers called *Den Gule By*. A century later, the landowners DSB Ejendomsudvikling, Statens Ejendomsselskab and Freja Ejendomme A/S requested to develop the area. Figure 16 shows the most important developments in Jernbanebyen since the first construction of rails and workshop buildings until the recent urban development process.

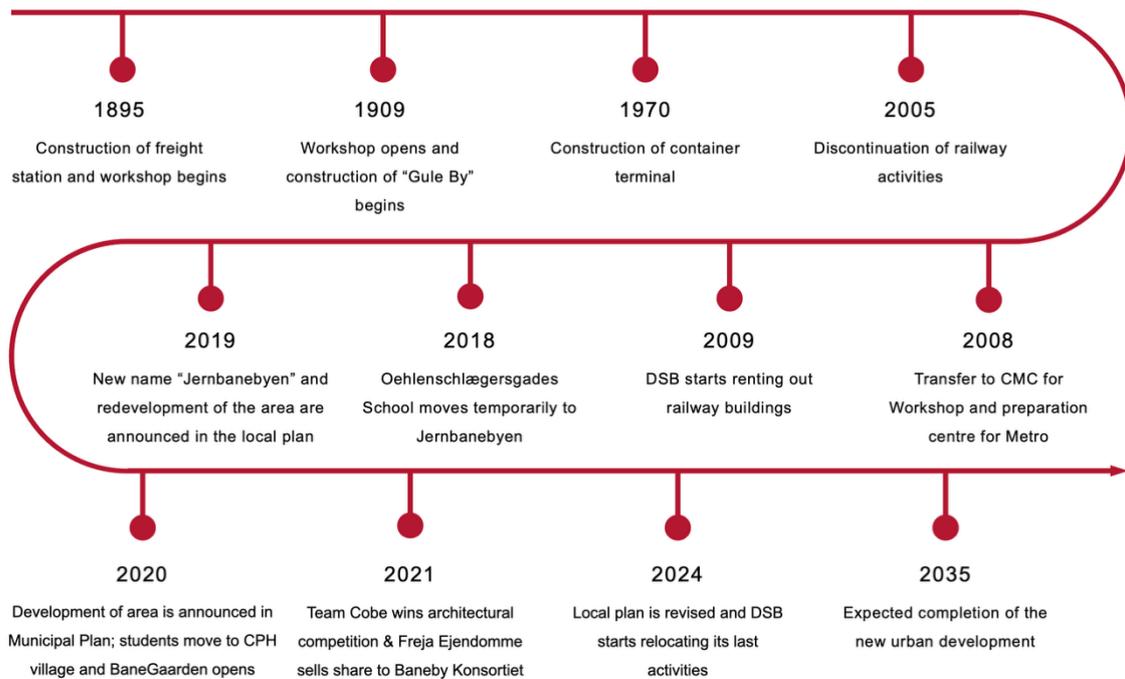


Figure 16: Jernbanebyen's history, own illustration with data from (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024; DSB, 2021)

The challenge of redeveloping Jernbanebyen lies in the preservation of the railway district character, especially the red bricked buildings. The *Proposal for Local Plan* states that "it is these tracks and facilities and their connection to the building functions that create the overall narrative of the area's uniqueness." (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024, p.5).

4.2.4 Reasons for Redevelopment

There are various reasons to develop Jernbanebyen. First and foremost, the owners requested to develop this area. Workshop activities stopped in the area, and buildings were unused until smaller developments took place, for example, BaneGaarden and the Copenhagen Village opened (see Figure 16).

Jernbanebyen is one of the last new development areas in Central Copenhagen, and available in times of rising housing demands. As such a central area, there is a pressing need to construct more housing that meets societal needs. Additionally, there are monetary reasons to develop this area both for NPH as well as for FPH. Figure 17 gives an impression of the area.



Figure 17: The Copenhagen Village and two other locations in Jernbanebyen (own photos, 2025)

4.2.5 Plans & Outlook

In 2024, the *Proposal for Local Plan* was published. It includes construction plans for each subarea as well as preserved buildings. For each area, there are different development goals regarding housing construction. The total space covers 568.000m², however, some buildings in the area will be preserved such as the residential area *Den Gule By* or the food and culture place called *BaneGaarden* (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). An overview of the area and its zones is illustrated in Figure 18. It also shows the existing buildings as of January 2026 in green and the buildings that will be preserved in red.

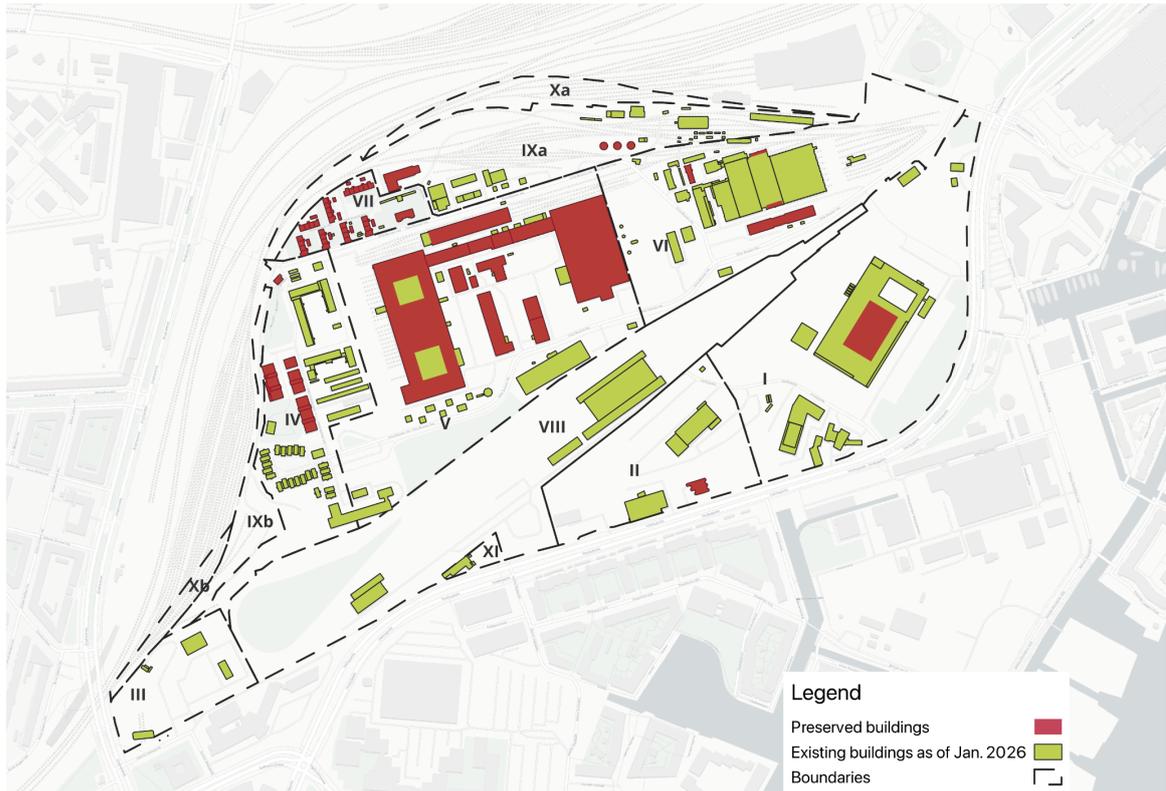


Figure 18: Overview of existing and preserved buildings of Jernbanebyen and its sub-areas (own illustration)

The subareas I-VII will have shared floor space for housing and service industries. The table in Appendix E provides an overview of the residential building potential and the allocated housing share for the different sub-areas. The *Proposal for Local Plan* includes a range for the residential building potential and states that at least 25% of the residential floor space must be used for NPH with at least 20% in each sub-area (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). The residential construction includes the allocation of 1% to common areas which includes laundry, workshops and leisure facilities (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). The analysis focuses on rental units planned for family, youth and elderly. The local plan was expected in 2025, however, the publication is delayed until 2026. This plan is expected to include residents' feedback.

4.2.6 Stakeholders

The key stakeholders that are active in Jernbanebyen are shown in Figure 19. They are identified and grouped similarly to the Mjølnerparken stakeholders. The stakeholders have effectively been identified as intended to in subsection 3.2.3. As of now, the NPH associations do not own the land they will be building on, however, once it is clear where NPH will be built, NPH associations usually buy and own the land (Land Registry Court, 2026).

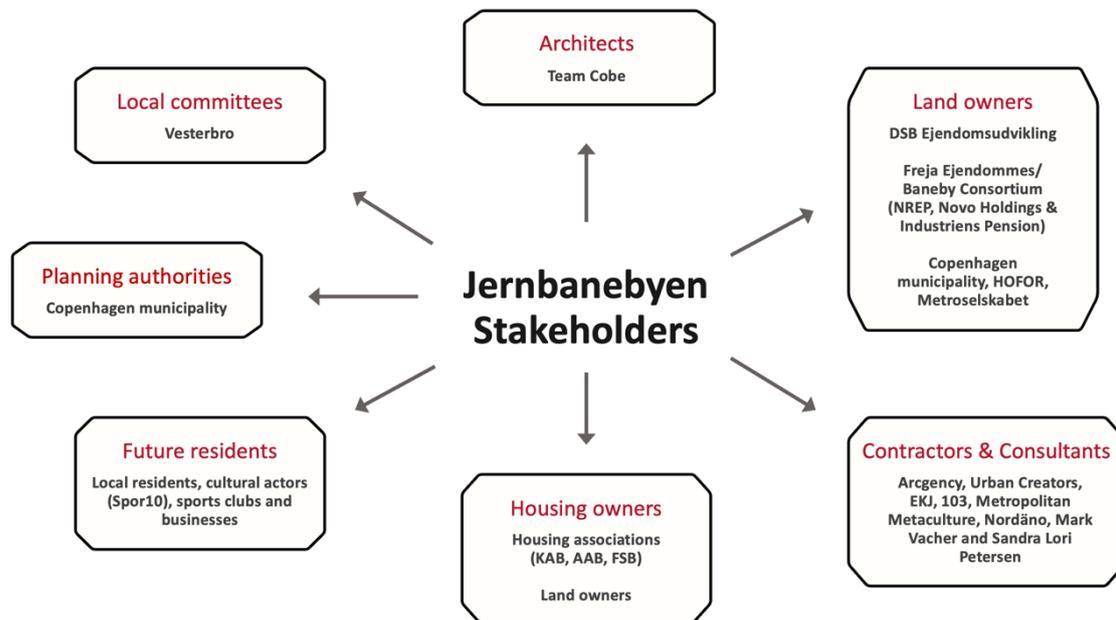


Figure 19: Involved Stakeholders in Jernbanebyen in 2025 (own illustration)

5 Analyses & Results

The analysis displays and evaluates the results of this research. In the beginning, interviews and their insights are analysed. The focus lies on housing construction, affordability issues in housing and institutional barriers. The insights from these interviews are used to better understand and analyse the cases.

Based on these insights, the cases are analysed. Firstly, Denmark's income levels are structured by deciles to analyse residents' income. Additionally, the household types and minimum space requirements are analysed as well as the different household and ownership types.

The scenarios structure their results based on the H30/40 indicator (see Section 2.1). The scenarios use minimum space requirements for the households and rental prices including housing shares per month. The scenarios identify the financial consequences of rental prices for the different income deciles. The data is projected, analysed and visualised for the years 2028 for Mjølnerparken and 2029 for Jernbanebyen.

A robustness check is conducted to test the results towards parameter changes. Firstly, an adjusted income of +40% per household is investigated. This check is conducted to test economic consequences in a case of a two adult household where one adult starts working, for example, after the education is completed or care work ends. Secondly, larger flat sizes, which are already existing in Mjølnerparken or are planned for Jernbanebyen, are tested towards their affordability. Lastly, exclusionary patterns are visualised to compare the two cases.

The analysis is the basis for the discussion before a conclusion is drawn.

5.1 Interviews

In the following analysis, due to confidentiality, the organisation's names and the interviewees' roles are mentioned. However, the statements do not represent the opinion of the whole organisation but of one or two interviewees.

The researchers requested 23 interviews and conducted six. The following organisations and individuals agreed to an interview and agreed to being quoted in this thesis:



Figure 20: Members of the following organisations were interviewed: BL, Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, NREP, National Building Fund, Spor10 and Jean Thierry from Enhedslisten and Almenmodstand (own illustration)

5.1.1 Data Gaps and Methodological Constraints

All interviewees agree on a data gap when it comes to displacement and evictions (Interview BL; Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing; Interview NBF, 2025). The National Building Fund (NBF) emphasises that this is due to institutional fragmentation (Interview NBF, 2025). Thierry, as a member of Almenmodstand offers more insights and explains:

Some have also been rehoused inside Mjølnerparken, but many have been rehoused several times during the process. And some are still rehoused somewhere else waiting to get back to Mjølnerparken and [...] cannot afford the new rehousing, if they should pay the actual rent. (Interview Thierry, 2025)

The analysis does not include relocation outcomes, but they are picked up in the discussion. Moreover, BL criticises that through the decrease of welfare benefits, the number of evictions is likely going to rise in the near future (Interview BL, 2025). The affordability analysis (see Chapter 5.4), however, only makes forecasts based on the past developments, due to many unknown variables.

BL states that they do not have neighbourhood-level data, and the NBF explains that it is often withheld for discretion of the residents (Interview BL; Interview NBF, 2025). The data availability of the case areas is therefore constrained. Recent information was requested but not necessarily received. Data availability and its effect on validity of the calculations is discussed in Subsection 6.4.

Another limitation lies in the focus of this thesis on newly renovated or newly built flats. The NBF emphasises that the difference in rent of for-profit vs non-profit estates is similar at first but that the prices of FPH rise more over time (Interview NBF, 2025). This must be considered when analysing affordability.

5.1.2 Affordability

Thierry agrees that there is a need for examining housing affordability quantitatively, since the focus has been more on regulatory issues (Interview Thierry, 2025). BL introduces the housing cost overburden as a relevant indicator, referencing OECD (Interview BL, 2025). The affordability analysis focuses on

income, which includes received benefits. However, Thierry problematizes, that: “lots of public money is spent on [...] subsidising high rents in the private sector.” (Interview Thierry, 2025) This carries the risk that FPH can seem affordable, even though the costs are covered by the public.

5.1.3 Market Constraints in Housing Production

The construction costs are highlighted as a structural barrier by BL, explaining that material prices increased, and so did wages, besides more environmental obligations and rising land prices in Copenhagen (Interview BL, 2025). The Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing agrees that, especially in bigger cities in Denmark, the construction cost cap is an issue (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025).

NREP’s Urban Developer adds that construction cost growth has slowed down in recent years (Interview NREP, 2025). The NBF interviewees explain that this is due to more insecurity in the housing market, which leads to less building activities, and this lower demand leads to lower prices (Interview NBF, 2025).

Another constraint for NPH taking over and renovating existing buildings is retrofitting costs, due to EU Energy Performance Directives. As a private company, the obligations are not as high (Interview BL, 2025).

Thierry believes that pension funds should redirect their investments in, e.g., green transformation, and he explains the constraint that these funds have connections to the social democrats who have an interest in FPH (Interview Thierry, 2025). NREP’s Urban Developer adds that pension funds also invest in flats that are not affordable for their own members, but real estate is an “alternative investment strategy” to reduce risks (Interview NREP, 2025). Since pension funds are regulated by law, Thierry argues that these funds should be obligated to transfer their investments into NPH, which would increase NPH substantially. He does not agree with the notion that private investments are necessary for construction, but states that the NPH sector could close that gap (Interview Thierry, 2025).

NREP’s Urban Developer explains how the planning of new buildings does not always reflect the current needs. This is e.g. to keep more families with children in the city, who are, among other things, important taxpayers. However, they claim to try to cover most demographic groups (Interview NREP, 2025).

But of course, some are more willing to pay than others. And some of them, especially some of the larger, the large, large units, five-bedroom flats and plus, they are extremely easy to sell because you have a lot of really rich people who have money for all those square meters. But if you try to rent them out, it's not that easy. (Interview NREP, 2025)

The NBF interviewees explain that in contrast to non-profit flats, for-profit rentals can be afforded to stay empty. They mention empty flats on the one hand, but especially a wrong distribution of space, on the other hand, as problems. They state that there are incentives in place that keep people from moving into smaller places and that one possible solution is building more modularly to react faster to changing household sizes (Interview NBF, 2025).

5.1.4 The Role of Non-Profit Housing

Public housing, which does not exist in high quantities in Copenhagen, is not NPH. In terms of market structure, BL highlights that NPH is a distinct system, operating under rules that enable affordability. It is not social housing, but subsidised universal housing allocated via waiting lists (Interview BL, 2025).

NREP's Urban Developer also supports the idea that affordable housing is called social housing and states regarding affordable housing in Copenhagen:

it's the only sector that takes social responsibility [...]. There's only one sector in Denmark that provides affordable housing. And that's the sector you're talking about. (Interview NREP, 2025)

The Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing adds:

you can actually have a regular income or even a good income and still be able to live in social housing [non-profit housing], which is receiving state aid and is also supported by the municipality and so on. And this is something that is not really well understood in many other EU countries who consider it sort of excessive, because there's a focus on only giving aid where it's needed to those who actually need it. (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025)

However, while the allocation of NPH units is universal in principle, it is selective when it comes to the 20% of municipal allocation. Moreover, housing allowances are determined by the income and housing costs, and usually apply to pensioners, students and some unemployed (Interview BL, 2025). BL explains that at times, the financing of NPH is profitable for the state. For residents, the rent works redistributively, which means that the risks and costs are shared in case one estate faces financial difficulties. The tension between the sector's social role and its declining construction rate is also mentioned and informs the discussion (Interview BL, 2025). The interviewee from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing adds that the construction of NPH "is an issue that requires political attention." (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025)

At the same time the NBF clarifies that if non-profits sell buildings, this money is not earmarked to acquire new buildings but can be used for anything (Interview NBF, 2025).

Thierry explains that in contrast to NPH, cooperative housing has also been capitalised, and will become more expensive in the future, nevertheless the City Hall, meaning the municipalities political leadership and administration, is pushing for more of this ownership type (Interview Thierry, 2025).

5.1.5 Institutional Barriers

The Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing explains that each municipality can decide how much NPH they want and then get support from the state. Moreover, each member state of the EU can decide about their housing policy, even though collaboration is increasing (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025). That makes it difficult to change the housing system at large.

Land availability alone is described as insufficient. The process of acquiring permits for NPH and public procurement processes can result in increased construction costs. Additionally, the timing or rather the delay between FPH and NPH construction results in less NPH when opening a new development area such as it is the case in Carlsbergbyen (Interview BL, 2025). The previous government liberalised parts of the housing market and intended to introduce resident-based ownership of non-profit flats, but it was never realised. BL states that they are “in a good place” (Interview BL, 2025) nowadays, in terms of respect, also due to all the engagement in the housing estates. However, Thierry expresses doubt regarding a major change towards more NPH with the political party SF in power, stating that they have not been very progressive in the past. He emphasises the need to reintroduce regulated rental prices as they were before 1992 (Interview Thierry, 2025). Additionally, Thierry points out that it is not only about regulating the rent but also about closing existing loopholes which result in rising rents, such as renovations (Interview Thierry, 2025). NREP’s Urban Developer explains that they mostly invest in unregulated buildings, claiming that it is easier to navigate due to less legislation (Interview NREP, 2025). In Mjølnerparken, the FPH is regulated, while in Jernbanebyen it is unregulated, enabling comparisons.

5.1.6 Social Mixing and Visions for the City

The mixing of residents is intended to prevent stigmatisation of non-profit neighbourhoods. While some neighbourhoods, such as Mjølnerparken are seen as problematic, more expensive and exclusive neighbourhoods do not have to “be transformed”, but the BL interviewee agrees that those are “just a different ghetto” (Interview BL, 2025).

In Mjølnerparken, the FPH must also comply to certain regulations:

to ensure that our tenants did not skew the balance in the wrong direction. So, we needed to make sure that our tenants were either employed or in education. (Interview NREP, 2025)

The Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing (2025) also highlights that for transformation areas, densification or a re-categorisation into other sub-categories such as student, elderly or disabled housing is preferred to decrease the family NPH share. However, the interviewee from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing states, “what is being achieved in Mjølnerparken is completely in line with the political priority there” (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025). Further, NBF claims that while a renovation was needed, and the redevelopment was more expensive than expected, demolishing the buildings in Mjølnerparken was not an option. Instead, NBF sees selling the buildings as the only solution (Interview NBF, 2025).

Thierry (Interview, 2025) criticises the transformation in Mjølnerparken and refers to it as “apartment grabbing”. He explains how the criteria for the list to categorise vulnerable areas were changed in order to include more areas and legitimise the consequences. He references the EU courts’ advice on when the agreement would be discriminatory. It is discriminatory if, through the non-western background criteria, the situation for the tenants in a listed transformation area differs from that of the tenants in a listed vulnerable area. This is the case in Mjølnerparken. He states that NREP knew the risks before they bought flats in Mjølnerparken and should “just be kicked out” (Interview Thierry, 2025).

This stands in contrast to Jernbanebyen. One Spor10 Community Manager explains that, because there has not been an established district yet, there are no protests against the building plans. He states that it is important that everybody, regardless of their background, can live in Jernbanebyen (Interview Spor10, 2025).

Thierry criticises BL for their idea of a mixed city, which focuses on mixed ownership styles. He states that “the non-profit housing is the mixed city” (Interview Thierry, 2025). Therefore, there should be the highest NPH share as possible, also encompassing family houses in the suburbs. He compares the FPH with a supermarket that offers the same goods as the others but with double the prices and has vested concerns that this would be accepted by the Danish population (Interview Thierry, 2025).

Thierry also speaks out about the recent decrease in local level democracy in NPH and criticises that for transformation or liberalisation plans, only representatives of different areas have a say on an association level. Moreover, proposals by tenants should not be denied in principle as it seems to be the case now (Interview Thierry, 2025). Nevertheless, he highlights that in general the tenants have some decision-making power, whereas tenants in FPH are completely dependent on their property owner (Interview Thierry, 2025). This includes being able to predict the future rent, which NPH tenants are able to do more reliably than FPH tenants (Interview NBF, 2025).

While the NBF explains that it is difficult to compare Denmark's NPH system to other countries, Thierry thinks that “we should compare to places that are better” (Interview, 2025), referencing Vienna (Interview NBF). This comparison is picked up in the discussion.

5.1.7 Interview Findings

The interviews highlight that exclusion through affordability is structurally produced. It is not individuals that are responsible for exclusion but policy design and market structures as Marcuse also highlights in his theory (see Section 3.1). Even though the interviewed experts agree that NPH is crucial for housing affordability, allocation is selective and governance tensions limit its capacity and hinder construction. Further, social-mixing objectives explain the dynamics in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen and motivate the quantitative analysis and discussion. The interviews provide insights into the housing market and serve the identification of key stakeholders as intended to (see Subsection 3.2.2).

5.2 Residents

This section analyses residents' income and identifies the most common household compositions in Denmark to inform scenario selection. Desktop research (see Subsection 3.2.1) led to the use of the data set IFOR20 to analyse the income deciles in Denmark (Statistics Denmark, 2025e). The affordability of flats in Mjølnerparken is analysed for 2028 and in Jernbanebyen for 2029.

5.2.1 Income Deciles 2019 - 2029

The income decile data from 2000 until 2024 is linearly forecasted until 2029. The data for income deciles is equalised for households and describes disposable income (Statistics Denmark, 2025e). These deciles account for household size and composition and show how much income a household has, sharing all costs. Therefore, the analysis does not assume that with an additional adult in the household, the paying capacity rises proportionally. In accordance with welfare-economic assumptions an economy of scale is assumed.

This thesis only considers students living in youth housing because of the available data. The socioeconomic status *student* is therefore used. Figure 21 shows the development of the upper bounds of the student income deciles from 2019 until 2029.

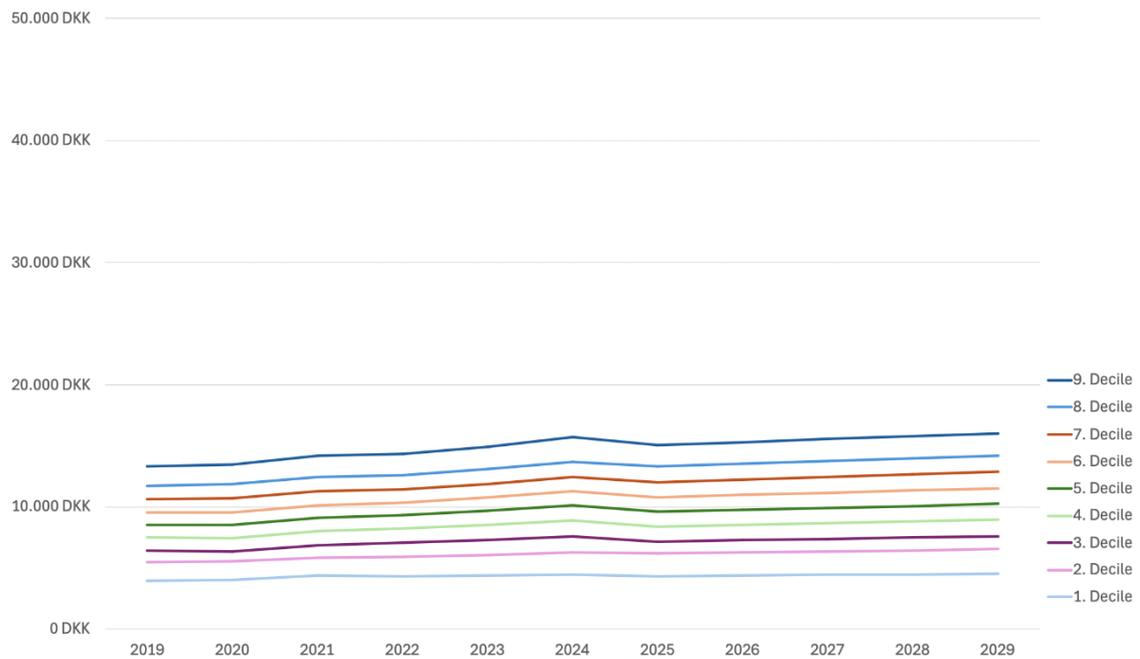


Figure 21: Visualisation of student income deciles per month with disposable income and nominal prices (own illustration)

For senior living, this analysis focuses on the category pensioners (folkepensionister) for income deciles. The senior housing type in Mjølnerparken consists of elderly homes (ældreboliger). In 2016, 78% of residents in elderly homes were above 67 years old (Statistics Denmark, 2017). In Jernbanebyen, nursing homes (plejehjem) will be built. The share of over 67-year-olds is even higher in nursing homes, at roughly 92% (Statistics Denmark, 2017). Therefore, using pensioners is considered most suitable. Even though the housing types in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen can also be rented by younger residents, access is only granted by the municipality if residents fulfil certain requirements, for example, needing more care or assistance (Statistics Denmark, 2017). Figure 22 illustrates the potential development of the upper bounds of pensioner income deciles from 2019 until 2029.

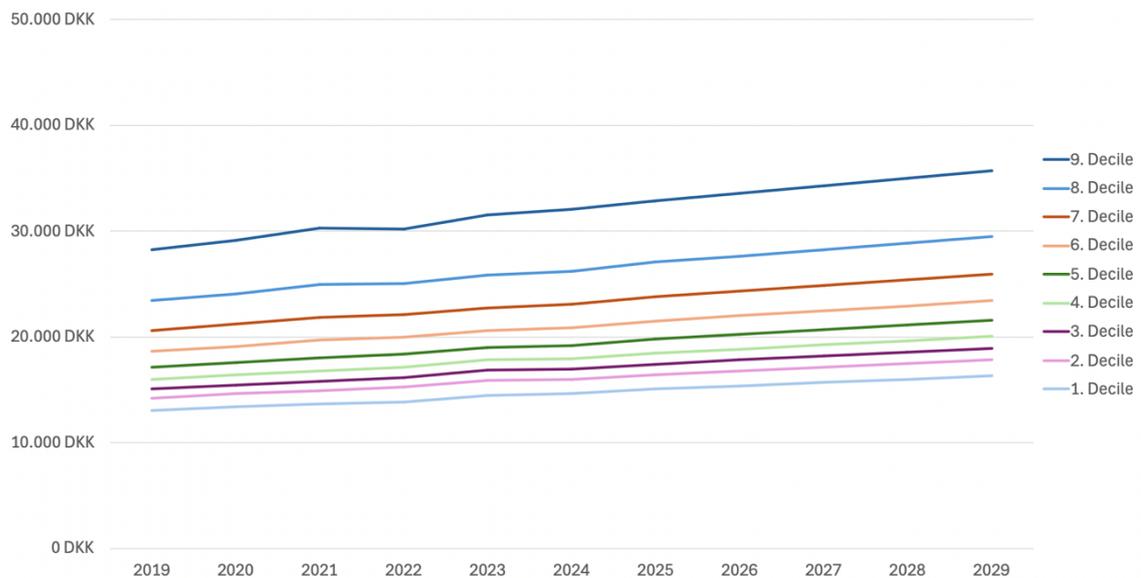


Figure 22: Visualisation of pensioner income deciles per month with disposable income and nominal prices (own illustration)

To include all possible residents of family housing, all socioeconomic statuses are included: Self-employed, total employed, unemployed, temporarily out of the workforce, recipients of social security, others out of the workforce, students, pensioners and retired people. Figure 23 shows the possible development of the upper bounds of the family income deciles from 2019 until 2029.

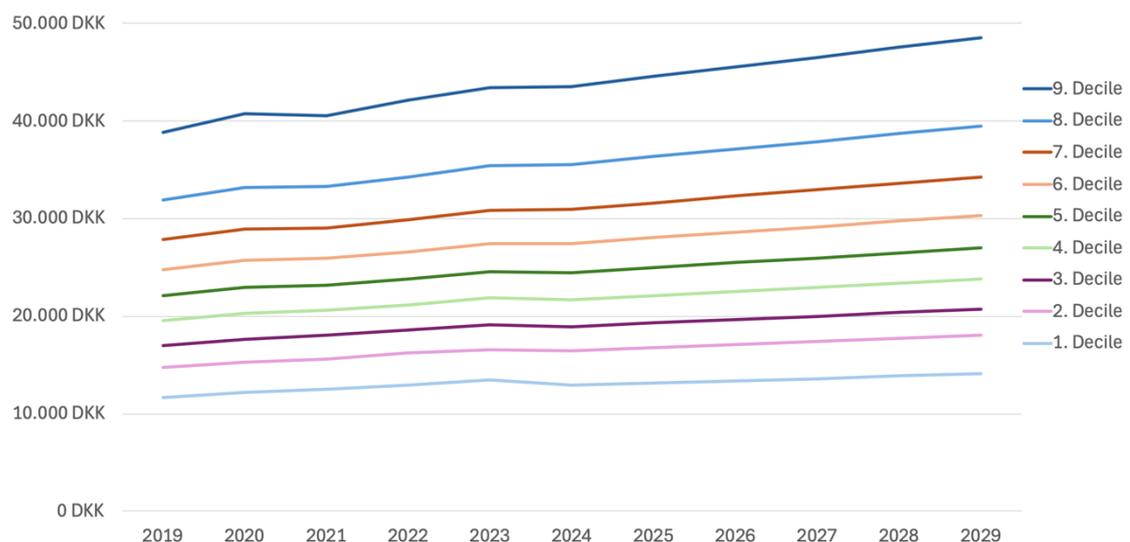


Figure 23: Visualisation of family income deciles per month with disposable income and nominal prices (own illustration)

For this analysis, the threshold of each income decile is taken to calculate the affordability and overburden thresholds. Table 2 shows these limits per income decile and per household type for the years 2028 for Mjølnerparken and 2029 for Jernbanebyen.

Table 2: Monthly upper bounds of each income decile and thresholds for affordability and overburdening (own illustration)

| Income Decile | Category | 2028 (DKK) | | | 2029 (DKK) | | |
|---------------|----------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | | Max. Disposable Income | 30% - affordable | 40% over-burden | Max. Disposable Income | 30% - affordable | 40% over-burden |
| 1 | Youth | 4.491 | 1.347 | 1.796 | 4.552 | 1.366 | 1.821 |
| | Senior | 15.994 | 4.798 | 6.398 | 16.310 | 4.893 | 6.524 |
| | Family | 13.625 | 4.087 | 5.450 | 13.848 | 4.154 | 5.539 |
| 2 | Youth | 6.460 | 1.938 | 2.584 | 6.556 | 1.967 | 2.622 |
| | Senior | 17.502 | 5.251 | 7.001 | 17.853 | 5.356 | 7.141 |
| | Family | 17.391 | 5.217 | 6.956 | 17.702 | 5.311 | 7.081 |
| 3 | Youth | 7.489 | 2.247 | 2.996 | 7.599 | 2.280 | 3.040 |
| | Senior | 18.542 | 5.562 | 7.417 | 18.915 | 5.675 | 7.566 |
| | Family | 20.006 | 6.002 | 8.002 | 20.366 | 6.110 | 8.147 |
| 4 | Youth | 8.811 | 2.643 | 3.524 | 8.946 | 2.684 | 3.578 |
| | Senior | 19.627 | 5.888 | 7.851 | 20.026 | 6.008 | 8.011 |
| | Family | 22.947 | 6.884 | 9.179 | 23.372 | 7.012 | 9.349 |
| 5 | Youth | 10.090 | 3.027 | 4.036 | 10.249 | 3.075 | 4.100 |
| | Senior | 21.090 | 6.327 | 8.436 | 21.526 | 6.458 | 8.610 |
| | Family | 25.963 | 7.789 | 10.385 | 26.458 | 7.937 | 10.583 |
| 6 | Youth | 11.356 | 3.407 | 4.542 | 11.539 | 3.462 | 4.616 |
| | Senior | 22.931 | 6.879 | 9.173 | 23.407 | 7.022 | 9.363 |
| | Family | 29.177 | 8.753 | 11.671 | 29.748 | 8.924 | 11.899 |
| 7 | Youth | 12.657 | 3.797 | 5.063 | 12.866 | 3.860 | 5.146 |
| | Senior | 25.367 | 7.610 | 10.147 | 25.892 | 7.768 | 10.357 |
| | Family | 32.936 | 9.881 | 13.174 | 33.596 | 10.079 | 13.439 |

| Income Decile | Category | 2028 (DKK) | | | 2029 (DKK) | | |
|---------------|----------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | | Max. Disposable Income | 30% - affordable | 40% over-burden | Max. Disposable Income | 30% - affordable | 40% over-burden |
| 8 | Youth | 13.992 | 4.198 | 5.597 | 14.221 | 4.266 | 5.688 |
| | Senior | 28.844 | 8.653 | 11.538 | 29.438 | 8.831 | 11.775 |
| | Family | 37.903 | 11.371 | 15.161 | 38.683 | 11.605 | 15.473 |
| 9 | Youth | 15.798 | 4.739 | 6.319 | 16.049 | 4.815 | 6.419 |
| | Senior | 34.987 | 10.496 | 13.995 | 35.696 | 10.709 | 14.278 |
| | Family | 46.523 | 13.957 | 18.609 | 47.513 | 14.254 | 19.005 |

5.2.2 Household Scenarios

The household statistics *Fam 44N* provides insights into the household compositions in Copenhagen (Statistics Denmark, 2025c). Figure 24 below illustrates the main household compositions in Copenhagen in 2025. The data includes singles and couples over 18 years old living with up to five children.

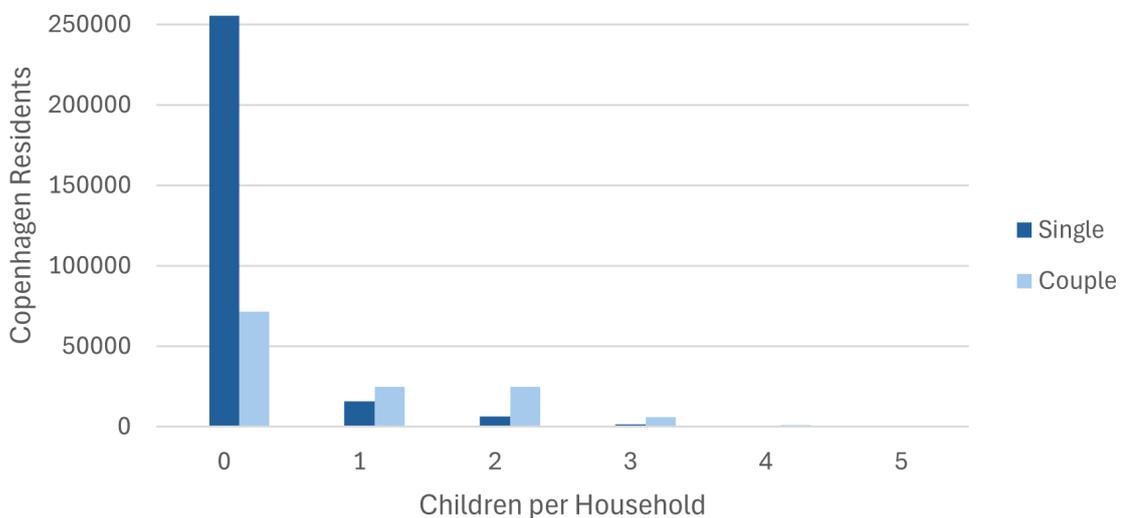


Figure 24: Household composition in Copenhagen in 2025 (own illustration)

These proportions visualise that most residents in Copenhagen live on their own in a single-person household, followed by couples without children in a two-person household. Fewer residents live as couples with one or two children in three- or four-person households. Even fewer are single parents. Based on these proportions, the most common household compositions are chosen for the scenarios and are shown in Table 3.

Additionally, there is the need to identify the minimum square metres requirements for the affordability analysis. These requirements also indicate whether the flats designed in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen provide enough space. Ulrich (2025) explains in his paper *Minimum Spatial Housing Requirements for Human Flourishing* that the amount of smaller household sizes has been increasing through ageing and urban migration, but also households of couples without children and pensioners. Family units are mostly used by nuclear families. For the scenarios, the minimal internal floor areas are set according to Ulrich (2025) and can be seen in Table 3. Ulrich uses 15 square metre steps to increase clarity for policies and planning (2025).

Table 3: Chosen flat sizes for different household configurations based on universal minimum standards and based on the most common household types (Statistics Denmark, 2025c; Ulrich, 2025)

| Household type | Single [m ²] | Couple [m ²] |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Youth | 30 | 45 |
| Senior | 30 | 45 |
| Family | | |
| + 0 Children | 30 | 45 |
| + 1 Child | 45 | 60 |
| + 2 Children | 60 | 75 |

To justify the chosen household compositions and the allocated amount of square metres, legislation is investigated. According to §5 of the *Executive order on fulfilling the housing requirement in family reunification cases and on the municipal council's opinion on the reference's housing conditions*, a living space with a minimum of 20 m² per person in a multi-person household in Denmark is appropriate. This does not include kitchen, toilet, entrance hall, etc., which is why this standard is not useful for this analysis (Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2015).

The only size recommendation of the *International Building or Residential Code* entails that a habitable room must be at least 11 m² (Ulrich, 2025). Moreover, the EU sets a minimum number of rooms to define whether households are overcrowded or under-occupied. This knowledge is used to justify the minimum size of dwellings for families with children. It requires one room for each adult and “one room for each single person between 12 and 17 years of age” (Eurostat, 2021b) if the children are not of the same gender. It is assumed that when a family has two children, that the children are of different genders.

If these thresholds shown in Table 3 are not met, domestic functions, such as sleep, food preparation and remote work start to overlap, for example, eating takes place on beds. This can result in stress and intentions to relocate (Ulrich, 2025). Copenhagen offers micro-flats especially for students where the internal floor area is below 30 m², however, this is not analysed in this thesis.

5.2.3 Implications of Income and Household Dynamics

The equivalised income deciles for the three household types provide thresholds that are used in the affordability analysis. The household compositions are used for the scenarios and the robustness check. Single-person and two-person households dominate, followed by families with children which require larger flats. Together with the adequate minimum dwelling sizes, the scenarios are analysed. Income and household structure form the basis of the evaluation of housing affordability and exclusionary patterns.

5.3 Flat Types and Tenures

5.3.1 Mjølnerparken

For the area Mjølnerparken including Hothers Plads, Bo-Vita used to own all flats. Nowadays, two out of four blocks are managed by NREP. Using QGIS, a choropleth map (see Figure 25) is created to visualise the division between NPH and FPH ownership, before and after the sale.



Figure 25: Ownership before (left) and after (right) the sale of Bo-Vita's NPH (own illustration)

Regarding their FPH flats, NREP offered comprehensive information for this research. Bo-Vita only provided the researchers with the public information that is not detailed and does not include all flats that are currently renovated and not on the market. In Figure 26, the property ownership and amount of flats before the transformation is illustrated.

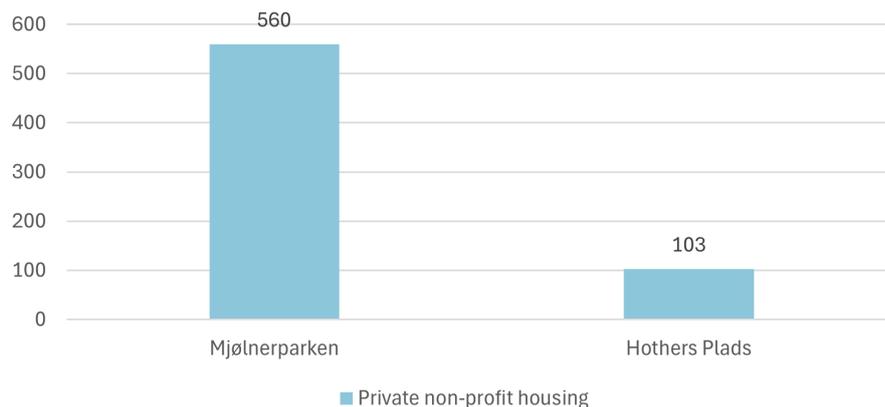


Figure 26: Number of flats in Mjølnerparken and Hothers Plads before the transformation (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021)

Figure 27 shows how the flats are split between NPH and FPH after the transformation. Because the sizes of the flats are adjusted, some are transformed into businesses and, for example, penthouses are added during renovation, the amount of flats in Mjølnerparken is changed.



Figure 27: Number of flats in Mjølnerparken and Hothers Plads after the transformation (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021)

Figure 28 shows the composition of the three different household types in Mjølnerparken. Some flats are excluded from this research since they have been transformed into non-residential units which are not analysed. Due to missing information from Bo-Vita this composition cannot be broken down for each of the blocks.

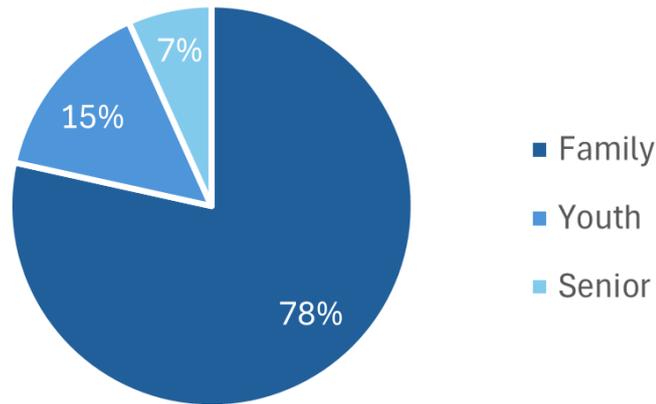


Figure 28: Housing type distribution in Mjølnerparken and Hothers Plads in total after the transformation (own illustration)

The following figures show how the three household types are distributed both for NPH as well as for FPH (see Figure 29).

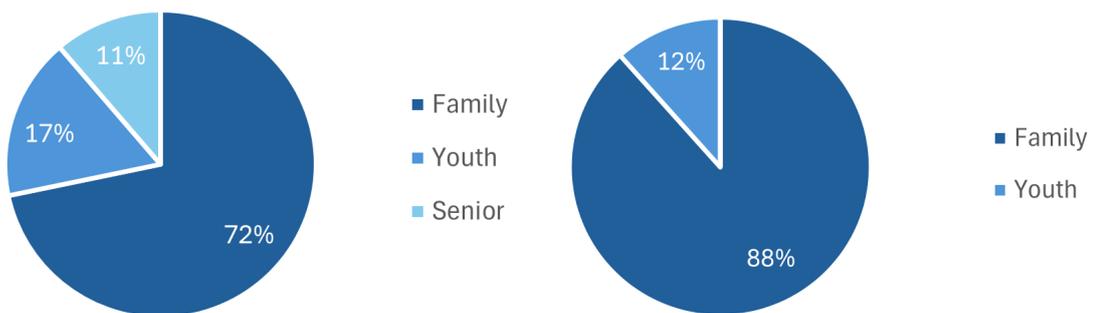


Figure 29: Housing types distributions of NPH (left) and FPH (right) in Mjølnerparken and Hothers Plads after the transformation (own illustration)

5.3.2 Jernbanebyen

Figure 30 shows where NPH can be constructed in Jernbanebyen. The exact share of flat types and sizes is unknown, and the analysis is based on the information provided in the *Proposal for Local Plan*.

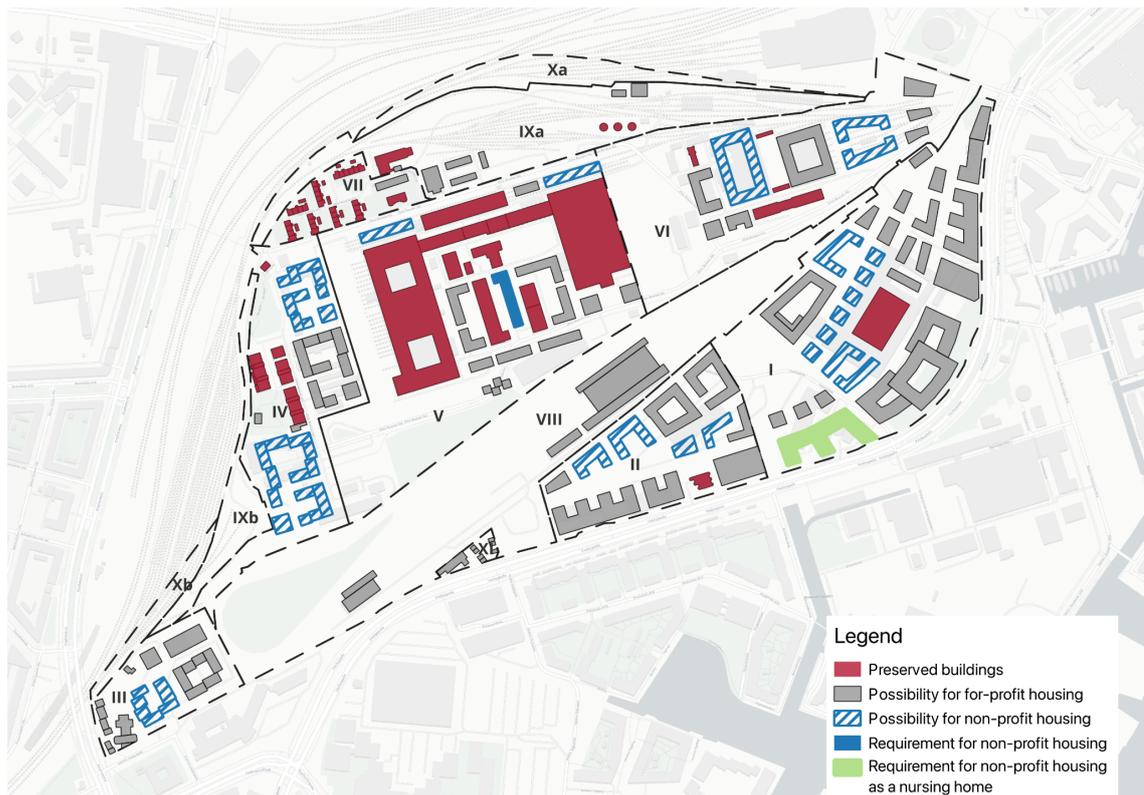


Figure 30: Overview of possible NPH and FPH spaces in Jernbanebyen (own illustration)

According to the *Proposal for Local Plan*, the housing units must have an average size of 95m² and must not be smaller than 40m², however, 50% of the dwellings may be excluded from the average size (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). This applies to the subareas I to VII (see Figure 30).

While the minimum flat size in Jernbanebyen is 40m², the required minimum flat size to be satisfied is 30m² for a single person household, according to Ulrich (2025) (see Subsection 5.2.2). However, the size requirement in Jernbanebyen does not apply to people with physical or mental impairments, which includes people in nursing homes.

Since the *Proposal for Local Plan* does not explicitly state any elderly flat sizes, a reference flat size is used in the robustness check. *Sydhvansgades Plejehjem* in Sydhavn is a nursing home which has been under construction since 2024 (AAB, 2026). The majority of flats will have a size of 67m² (Copenhagen Municipality, 2022a). It is assumed that the dwellings in Jernbanebyen's nursing home will be similar in size.

The size requirements for youth flats differ from those for the elderly and family. The size ranges from 25 to 50m² (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024), not meeting the minimum, as identified by Ulrich (2025). This might, for example, result in shorter rental periods and unsatisfied tenants.

Even though the *Proposal for Local Plan* solely states ranges, Figure 31 shows a possible housing type distribution. It is assumed that the in the *Proposal for*

Local Plan listed maximum floor space of 30% for youth housing will be achieved by both NPH and FPH.

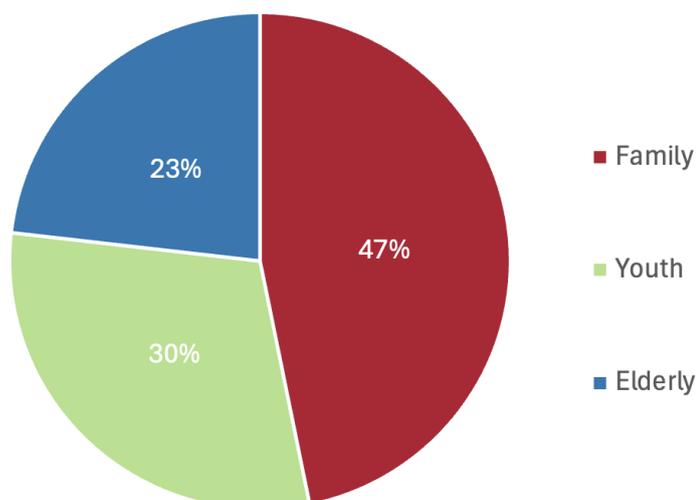


Figure 31: Possible housing type distribution in Jernbanebyen (own illustration)

However, it is very speculative which shares will be built by either NPH or FPH. The goal is to build at least 25% NPH but it is uncertain how much youth and family housing will be built. It is certain that the nursing home will be NPH and take up 23% of floor space.

5.3.3 Tenure Structures and Affordability Outcomes

The distribution of flat types and tenures varies for the two areas. Jernbanebyen plans for multiple household types with uncertain tenure shares and Mjølnerparken shows a mix of NPH and FPH after the transformation indicating differing access between household types. The flat sizes show that especially youth apartments are designed below the set minimum standard, potentially impacting satisfaction and rental stability. In both cases, data gaps limit a precise analysis, resulting in assumptions highlighting uncertainty for the scenarios. In Mjølnerparken, data on the NPH flats is missing. In Jernbanebyen, data is limited due to the early planning stage.

The visualisation of data both as charts and GIS maps has been achieved, as set out to in Subsection 3.2.6.

5.4 Scenarios

The scenarios use the minimum space requirements for the households according to Ulrich (2025) and the monthly rental prices include housing shares (see Table 3).

5.4.1 Mjølnerparken

Before the transformation, all flats in Mjølnerparken were NPH. The rent for an 80 square metre flat in Mjølnerparken was 6.200 DKK per month. In the surrounding area the average rent of all available housing types (see Subsection 4.1) was approximately 9.400 DKK per month (Copenhagen Economics, 2019). Besides the common rent increases, the NPH prices rise due to the renovations as demonstrated in the calculated scenarios. Even higher is the increase for those flats that are now FPH. After the transformation in 2024, an 85 square metre FPH flat, for example, is rented out for a discounted rent of 13,300 DKK/month, until 1/1/2028. In 2028, the rent will increase to 15,800 DKK/month (Personal Communication, NREP Urban Developer, 18.11.2025). As shown in Subsection 3.2.4, this increase is used to forecast other family units.

The complete dataset of FPH and the broad range of example prices of NPH are enough to extrapolate square metre prices for the near future in 2028. Taking both data sets into account, a scatter plot is a suitable visualiser of the range of square meter prices per month, comparing FPH vs. NPH.

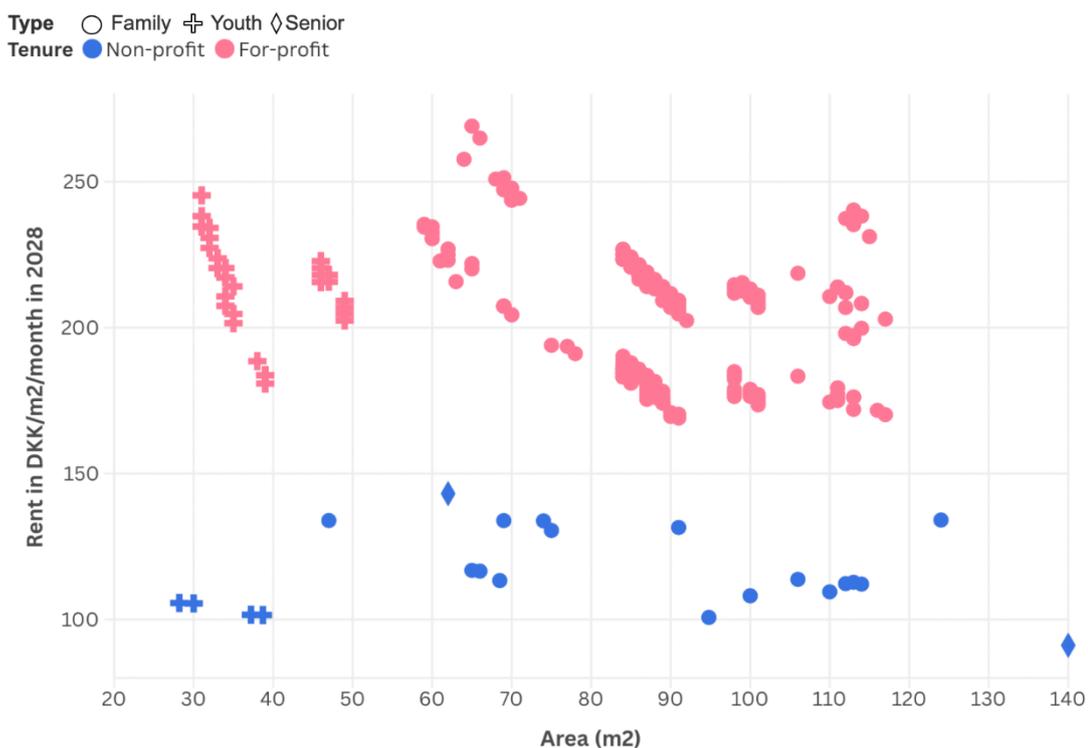


Figure 32: Predicted square meter prices per month in Mjølnerparken in 2028 (Bo-Vest, 2025; Personal Communication NREP Urban Developer, 25.11.2025)

It is visible that FPH has higher square metre prices across the range of flat sizes. Moreover, it becomes clear that student flats are generally smaller than family and senior units. The NPH senior units cover a large range. Even though there are less data points for NPH, it is observable that both NPH and FPH cover similar flat sizes.

Even though only employed people, people in education and people over 65 years old are allowed to move into the FPH flats in Mjølnerparken (Personal Communication, NREP Urban Developer, 18.11.2025), the income deciles for family homes used in the following analysis include, for example, unemployed people, because this regulation could change. Below is an exemplary calculation of the monthly rent in a minimum sized flat for youth according to Equation 1.

$$Rent_{youth\ total(30m^2)}[DKK] = Rent [DKK] + Utilities [DKK]$$

$$Rent_{youth\ total(30m^2)}[DKK] = 112,47 \frac{DKK}{m^2} * 30m^2 + 160 \frac{DKK}{m^2 * a} * 30m^2 * \frac{1,1}{12}$$

$$3.814\ DKK = 3.374,1\ DKK + 440\ DKK$$

The calculated prices for the minimum sizes, both for FPH and NPH, are shown in Table 4. $\geq X$ means that some households in decile X and all above can afford the flat. $\leq Y$ indicates that some households in decile Y and all below are cost overburdened by the housing costs and are at risk of being excluded.

Table 4: Affordability of household scenarios by income decile in 2028. Normatively defined flat sizes are analysed for NPH and FPH with rents that include utility costs (own illustration)

| Household | Size [m ²] | NPH | | | FPH | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | | Rent/ Month [DKK] | Afford-able | Over-bur-dened | Rent/ Month | Afford-able | Over-bur-dened |
| Youth, single | 30 | 3.166 | ≥6 | ≤4 | 7.621 | >9 | ≤10 |
| Youth, couple | 45 | 3.931 *based on 38,7 m ² flat price | ≥8 | ≤5 | 10.524 *based on average of 46m ² flat prices | >9 | ≤10 |
| Senior, single | 30 | 4.294 *based on 62 m ² flat price | ≥1 | ≤1 | — | — | — |
| Senior, couple | 45 | 6.441 *based on 62 m ² flat price | ≥6 | ≤2 | — | — | — |
| Family, single + 0 children | 30 | 4.018 *based on 47m ² flat price | ≥1 | ≤1 | 7.451 *based on average of 59 m ² flat prices | ≥5 | ≤3 |
| Family, single + 1 children or Family, couple + 0 children | 45 | 6.027 *based on 47 m ² flat price | ≥4 | ≤2 | 11.176 | ≥8 | ≤6 |
| Family, single + 2 children or Family, couple + 1 children | 60 | 7.011 *based on 65 m ² flat price | ≥5 | ≤3 | 14.750 *based on average of 60 m ² flat prices | >9 | ≤8 |
| Family, couple + 2 children | 75 | 9.789 | ≥7 | ≤5 | 15.546 | >9 | ≤9 |

Single youth units in NPH are affordable for deciles ≥ 6 , with overburdening concentrated in the lower deciles (≤ 4). For larger two adult units, affordability shifts upward (≥ 8) under equivalised income assumptions, highlighting a structural affordability barrier for young couples. The FPH youth flats do not even fall within the affordability of the lower 90% and are overburdening every income decile. This indicates that even very small dwellings can be overburdening, however, it is often a situational educational pressure.

The elderly homes in Mjølnerparken are all NPH. If elderly would live in the same size conditions as students, those units would be affordable from decile one, with no deciles classified as overburdened, only the first decile could be affected. Larger units for couples are affordable from decile six, with overburdening in the lower deciles (≤ 2).

Single family housing units are affordable from decile one, meaning that small units are broadly accessible to lower-income single-adult households. The shift from NPH to FPH raises the affordability threshold by four deciles. The lower income households (up to decile three) are systematically excluded.

For singles with a child or couples, affordability rises to decile ≥ 4 while the lowest deciles (≤ 2) are overburdened. Under equivalised income, couples are not assumed to have double paying capacity; housing size is the dominant driver. Increasing space needs, therefore, rapidly excludes lower-income households, especially in FPH, where a 45 square metre flat is only affordable for decile 8 and upward. Over 50% of Danish households would be overburdened by the costs.

In NPH, the minimum size requirements for singles with two children or couples with one child are affordable from decile five; overburdening persists up to decile three. Family-sized units thereby become inaccessible to a substantial share of the population. For FPH, the projected costs are only affordable for the top decile while overburdening over 70% of the population. The largest analysed unit for a couple with two children, is affordable only from decile seven in NPH and over decile nine in FPH. Overburdening extends to the middle of the distribution (≤ 5) for NPH, while FPH costs overburden over 80% of household incomes. Large family dwellings are accessible only to high-income households, implying strong exclusionary effects.

For NPH, affordability spans the middle deciles, and exclusion concentrates at the lowest deciles. Larger family units in FPH are putting pressure even on middle-income households. The use of equivalised income means that additional adults do not proportionally increase affordability, which results in systematically higher decile thresholds for larger units. These results should be interpreted as identifying structural affordability constraints rather than predicting actual housing choices or dual-earner behaviour. The latter will be tested in the sensitivity check (see Section 5.5).

Figure 33 visualises the results from Table 4. To elaborate how to read the figure, here is an example: Single youth households are overburdened in ≤ 4 decile which means that the deciles 0-3 are classified as *overburdened* and the fourth decile itself is classified as *burdened to overburdened*. On the other hand, the affordability of ≥ 6 is visualised as *affordable to burdened* for the sixth decile and considered as *affordable* for the deciles 7-9. All other deciles are classified as *burdened*.

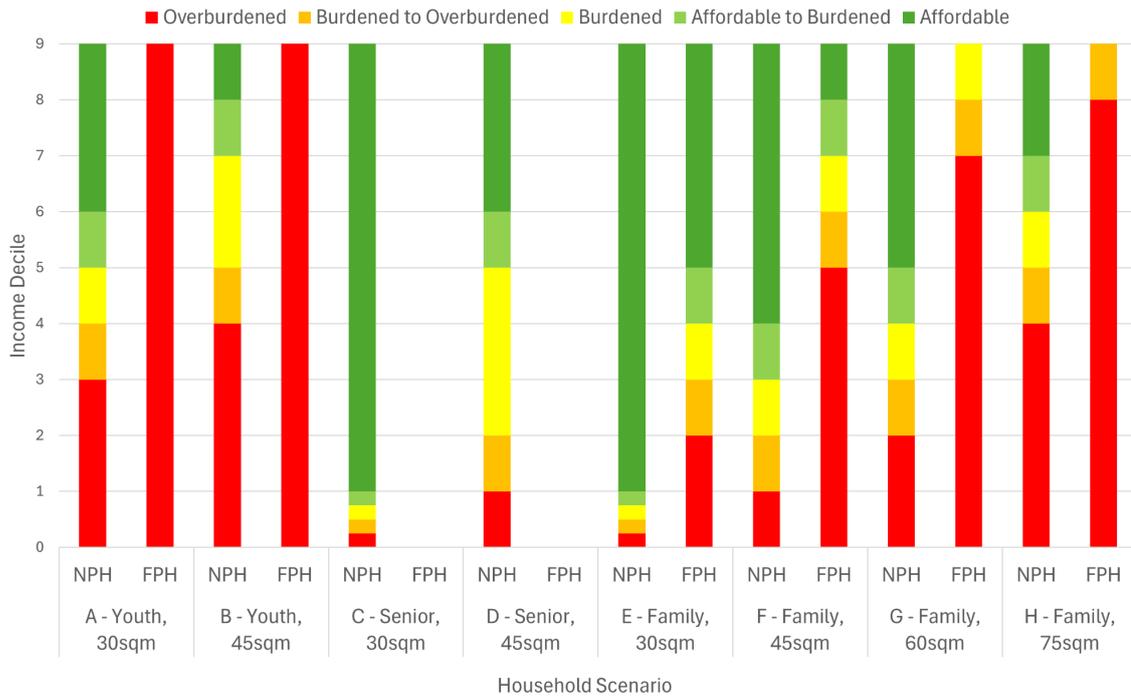


Figure 33: Household scenarios and their affordability in Mjølnerparken (own illustration) (see Table 4)

5.4.2 Jernbanebyen

There are no rental prices set for Jernbanebyen before the completion of this thesis. Therefore, the prices are calculated based on data found through desktop research (see Subsection 3.2.1). For NPH, the construction costs cap is calculated with the forecasted net-price index and wage index according to Equation 5. An exemplary calculation of the monthly rent for a minimum-sized flat for youth is shown below.

$$Cap_{2027}[DKK] = \left(30m^2 * 25.050 \frac{DKK}{m^2} + 430.430 DKK \right) * 1,1406 = 1.348.057DKK$$

$$Rent_{2029} \left[\frac{DKK}{month} \right] = \frac{2,8\% * 1.348.057DKK}{12} + \frac{160 \frac{DKK}{m^2} * 30m^2 * 1,1}{12} = 3.585 \frac{DKK}{month}$$

For FPH, the forecasted rent in DKK/sqm/year is 2.812. With Equation 1 the prices are calculated for the scenarios and shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Affordability of household scenarios by income decile in 2029 in Jernbanebyen. Normatively defined flat sizes are analysed for NPH and FPH with rents that include utility costs (own illustration)

| Household | Size [m ²] | NPH | | | FPH | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|
| | | Rent/ Month [DKK] | Afford- able | Over- bur- dened | Rent/ Month [DKK] | Afford- able | Over- bur- dened |
| Youth, single | 30 | 3.585 | ≥7 | ≤5 | 7.031 | >9 | ≤10 |
| Youth, couple | 45 | 4.805 | ≥9 | ≤7 | 10.546 | >9 | ≤10 |
| Senior, single | 30 | 3.354 | ≥1 | ≤1 | Not available | | |
| Senior, couple | 45 | 5.664 | ≥3 | ≤1 | Not available | | |
| Family, single, 0 children | 30 | 3.545 | ≥1 | ≤1 | 7.031 | ≥5 | ≤2 |
| Family, single + 1 children or Family, couple + 0 children | 45 | 4.745 | ≥2 | ≤1 | 10.546 | ≥8 | ≤5 |
| Family, single + 2 children or Family, couple + 1 children | 60 | 5.945 | ≥3 | ≤2 | 14.062 | ≥9 | ≤8 |
| Family, couple + 2 children | 75 | 7.145 | ≥5 | ≤3 | 17.577 | >9 | ≤9 |

Among the 30 square metre NPH flat, the youth flat is the most expensive. This can be explained with higher administrative costs. However, the youth income deciles are proportionally the lowest which is why youth are at the highest risk of being overburdened.

For FPH, all nine deciles are overburdened by the prices of both a 30 and 45 square metre flat. In NPH, the rent is more affordable, especially in the smaller dwelling. However, it is still only higher income deciles (≥7) who are able to afford the flat. For the bigger flat, youth households until the sixth income decile are overburdened.

The smaller senior flat might be affordable for every income decile while the larger flat is only affordable for income deciles ≥3. Seniors in the first income decile

might be overburdened. It is important to mention that senior housing units only include the rent, including shares, however, senior flats also offer additional services such as meals which might add additional fees. These extra services are not considered when analysing the affordability of senior flats.

In family NPH, fewer households are overburdened. The smallest flat can be afforded by all income deciles. The affordability pressure increases with the size of the flat by one decile until the 60 square metre flat. However, single households and a two-person household, either an adult with a child or two adults, are only at risk of being overburdened in the first income decile. If there is a family with a total of four people requiring 75 square metres, only income deciles ≥ 5 can afford living in the flat. Income deciles ≤ 3 , on the other hand, are at risk of overburdening.

By contrast, living in FPH, the smallest single person flat can be afforded by the income deciles ≥ 5 while the two bottom deciles are overburdened. It is surprising that for the bigger flats with two or more people only the top two income deciles can afford living there while in the 45 square metre flat, income deciles ≤ 5 are overburdened. For larger households that require 60 or 75 square metres, at least deciles (≤ 8) are overburdened.

Figure 34 visualises the results from Table 5.

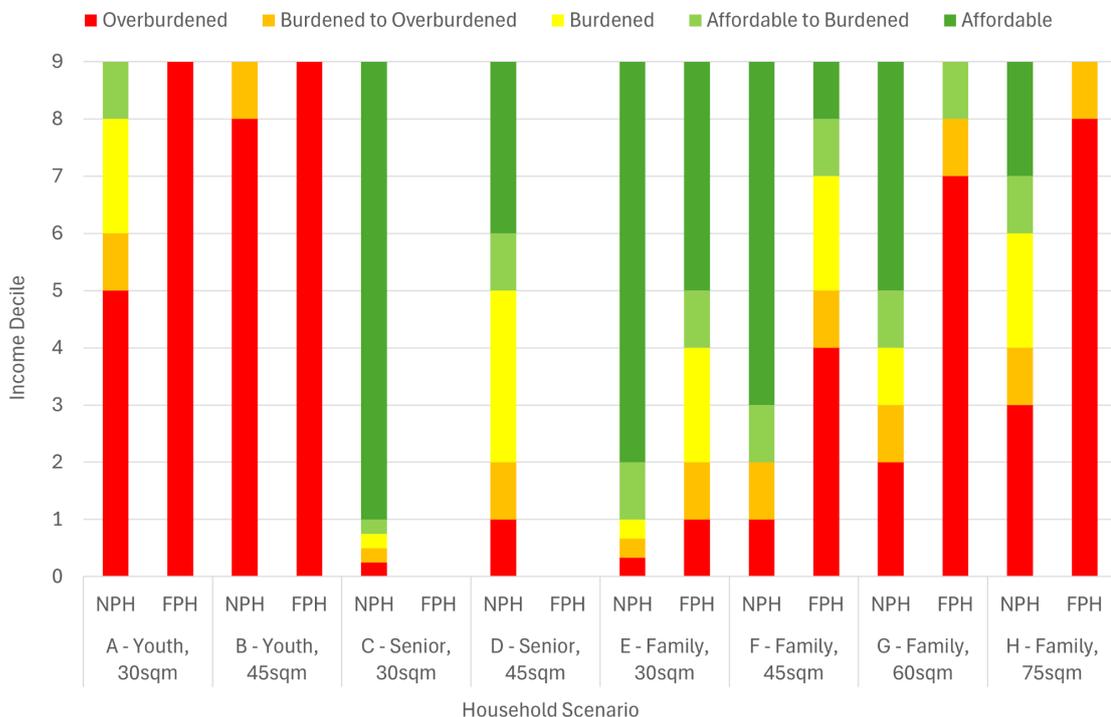


Figure 34: Household scenarios and their affordability in Jernbanebyen (own illustration) (see Table 5)

5.4.3 Comparative Assessment of Scenario Outcomes

The scenarios show that NPH improves affordability but remains limited. The results indicate that the smallest NPH flat of 30 square metre can be largely afforded by every income decile in family and elderly housing. However, affordability for the smallest youth flat starts in the 6th decile indicating that especially youth are disadvantaged. Affordability is reduced with increasing flat size. While smaller flats seem largely affordable the largest flat of 75 square metre excludes the bottom four deciles in family and elderly households.

FPH is, on the other hand, also unaffordable for family and senior households in the bottom four income deciles starting for the smallest apartment. Even more surprising, larger flats of 60 square metre and more are only affordable for the top income decile across household types.

The affordability thresholds show consistent overburdening in the lower-income deciles and a rising exclusion with dwelling size. This highlights that structural barriers exclude households systematically, which are also highlighted by Marcuse in his theory (see Section 3.1). The different results for Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen are based on the different datasets used. In Mjølnerparken, most data is provided by the owners, while in Jernbanebyen, public data is used to approximate the prices.

5.5 Robustness Check

Two robustness checks are conducted in order to test the results, as elaborated in Subsection 3.2.5, by changing assumptions and parameters.

This includes the chosen income deciles, which represent whole households regardless of the amount of people (see Subsection 3.2.4). The first robustness check analyses to what extent an increase of income changes the housing affordability, by approximating a household with double income. Additionally, a robustness check is conducted where more realistic flat sizes are analysed for affordability. It helps answer the research question by testing whether existing and planned flat sizes in Copenhagen are affordable for the different income deciles.

5.5.1 Robustness Check: Dual-Income Households

In this analysis, it is assumed that a two-adult household has 40% more income than an equivalised single-person household. This reflects an empirically plausible estimate that two adults are not necessarily two full-time earners in a household but still have more income available than a single-person household. This can be justified with part time employment because of education or care work, the gender pay gap which was 12,9% in 2024 (Statistics Denmark, 2026b), and generally unequal labour market participation of two adults in the same household.

In this sensitivity check, a 45m² flat is analysed for each of the three household types and the largest family scenario is analysed. The housing costs remain as shown in Section 5.4 while the income increases by 40%.

For Mjølnerparken, it can be observed that there are changes in affordability, especially for NPH (see Table 6). Without the 40% addition, NPH for youth is only affordable for the top three income deciles (see Subsection 5.5.1). With the assumption of 40% more income in a two-person household, affordability changes to income deciles ≥ 5 . For FPH, an income increase of 40% is not enough to make it affordable for more income deciles. The affordability of senior flats changes by up to 5 income deciles.

Table 6: Sensitivity check with adjusted income in Mjølnerparken (own illustration)

| Household | Size [m ²] | NPH | | FPH | |
|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------------|--------|
| | | Affordability (equivalised income*1,4) | Change | Affordability (equivalised income*1,4) | Change |
| Youth | 45 | ≥ 5 | 3 | > 9 | 0 |
| Senior | 45 | ≥ 1 | 5 | — | — |
| Family | 45 | ≥ 2 | 2 | ≥ 6 | 1 |
| Family | 75 | ≥ 5 | 2 | ≥ 8 | 2 |

For Jernbanebyen, a change in the affordability rates can also be observed when adjusting the household income. However, the results are less surprising as for Mjølnerparken. The maximum increase is three deciles for youth in NPH and families in FPH (see Table 7). Nevertheless, both cases demonstrate that if a household has more income available, the affordability thresholds shift. Especially, if the household income lies in the middle-income deciles, as seen for youth in NPH and family in FPH, because the income deciles thresholds in the middle deciles are closer together than they are for the bottom or top deciles. Additionally, a change in the household income has a higher effect on youth and seniors in NPH than on family households. However, for FPH an income increase in family households changes housing affordability.

Table 7: Sensitivity check with adjusted income in Jernbanebyen (own illustration)

| Household | Size [m ²] | NPH | | FPH | |
|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------------|--------|
| | | Affordability (equivalised income*1,4) | Change | Affordability (equivalised income*1,4) | Change |
| Youth | 45 | ≥6 | 3 | >9 | 0 |
| Senior | 45 | ≥1 | 2 | — | — |
| Family | 45 | ≥1 | 1 | ≥5 | 3 |
| Family | 75 | ≥2 | 3 | ≥9 | 1 |

5.5.2 Robustness Check: Larger Flat Sizes

This check tests whether larger flat sizes for family and senior homes, as they are more common in the case areas, are affordable by the different income deciles. The focus lies on senior and family flats because the sizes differ largely from the minimum size. Additionally, FPH focuses on building family homes because families have been moving out of Copenhagen into the suburbs. An NREP Urban Developer explains that this is not only because the rental flats are not designed for families but also because of their high rental prices since it is difficult to find affordable housing in the city for young families (Interview NREP, 2025). Youth flats are generally smaller than family and senior flats, and with calculating the minimum sizes of 30 and 45 square metres, a realistic size is already analysed. The size range for youth flats in Mjølnerparken entails 28 to 49m² and in Jernbanebyen 25m² to 50m² (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024).

For Mjølnerparken, the average family flat is 87m² in FPH. Since holistic data for NPH is not available, the FPH average family flat size is also applied to NPH. Additionally, the smallest senior flat of 62m² is analysed. While deciles ≥6 can afford the largest minimum sized senior flat (45m²), the realistic size of 62m² can only be afforded by the upper two deciles (see Table 8). For family flats, the affordability does not change much. Only the top two income deciles might afford the average size family flat in Mjølnerparken, whereas FPH can only potentially be afforded by the 10th income decile. It is alarming that the bottom five deciles are overburdened in family and senior flats.

Table 8: Sensitivity check with average family flats and minimum senior flats in Mjølnerparken in 2028 (own illustration)

| Household | Real Sizes [m ²] | Rent/Month [DKK] | Affordable | Overburdened |
|-------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Senior, NPH | 62 | 8.874 | ≥9 | ≤6 |
| Family, NPH | 87 | 11.444 *based on 91m ² price | ≥9 | ≤6 |
| Family, FPH | 87 | 16.862 | >9 | ≤9 |

For Jernbanebyen, the planned sizes according to the *Proposal for Local Plan* are used for this robustness check. For family flats, the average size of 95m² and for nursing homes, the average size of 67m² is used (see Subsection 5.3.2). While most seniors can afford the large minimum size flat of 45m², only the upper income deciles ≥7 will be able to afford the senior flat in Jernbanebyen. Seniors in the bottom three income deciles are overburdened by the housing costs. While the affordability of the NPH average family flat changes only slightly in comparison to the large minimum size unit of 75m², the FPH flat overburdens all income deciles. An overview of the analysis is shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Sensitivity check with average flat sizes in Jernbanebyen in 2029 (own illustration)

| Household | Real Sizes [m ²] | Rent/Month [DKK] | Affordable | Overburdened |
|-------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------|--------------|
| Senior, NPH | 67 | 7.490 | ≥7 | ≤3 |
| Family, NPH | 95 *planned average size | 8.745 | ≥6 | ≤4 |
| Family, FPH | 95 *planned average size | 23.528 | >9 | ≤10 |

It is alarming that under consideration of real sized flats, only the top income decile can afford the average sized flat in FPH. Even in NPH, at least the bottom three income deciles are overburdened in senior and family flats.

5.5.3 Robustness of Results

The first robustness check reveals that, since the baseline analysis does not assume a full double earning, many households fall just underneath the affordability threshold. The increase in income capacity by 40% shows that for some households, the exclusion is conditional rather than absolute. For the scenarios that only change by up to one income decile, it is concluded that even

optimistic income assumptions do not change the affordability outcomes, making these scenarios structurally unaffordable. Systemically disadvantaged are single earners, part-time workers and households with care responsibilities. Households that have the same household needs but not a suitable labour market position.

The second robustness check using realistic flat sizes demonstrates that once minimum space assumptions are relaxed, they are affordable for fewer deciles. Minimum flat sizes already presented limited accessibility for lower-income households, and the use of average approximate flat sizes show more systemic exclusion, especially for larger family and senior flats. This indicates that exclusion is structurally embedded in dwelling sizes and rent levels.

5.6 Exclusionary Patterns

In the literature review different indicators and measures are presented which are useful to assess affordability and housing stress (see Section 2.1). The H30/40 indicator focuses on households in the bottom 40% of the income distribution that spend more than 30% of their income on housing (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024; UNECE, 2024). This signifies who really experiences housing stress and is at risk of housing-induced poverty. Figure 35 and Figure 36 show the housing costs of the non-profit housing (NPH) and for-profit housing (FPH) scenarios in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen relative to the income decile specific overburden thresholds. Excluded households are defined as those that are cost overburdened in most or all analysed housing scenarios.

This exclusion often extends into the middle deciles. In FPH, the exclusion is especially pronounced. Student households are overburdened in every scenario, while the lower 40-50% of family households can at most afford the smallest flat size. NPH mitigates exclusion more effectively and includes more income decile. For the smallest housing unit, only 30% of youth households are overburdened and only 10-20% of family households are cost overburdened by the smallest flat size price.

The difference between NPH and FPH is striking. While NPH housing costs do not exceed 10.000 DKK per month, most FPH costs substantially do exceed this amount. Especially in FPH, larger flat sizes amplify overburdening as square metre prices are not sufficiently reduced with increasing unit size. Even though the FPH in Mjølnerparken are regulated, only the largest flat has lower housing costs than those projected in Jernbanebyen. Marcuse highlights in his theory that the problem lies in FPH, which has been demonstrated by this analysis. Lower income deciles are systematically excluded through the H30/40 indicator, either resulting in an exclusion from the *city* or being overburdened by housing costs (see Section 3.1).

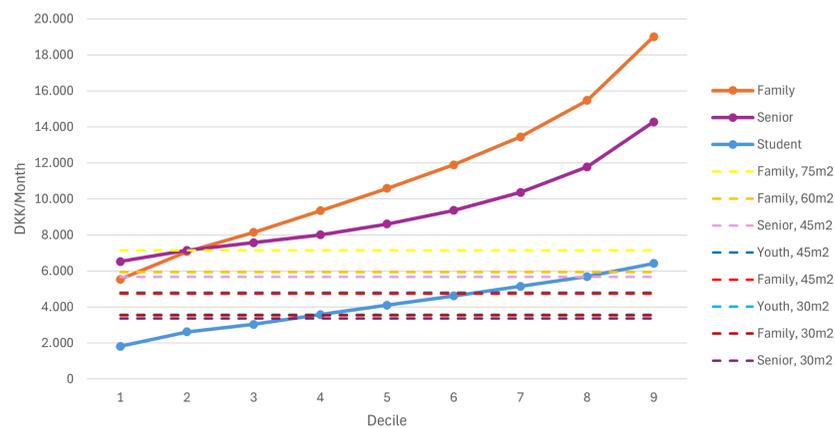
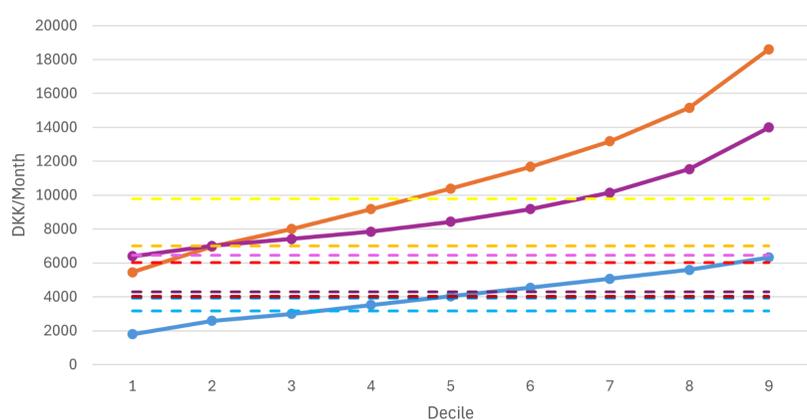


Figure 35: The costs of the NPH scenarios (see Table 4 and Table 5) and decile thresholds of being housing cost overburdened. Left: Mjølnerparken, Right: Jernbanebyen (own illustration)

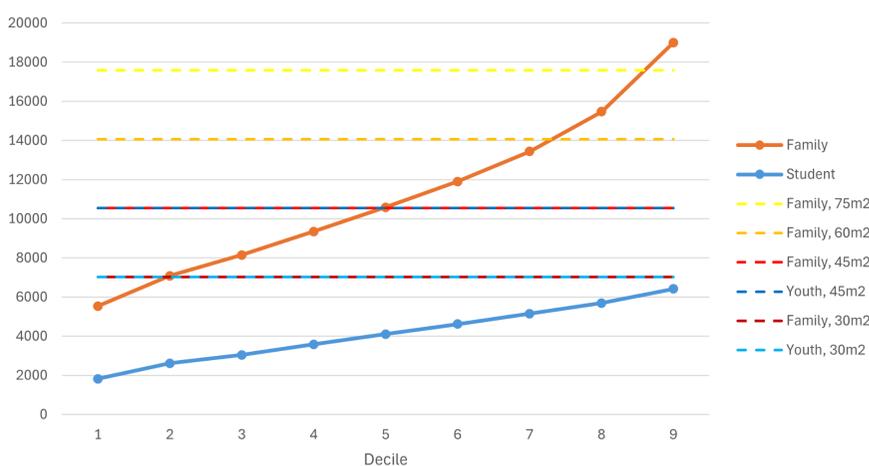
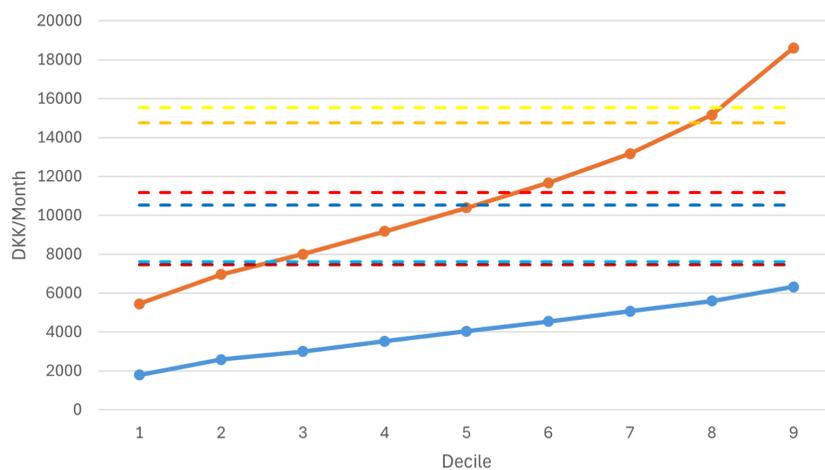


Figure 36: The costs of the FPH scenarios (see Table 4 and Table 5) and decile thresholds of being housing cost overburdened. Left: Mjølnerparken, Right: Jernbanebyen (own illustration)

5.6.1 Synthesis of Exclusionary Mechanisms

Overall, the figures indicate that the main drivers of exclusion are large-dwelling-size norms and the majority of housing being provided for profit. These mechanisms exclude lower- and middle-income households and increase housing stress.

6 Discussion

After assessing the affordability of flats in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen, testing the results under different assumptions, and analysing exclusion outcomes, this discussion interprets the results, evaluates the methods used, and discusses policy implications.

6.1 Affordability Outcomes:

Who Can Live in Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken?

6.1.1 Affordability by Household Type and Income Decile

While Section 5.6 identifies exclusionary patterns, this subsection interprets which households are financially able to access the analysed neighbourhoods and why. The focus lies on structural access under prevailing income distributions, housing costs and regulatory conditions.

While equivalised disposable income accounts for household size, intra-household income asymmetries and financial constraints of single earners are not captured; as a result, income-based affordability measures may systematically underestimate the housing stress single-parent households experience. This is underscored by the fact that especially single parents are at risk of being financially vulnerable (see Subsection 2.5.3). It is particularly relevant in the Danish context, where more than 85% of single parents are women (Statistics Denmark, 2026b). Persistent gender income inequalities further add to this imbalance. Women earned on average 12,9% less than men in 2024, and mothers of young children were more than twice as likely as fathers to be employed part-time (Statistics Denmark, 2026a). These structural labour market disparities translate directly into affordability constraints that are insufficiently reflected in equivalised income metrics.

Housing allowances are already included in the disposable income deciles used in the analysis. Denmark spends a comparatively high share, approximately 0,7% of its GDP, on housing allowances, which are granted based on household composition, income, housing costs and location, with particularly generous provisions for pensioner households and recipients of disability benefits. There is no income threshold for eligibility, meaning that allowances also reach middle-income households. There is, however, a rent ceiling and a fixed maximum annual allowance of almost 50.000 DKK, which is high compared to other OECD countries. While these transfers partially offset structural disadvantages and mitigate housing cost overburden, they do not alter the exclusionary patterns identified in the analysis. Broad eligibility weakens support for lower-income households, and the OECD therefore recommends better targeting the support (OECD, 2026). Thierry also explains that this leads to a lot of public money being used to lower FPH rents (see Subsection 5.1.2).

Demographic changes further intensify affordability challenges. The number of single-person households is increasing due to longer life expectancy, declining marriage rates, and higher divorce rates. Nevertheless, the supply of smaller two-bedroom apartments in Copenhagen has not increased since 1981, disproportionately affecting single-person and single-parent households (OECD, 2026). NREP's Urban Developer acknowledges this by saying: "we try to make sure to have sort of like supply for most demographic groups. But of course, some are more willing to pay than others" (Interview NREP, 2025) (see Subsection 5.1.3). This reflects a market logic in which the ability to pay ultimately shapes supply. Moreover, even if plans are made to react to the changing demands, supply is not as flexible.

For senior housing, the analysis relies on state pension income. This approach does not account for elderly residents who do not receive a state pension. Moreover, senior housing units are analysed based on standard rent, including utilities. However, many senior housing arrangements involve additional service costs, e.g. for meals and care. Consequently, the affordability of senior housing may be overstated in the analysis and actual housing stress among seniors could be higher than the results suggest.

The term affordability is frequently used expansively by stakeholders. NPH is often described as affordable, since these dwellings are considered the cheapest option, yet they remain unaffordable for a significant share of households. Similarly, affordability claims for FPH are sometimes based on rents below market averages or on optimistic household scenarios. For example, NREP's Urban Developer estimates that two full-time workers with one child can afford a three-room flat in Mjølnerparken (Personal Communication, NREP Urban Developer, 18.11.2025). However, this calculation assumes stable dual incomes, does not account for the expiration of rent discounts, and excludes potential changes in household composition, such as the birth of another child.

The findings show that social mixing is formally pursued through tenure diversification but cannot be achieved through tenure mix alone. While NPH broadens access compared to FPH, it does not accommodate all income groups. As a result, the likely resident profile in both Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken is skewed towards middle- and upper-income households, dual earners and households without children, while single parents, low-income singles and structurally disadvantaged groups remain burdened.

6.1.2 The Effect of Flat Sizes on Affordability

The choice of minimum dwelling sizes shapes the affordability outcomes in the analysis. The applied square metres assumptions are based on an extensive study on residential satisfaction and space requirements (Ulrich, 2025). Alternatively, benchmarks could have been derived from comparable European

countries; for instance, Sweden's building code specifies a minimum of 35m² for single- person households (Boverket, 2018).

Youth housing in both Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken corresponds to the minimum standards identified by Ulrich (2025). In Jernbanebyen, unit sizes range from 25m² to 50m² while in Mjølnerparken they range from 28m² to 39m². These sizes fall at or slightly below levels associated with stable tenancy, reflecting the widespread acceptance of smaller dwellings for students. In contrast, all other housing in Jernbanebyen is subject to stricter size requirements with an average of 95m² and must not be smaller than 40m². This aligns with thresholds associated with longer tenancy durations and higher residential satisfaction (Ulrich, 2025) (see Subsection 5.2.2). Similarly, NPH in Mjølnerparken offers flats between 47m² and 124m² for family housing and between 62m² and 140m² for senior housing.

Empirical research demonstrates a relationship between dwelling size, residential satisfaction and health outcomes. Insufficient space increases stress levels, negatively affects well-being, and is associated with shorter tenancy durations. Even large flats can be designed in ways that make them less livable if they do not align with household needs (Ulrich, 2025).

Even though Copenhagen offers micro-flats, especially for students, with an internal floor area below 30m², they are excluded from the analysis. There are no micro-units in Mjølnerparken, and it is unclear if there will be any in the planned Jernbanebyen (Copenhagen Municipality, 2024). Studies indicate that satisfaction remains low in very small dwellings and improves only gradually at 25m² (Ulrich, 2025). This suggests that micro-units function as short-term solutions rather than stable housing options. Perhaps planners consider that studying is a short phase of a person's life and take the risk of changing rentals into account. This is also why utility costs are higher in youth housing, due to additional administrative expenses (see Subsection 3.2.4).

Importantly, minimum legal dwelling size does not necessarily correspond to socially acceptable standards. Micro units as well as large flats are an accepted part of the housing market (Ulrich, 2025). While cultural differences play a role, tolerance thresholds remain relatively stable across contexts. For example, although Japanese households find 20% less space acceptable than British households, the negative impacts of overcrowding persist. Ulrich (2025) concludes that while 60m² may be sufficient for a three-person household, four-person households typically require 65-70m² which is why the analysis applies 75m² for a family with two children, continuing his 15 metre steps.

Overcrowding remains a structural issue in Denmark: 20% of the lower two income deciles live under overcrowded conditions. This rate is at 30% for people born outside Denmark (OECD, 2026). This is especially relevant in the context of the Parallel Society Agreement, forcing many immigrants into more expensive

housing, which can lead to this overcrowding. Galster & Lee (2020) also explain that if low-income households must rent FPH, the risk increases that they suffer from overcrowding and stress. This has detrimental effects on children, decreases employment options and even increases the likelihood of being convicted (Galster & Lee,2020).

Smaller housing units can be partially compensated for by access to common spaces that replace the amenities found in individual units. In Jernbanebyen, for example, approximately 1% of the residential floor area is allocated to common spaces.

Planning norms in Copenhagen prioritise satisfactory dwelling sizes, which can overburden lower- and middle-income households. Therefore, well-intentioned standards can have exclusionary effects. Youth housing is treated as an exception, illustrating that flexibility in size standards can improve affordability.

6.2 The Effects of Profit on Affordability

The analysis demonstrates that NPH is consistently more affordable than FPH. This structural affordability gap undermines social-mixing objectives, as access to housing increasingly depends on the ability to meet market-based return requirements rather than housing need. This section discusses how liberalisation, financing, and policy choices contribute to declining NPH construction and rising affordability pressures for households that must rely on FPH, despite housing being recognised as a fundamental right (European Parliament, 2025).

NPH is governed by a cost-based rent system and collective risk-sharing, which mitigates rent growth even when construction and renovation costs increase. When newly constructed, NPH also tends to align unit sizes with demographic demand rather than profitability. As a result, NPH rents are less volatile and more predictable than FPH rents.

In contrast, FPH rents must cover not only construction and operating costs but also generate returns for investors. This systematically raises affordability thresholds across all dwelling sizes. Marcuse identifies this profit requirement as a central structural problem, arguing that it transforms housing from a social good into a financial asset (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). In Denmark, this dynamic is reinforced by the growing role of pension funds, insurance companies, and investment funds in the rental housing sector. These actors form an important and increasingly interconnected part of the Danish financial system, which the OECD argues requires closer supervision, including inclusion in systemic risk assessments and stress testing (OECD, 2026).

In both analysed cases, for-profit rental housing is primarily financed by pension funds. This links tenants' housing costs directly to financial return expectations, embedding everyday housing affordability and local planning decisions within broader financial market logics. Profitability favours larger dwellings and higher-

paying tenants, contributing to a mismatch between housing supply and prevailing household structures (see subsection 6.1.1). For example, Industriens Pension does not publish returns from individual housing investments. Still, it reported an annual real estate return of 2,4% in 2025, reflecting modest but stable income generation from rental housing (Industriens Pension, 2025). From a tenant perspective, this potentially translates into persistent rent pressure, which Marcuse conceptualises as exploitation and alienation within the housing system (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). NREP’s Urban Developer adds that pension funds are good investment partners because they are more long-term oriented than other private investors. He also states that, because securing better pensions is the priority, these pension funds usually do not invest in affordable housing for their own members (see Subsection 5.1.3) (Interview NREP, 2025).

While FPH is market-driven, NPH operates through a long-term redistributive funding model. Tenants contribute a fixed share of the loan of 2.8% annually, increasing annually with either wage or the net price index (Almenboligloven, 2021, §129). These payments are used to repay construction loans in the first 30 years, state contributions over the following decade, and subsequently the National Building Fund and local disposition fund (Ministry of the Interior and Housing, 2021). This repayment structure, illustrated in Figure 38, smooths cost increases over time and across housing estates, mitigating intergenerational inequality. However, its stabilising effect is weakened by declining NPH construction and increasing liberalisation of the housing market.

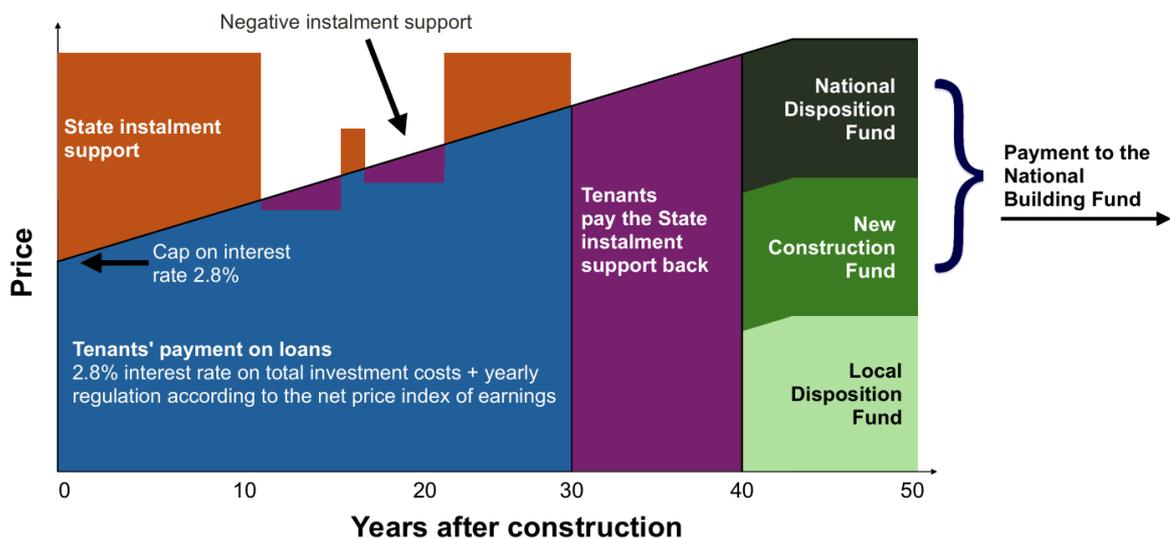


Figure 38: NPH repayment model, own adaptation, based on BL (Ministry of Transport, 2018; Personal communication, BL Development Consultant, 29.09.2025)

Both NPH and FPH face rising construction, land, and renovation costs, yet their responses differ. FPH transfers cost increases directly to tenants through higher rents, whereas NPH absorbs costs collectively and gradually, reducing immediate affordability shocks (see Figure 38). The NBF interviewees highlights the faster rise of FPH rents compared to NPH (see Subsection 5.1.1), and

although annual rent increases can appear similar, the starting conditions differ. FPH move-in rents are roughly double those of NPH (see Section 5.4), reflecting market-oriented pricing rather than cost-based provision. At the same time, NPH construction is constrained by regulatory requirements and investment limits, resulting in a decline in construction rates. The Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing adds that the construction cap is an issue (see Section 5.1.3). The increase in the construction cost cap in 2026 may enable more NPH development, particularly in Copenhagen, but this alone does not resolve structural imbalances.

Policy instruments to secure NPH provision remain underused. The Planning Act of 2016 allows municipalities to require up to 25% NPH in new developments (Nielsen & Haagerup, 2020), yet only 2,6% of local plans between 2015 and 2020 applied such a requirement. Even within these plans, the realised NPH share reached only 6,1% (OECD, 2026). Between 2014 and 2023, Copenhagen constructed six private rental units and 2,4 owner-occupied dwellings for every NPH unit (OECD, 2026). This imbalance weakens social-mixing objectives, increases reliance on FPH, and puts affordability outcomes at risk, suggesting that structural change might be needed to improve the Danish housing market. Marcuse agrees that NPH must be improved and included in new developments (Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

Besides building more NPH in new developments, existing neighbourhoods could increase the share of NPH. However, the National Building Fund explains that, even though some money is already being set aside for this purpose, turnout could be higher.

there's a lot of initiatives under the mixed cities fund [...] but these initiatives to buy existing housing units or buy commercial buildings and turn them [...] into housing have not been [...] as widespread as it was hoped. (Interview NBF, 2025)

Even though NPH offers more accessible housing, FPH remains dominant in the market. The results suggest that the government might need to limit FPH and redirect social values back to society; however, housing is not targeted well enough, as it focuses on infrastructure, zoning and legal protections. The discussion on the affordable housing plan might offer concrete measures for EU member states to improve their housing markets. A possible measure could be stricter loan disclosure rules for FPH, which would be in line with capitalist housing-market logic but would still regulate the market (Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

Comparative cases illustrate that affordability outcomes are not inevitable but politically shaped. Vienna demonstrates how sustained public ownership and mandatory provision of NPH and subsidised housing can limit exclusion even in growing cities. Approximately half of Vienna's housing stock is municipally owned

or publicly subsidised cooperative housing, reflecting long-term political commitment (Gaál, n.d.). This contrasts with Copenhagen's reliance on for-profit rental housing and highlights how housing outcomes depend on governance choices rather than market forces alone (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Alternative housing models, although excluded from the analysis due to their limited scale, further illustrate how affordability can be improved through non-market mechanisms. Examples include AlmenBolig+, which reduces rents by involving tenants in interior design, and BasisBoligen, which offers very low student rents in exchange for participation in communal tasks (Nielsen & Haagerup, 2020; Turk, 2021). While not scalable solutions on their own, they demonstrate the potential of de-commodified housing provision. Both housing models were introduced by the NPH association Kobenhavns Almindelige Boligselskab (KAB).

Historically, Denmark applied stricter rent regulation under the Rental Act until 1991, with rents either cost-based or linked to the value of comparable dwellings, thereby regulating FPH property owners' earnings (see subsection 2.4.2). Thierry criticises loopholes in this Act and emphasises the need for more regulation (see Subsection 5.1.5). This becomes apparent through the results of the analysis, showing no major differences in rent between FPH built before and after 1992. Although value-based rent regulation (*det lejedes værdi*) still applies, high prevailing rents limit its effectiveness, as rents are justified once similar price levels exist locally. If initial rents were reduced, there would be less room to increase prices. Even if a rent cap would be reintroduced, a rent cap has been observed to have inconsistent welfare effects (Galster & Lee, 2020). Additionally, rent caps reduce initial rents only temporarily and do not necessarily improve the affordability of housing units for the lowest-income deciles (Galster & Lee, 2020). Only if there is guaranteed income or housing subsidies for those in need will lower-income deciles be able to afford housing without being burdened. Madden and Marcuse (2016) argue that ongoing public investments in housing are important and that public funding will always be needed unless housing is removed from the market.

Overall, rising housing demand, urbanisation, and financialisation continue to drive rent increases. While limiting profits in FPH may alleviate some pressure, the findings suggest that expanding NPH provision and regulating access remain central to improving affordability and achieving social mixing. These access mechanisms are discussed in the following section (see 6.3).

6.3 Social Mixing and Displacement

Mixed-income transformations aim to integrate lower- and higher-income groups and frequently rely on market-driven mechanisms to achieve this. In Denmark, the Parallel Society Agreement presumes that diversifying housing types and tenures helps incorporate previously marginalised estates into mainstream society, reshaping the resident base to be more socio-economically diverse. The underlying hypothesis is that social mixing motivates school and employment

ambitions among vulnerable residents. However, critics argue that such policies can act as a form of displacement, aiming to hide poverty rather than address structural disadvantages. The focus is usually on moving more middle-class families into *deprived neighbourhoods*. Providing low-cost housing in higher-income neighbourhoods is rarely discussed (Huning & Schuster, 2015).

In the analysed cases, policy intentions to foster social mix are not fully aligned with economic realities and allocation practices. In Mjølnerparken, little densification and the influx of middle-class families indicate state-led gentrification, leading to rising rents. Although social mixing policies may reduce segregation, the OECD emphasises that directly addressing structural disadvantages through education, employment, and housing policies is likely to be more effective. Recent surveys identify persistent shortcomings in migrants' language skills, the recognition of foreign qualifications, and housing policy, indicating that investment in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is insufficient (OECD, 2026).

Instead of ensuring more non-profit flats in new developments, such as Jernbanebyen, to enable lower-income households to live in different parts of Copenhagen, and thereby ensuring a social mix, the focus is on breaking up the more affordable neighbourhoods. This leaves tenants with few choices when relocating.

The Parallel Society Agreement plans to have no neighbourhoods with a non-Western immigrant rate exceeding 30% by 2030 (Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2021), which can be interpreted as an assimilation-oriented measure. The OECD (2026) highlights that immigrants are disproportionately affected by housing cost overburden, while noting that living among people with similar backgrounds can offer social benefits, such as fewer conflicts, greater safety, and stronger social networks. Neighbourhoods with shared needs and lifestyles can also enable shared services and facilities (OECD, 2026).

Interview material reflects these tensions. The interviewee from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing explains the desire to change certain areas: “we believe in [...] diverse neighbourhoods that avoid [...] concentrating the most poor people.” (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025) However, this approach risks addressing spatial concentration rather than the underlying socio-economic causes of inequality. At the same time, municipalities allocate households receiving social benefits to NPH rather than FPH units, to reduce public expenditure.

In a few cases, however, the municipality subsidises for-profit student housing, also in Mjølnerparken, for people at risk of becoming homeless:

Not having a home places a significant burden on the municipality. They become extremely expensive in treatments, and what other support they need. So, they have made that calculation that it's

actually okay to subsidise to make sure that these people have a home. (Interview NREP, 2025)

Homelessness is the most extreme consequence of displacement. Since 2019, the number of homeless people in Denmark has remained around 6.000 (OECD, 2026). The Danish Social Service Act (Serviceloven, 2018) states in §110 that the municipal council must offer temporary accommodation in residential facilities to persons with special social problems who do not have or cannot stay in their own homes and who need housing and offers of activating support, care, and subsequent assistance.

BL's Development Consultant frames tenant relocation in a way that risks downplaying its impact: "you don't get evicted, you get offered a different place to live." (Interview BL, 2025). However, displaced residents can experience social and economic costs through redevelopments, such as in Mjølnerparken. For example, a former Mjølnerparken tenant described losing their senior apartment and community after being evicted. The offers they received at first were not optimal because they were too far from the city. The flat they ultimately moved into is more expensive and smaller (Personal Communication, former tenant, 01.12.2025). This illustrates how the transformation process can weaken social networks and worsen housing conditions for displaced residents.

The lawyer active in the lawsuit against the Parallel Society Agreement states that less intrusive measures should have been taken, such as re-categorising family units into other types of housing and allowing turnover to occur gradually (Khawaja, 2020). In the Interview with the Head of Section at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, they also stated that re-categorising is much preferred over demolishing flats (Interview Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, 2025). This suggests that displacement can be avoided even when an area is transformed.

NREP's Urban Developer who works at the investment firm active in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen, recognises the political sensitivity of this topic. The firm distances itself from the eviction processes in Mjølnerparken while positioning itself as a partner in this area.

we didn't want to be a part of the process. Because we are not the troublemakers, we are the ones who will participate in solving the problem in the long run. (Interview NREP, 2025)

This framing highlights the division of responsibility between state policy and market actors, even though both shape outcomes of displacement.

Tenancy allocation mechanisms significantly shape access to housing in both Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken. In Mjølnerparken, the FPH units are only rented out to people in employment, in education or seniors over the age of 65, as it is mandatory for FPH in listed areas (Copenhagen Municipality, 2020). NREP prioritises people who already have a connection to Mjølnerparken, e.g.,

people who grew up in the area (Interview NREP, 2025). This can help people who have lived in the area to move back, but there are still financial constraints and limitations due to the Parallel Society Agreement's restrictions.

The prioritisation of flexible letting favours people who are integrated into the labour market and in education, rather than the lowest-income or structurally vulnerable populations. This is problematic since unemployed people in Denmark are at a much higher risk of poverty than the average (see Subsection 2.5.3) and being disadvantaged in the allocation of NPH can have detrimental effects. Due to the flexible letting mechanism, the universal and needs-oriented access of NPH is only partially realised. Allocation rules and limited stock reduce access for households in the bottom deciles, demonstrating that affordability alone does not guarantee social mixing, even when NPH units are more affordable than FPH units.

Some countries adopt different approaches, reallocating housing units from higher-income households, such as NPH, to make space for those in greater need. Austria and the Netherlands, both with high social housing shares, previously had universal access to social housing. Austria now allocates tenants if an income threshold is not exceeded; however, this threshold is rather high, and the Netherlands prioritise households with lower income (OECD, 2026). Vienna also applies other access criteria, such as a minimum residency period in the city. Instruments that Denmark could adapt include periodic eligibility reviews, fixed-term tenancies or income-based rent adjustments (OECD, 2026). While increasing access, these instruments risk weakening long-term social networks and contradicting social mix objectives.

Overall, this section shows that social mixing policies, while normatively framed as integrative, can result in exclusion when combined with market-oriented transformation strategies and selective allocation rules. These mechanisms reproduce socio-spatial inequality for the most vulnerable residents.

6.4 Robustness, Assumptions, and Methodological Limitations

The identified affordability and exclusionary patterns must be interpreted in the context of the methodological choices underlying the analysis. The approach adopts a structural perspective on affordability, focusing on income deciles, equalised disposable household income, and normative household sizes rather than individual housing choices. As a result, the findings do not describe who will live in Mjølnerparken or Jernbanebyen, but which households can access housing under current pricing, income distributions and regulatory frameworks. This distinction is crucial for understanding affordability as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion rather than as a matter of individual preference or behaviour.

Because income is adjusted for household size and shared consumption, the approach may underestimate inequalities within households and fail to capture structural income disparities, such as gender pay gaps or unstable employment trajectories. Consequently, the exclusion of single-parent households and young adults identified in the results may be even more pronounced in practice.

The robustness check, which increases household income by 40% and represents a partial dual-earner situation, leads to affordability shifts of up to 5 income deciles in some cases. This indicates that affordability outcomes are highly sensitive to income composition. Still, it also reinforces the main conclusion: even under more favourable income assumptions, large segments of the population remain excluded from FPH, particularly when realistic dwelling sizes are considered. Rather than weakening the results, this sensitivity highlights the precariousness of affordability and its strong dependence on structural income advantages.

Similarly, the robustness check using larger, more realistic dwelling sizes reveals the decisive role of size norms in shaping affordability outcomes. While minimum dwelling sizes allow some middle-income households to access housing, realistic sizes often push affordability thresholds into the upper income deciles. This confirms that dwelling size norms function as an exclusionary mechanism, particularly for families and seniors, and that affordability assessments, based solely on minimum standards, risk overstating accessibility.

The analysis further relies on linear extrapolations of income and rent levels, which introduces uncertainty, especially for Jernbanebyen. Macroeconomic conditions are subject to change, as GDP growth is projected to slow between 2025 and 2027, wage growth as well, and international trade uncertainties may affect employment dynamics (OECD, 2026). While inflation is projected to remain low and household purchasing power to increase, these projections remain uncertain and unevenly distributed across income groups. As such, the analysis does not aim to forecast precise future affordability levels, but to compare housing models and regulatory frameworks under consistent assumptions. The persistence of exclusionary patterns across scenarios and robustness checks suggests that the relative differences between NPH and FPH are robust, even if absolute price levels vary in reality.

Data availability constitutes an additional limitation. In addition to the stakeholders requested for the interviews (see section [5.1](#)), 35 stakeholders were contacted to obtain detailed data for the calculations. Generally, the positive response rate was low, despite repeated follow-ups, with only 12 responses informing the analysis. Missing data necessitated assumptions, including standardised utility costs and estimated distributions of rent and flat size.

Despite these simplifications, the convergence of results across scenarios and robustness checks strengthens the conclusion that affordability constraints in

new and transforming developments are not marginal or temporary, but systemic. This is particularly evident in for-profit housing and in relation to realistic dwelling sizes. The findings should therefore be interpreted as a structural assessment of affordability under prevailing housing models and policy frameworks, rather than as precise predictions of individual housing outcomes.

7 Conclusion

This research contributes to existing literature by analysing policy outcomes. It shows the effects of state-led interventions, introduced by the Planning Act and the Parallel Society Agreement (see Section 2.6). The analysis demonstrates and visualises how contemporary urban development contributes to exclusionary outcomes by examining affordability using income-decile-based thresholds.

Accordingly, the research is structured around the following research question:

Given the official intention of social mixing, who can access and afford rental housing in Copenhagen's new and transforming urban developments of Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken?

The most systemically disadvantaged are lower-income households with single earners, part-time workers, households with care responsibilities, and youth. The affordability thresholds for minimum sized flats show consistent overburdening in the lowest income decile in NPH and in the two lowest in FPH. There is a rising exclusion with dwelling size in Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken, despite official claims of social mixing. When looking at realistic flat sizes, affordability thresholds consistently overburden the lowest two income deciles in NPH and the three lowest income deciles in FPH.

Especially larger flats, starting at 45 square metres, and youth dwellings in both FPH and NPH are not affordable for the lower income deciles under equalised disposable household income conditions. Minimum flat sizes are more accessible for lower-income households, and the use of larger flat sizes reveals more systemic exclusion, especially for larger family and senior flats. Even with the more optimistic income assumption of +40% for dual earners in the robustness check, the outcomes do not change radically, making the projected housing costs structurally unaffordable.

Even if the restrictions on who can live in Mjølnerparken were lifted or relaxed, many households would still be unable to afford to live in the transformed area across tenure types. There is a mix of FPH and NPH in Mjølnerparken and a mix of tenures is also ensured in Jernbanebyen. However, Thierry from Enhedslisten stated that only NPH can ensure a mixed city, and NREP's Executive agreed that only NPH provides broadly affordable housing. The analysis results confirm that NPH is more affordable than FPH. Instead of renting out more for-profit flats and disallowing people who are especially at risk of being housing-cost overburdened from living in areas like Mjølnerparken, new developments such as Jernbanebyen should increase their share of NPH.

The hypothesis is confirmed that there is a contradiction: the policy goal is integration and a social mix, but the actual economic outcome is displacement and exclusion, embedded in both policy and planning practice. The dynamics of

the housing market reinforce socio-spatial inequality, despite governmental interventions.

Another governmental claim is *universal access* to NPH. However, *universal access* is no longer universal due to selective allocation mechanisms such as flexible letting. While smaller housing units are broadly affordable in NPH, FPH units are only affordable for the top income deciles. In other words, lower-income deciles compete with higher-income deciles for the more affordable flats. NPH is crucial for housing affordability, and Vienna, as an international example, has demonstrated that regulated access through an income threshold generates more equal access to housing (Global Policy Leadership Academy, 2024).

Especially under consideration of the EU and theorists stating that housing is a basic need and its accessibility and affordability should be a human right (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; European Parliament, 2025), housing dynamics need to change to include everyone, not just the middle- and higher-income deciles. The scenarios demonstrate that NPH improves affordability, but its quantity remains limited.

Further, this analysis reveals how affordability differs across youth, senior and family households. Under standardised minimum flat sizes, which represent the minimum floor space per household to prevent overcrowding and reduce relocation pressures (Ulrich, 2025), the results show that especially youth apartments are designed below the set minimum standard. The robustness check reveals that, when larger flat sizes are considered, the most systemically disadvantaged are single parents, part-time workers, and households with care responsibilities. This shows that exclusion is structurally produced, and that individuals are not responsible for it, but rather policy design, planning practices, and market structures (Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

Copenhagen's social-mixing ambitions backfired, and, as in Berlin, where plans aimed to socially mix the neighbourhood, the transformation contributed to gentrification. Because of this contradiction, residents in Mjølnerparken had to relocate. Policies, political agreements and market conditions in Copenhagen systematically exclude lower to middle-income households from new or transformed developments in Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken. This research indicates the need for a substantial expansion of NPH. It is also recommended to revise size norms, rely more on common areas, and adopt more accommodating designs, making it easier to share and change flats. Households living in flats that do not match their spatial needs is a big problem, as explained by NBF interviewees (see Subsection 5.1.3). Finally, more income-sensitive access mechanisms, such as an upper income threshold, could improve accessibility to affordable housing for lower-income deciles.

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8 Appendix

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Appendix A - Mind Maps

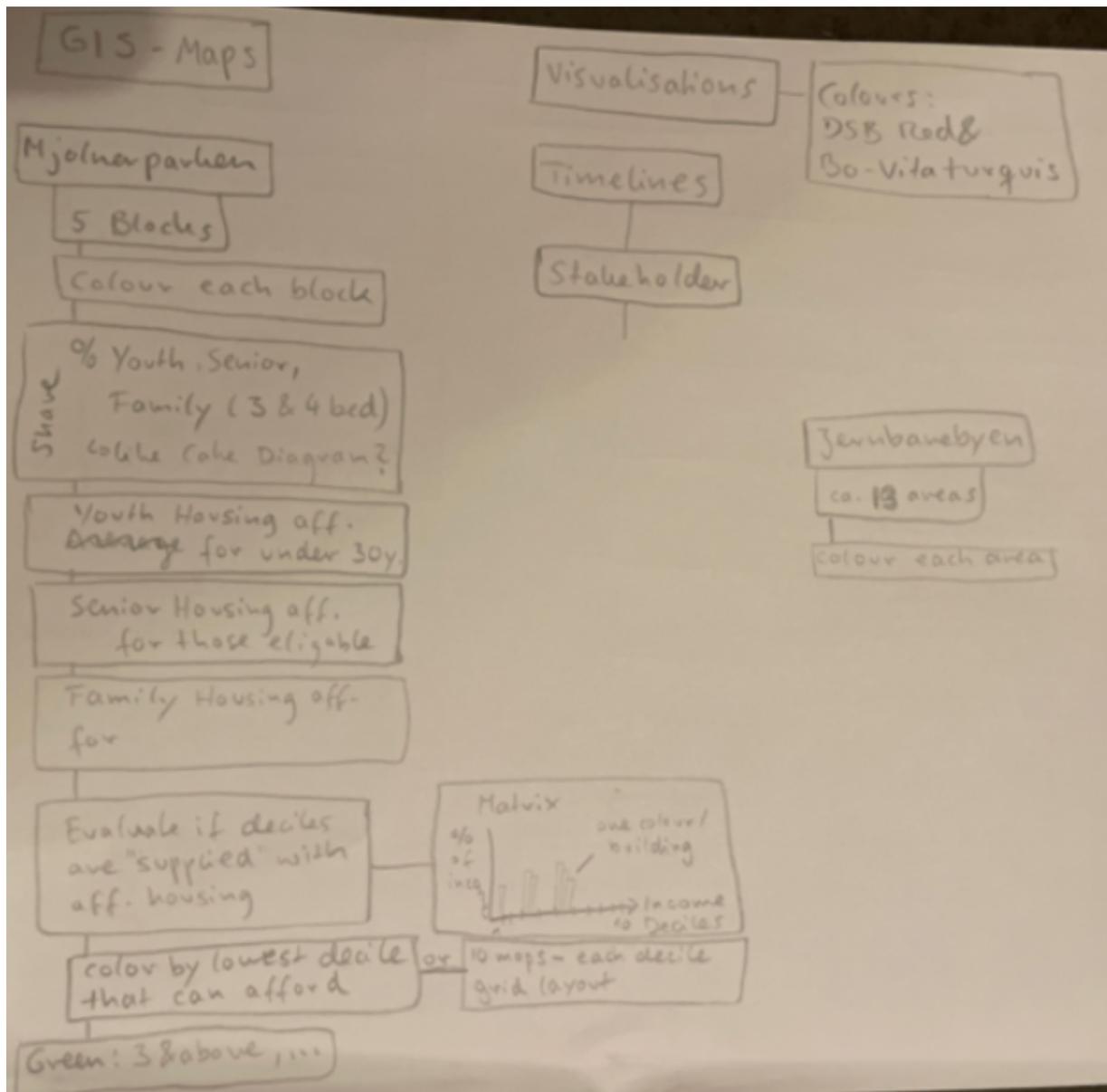


Figure A1: GIS Visualisations Mind Map

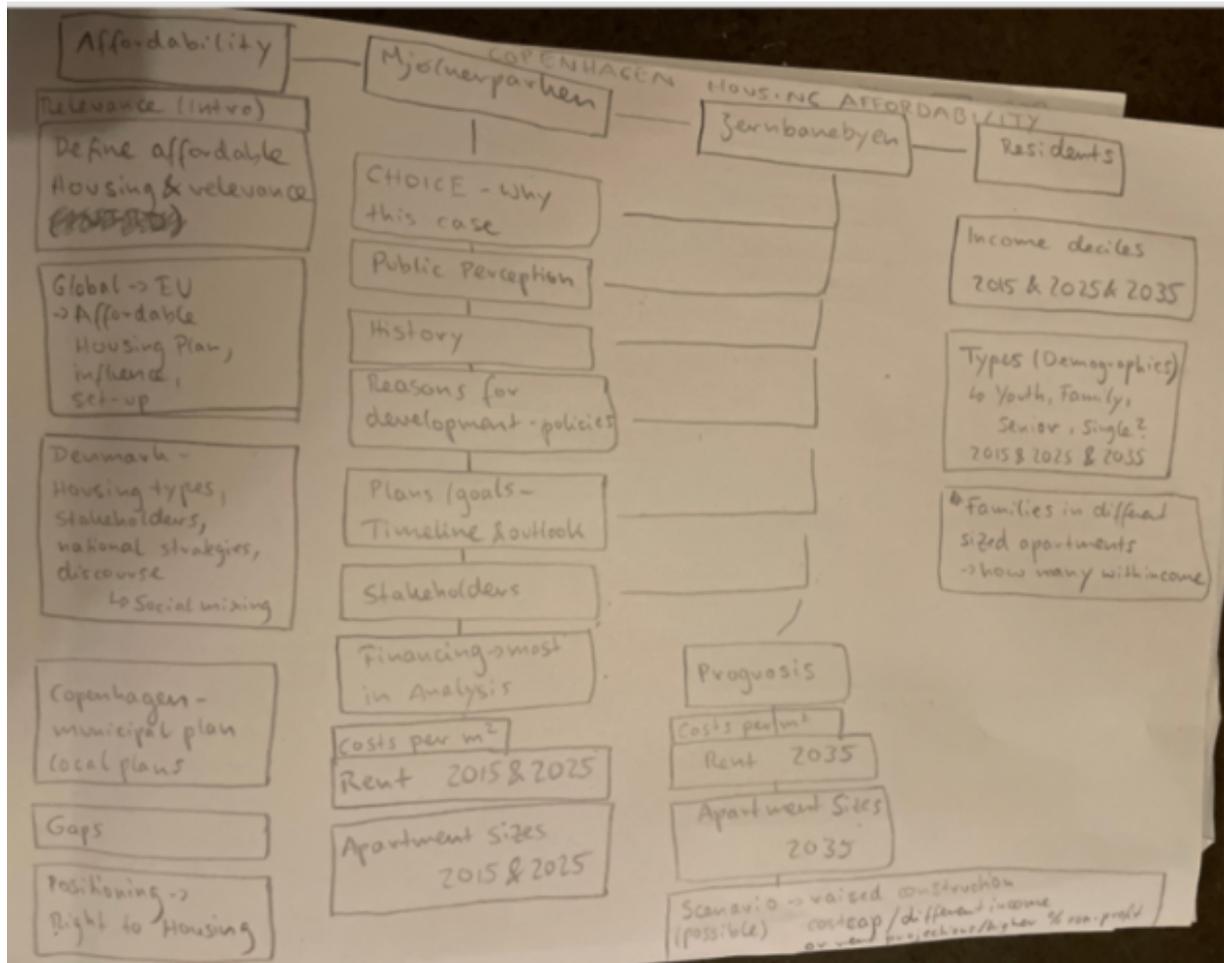


Figure A2: Copenhagen Housing Affordability Mind Map

Appendix B - Interview Guidelines

B1: BL Interview Guidelines

29.09.2025: Meeting at BL

Introduction of thesis

- New development areas in Copenhagen
- Affordability analyses based on the “30% of income for rent” rule.
- Which income deciles can afford to live in new developments? Would a higher non-profit housing rate result in covering all income groups?
- Data available on income, housing types, social housing rates?

Questions

1. Defining non-profit and social housing

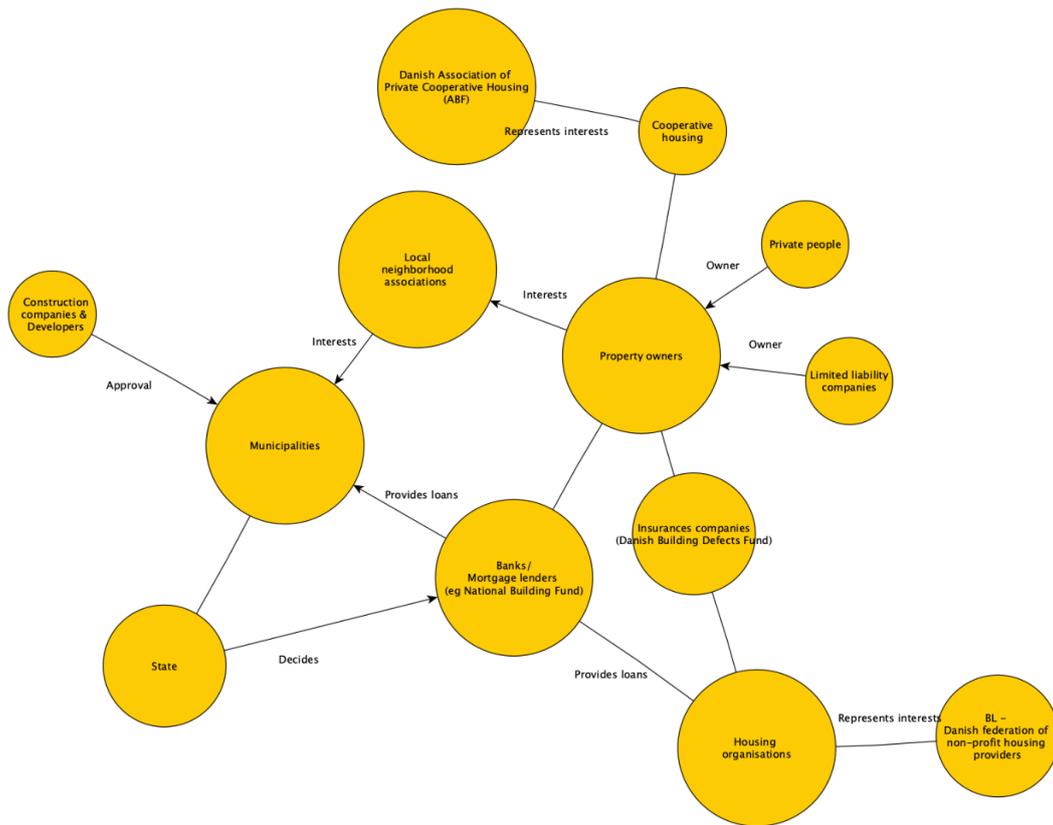
- 25% of non-profit housing are social housing units, that the municipality allocates to vulnerable citizens?
- Is social housing always part of non-profit housing, allocated via waiting list, tenants receive subsidies, and it is regulated by a public authority?
- If residents receive boligstøtte but do not live in non-profit housing (such as in a shared flat where the students receive boligstøtte), is it considered social housing still?
- Is there a possible case of people living in a non-profit dwelling without receiving any subsidies?

2. When non-profit housing is reduced due to a neighbourhood listed as a transformation area

- Is there any data on where the evicted people move to?
- Are there any measures taken to increase affordable housing elsewhere?
- Which effects has the parallel society law on the housing market in general?

3. Understanding the housing market structure

- Could you summarise BL's role as federation of housing associations?
- What are the important stakeholders?
 - ♣ Which stakeholders/ relations would you add?



4. Problem finding

- BL is an interest group, also working on formulating regulations and laws: Are there any recent or current dialogues you are having with the municipality of Copenhagen or the parliament to increase the relative amount of non-profit housing?
 - e.g. in the Almenboligaftale 2024-2027 it states that you aim for 40% non-profit housing
- What do you think a pressing issue is that we should look into?
- Where does BL see issues regarding affordability?
 - Eg BL's [analysis](#) on inflation and impact

B2: Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing Interview Guidelines

15.10.2025: Meeting with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing

Introduction of thesis

- New development areas in Copenhagen (potential areas are Jernbanebyen, Carlsbergbyen and Mjølnerparken)
- Affordability analyses based on the “30% of income for rent” rule.
- Which income deciles can afford to live in new developments? Would a higher non-profit housing rate result in covering all income groups?
- Data available on income, housing types, social housing rates?

Questions

1. What is your definition of social housing and non-profit housing?

2. What are the ministry’s plans regarding...

- Affordable housing, especially in Copenhagen?
 - ♣ How can a rate of 25% non-profit housing in new development areas be ensured? For example, Carlsbergbyen has two empty non-profit housing building areas.
- Tenants’ protection?
 - ♣ Landowners make profit through renovation works (keeping deposit, painting the walls in the first two weeks) especially in dorms – are there any plans to regulate the market more to protect (vulnerable) tenants?
- Are there pressing issues that the ministry sees in housing market?

3. Housing Policy

- What is your ministry hoping to see in the EU Affordable Housing Plan that will come into force by 2026?
- Which effects has the parallel society law on the housing market in general?
 - ♣ Which effects did it have especially in Mjølnerparken?
 - ♣ Is there any data on where the evicted people move to?

4. Problem finding

- Are there any recent or current dialogues you are having with the municipality of Copenhagen or non/for profit stakeholders to increase the relative amount of non-profit housing?
- What do you think is a pressing issue that we should investigate in Jernbanebyen, Carlsbergbyen and/or Mjølnerparken?
- Where does the ministry see issues regarding affordability?

Participant Consent Form

B3: NREP Interview Guidelines

21.10.2025: Meeting with NREP

Introduction of Thesis

- Areas in Copenhagen (Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken)
- Affordability analysis based on the “30% of income for rent” rule.
- Which income deciles can afford to live in new developments? Would a higher non-profit housing rate result in covering all income groups?
- Data available on income, housing types, non-profit housing rates?

Questions

NREP’s role

1. What is your role in NREP?
 - Monitoring, investing money from pension fund
2. What is NREP’s role and how is it involved in Jernbanebyen and in Mjølnerparken? More involved in jernbanebyenplanning?
3. What types of housing are you building/ have you built in the neighbourhoods? Targeted at families, youth, seniors, ...?

Social responsibilities

4. How are rents determined? Could you share your general framework to ensure economic viability?
5. How are residents selected, in a redeveloped area vs. in a newly developed area?
6. How does NREP balance profit and social responsibilities?
7. Do you provide non-profit units as well as units at market prices?
8. How does NREP address concerns about displacement and gentrification?

Housing market stakeholders/ policies

9. Who are NREPs main partners in each project?
10. Is NREP in partnerships with NGOs, non-profit housing associations, municipalities or else to ensure a social mix, also in the long run?
11. How do policies (parallelsamfundsloven, maksimumsbeløb, ...) affect NREPs business?

Wrapping up...

12. What barriers and opportunities do you see for affordable housing provision in Copenhagen?
13. Who would you recommend we speak with next?

Participant Consent Form

B4: National Building Fund (NBF) Interview Guidelines

30.10.2025: Meeting with NBF

Introduction of Thesis

- Areas in Copenhagen (Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken)
- Affordability analysis based on the “30% of income for rent” rule.
- Which income deciles can afford to live in new developments? Would a higher non-profit housing rate result in covering all income groups?

Questions

NBF’s role

1. What are your roles in NBF?
2. What is NBF’s role and how is it involved in Jernbanebyen and in Mjølnerparken?
3. What types of housing have you supported or will you support to build & renovate in the two neighbourhoods?

Mjølnerparken

4. NREP bought two housing blocks in Mjølnerparken. Does this money get re-invested in something specific, e.g. the renovations in Mjølnerparken or acquiring new land?

Social responsibilities

5. How are the projects/ building constructions you support determined?
6. Do you help relocate displaced residents e.g. in Mjølnerparken? Do you have information about where the residents move to?
7. How does NBF address concerns about displacement and gentrification?

Housing market stakeholders/ policies

8. Which non-profit housing associations, NGOs, municipalities and other stakeholders are you collaborating with in Jernbanebyen & Mjølnerparken?
9. Which political agreements affect NBF’s support the most and how?
10. What would need to happen to ensure that at least 25% of new developments are non-profit housing? Would there need to be a change in regulations?

11. What are the barriers for buying existing buildings and turning them into non-profit housing?

Wrapping up...

12. What barriers and opportunities do you see for affordable housing provision in Copenhagen?

13. Who would you recommend we speak with next?

Participant Consent Form

B5: Spor 10 Interview Guidelines

Interview ID: INT05

Role of interviewees: Community Manager & NREP Employee

Organisation: Sport10

Date of interview: 05 November 2025

Mode: In Person

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

Your role/Social responsibilities

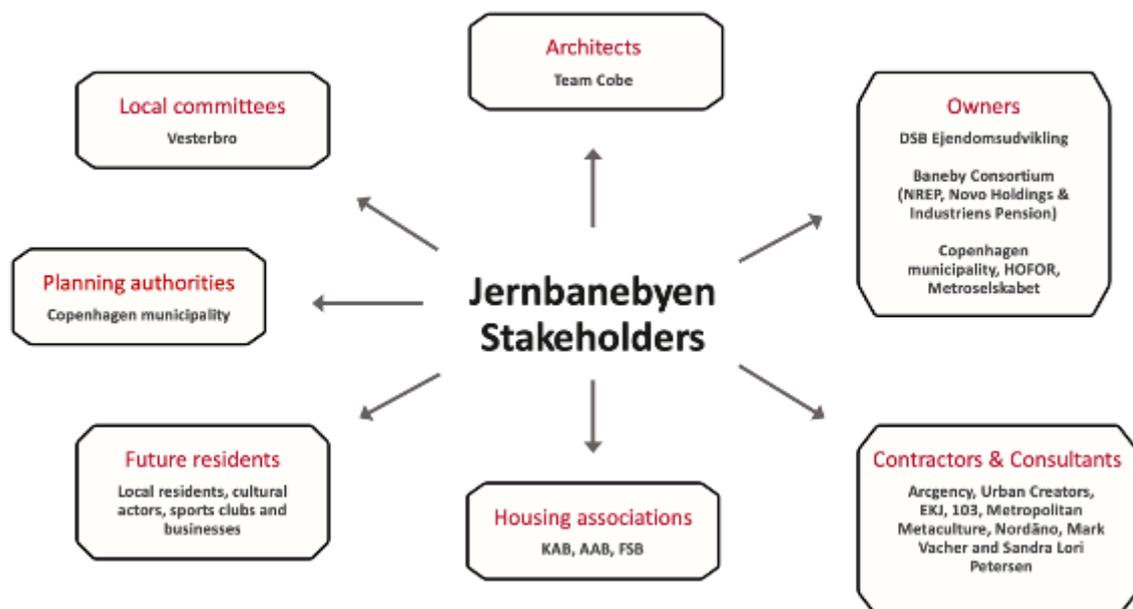
1. What is your role at Spor10?
2. What are your/ Spor10 responsibilities & commitments now and in the future?

Social responsibilities

3. Do you have any data (beyond the local plan and if already available) on which housing types will be built and their rental prices?
4. Which issues do you see regarding the future social mix of residents?

Housing market stakeholders/ policies

5. Who are the stakeholders you are collaborating with/ involved in Jernbanebyen?



6. How is the communication between stakeholders?
7. Are deadlines kept so far?

V: Since the local plan is not finished things are getting delayed.

Wrapping up...

8. What barriers and opportunities do you see for affordable housing provision in Jernbanebyen?
9. Who would you recommend we speak with next?

B6: Jean Thierry Interview Guidelines

27.12.2025: Meeting with Jean Thierry

Introduction of thesis

- New development areas in Copenhagen: Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken
- Affordability analysis based on the “30% of income for rent” rule.
- Which income deciles can afford to live in new developments? Would a higher non-profit housing rate result in covering all income groups?
- How could a more inclusive and fair housing market look like?

1. You are active as a housing activist, a party member, and a board member of a non-profit housing association. How do these roles shape your understanding of housing affordability in Copenhagen, and where do you see the biggest tensions between political goals and practical housing delivery?

2. Who can realistically (afford to) live in new development areas such as Mjølnerparken today? Which income or population groups are systematically excluded?

3. Do you think the “30% of income spent on rent” rule is a useful benchmark for Copenhagen, or does it underestimate housing stress for certain groups?

4. You argue that at least 50% non-profit housing should be required in new developments. How would such a share change the income mix in new neighbourhoods in practice?

5. You emphasise resident democracy in non-profit housing and the role of municipal supervision. Where do you see the biggest risks where resident influence is weakened or bypassed?

6. You have spoken out against forced relocations and divestment, particularly in connection with redevelopment. What are the most harmful social consequences of these processes, and how could municipalities intervene differently?

7. You support converting private rental housing into non-profit housing. From a financial and institutional perspective, how could this realistically be done at scale?

8. You argue for reintroducing a general rent cap, similar to the pre-1992 regulation. What would be the main benefits of such a cap and what potential downsides or risks could it have?

9. Some argue that stricter rent regulation will reduce private investment. What do you think about the claim that stronger regulation would limit housing supply?

10. How could a fair and inclusive housing market in Copenhagen look like in 20–30 years, and what are necessary steps to move in that direction?

New parties what happens?

Participant Consent Form

Appendix C - Interview Transcripts

C1: BL Interview Transcript

Interview ID: INT01

Role of interviewee: Development Consultant (Udviklingskonsulent)

Organisation: BL

Date of interview: 29 September 2025

Mode: In Person

Duration: 79 minutes

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

00:00:02 VERA NICKEL

Maybe we can introduce ourselves first, so that you know actually to whom you're talking to.

00:00:07 VERA NICKEL

I'm Vera, this is Antonia, and we're both studying at Aalborg University in our masters.

00:00:13 BL

Here in Sydhavn?

00:00:14 VERA NICKEL

Yes exactly, not in Aalborg.

00:00:17 VERA NICKEL

Not in Aalborg.

00:00:17 VERA NICKEL

Exactly.

00:00:18 VERA NICKEL

And we study Sustainable Cities in our masters and are just writing the master thesis.

00:00:24 VERA NICKEL

Okay, and do you take all of your education here in Aalborg or are you?

00:00:29 VERA NICKEL

Yes.

00:00:30 VERA NICKEL

Okay.

00:00:30 VERA NICKEL

It's the last semester for us.

00:00:33 ANTONIA MICHEL

Exactly and we, I think maybe also because we're internationals and we had the finding process of finding an affordable house ourselves or a housing unit more and so we were really interested in the affordability of housing and how does it work in Denmark because it's such a different system than in Germany where we are both from. And so now we thought about focusing on new development areas in Copenhagen to also not have to travel. And we're looking at affordability in a way like that people don't have to spend more on it than 30% of their disposable income. So having this definition kind of. And then, we were wondering which income deciles can afford to live in the new developments and also what would it change if there would be a higher non-profit share. And we also read this one agreement that you made recently and.

00:01:39 BL

I thought it was from 23. It was made in 2023 but it's only between the municipality of Copenhagen and the housing organisations within the municipality. So it's not the whole of BL. Actually, at the moment, **every four years there's a housing agreement** and the last one was made in 2020 - It's called the **Green Housing Agreement** or something. And we are past schedule for the one that should start next year.

00:02:21 ANTONIA MICHEL

In 2026?

00:02:23 BL

I believe it's 2026.

00:02:24 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay, and you want to, you're going to publish a new agreement?

00:02:30 BL

Well, it's not, it's a political agreement and it goes on, it happens through the parliament. So we are, of course, providing our input to it and bringing all the arguments to the table for what we find is important.

00:02:46 ANTONIA MICHEL

But it's not on you to?

00:02:48 BL

It's not. I know our CEO is in close collaboration with the parties about what should be in it, but there are other political agendas which is at the forefront at the moment. So, we don't know when this is going to happen, but probably within the next few months. And maybe it's due in October. But we've said that for a long time, so we don't know where it's going.

00:03:17 ANTONIA MICHEL

And that would be a national agreement?

00:03:18 BL

That would be a national agreement.

00:03:19 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay, and they would also come every four years?

00:03:23 BL

They are supposed to come every four years, but we are a little bit late with this one.

00:03:32 ANTONIA MICHEL

Ja, but in that, also, but we can come to this later with the shares and if you could push for more or I mean, you probably want that, but what are kind of the back and forths on them? But we can start with our first question, maybe, where it's more about a general understanding, because we have found, especially when we have to translate things, it gets translated, from Almeneboliger to social housing, but we have come to understand that it's non-profit housing, and then a share of that is social housing in terms of actually getting access and actually getting support by the government.

00:04:18 BL

You could say that not directly, but indirectly.

00:04:22 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes.

00:04:22 BL

There's not a direct link between the share of 25% for social purposes and the subsidies. But it is an important argument if you take it. It's because, in terms of the procurement rules or the rules about competition within the EU, housing that gets public subsidies need to be for social purposes, else it will meddle with the rules of competition. So you can't just subsidize one group of actors in the housing market without it being, what do you call it?

00:05:10 ANTONIA MICHEL

Legitimate or fairer?

00:05:13 BL

There is this EU rule called SGEI that defines if this purpose is of, I can't remember the exact words, but if it's of a public necessity, then they can provide subsidies. But there are limitations to what a state can subsidize in terms of giving some actors in the in the housing market better conditions than others.

00:05:40 ANTONIA MICHEL

That makes sense.

00:05:44 BL

But you were asking about the 25% rule and I thought, I would maybe find it somewhere here. Let me just see if we can take. I'm not sure if I have them. Let's see.

00:06:07 ANTONIA MICHEL

Take your time.

00:06:11 BL

That's strange. Oh, I have it here. All of our buildings are what we consider non-profit. And we don't call it social because we don't have an income criteria. That's the difference. We allocate housing through the waiting list systems and this means that everyone...

00:06:33 ANTONIA MICHEL

It's universal.

00:06:34 BL

It's universal, right. But every 4th vacant apartment is offered to the municipality and they can give it to someone in housing need that they find lives up to their criteria that is locally defined. So in Copenhagen, the **criteria are probably a bit higher than in other places** where there are more vacant housing. For instance, I think you probably need to be someone with social issues with children, I believe, to get a home through that or being ill or something. You have to have some certain condition in your life.

00:07:16 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, recently divorced and...?

00:07:19 BL

Recently divorced is not necessarily...

00:07:21 ANTONIA MICHEL

Maybe only if single with children then?

00:07:23 BL

Single with children, low income. So, that's why we don't call ourselves social housing, because we don't have income criteria.

00:07:36 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:07:38 BL

And that was the one part of the question. Did that answer it?

00:07:43 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, sorry, it's a bit all over the place.

00:07:45 BL

No, problem.

00:07:47 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because we looked at Denmark stats and they also couldn't quite answer sometimes what are like the little differences. But I think we were wondering, but you already said that, so it doesn't necessarily mean that you get, like, Boligstøtte, for example?

00:08:03 BL

No, Boligstøtte is defined by your level of income and your house expenses.

00:08:11 ANTONIA MICHEL

And that could also be in a private?

00:08:12 BL

That could also be in a private. But you, there's a certain amount of square meters and a certain amount... You can't move into a castle and get Boligstøtte. But you could also get Boligstøtte if you have a regular income. It's not only if you are on public benefit. So if you're a low-income worker and living in a private rental place, you could get Boligstøtte. But it's only for special groups, and I'm sure we can find out who is eligible for that. We have that somewhere, pensioners and students.

00:08:55 ANTONIA MICHEL

Maybe unemployed?

00:08:56 BL

Unemployed, but not all unemployed. So if you just want to sit home and play video games, you probably, and you're in your 20s or 30s, you're probably not going to get it. Not for long.

00:09:11 ANTONIA MICHEL

Not for long, yes.

00:09:13 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think we were also wondering... so then these 25%, would you call those social housing or also just actually allocation to vulnerable citizens or something?

00:09:32 BL

We haven't defined them as social housing, but those are the dwellings that you could say solves the problem of people with special needs. So we don't call it social housing, but they solve a social purpose, you could say. And of course, we also have housing for people with disabilities. Those are 100% allocated by the municipalities. Also housing for older adults, like old people.

00:10:10 ANTONIA MICHEL

The elderly.

00:10:11 BL

I don't know. There's so many restrictions on how you.

00:10:17 ANTONIA MICHEL

It's the most politically correct?

00:10:19 BL

Yes, and recently I learned that you can't call them elderly people anymore.

00:10:23 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay, just seniors maybe?

00:10:26 BL

I thought it was in it was in Ireland they said older older adults.

00:10:32 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay. We have to make sure that we don't step into a trap. I think what was also interesting for us... wait, now I lost that. I don't know, maybe it will come back to me.

00:10:56 VERA NICKEL

But maybe for me to summarize, like social housing is where you would also get the subsidies from the municipality, but not necessarily if you live in a non-profit? Or am I mixing something up? Like non-profit is the overall thing and then social housing is the 25% of the 25% that is allocated by the municipality?

00:11:15 BL

The whole thing is non-profit.

00:11:18 VERA NICKEL

Yes.

00:11:19 BL

But every 4th vacant is offered for the municipality for social purposes.

00:11:23 VERA NICKEL

And all of them receive the subsidies?

00:11:27 BL

All receive the subsidies. But I can maybe talk you through the way we finance new construction, because maybe that will give you a better idea of how we do it.

00:11:39 ANTONIA MICHEL

That would be really interesting, actually.

00:11:41 BL

When you are going to build a new house, we finance it through regular mortgage loans, which is about 86% to 90%, and this depends on the size and the type of unit we are building, units we are building. Then we get a municipal loan, which is between 8% and 12%, and it is interest and instalment free for the first 50 years. So, by that way, we can stretch it out so we don't have to pay back before or after 50 years. And then the residents, they pay 2% when they move in. Again, you can also get these slides afterwards. Then when we are going to pay back the funding or the finance for the new housing department, we do that over

a 40-year time. Usually a mortgage loan in Denmark, if you don't refinance it and so on, is 30 years but we have an additional 10 years. And it is politically defined that the interest rate is 2.8%. So, whatever the real interest rate is, either covered by the state, and for some years the real interest rate was somewhere around 0 and in those, so this is illustrated by those little marks down. **At those times, the state would make money from this agreement.** But then after 30 years, they will continue to pay for additional 10 years. And this is sort of the dark blue one, or the middle blue one, is to cover the expenses that the state have had. So they continue to pay that, and now they pay not to the mortgage BLs, but to the state. And after that, they will continue to pay for another five years at the interest rate of **2.8%**, and then it levels out. And they will continue to pay that amount for eternity, for as long as this housing department or housing estate exists. But now they're paying it to the **National Building Fund, to the Fund for New Construction** and to their own local disposition fund, could be their own savings fund. And they will pay that for eternity.

00:14:08 ANTONIA MICHEL

So, the state will kind of come out as zero or even...?

00:14:12 BL

Yeah, they should come out as zero. There has **been some analysis saying that it is a good business case for the state**, but I think it changes over time. In the 80s, I remember something like we had an interest rate of 13%, I don't know if the agreed cap was 2.8% back then, but it was probably lower than 13%. So it's a way of, stretching out and making financial expenses stable and predictable. And the question was, and the question was.

00:14:56 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think you just answered that question.

00:15:00 BL

It answered the question, did it?

00:15:02 VERA NICKEL

I think so, yeah.

00:15:04 BL

Okay.

00:15:05 ANTONIA MICHEL

I was also one other question, just these housings that are allocated to the more vulnerable citizens, is it also sometimes happening that they are in **not non-profit housings or is it always...?**

00:15:24 BL

I don't know how it is exactly. I know that, but this was in the 90s, so it probably changed. I **believe that we are the only actor on the housing market that takes up this role.**

00:15:42 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because it's cheaper for the state, no?

00:15:53 BL

I don't know if it's cheaper, but I think it's the solution, I guess. Because we have, if you go outside of Copenhagen, you could probably have some municipalities where you have a lot of empty or vacant houses because of, due to urbanization, people are moving away. But I think, and in these areas **where there's an excess of housing, the municipality usually don't use this social housing allocation. They just say, go to the housing organisation and put yourself on the waiting list.** Because if it's not allocated through the municipality, if there are any costs related to the lease, you know, if people move in and they trash it all, if the municipality allocate, they will bear the expenses. But if they just go through the waiting list, it will be the rest of the residents bearing the expenses of somebody who trash it and move out.

00:17:02 VERA NICKEL

So, I also remember that we read about that the municipality pays, I think, like 2% of the construction costs to the developer so that they, in case of an emergency, like for example a refugee wave, that they can get some amount of dwellings in the flat. I can't reconstruct everything like 100%, but I know that they have kind of like this regulation with the constructors. So then I guess it would also then be not non-profit, then for-profit, but just in this case. I'm not sure how it subsidizes everything.

00:17:39 BL

I haven't heard about that. I know that it's, you know, when we had these more refugees coming, events of like with the Syrians, we had a discussion of, but we don't, we can't say, oh, now is a housing need, and then provide the houses, because it takes a long time. The whole process of, from getting to an idea, we have an empty plot, they will sell it to the housing organisations, and there is a house there, is a long time span. So this reaction from the municipalities' needing somewhere to put people and us delivering them, it's not parallel. I don't know if it made sense.

00:18:33 VERA NICKEL

No, it does make sense.

00:18:35 BL

But I haven't heard that they pay us to have, I mean, the...

00:18:40 VERA NICKEL

I'm not sure whether it's only that they pay you. I think it's rather...

00:18:43 BL

8 to 12%. You could say they pay that in order to have access. Because if they didn't pay that, they wouldn't have this prerogative of saying, we want every fourth vacant apartment. They're not necessarily using every fourth vacant apartment, but they're offered them.

00:19:00 ANTONIA MICHEL

Do you also buy housing, like existing housing?

00:19:05 BL

There are some examples in Roskilde, one of the housing organisations, they have bought a part of St. Hans. St. Hans is an old psychiatric hospital. that are not a hospital anymore. So they are turning it into a new housing area for the municipality. And they have bought two of the buildings there and refurbished them. And also, I think the **Danish aquarium out in Gentofte is being transformed to student housing**, I believe. So there are some examples, but now I believe that EU, **the EU law is probably making an end to that. Because with the Europe, the energy performance of building directives, there are some regulations that say if you as a public, I don't know the definition, as a public entity, and we are in this case considered a public entity. It's not the right word, but something like that. When you buy a home, a building, you need to transform it into energy level B. And it's not economically viable, usually, especially with old houses.** Because the money you put into it is not... You had to put a lot of money into turning an old house into energy level B. So probably in the future we will see less of that.

00:20:39 VERA NICKEL

We have the same in Germany.

00:20:42 ANTONIA MICHEL

And private actors can usually afford this better because they make more profit?

00:20:48 BL

Private developers, they are not, it's only public entities that are obligated to renovate it up to the standards. Yes. It's not private.

00:21:01 ANTONIA MICHEL

If they wouldn't buy it and renovate it, they could have their own.

00:21:05 BL

Yeah, it's a way of driving the green transition, saying okay, if you're a public entity, you have to invest your money in something that will be green.

00:21:16 VERA NICKEL

I'm not sure how it is here in Denmark, but in Germany it's also for if you own a house like if, for example, if I was owning a house and then you would buy it, then you also have to renovate, but only like certain things. For example, that you have to insulate like the roof or...

00:21:33 ANTONIA MICHEL

But as long as the...

00:21:34 BL

But as a private person or a private company, you don't have the same level of obligations.

00:21:41 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, exactly. That is a problem. Yes, it's more strict if you are a public entity.

00:21:47 BL

But there is a purpose with this because we want to use less energy, and so there is a purpose, but...

00:21:53 ANTONIA MICHEL

Then we could also...

00:21:55 BL

... in terms of buying something that's already there, contra-producing something completely new, what will be the footprint?

00:22:03 VERA NICKEL

Exactly, yeah. Yes. One last thing regarding the 25%, because I read that since 2015 or something, there's regulation that municipalities are also allowed to get 100% of the dwellings if both parties agree. Is that, for example, like when you have like student housing, like with the Kollegiums or...

00:22:29 BL

Well, they have, by law, they have 100% on housing for disabled or older adults with disabilities. They have 100% allocation right for that. But in, I believe it's in Ballerup municipality, they have an agreement that all housing allocations go through the municipality.

00:22:55 ANTONIA MICHEL

All non-profit housing?

00:22:56 BL

All non-profit housing in the municipality. I don't know if it's like that anymore, but I remember someone told me that it was like that once. But it has to be an agreement between the housing organisations and the municipality.

00:23:07 ANTONIA MICHEL

Right okay. We also looked a bit into the parallel society law and we were wondering that, so for example, if an area is listed as a transformation area or used to be called a hard ghetto, and people are being evicted because non-profit housing has to decrease so much and if there is any data on where people move.

00:23:33 BL

Yeah, I asked my colleague and he didn't know and I...

00:23:39 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because I also couldn't find it online.

00:23:40 BL

I heard that there are at the moment no analysis on that. But I also heard from someone else and you should maybe stay in tune what's **happening on the National Building Fund's** webpage because some of my colleagues from there, they also in this house, said that there was some work being done **with analysis on what happens to the people who were forced to move out**. Where do they go? Did they go voluntarily, not voluntarily, but some of

them are eager to move because they get offered somewhere better and some are not that eager to move. So what happens?

00:24:30 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because do the organisations always offer another non-profit housing spot?

00:24:38 BL

Yeah, you don't get evicted. You get offered a different place to live.

00:24:43 ANTONIA MICHEL

And then it's like a bit unclear right now if these spots are always further out or...

00:24:49 BL

I think it would be more expensive. I think that's also one problem. Yeah, they could be more expensive. And then for the first, I don't know how many years, they would be given a lower rent below what the rent was actually there.

00:25:04 ANTONIA MICHEL

To [compensate?] for the condition?

00:25:08 BL

But then after a number of years, the rent would go up to normal level. So I don't know.

00:25:14 ANTONIA MICHEL

What the plan is there?

00:25:16 BL

I know what the plan is. The plan is that you can have a low rent for some years and then you cannot have it anymore, but I don't know what happens then.

00:25:25 VERA NICKEL

Can you find this information on the National Building Fund site or?

00:25:29 BL

No, I don't think so, but I know that, I don't know if it's them or if it's the ministry, but I know that I've heard that there would be some analysis on this.

00:25:39 ANTONIA MICHEL

Maybe we can write them all. Then we were also wondering if there, is it a thing that the non-profit housing sector is trying to increase affordable housing elsewhere then, like increasing the non-profit housing rate, let's say to, you know to make it balance in total? Or is it just decreasing here and then it's just in total also decreasing?

00:26:12 BL

I have one slide that shows... this one shows the share of non-profit in new construction. And this, I think what it illustrates is that **we are not building very much and someone else is**

building a lot. And the **pension funds are building quite** a lot. All the new areas in Sydhavn are probably pension funds building.

00:26:47 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay and who gets to live there also?

00:26:52 BL

I believe that it's usually a private rental.

00:26:55 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:26:57 BL

And I don't know exactly how it is, but I hear anecdotes that it's usually, it could be students from outside, who moved there and lived many people in one apartment. I don't know, maybe some of your friends would live like that. Private rental.

00:27:17 ANTONIA MICHEL

I don't know.

00:27:17 BL

And also I heard that in Brøndby there was one row that they called its name vault with a single V. But in this there are new developments owned by private developers where they live a lot of these.

00:27:34 ANTONIA MICHEL

Shared housing, or?

00:27:35 BL

Yeah it's shared housing, but not intentionally shared housing, but it's just people with low income moving, coming together to live in bigger apartments.

00:27:44 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:27:47 BL

And they could also see it in the, they could see it in the, what do you call it, in the kindergartens and in the schools and so on, because they bring their kids. I don't know, have you heard about this case about this is a super small case, but about the University of Roskilde?

00:28:09 ANTONIA MICHEL

No.

00:28:14 BL

They enrolled a lot of people, students from Bangladesh who come here not to study but to work, but they get in through the University and they could see it. The first the journalist who

uncovered this case saw it because they were in a housing area where there suddenly were a lot of people from Bangladesh living there. And they could see in the kindergartens and in the school the number of children from Bangladesh. And we usually don't get a lot of people from Bangladesh to Denmark. I don't know why am I telling you this? It's because, well, I was trying to illustrate that we have private rental housing being built that probably covering some of the market who would else live in our homes.

00:29:08 ANTONIA MICHEL

And is there also just a share of non-profit housing? Because we always just read that it's around 20%, but it has been decreased.

00:29:17 BL

It has decreased over time. I believe it is. It has. Let me see. I have one.

00:29:24 ANTONIA MICHEL

But also there, you don't know of any measures to make up for decreasing it in the parallel society listed areas.

00:29:34 BL

No, I remember that when they made the rule, the housing organisations that were obligated to tear down buildings were offered to build somewhere else. But we also see a lot of places where, for instance, in Carlsbergbyen, I don't know if you walked around in Carlsbergbyen, there are two plots that are empty, and they are non-profit housing organisations who are supposed to build on those plots. But prices are high, and the fact that you get started when everything else is finished, and I don't know the process as to why this happens, but that's making things more difficult and more expensive. That you don't get to start when, the machines are, the roles are there for building instead of now they planted trees and made all the pavement and people have moved in and then you have these plots that are just empty.

00:30:30 VERA NICKEL

Okay, and they are supposed to make up for it a little bit or like now you could build there or non-profit organisations could build there and this is kind of in the original agreement already for Carlsbergbyen or comes in later?

00:30:49 BL

I'm not sure when it was defined that they were supposed to build there, but I know, I remember, there's one unit or one housing department which is a non-profit in Carlsbergbyen.

00:31:04 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:31:07 BL

And there are these **two empty plots which is FSB and I believe it's Domea DK** who are going to build there. And I don't know the exact reasons why they haven't started yet, but what we hear in general is that it's too difficult for them to stay within the limitations of the construction costs. And that has to do with material prices, global material prices that have

gone up, salaries are high, increased environmental obligations and so forth, but also the fact that even though we have this opportunity in the Planning Act that the municipalities can say, we want 25% non-profit housing in new development areas, we still have difficulties constructing.

00:32:07 ANTONIA MICHEL

I understand. And because if an area is listed as a transformation area and you have to decrease public housing, and then maybe they get demolished or just sold to private investors, does the non-profit organisation get money from that?

00:32:29 BL

Yes.

00:32:29 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:32:31 BL

I don't know, with the demolition, they're probably, they're probably get something to, because it's their property. I believe they get something in return for this. I don't know how it works.

00:32:43 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:32:43 BL

But if they sell it, it's their property, they sell it, they get the money.

00:32:48 ANTONIA MICHEL

And then they shall use that to construct something new somewhere else.

00:32:51 BL

They could do that.

00:32:58 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, we also just wondered which effects this parallel society law has on the housing market in general, if they're has been some like, really like shifts of where people move or also.

00:33:14 VERA NICKEL

Kind of diversify the areas where the areas were listed as transformation area. Because I think that's why they initially started, listing the areas because they were like, okay, we have these four criteria and two of them, I think it was two, so the areas listed as ghetto and then the developers wanted to evict the people in order to make it more Danish, kind of.

00:33:40 BL

So the question is?

00:33:47 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think if, or maybe just if you feel like there, it has changed something in like how the non-profit organisations also maybe function? I mean, there's these prevention areas as well. Then it changes who they take in like this.

00:34:08 BL

Yes. In all BL, we work nationally against the parliament, but we are also divided into 11 geographical areas. And within these areas, or within the between the single municipality and the housing organisations within that municipality, they can make an agreement on how they allocate housing. And that could be about every 4th vacant one. It could be about how we want to change the composition of residents in a given housing area if they are close to reaching the limits of the preventional areas. So they could, so they make an agreement, we know that the data in this area shows a tendency towards something we don't want. So next time we have vacant apartments, we will make someone with more resources with job and education skip the line. So, if you are on, we call it **[fatus?] function pre-pension**, for instance, you will go lower in the line. Maybe you wouldn't even be able to move into a certain area. And then some students or somebody with a job could get ahead. So, there are some mechanisms in place in some areas where they look at data and say, okay, we don't, we need to change the tendencies towards something else and then we mix people with resources and education and who are not convicted.

00:36:01 ANTONIA MICHEL

But it never happens the other way around, right? Like that you have a...

00:36:06 BL

No, somewhere resourceful.

00:36:09 ANTONIA MICHEL

Where you say, now we really take in people who are maybe unemployed.

00:36:13 BL

So it's sort of unfair system.

00:36:21 ANTONIA MICHEL

Trying to make everything more [inaudible].

00:36:22 BL

So you have a group of people who have limited opportunities in the housing market and you shrink that little opportunity they have even further.

00:36:31 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yeah, because in the social mixing discussion, it's always just about these areas, but not about social mixing Nordhavn. Because there's nothing wrong with it, they say, right?

00:36:44 BL

Just a different ghetto.

00:36:43 ANTONIA MICHEL

Exactly. A rich ghetto.

00:36:53 VERA NICKEL

We've already been...

00:36:55 ANTONIA MICHEL

General.

00:36:56 VERA NICKEL

Exactly, the third part is a bit general.

00:36:57 ANTONIA MICHEL

If you could summarize BL 's role as a federation of housing associations. I don't know if it's necessary.

00:37:04 BL

What we do? Yeah!

00:37:06 ANTONIA MICHEL

Maybe just a few sentences.

00:37:09 BL

I think I have a slide about that. It's really nice to look at. I'll send you those slides. Well, we represent our members, which is the housing organisations. There are approximately 500 of them, but we also represent the interest of the people who lives in our housing areas. So everything, all political agendas from welfare benefits to construction rules to, so every, we have laws regulating our sector, but there are also laws that indirectly affect our members' ability to do their business and the ability for people to live in their homes. For instance, there has been a reform of the welfare benefits, meaning that some people will have a lot less, a lot smaller income. and that will obviously affect their ability to pay their rent. And so we will be out there saying, this is not a good idea. We will see it in the number of evictions in the next period, for instance. So all these agendas, that will be on a parliament level. On local level, we would engage in negotiations about the urban development. It could be on what do you call it? I don't want to call it trash, but collecting garbage and waste management. How much should we pay? Should we pay the same as the people living in single-family homes who have all these buckets? So taking care of the economic and social interests of the people living in the housing areas. And we also **engage internationally through Housing Europe** where our CEO used to be the Chairman of Housing Europe, and we also have a Nordic umbrella organisation but that mostly on, in terms of Housing Europe, it has to do with all like EU directives, everything that affects housing organisations on the EU level. So, but we would do that in collaboration with other members, also German members also. GdW I believe they're called.

00:39:40 VERA NICKEL

GdW?! I actually have never like...

00:39:41 ANTONIA MICHEL

Housing Europe is also showing a few things now on the architectural Biennial.

00:39:50 BL

And at the moment, in the EU, they are...I believe that Ursula von der Leyen, she announced that the housing crisis across Europe is one of the key priorities, so now they are developing an affordable housing plan, I believe it is. So you should probably read what that is and how the process is going. At the moment, actually, they have a meeting in Christianshavn, an EU meeting on housing.

00:40:22 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, we saw that.

00:40:23 ANTONIA MICHEL

That's why no drones.

00:40:26 BL

No drones. No fly zone.

00:40:31 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, we're going to look into this. This is interesting.

00:40:34 BL

And I believe also **Housing Europe just came with a report on**, it was ordered by the officials in Ireland on good housing models and one of the good housing models is Danish within this publication, but you could **find it at their webpage**. I think it's the **Netherlands and Finnish and Danish** and one more, I can't remember. And we get a lot of visits from outside because we figured something out. Lots of things could be better, but some things are working. We're not in a... Other countries are in a worse state than we are in terms of affordable housing. But yet we do have problems also and challenges.

00:41:31 VERA NICKEL

I think the problems are actually like in the last... I'm not sure whether it makes sense to go first through problems or first through the stakeholder list that we made.

00:41:39 BL

Maybe we should just look at the stakeholder list because I was just...

00:41:44 VERA NICKEL

Yeah exactly, so we tried to like create the stakeholder list in order to understand the relationships between stakeholders, which stakeholders there are.

00:41:54 BL

And maybe I should just...

00:42:02 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think especially if we missed a really important stakeholder, if you're like...

00:42:07 BL

I'm not sure if you missed some, but I'm just curious about the connections you made. For instance, I'm sorry, my eyes used to be better.

00:42:20 ANTONIA MICHEL

It was also tiny, no?

00:42:24 VERA NICKEL

It is quite small, yeah.

00:42:25 BL

For instance, construction companies, what are their relations with municipalities?

00:42:32 ANTONIA MICHEL

They get approvals of municipalities to develop in new areas, and then therefore the municipalities can kind of have a dialogue about how much, for example, non-profit housing they want there in return.

00:42:47 BL

Okay, so we are talking about like NREP or someone like those?

00:42:54 VERA NICKEL

What is NREP?

00:42:56 ANTONIA MICHEL

Like the ones who have were in Mjølnerparken as well, no? Yeah, most, it's like a...

00:43:00 BL

It's a private developer. A private developer, **who do the master plans.** Those companies, because I was thinking of those that our members work with to build the actual building, but on a higher level.

00:43:20 VERA NICKEL

Exactly, we tried to only focus on the higher level, because for example, there are like so many housing organisations, but we cannot do all the 400, and you said it's like, yeah.

00:43:29 BL

I don't think you should put the National Building Fund together with the banks and mortgage lenders.

00:43:35 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes.

00:43:35 BL

They are an entity in themselves. A huge factor, but probably not as much in new development, but in refurbishments and so on. But they are a really big factor also in terms

of, for instance, they in recent years changed their approach. If when you have, let me just show you. Let me go to this one and... one second... Remember the... what do you call it? The money in the dark blue bunks, the National Building Fund, those money are channelled through the National Building Fund into new developments, or not new developments, but to refurbishment. So a portion of the rent from the tenants goes into the National Building Fund and they rechannel them out to the housing areas. And that goes to both renovation of the buildings, but also to urban development. For instance, this is an example from Gellerupparken. Of course not, they don't do it alone, they do it together with the municipality, but they channel a lot of money into also the areas between the houses. What we will see in the housing agreement whenever it comes is that there will probably be a section about health, both in terms of rethinking the housing areas as areas for better health in terms of how are they designed and what services should be there, but also in terms of saying, with collaboration with the regions, with the municipalities, about having health care closer to the residents. So just to say, if we say, come back to this to this one. The National Building Fund is a huge, it's an, what do you call it, it's an actor in themselves. You can't put them together with the banks.

00:46:01 ANTONIA MICHEL

And it's, so they never put money in constructing new, always renovation, but like large scale renovations?

00:46:09 BL

Yeah, if you look at the green housing agreement, there are some, they put money in developing homes for, I believe, I'm not sure if it's that they call it homeless, but people with small ability to pay their rent. So they channel some money from the fund for new construction into these activities. **For instance, if some housing organisation are building a whole new complex, they get additional money. So they can make sure that X units are particularly targeting vulnerable people with low, with ability, only ability to pay a low rent.** So in some ways, very specific targeting special groups, they could use money for new builds, but usually their prime focus is renovation and urban development.

00:47:19 VERA NICKEL

And then I think we should also maybe then switch the roles of you as like with BL and the housing organisations because you're actually in exchange maybe then with the mortgage lenders and insurance companies.

00:47:33 BL

And also, I believe that insurance, the Danish Building Defects Fund, which only services the non-profit housing organisations. I think it's not central, but of course it's a stakeholder in the whole map, and they have a lot to say in terms of what is a good build, what is quality, what types of methods should the housing organisations use when they build new, for instance, they make recommendations, what not to do when you build. But I don't think you can put them in the same pool as general insurance companies.

00:48:21 ANTONIA MICHEL

And yes, of course, we have to rearrange it a bit. Also, that BL is very central, right?

00:48:31 BL

Well, we are central in terms of overall agendas, but on the specific case, probably not so much. Because we're not really engaged in what happens on the ground, more on an overall level, getting better conditions for the sector.

00:48:49 ANTONIA MICHEL

And you're often a part of the dialogues with the municipalities?

00:48:53 BL

Yes.

00:48:54 ANTONIA MICHEL

To make agreements or?

00:48:56 BL

Yes, but not in terms of building new. I think building new is a relationship between the municipalities and the housing organisations and probably the private developers.

00:49:09 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, maybe we should make different maps for...

00:49:14 BL

Whatever the case is.

00:49:16 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because in terms of working on regulation on non-profit housing, there you are very...

00:49:25 BL

There we have a big role to play.

00:49:27 VERA NICKEL

But do you think we are missing someone?

00:49:37 BL

Again, it depends what the case is. For instance, if you take the law in parallel society, I think we have a really strong residence group.

00:49:45 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yeah.

00:49:47 BL

So they're a clear stakeholder in this. They took the law to the EU Court of Justice.

00:49:57 VERA NICKEL

I tried to like. make them a little bit representative by the local neighbourhood associations and the kind of property owners, because we decided against using the word individuals, but the property owners can also be like tenants.

00:50:11 BL

Tenants is a good word. And I think maybe the cooperative housing for our perspective are not that relevant. If you take it from our perspective, but if you want to look at the whole housing market.

00:50:31 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think this is what we did for.

00:50:34 BL

I don't know.

00:50:35 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, exactly. It's for the whole housing market at first. But yes, you said, if we have like a certain case, then we should rearrange.

00:50:43 BL

Yeah, but then if it's the whole housing market, those ones are the fund for building damage, or the insurance company for building damage. It's not that central, but it's there.

00:50:59 ANTONIA MICHEL

And it's more related to non-profit housing.

00:51:01 BL

It's only related. Well, now they merged with, they actually merged with, there was a different insurance company that would insure some renovations that were made in the 90s on, among others, the cooperative housing and they merged. So now they, I think they serve more than just us, but primarily our members.

00:51:30 ANTONIA MICHEL

Okay.

00:51:31 BL

And we could also be the property owners. The housing organisations could also be the property owners in this case.

00:51:46 VERA NICKEL

We have been talking about it.

00:51:48 ANTONIA MICHEL

Could be... They always are no or not?

00:51:50 BL

They are always property. They own their own property.

00:51:52 ANTONIA MICHEL

So yeah cool.

00:52:01 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, and the problem for like the last point is actually like a bit for our thesis to get an idea like where should we focus on because we're still in a kind of early stage.

00:52:10 BL

Well, I think there could be a lot of interesting topics to dive in further into. But again, it depends on where you want to look. I think there is something about the Planning Act that is quite interesting. You see, the municipalities have the opportunity to demand that every, **that 25% of new housing, of housing in new development areas is non-profit housing. but in practice we are not really seeing it happening.** So looking into **what are the barriers for making this happen and what could be the, how would you need to rearrange practice** to actually get the results that you're aiming for. But I don't know if it's big enough for a thesis, but I think that's an interesting area.

00:53:09 VERA NICKEL

But we did talk about this, whether the municipality actually exhaust this possibility of, I think, since the Planning Act in 2016, I was read that the Prime Minister in 2014 was like, okay, there's not enough, and also like the way non-profit units were built was rather like large units than smaller units. So it was not necessarily like targeted at the target group. So vulnerable people, lower income people...

00:53:38 ANTONIA MICHEL

But I mean, we also want to focus on doing a geographical analysis. So then this, but this would be a really good like discussion and like the whole context, I think.

00:53:52 BL

But from what I heard is that when they build Nordhavn, I think it wasn't in function when they did the master plan for Nordhavn. So you can excuse yourself with, we have a 25% demand out there, but it wasn't implemented when they started out. So it was like sort of an add-on later on. And I think you could say the same about cars. But now they are. I don't know when they will start, but starting to develop the area around the railway and not, and when they have agreed on a master plan for the area.

00:54:34 VERA NICKEL

Are you talking about Jernbanebyen?

00:54:35 BL

Jernbanebyen yeah. So there's a master plan for the area and they have put in 25% of each of housing square meters should be non-profit housing. And now we have to see, what will happen in practice. **Will they succeed with getting to that target?** So I think that will be interesting to see.

00:55:00 ANTONIA MICHEL

Very much. Yes, and also if, yes, is it a topic that you have with the municipality, for example, or also the parliament to even increase the rate?

00:55:21 BL

I think it's, isn't it possible to now demand 33%? I believe it is. I haven't seen it. But you can see that in the webpage of the ministry. I believe you could find some numbers there. But I think they raised it to maybe 33%.

00:55:40 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because it just seems like there's so many positives to non-profit housing. And it's for me a bit unclear how, if politicians are the ones who are a bit pushing back.

00:55:54 BL

No, I don't believe that it's the politicians that are pushing back. Not in Copenhagen and not in the government that we have now. We have through the years been in sort of a, we call it in Denmark, like wind against you. Previously we had a sort of a conservative, liberal government and they didn't like us much. They want to liberalize the housing market and they did so with the cooperative housing. Before there were limitations on how much you could sell your flat for, but they liberalized that. So now it works on market terms. It didn't work on market terms before. Then people could sell their sofa under the, we call it under the table. I don't know if you used to use that phrase in English. Really expensive sofa they bought along with the home. But I don't know if that's just not important. But they liberalized that part of the housing market. They also wanted to liberalize our sector. So if people wanted to buy their flats, they could buy them. But it never really turned out well. But at the moment, I think politically we are in a good place. We have a lot of, we get a lot of respect for what we do because our members are also very much engaged in creating wholesome housing areas, targeting other issues than just providing the homes. I think the pictures that you see here is sort of an example of what is going on out there. It's more than just building.

00:57:42 ANTONIA MICHEL

Yes, we read a lot about the big democracy part of it as well.

00:57:47 BL

So we have a lot of credibility. We have a lot of positive, they like us, the politicians like us. And if you ask, if you read it, **with the agreement between 2024 and 2027. Yes. This is an agreement between the politicians and the municipality and our members.** They want to build more. But I think the barriers are not political. The barriers are practical.

00:58:22 ANTONIA MICHEL

And financial?

00:58:23 BL

Financial.

00:58:24 ANTONIA MICHEL

Constructing so much.

00:58:27 BL

No, it's because we have limitations to how much our units can cost. If I show you here.

00:58:39 VERA NICKEL

I was also just thinking of there's someone read about that an amount of like 600 crowns per meter square, I think. I'm not sure whether it was the building cost or whether it was the rent cost. You remember when we read that and we were like, oh wow, it was a lot?

00:58:53 BL

This is the limitations of how much a new unit can cost. So if you are going to build youth housing in Copenhagen, you can have 3000 euros per square meter plus an amount of 55.700 for the whole one unit.

00:59:15 ANTONIA MICHEL

What?

00:59:16 BL

So one unit is like 30 square meters times 3.185 plus an amount of 55.700. So that's what one unit can cost.

00:59:31 BL

To construct?

00:59:32 BL

To construct. And this covers everything from buying the plot, preparing the plot for building, building the building. **But in practice, prices are probably a bit higher.** Either they have to lower the quality, the level of sustainability. Sometimes, they don't get any offers from construction companies because no one say, we cannot build at this price. So the limits, the price, that is a barrier, but there are also other barriers. Another barrier could be in Nordhavn, where they built all the new private housing. And they don't really want those poor people there. So they just leave the plot empty. They don't start the process of the conversations with the housing organisation to build that could be another barrier.

01:00:35 ANTONIA MICHEL

So you think they maybe push it a bit and purpose, leave it empty and then offer it, but it's a bit...

01:00:41 BL

Yeah another barrier could be that the process with or the conversation with the municipality getting all the permits in place to start building is long and costly. So they spend a lot of money before they even have a building, and then they find out, oh, it's too expensive, for instance. That is also a barrier. We also have obligations to have public procurement. That means that we have to put everything in tender. And this process is also expensive. So there's a lot of **different things that** could prevent a building from being built. **But the economy is certainly one of them.** And if you hear what the mayor of Lina Bafu, the mayor of environment and technology but it's not technology, it's all, yeah... But she's very, she's very much in favour of non-profit housing. She's very much in favour of having a city which is not only for the wealthy.

01:02:04 VERA NICKEL

A minister?

01:02:06 BL

Both the minister and the mayors, both. So it's not a political issue. It's more a practical issue. And I think the mechanisms in the housing market is also, I believe, something that makes it difficult.

01:02:29 VERA NICKEL

Talking of the mechanisms, is there like a rent cap? Because there's not necessarily a rent cap, because in some cities, like at least in Germany, you can say, okay, you're only allowed to ask for like 11 EUR per meter square. And if, especially like for profit, once exceeded only under certain renovations. So for example, they just renovated a building. But here in Denmark, it seems, especially like in the city centre, like Nordhavn, they can ask for literally anything.

01:03:04 BL

I believe that it was liberalized some years ago and not in our sector, because our sector rent is cost based. So you pay what it costs to build and run the building.

01:03:20 VERA NICKEL

And that is regulated, as you just said?

01:03:22 BL

It's regulated through construction prices, but if it's an older building that has been there in a long time, maybe they have made some bad economic decisions, or maybe people have moved out with a big debt, didn't pay their rent for a few months before they moved out or something. You know, they would be kicked out eventually, or if they trashed it all and moved out and never paid the money for having it renovated, then the economy in one **housing department can be bad and then the rent will go up for everyone**. But then it's still cost-based. But in the private rental sector, the rules are a bit different. And there were some rules, I think they changed it. There were some rules that if you renovated the kitchen, for instance, you could raise the rent however much you wanted. And what we saw in Copenhagen was that these international companies like **BlackRock Investment**. They bought a lot of buildings. But I think our former housing minister changed some of the rules, so it weren't that easy for them to go in and buy a lot of buildings and housing here. **Because it changed, it's a development we don't want**.

01:05:04 ANTONIA MICHEL

No, they're really bad actually.

01:05:08 BL

I think they're called [Carebyner?]. It's like care, care... They took a Danish name like this.

01:05:17 ANTONIA MICHEL

And one that sounds very promising.

01:05:20 BL

It sounds care, [careby]...

01:05:21 ANTONIA MICHEL

Don't worry about us.

01:05:22 BL

Yes, we care about you.

01:05:27 VERA NICKEL

To trick the people.

01:05:30 ANTONIA MICHEL

The state never like, how do you say, de-privatizes, like, takes developments, houses, and says, now we're going to make this into a non-profit. Maybe we pay you a little bit, but we need non-profit housing right now.

01:05:51 BL

There was an agreement a few years ago where they, I can't remember when was this, was it with the, where they say there was a, the Frederiksberg Housing Fund, which was a municipal housing area somewhere in Frederiksberg. There are not many municipal housing areas. It was owned by a fund in Frederiksberg, but I believe that the economy weren't that well. So with this big agreement, one of the initiatives was to transform this housing, municipal housing area into a non-profit housing area.

01:06:32 ANTONIA MICHEL

That way it has happened?

01:06:36 BL

That way it has happened, saying if we save you financially, but you have to transform into non-profit housing and follow the rules that covers non-profit housing. And also in Christiania, they said, you want something in Christiania. Christiania wanted to buy the to buy the green area. So the fund of Christiania owned the whole area and say, you can buy the whole area, but in return, you have to build 15,000 square meters of non-profit housing. Sothe state can go in and do these things. But it's not a direct way of...

01:07:23 ANTONIA MICHEL

Really just putting it into law.

01:07:25 BL

But it's a way of pressuring. people or organisations who have different interests. We can meet your interest, but you have to give us something in return. So you could see that could be an example.

01:07:37 ANTONIA MICHEL

And unfortunately, a lot of negotiations. And private investment companies often don't need.

01:07:47 BL

No, and probably they have so much money so they can just leave something empty if they like.

01:07:55 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, Copenhagenism.

01:07:56 BL

Yeah, that also failed.

01:08:04 ANTONIA MICHEL

And if you see any issues with affordability, because you also looked at the analysis of where tenants saw and felt the inflation and impacts of that. And you also talked about people who had maybe to, leave or because they couldn't afford the rent anymore and has this increased and...?

01:08:34 BL

I don't know if they... it's actually... I don't know, maybe you can see in the Statistic Bank how many evictions there has been, but I'm not sure. I know that there's something difficult about these, the statistics on evictions and how they work. Because you can't see, there's something if people are not paying their rent and you say, oh, you need to pay your rent else you will be evicted. And you don't, you can't see if people move out voluntarily or they are kicked out. There is something about that. So I'm not sure. I'm actually touched...

01:09:15 ANTONIA MICHEL

Need to read the data, correctly.

01:09:19 BL

I think there's something about the data. It doesn't show everything.

01:09:25 ANTONIA MICHEL

And do you have data on how much people earn who..?

01:09:31 BL

Are evicted or live there?

01:09:34 ANTONIA MICHEL

Live in non-profit housing?

01:09:35 BL

Yes, we have that. Also here something, let me see.

01:09:41 VERA NICKEL

Because we have this like 30% rule. Of like 30% of your income should maximum be for housing. And as Antonia said in the beginning, we wanted to have a look at the deciles and check who can actually afford it.

01:09:57 BL

These are, the red ones are people who live in non-profit housing divided into these four income groups. So primarily we have people in the lower income groups, but we also have some in the higher. And I also have some figures on, and this one, next one is the Housing burden. This is in average, of course, the housing burden in average. And I believe we also have, I have this map actually. We have some, a few, or not, we have some that has housing **cost overburden, and that means that you spend more than 40% of your income on housing expenses. And as you can see, it's more, it's usually people, students and people on pension, disability pension.** And they will usually be living in our homes. So, but if you have a small economy, of course, your rent will make a bigger part of that.

01:11:09 VERA NICKEL

Why did you generally decide on the 40%? Is that generally like a?

01:11:13 BL

It's OECD. It's OECD, so it's not something that we decided.

01:11:17 ANTONIA MICHEL

I thought we also looked at the OECD for the 30%, but maybe it's a different year.

01:11:22 BL

No, but this is overburden. It's this housing cost overburden. If you spend more than this, you are there, you're considered overburdened by a housing expenses.

01:11:31 ANTONIA MICHEL

Maybe there's like a...

01:11:33 VERA NICKEL

A different wording.

01:11:40 ANTONIA MICHEL

Do you also have clear, like, do you have also data based on neighbourhoods? Because I think we also found some data already, but I don't think on income and really tenants and stuff like that.

01:12:05 BL

Let me see, maybe I have, I don't have neighbourhoods, but I have a municipalities, I believe. Let me just see. But have you looked at the web page of BL? There's a lot of analysis there for my colleagues have made.

01:12:25 ANTONIA MICHEL

We have to dig in more.

01:12:26 BL

I think you have to dig in more. Let me just...

01:12:29 VERA NICKEL

I think last week we actually have been a lot on like Stat bank and try to get data. And from the Kommune as well.

01:12:37 BL

But if you go to our webpage, you can go on this one Analyse og Tal - analysis and numbers. And we have some economists up there making analysis of all different types of, it's in Danish, but I guess nowadays you can probably read everything in your own language.

01:12:58 VERA NICKEL

Yeah, that is very useful.

01:13:01 BL

So they have a...

01:13:05 VERA NICKEL

There's also where I found the income analysis.

01:13:06 BL

There's the income one.

01:13:08 ANTONIA MICHEL

Is there also one about housing sizes? Like...

01:13:14 BL

I believe there is. I think they have a lot of different. **Bolidbyrde. This is the housing burden for each types of housing. These are the three typologies, the big typologies.** Facts on facts and numbers and how rent and housing burden. So there's lots of material in here. And also you could also look at the National Building Fund and you can go, you can go, this is really big. You can, let me see. You have, they have analysis on all different sorts of things. It's not a really, it's not that good of a web page, **but they also have, they also have these digital tools where you can dive into specific housing areas and get some specific data on that.**

01:14:40 ANTONIA MICHEL

That's great.

01:14:41 BL

So depending on where you want to look. I haven't used it that much, but if you are patient, I'm sure you can... It's this one, selvbetjening. Some of them you can't... This one is public.

01:15:04 VERA NICKEL

Oh, GIS.

01:15:06 BL

Yeah, without login. And you can't have data. So there are some, there are some, but you could dig into it and see what makes sense to your project.

01:15:22 VERA NICKEL

Cool. Thank you so much.

01:15:26 BL

You're welcome. I haven't used all of it, so I don't know which exactly would be relevant.

01:15:29 ANTONIA MICHEL

Of course, it's like so many topics also.

01:15:31 BL

On top of each other.

01:15:32 VERA NICKEL

You can really get lost in it.

01:15:35 BL

And some of the data will be, you probably can't see, **because if you go into a very small area, you have some discretionary concerns in terms** of you cannot see exactly how people -what they earn, and on this small level, because you could say, oh, then I know what person it is.

01:16:06 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think if we have also like comparable data, we can just transfer it and it's gonna be really good. That was all of our questions.

01:16:16 ANTONIA MICHEL

Do you feel like...

01:16:18 BL

I don't know. I don't know if I answered them well or not.

01:16:20 VERA NICKEL

No, you did.

01:17:25 ANTONIA MICHEL

No, I think we have it all. And I think also we know who to contact maybe and what to look into next. Thanks a lot.

01:17:34 BL

And if I will ask about this, I will ask my colleagues about this one with the eviction, to see if there is anything.

01:17:44 ANTONIA MICHEL

It will be super interesting.

01:17:46 BL

But I don't believe there is at the moment. They're probably looking into... There is these two professors from Roskilde University, who made an analysis of this complex around the Parallel Society Law. And they said that there weren't much evaluation of the process.

01:18:09 ANTONIA MICHEL

I think that's what I saw.

01:18:13 BL

But then some others said that there were some or some on the way. But now I don't know who is doing it.

01:18:19 ANTONIA MICHEL

Because it has already been like 15 years now since?

01:18:22 BL

Yeah, and now within the next few months we will probably have the verdict from the EU Code of Justice. So it will probably be really expensive sometime soon. Because they spend so much money on these plants. And what if they are considered illegal? Who will bear the cost of that? It will be interesting.

01:18:51 ANTONIA MICHEL

They just have to just stop.

01:18:53 BL

Some of them have to stop, but some of them you can't really undo something that's done but ...

01:19:02 VERA NICKEL

Interesting. Maybe the next Brexit here in Denmark.

01:19:09 BL

No, no, no. We are very fond of EU. We are true believers.

C2: Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing Interview Transcript

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Role of interviewee: Head of Section

Organisation: Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing

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Mode: Online

Duration: 50 minutes

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

00:00:03 Antonia Michel

There it is. Yes, so we are both studying “Sustainable cities” at Aalborg University in Copenhagen, and we are writing our master’s thesis now about affordable housing in Copenhagen, and especially in new developments. So right now we’re looking at Carlsbergbyen and at Jernbanebyen, what is being planned there, and also at transformation areas. So for example, Mjølnerparken. And what we’re interested in is, so we want to look at different, we want to make maps with GIS and we want to see which income deciles of the population can afford to live where. And that also has a big focus on non-profit housing. And we’re kind of, we’re kind of checking for this affordability and how the incomes are developing right now, how prices are developing right now. And also, yeah, the rates of social housing or non-profit housing.

00:01:16 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Very interesting. So just to understand it better, so you would be looking at the the income distribution and you would compare that with the actual housing costs in specific areas.

00:01:32 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:01:32 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

And those housing costs, would that be on the private rentals or would it also be including social housing?

00:01:41 Antonia Michel

Also social housing. We only want to look at rentals. So yeah, only where monthly rents are being paid. But private, non-profit, social, all of that, just not ownership, the privately owned ones. Exactly. I think, yeah, because this is more, this is easier for us to then compare to the income every month of this person and then have this ratio.

00:02:16 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah. Very interesting.

00:02:18 Antonia Michel

We saw some analysis of, where you have the average of the population, and to compare that kind of, but I think it's, or we think it's quite interesting also with an increasing inequality in income to see how these like lower and upper deciles, are kind of comparing.

00:02:39 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Actually, on this topic, well, we just had... And maybe I'll just introduce myself briefly. So I've been in the ministry for two years now. I'm I think the international term is policy officer. Well, my title, the official translation from Danish sounds a bit more, let's say, powerful than it actually is. But yeah, so a policy officer in the social housing unit, which means, and my background is from social science, actually, I studied anthropology in my bachelor's and did a master's in Amsterdam, more sociology-oriented masters. But, so I have sort of a general knowledge of the social housing sector in Denmark and the regulation, but there are specific topics that I don't know about as some of my colleagues are working more in depth with that. But I'll of course try to answer your questions as best as I can. But one thing that I'm actually working on is sort of international aspects of housing policy. And this is a very new area which is just beginning to have importance at the European Union level. As you may be aware, there's Dan Jørgensen, the Danish commissioner, is the first commissioner ever in the European Commission for housing. He's a commissioner for energy and housing. The Commission is planning to present this new European affordable housing plan, which we expect to come out sometime in December. So historically, traditionally, housing policy is a competence of the member states, right?

So, generally speaking, most countries don't want the European Union to have a say in the national housing policies. But now we are seeing that there are some of the first steps for increased collaboration and there are also some existing EU regulations that have impact on housing. But what I actually wanted to say was that we just had a conference a few weeks ago in Copenhagen, a EU conference because we have the presidency, as you know, of the European Union. So we organised the conference. And one of the contributions we had was this background paper from Eurofound, wrote a background paper called "Housing Affordability Approaches to Measurement and Key Data Insights". And I was thinking about the approaches to measurement, which is very interesting, sort of, it's just a few pages long, but they sort of go through different ways to measure housing affordability, including sort of measures at the aggregate level, but also measures on the individual level in relation to housing costs and income and so on. Well, so if you were interested, you might take a look at it, because it could be useful when you are setting out to measure, in some sense, housing affordability.

00:06:26 Antonia Michel

That sounds great. Yes, we saw that and with the EU Affordable Housing Act as well. And one of our questions is also about that. Do you have this Eurofound 50, it's called? This paper that you just had.

00:06:42 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, it's from Eurofound. I think it might be available online or otherwise I can mail it to you.

00:06:52 Antonia Michel

Thank you. Yeah, that sounds really interesting.

00:07:00 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

And there are also some references in that paper to another report from, I think it's from the OECD, which goes into more details and different measurements.

00:07:18 Vera Nickel

But is there an updated version from OECD? Because I think the last report that we found was from 2010.

00:07:27 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

So what was the, is it a paper on measurement?

00:07:34 Vera Nickel

It is a paper on generally housing, affordable housing in especially Denmark and I think there was two other EU member states. Let me have a look whether I can find it.

00:07:46 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

I'm thinking the report that's referenced here is from 2021. It's sort of a shorter overview of affordable housing indicators. You can find the link as well, but I'll just mail it. Where's the chat? You can have a look at the report here, which, yeah.

00:08:16 Vera Nickel

Thank you.

00:08:20 Antonia Michel

Great. Yes, perfect. Okay.

00:08:26 Antonia Michel

Our first question was actually also kind of about your position because it already said that you were also responsible for social housing and we have stumbled on this term sometimes because we read that we have in Denmark the non-profit housing organisations and we also interviewed BL as an interest group and I guess also because between Danish and English, sometimes things get a bit lost in the terms. We were wondering if how you define social housing, is it a difference for you? Is it only when the state also gives some allocations or is it the same as non-profit housing in your case?

00:09:14 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, so it can get complex with the language here, but so in Denmark, usually “den almene boligsektor”, you probably know. I mean, that's translated differently. Sometimes it's translated to social housing, sometimes it's translated to non-profit housing. We're talking about the same thing there, which is the, and usually I just call it the social housing, Danish social housing sector. And I mean, legally speaking, it is very well-defined, sort of housing form, because social housing has to be owned by these non-profit housing organisations that are run on a non-profit basis. It's so the rent is, it's run on a cost-rent basis as well, meaning that the rents sort of balance out with the costs of maintaining the housing. You have the aspect of resident democracy, which is also very well-defined. And of course, the financing is also important. The way that it's financed is very well set out in legislation. It's very clear who decides to build it, so on. So, the Danish social housing model is really sort of well-developed and it's been existing for quite a while now, many decades, which means that it's also, it's undergone a series of sort of developments. And so, yeah, that's really what we think about when we speak of social housing in. Yes. So, you know what I mean, right? The social housing sector, that's what we think about as social housing. But there's also another aspect of this discussion, which is that sort of in the European Union right now, one of the areas where the EU actually has some influence on social housing and housing policy is through the state aid rules. So the state aid rules sort of define what purposes states, member states can use state aid for. And social housing has traditionally, well, has for since 2010 or so, been explicitly

sort of exempt from the need to notify the commission to ask for the possibility to give state aid to social housing.

So yeah, just to put it short, you can give state aid to social housing.

So it means that in the state aid legislation, there is actually a definition, a legal definition of social housing, which is that social housing is housing for less advantaged groups. I can't remember the exact phrasing now, but it's disadvantaged citizens, something like that, who are not able to afford housing on market terms. So, we already have a definition of social housing. But what is happening right now is that many member states want, see a need to also give state aid to what is called affordable housing. And affordable housing, so, and the Commission has just proposed a change to these state aid rules, which you can also find online. So, it's not implemented yet, but there will be new regulation on that soon, which will introduce this category of affordable housing as well. And affordable housing is defined slightly differently there, but I mean, that affordable housing is targeted at middle-income groups. We always hear about police officers, firemen, nurses, et cetera, these key workers who also increasingly find themselves struggling with affordable housing, right? So, there's a need to sort of allow for new ways to give state aid to affordable housing as well. So, right now, what I want to say is that right now we're sort of beginning to see some clearer definitions at the international level as well for social housing versus affordable housing and so on.

And then, of course, the question is, is the Danish social housing sector social housing or is it affordable housing?

Well, it is social housing. We are using the possibility to give state aid to the sector by referencing social housing. So, I mean, yeah, we do consider the Danish social housing model social housing, but it does blend some social housing and affordable housing aspects. As you know, there's no income limit in the social housing sector, meaning that you can actually have a regular income or even a good income and still be able to live in social housing, which is receiving state aid and is also supported by the municipality and so on. And this is something that is not really well understood in many other EU countries who consider it sort of excessive, because there's a focus on only giving aid where it's needed to those who actually need it. But in the Danish social housing sector, we already have this concern for having sort of a mixed group of residents, of not having, of not stigmatising the social housing in neighborhoods, in social housing estates. So, it's a very important aspect of the Danish social housing policy as well, that it's not restricted to the most poor off. So, because basically we believe in sort of diverse neighborhoods that avoid sort of concentrating the most poor people.

00:16:45 Antonia Michel

We were wondering about, because we talked to BL as well, and they said that, now you always have a planned rate or the municipality plans to have 25% non-profit or social housing in newly developed areas. And even if it's a part of the plan, like in

Carlsbergbyen, it still doesn't get realised because the cost of building is too high and they have a cap, right? So, we were wondering if there is something that, yeah, your ministry or your department is kind of looking into what has to change in order to make that work again?

00:17:29 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yes, very much. The question of this cap and construction costs, maksimumsbeløbet in Danish, is an issue that is being sort of considered here. I cannot go into details on upcoming policy initiatives, but it is something that will likely be addressed. And of course, there are also already existing possibilities to have grants from the National Building Fund in order to pay for land in areas like Copenhagen, where construction costs and costs for land are particularly high. So, there are some, I think there's a project in South Harbour, which is also benefiting from that. But so, the cap on construction costs is an issue. Yeah.

00:19:02 Antonia Michel

Another question was just about different tenants' protection laws and if there's a conversation about it, I guess. Because only what we have seen sometimes is that also other students who are not the ones with the most income, they can only move in a bit later or have to move out earlier or don't get their deposits back. Things like this, if this is also a topic in terms of how to protect maybe the more vulnerable tenants.

00:19:41 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yes, so to protect them, can you, I'm just reading, it's the second question, right, with the examples of painting the walls. Well, just in general, this is actually another unit, a neighbouring unit next door, basically down the hall, who deals with tenant regulation. So, I don't really know anything about that, but I can just say that in general, if we speak about the social housing sector, well, they are not allowed to make a profit.

Well, it may be that people have to pay for the walls being painted and so on, but it's not accumulated in any way by the housing organisations.

But for other forms of housing, private rentals and so on, that's not my area of expertise, unfortunately.

00:20:50 Antonia Michel

No, worries. That makes sense. Yeah, I think because we are also both from Germany and we are used to that if somebody owns a house and they rent it out to you, they're responsible for, you know, taking care of the place. And here we have learned that if you do anything, if you live in the place, then you are responsible for a lot of things. And so that sometimes adds up a bit, especially if you move around as a student, and then you always get deposit draws and stuff like this. So that was one of the things that popped up a bit, but it's really a side thing because we're focusing also on rent. Yes, and okay, this is a bit more general one. Maybe we can come back to

this one a bit later, the next one. And yes, exactly what you were talking about. So, the EU Affordable Housing Plan, we wanted to look into it and we were also asking a bit, what is on the agenda or if they can already give us a little insight into what they're discussing. And we were wondering what you were hoping to see come out of that. Or also if you already have some insights.

00:22:07 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, well, this is also a specific situation right now because we have a presidency. So, what Denmark is actually doing right now is that we are sharing the work on council conclusions that will be the council's input. So the member states input to the European Affordable Housing Plan. So, that's the work that's been going on throughout the Danish presidency and the ministers responsible for this area from all the member states will likely, hopefully, sort of sign this document with the council's input to the Affordable Housing plan in the beginning of December. So, it means that right now we're actually negotiating a text on the member states' input to the housing plan, which means that in that context, we have a more sort of withdrawn role as we are responsible for finding a compromise that member states can live with. So we, in that context, we have not sort of, we haven't sort of promoted very specific Danish stances on the consent of the affordable housing plan. So, and also, we haven't seen the content of the plan yet. We know what some of the elements will be. Well, also, for instance, the revision of the state of regulation that we talked about. But so yeah, it's just to say that I will speak about it in more general terms. So, in general, Denmark believes that housing policies should remain a competence of the member states. It doesn't mean that the EU cannot play a role there, but the role has to be supporting the efforts of the member states and sort of facilitating the initiatives of the individual member states. But we see potential in a sort of exchange of knowledge and best practices, including on financing. So, I mean, many member states have very different systems, so we can learn from each other there. But in general terms, we believe that housing should remain a competence of the member states.

00:25:05 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Do you think because it will maybe end up in a lowest common denominator that it will not affect Denmark so much because it's maybe not the most ambitious or do you think...?

00:25:19 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Well, of course, what I mean, what the question is, what can the EU do here? Like, what can they do that member states cannot already do? I mean, we already have the ability to finance social housing. We have the planning authority. We can decide how much space is used for social housing. We can give housing allowances, which is also an important aspect of Danish housing policy.

So, I mean, the European Union doesn't have like a lot of money to just spend on housing. Denmark does also not really see the idea of spending European money on

housing. I mean, that comes, that should come from somewhere else, like if we can only spend it once. So, it's just to say that, what is it that the European Union can do. They can facilitate some exchange of knowledge. They can make sure that rules like state aid regulation doesn't restrict what member states would do. They can maybe sort of cooperate with the European Investment Bank and others to sort of maybe facilitate private investments as well. But it's not like, I mean, housing is a very local issue and it's not completely obvious how the EU would be able to fix that.

00:27:13 Antonia Michel

Okay. Yeah, another policy we looked at was the parallel society law or act. And yeah, how you see what that has done in Copenhagen, maybe, especially, or, yeah, one of the areas we're looking at is Mjølnerparken, but we're also interested in the more, yeah, what did this change in the housing markets, because we know that this means also reducing non-profit housing at times. And does this get balanced out by providing a similar service somewhere else? Or do you feel like this is a, yeah, how do you maybe also see this in terms of effectiveness?

00:28:05 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah. So first of all, this is not really an area that I know that much about. And I will also say that the ministry does not have, well, the Housing Authority, Sociale Boligstyrelsen, that's the sort of authority responsible for administering sort of funds and keeping track of sort of more data, collecting data and so on. So, I mean, they have a probably a better knowledge of effects, I mean, we are not on a day-to-day basis sort of following the developments in particular neighbourhoods or areas. We are more concerned with the general regulation.

00:29:13 Antonia Michel

I just saw that in a meeting in Mjølnerparken there was also your ministry and, like a representative of your ministry and yeah, I was just...

00:29:24 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

I do have some colleagues who work on this more than I do. But my general impression is that we are seeing, well, some... Well, what is being achieved in Mjølnerparken is completely in line with the political priority there, which is to have a mixed neighborhoods, mixed in terms of a mix of socioeconomic people with different incomes, but also a mix of housing types. So I think in general, we are probably moving away or have been moving away for many years from this idea that you can sort of build large-scale housing estates, social housing estates, where everyone basically has a low income. And if you look at the text I also sent you from the government platform, well, one of the few things that it says about housing is that the government wants a mix of housing types, private rental housing, social housing, cooperative housing, ownership housing, of course. So, and this is, of course, also what is being achieved by having the possibility for reserving land in the

municipalities for social housing construction. I mean, this is also the idea here that neighborhoods are more well working if there's a mix of housing types.

00:31:19 Antonia Michel

But in the recent years, the number of non-profit housing that is being built, the ratio of it has gone down a lot, I think, as we've seen. So, we're wondering, especially if people are getting evicted now from non-profit housing and they go somewhere nobody knows where they go, or at least we haven't seen that.

00:31:45 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

If people are evicted for social housing, they move to other social housing. They are offered accommodation in other social housing. So...

00:31:58 Antonia Michel

Does your department have any statistics on that, like which neighbourhoods people move to?

00:32:05 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Not that I'm aware of.

00:32:06 Antonia Michel

Okay. Because, in our understanding, this could also mean that people move to other social housing, but maybe even further out of the city.

00:32:14 Vera Nickel

Or more expensive.

00:32:16 Antonia Michel

Yeah. And so this wouldn't mean that there will be a social mix in those new areas, but then the problem is just being diverted, maybe?

00:32:29 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

You could. I mean, the key here is, of course, the proportion in the... it's not a problem that people have low incomes or they have immigrant backgrounds or whatever. I mean, the social housing sector is targeted at the most vulnerable. But the problem is when everyone in, or a majority of people in particular neighbourhoods, social housing estates, are well, are vulnerable. So, I guess, well, what is being achieved through this policy of selling off some social housing units and developing the areas is in line with that political objective. And of course, you then need to be aware that all the most vulnerable people don't move to the same neighbourhoods. But with the regulation in place, I don't, well, and please keep in mind that I'm not an expert on this, but I don't see indications that there are other sort of vulnerable neighbourhoods who sort of take up the majority of these residents. But yeah, just this is I'm going slightly outside my knowledge here.

00:34:23 Antonia Michel

Do you have an idea...

00:34:25 Vera Nickel

Sorry, could you repeat how the institution was called?

00:34:28 Vera Nickel

It was a Danish institution and I definitely did not catch the name.

00:34:31 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

The Social and Housing Authority. So, it's a Social and Housing Authority. It's an institution under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, but with a more sort of. How could we execute, how could we put it, sort of, well, they have, I can send you a link.

00:35:03 Antonia Michel

Thank you. Thanks.

00:35:08 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, so actually if you have specific questions on specific neighbourhoods, et cetera, you might be able to ask them.

00:35:21 Antonia Michel

Nice, thank you.

I think, yeah, this is, yeah, because we feel like if there's a new social housing offer for these people who are getting evicted, then there must be some records of if people accept these offers and also what is being offered, where it's being offered. This is not our main focus of our thesis at all, but because we also look at the new developments, and if we see that there is little non-profit housing being built, we wonder, you know, where are they supposed to go, like just numbers-wise. Because the non-profit housing organisations don't really buy already existing housing, right, and transform it usually, yeah. So there's only the option to build new or, and right now we are more seeing a decrease because of these transformation areas.

00:36:20 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, I think I don't have the exact numbers, but you also have to keep in mind that selling off social housing here is the exception. And when you look at these transformation areas, there are other strategies that can be employed to achieve the same thing. You can densify, for instance, by building other housing in and around those existing buildings that are often sort of built with plenty of space and large spaces in between that are not really used. So you can identify and that way decrease the share of social housing without removing housing. You can also sort of, you can sort of change some of the social housing into another subcategory of social

housing. So instead of having it be general social housing, that's referred to as family housing, it means social housing for everyone, it can instead be allocated to the elderly or people with special physical needs, or it can be transformed into student housing, which is also, in some cases, a type of social housing. So, there are, of course, other strategies that are much preferred to actually tearing down housing. This is basically the last resort to decreasing the share of social housing. Yeah.

00:37:47 Antonia Michel

But if it's transformed into elderly housing or student housing, I guess people would still need to move, right? Unless they fit this category.

00:37:56 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

They would. I don't know the exact technicalities of whether people will be evicted, or if they will just take the apartments that are becoming vacant and transforming those. I don't know the details on that, but yeah, you're right, of course, they would have to find somewhere else to live. But they will be offered other social housing.

00:38:29 Antonia Michel

In all the cases, you think?

00:38:30 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yes, definitely. It's stated in the regulation that they have to provide them with other housing.

00:38:40 Antonia Michel

And this could be more expensive, right? I think we heard that for the first month they would decrease the rent so it would match with the old rent, but then it would go up to the actual cost.

00:38:50 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

It could be, it could be more expensive, but you should also keep in mind here that the social housing is, it is non-profit. It is as cheap as it basically gets because of the state aid and the municipal aid as well for the construction costs. And then on top of that, you have the individual housing allowances, which allow people with high housing expenditure in comparison to their income. So, if housing is more expensive, they might also be able to have a higher housing allowance to pay for that. And there is also a balance to strike between sort of having the cheapest social housing and having decent and quality social housing. Sometimes there's a need to renovate social housing, which can mean that the prices rise, but I mean, it's not, the rent goes directly to the quality of the construction. It goes nowhere else as no one is profiting from it. So, some older social housing is particularly cheap because the loans have been paid off and so on. But social housing is, well, despite different prices, it is affordable.

00:40:25 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Thank you. Yeah, the next question. We were wondering, yes, because we saw this relative amount of non-profit housing and how the targets are right now and we also saw at one point that the aim would maybe be to have 40% nonprofit housing in, I think maybe newly developed areas, but maybe it was 2050. Are there any like national goals for this?

00:41:09 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

No, there aren't any national goals as such for social housing construction. It is the municipalities really play a crucial role here because they decide on the construction of social housing. The state cannot sort of force municipalities to construct social housing. It is up to them to decide on it. The state just supports financially whenever the municipality decides to construct social housing, but so in that sense, it is the municipalities who decide how much social housing they need to have. And that's, of course, based on the idea that it's better to decide locally because they have the knowledge, they know the area and so on. They know how much social housing is needed. Of course, they should have enough social housing to use for the most pressing needs when there are people who are in sort of, who are in homelessness or in sort of in urgent housing need, well, they need to have enough housing so that they can use that because the municipality has a right to use part of the social housing to allocate to the most vulnerable citizens. So, without them having to sign up for the general waiting list for social housing. So, the idea here is that it's really the, it's the competence of the municipalities.

00:42:57 Antonia Michel

And Copenhagen is having this 25% rule right now, but, and that's all there is, right? More or less, I think.

00:43:08 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

I think there is, so this is also an area that's actually administered in another ministry, but I believe that that's the maximum you can actually set in planning when you zone new land. But I mean, that's of course not, that doesn't mean that there can't be more social housing in new areas. It just means that you can only specifically require through zoning that this much social housing should be constructed.

00:43:42 Antonia Michel

And yeah, I guess just general question, if you see any pressing issues in the housing market or yeah, especially in social housing in terms of who can live there, who can afford it, or whatever's kind of on the agenda right now, especially in these, yeah, where things are happening or they're being planned right now and yeah.

00:44:17 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, well, generally speaking, of course, rising housing costs is not good. And of course, we see the highest, the increasing housing costs in the largest cities. So that's also where there's a need for social housing to be constructed and how we can ensure that it is possible to construct social housing in those areas where there are high housing costs, like in Copenhagen. That's, of course, very important to the ministry as well. And it is something that is being looked at. If you look at the government platform, it also states that the government will come out with a sort of housing proposal with new initiatives, which they have not done yet. But this is something that is being worked on in the ministry with some new initiatives, which I can't go into detail on. But yeah, so definitely construction of social housing in cities is an issue that requires political attention.

00:45:53 Vera Nickel

Can you approximately say when those initiatives will come into effect? Is it like next year when the EU affordable housing plan is supposed to come into effect, or is it like in five years?

00:46:04 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

I cannot comment on the specific initiatives that will that the government will propose. But of course, I mean, the ambition is that things will work sooner rather than later. But yeah, it doesn't have anything to do with the Commission's plan. It's not related to that in any way. I mean, as you may be aware, an important aspect of the social housing sector is the National Building Fund, which is a revolving fund, basically, so residents in the social housing sector sort of save up through the rents to this National Building Fund, and that those savings are then sort of reintroduced into the social housing estates through sort of support for renovations or support for new construction and so on. And the way that money is used is politically decided in these sort of housing agreements. And those are made every I think it's every four or five years or so, there's a new agreement on what that money should be used to. Should it be used, for instance, to sort of reduce costs for acquiring land in expensive areas so that it's possible to construct there, should it be used for renovations to improve energy efficiency, et cetera, so on. And so, that's one aspect of, yeah, one way in which social housing is supported.

00:48:20 Antonia Michel

Yeah. We asked them also to have a talk with them.

00:48:25 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Okay. Yeah, good idea.

00:48:27 Antonia Michel

Yeah. I think this is it for now. No?

00:48:33 Vera Nickel

I think so. I just need to remind you to send us the participant consent form back.

00:48:39 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Okay, I will.

00:48:40 Antonia Michel

Yes. And if you have any issue with it, I think we have two options in this form. But you can also, yeah, just say if there's anything, yeah, to change. Exactly. And maybe we'll write you if we have any other questions. Also, thank you for pointing us to different directions to look into and, yes, giving us a really good overview.

00:49:10 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

You're welcome. I hope you took something from it. Yeah, and good luck with your thesis. It sounds super interesting what you're doing. Yeah, and you're welcome to send me an e-mail if you have any further questions. Yeah.

00:49:32 Antonia Michel

We'll also, we can also let you know or send you shortly before we hand in or something, a draft, if you want to see what, if we've used something.

00:49:47 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah, that actually, that might be interesting. I would appreciate that if you do that.

00:49:54 Antonia Michel

Yes. Easy. Great.

00:49:58 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

OK.

00:49:58 Antonia Michel

Thank you for your time.

00:50:00 Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing - Head of Section

Yeah. You're welcome. Good luck with it.

00:50:03 Antonia Michel Bye, see you.

C3: NREP Interview Transcript

Interview ID: INT03

Role of interviewees: Urban Developer and NREP Executive

Organisation: NREP

Date of interview: 21 October 2025

Mode: In Person/Online

Duration: 82 minutes

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

00:00:00 Urban Developer

We have simply bought the building when it's ready, so it has been frustrating just between us that it looks like a building site, even though people have moved in. Hi [Anonymous].

00:00:19 Antonia Michel

Hi.

00:00:21 Urban Developer

You are muted.

00:00:24 Antonia Michel

Hi.

00:00:24 NREP Executive

I'm muted.

00:00:26 Antonia Michel

Not anymore. Sorry for disturbing your holiday.

00:00:31 NREP Executive

That is okay, it's working time, you know, but I'm working from Tel Aviv and just left the balcony with 31 degrees, so it's okay.

00:00:41 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:00:42 Vera Nickel

Nice. Great.

00:00:45 Urban Developer

Remember sunscreen. You know? Remember sunscreen. Factor of 50.

00:00:51 NREP Executive

Yeah, and my sunglasses. Remembered it all. Yeah, Karoline stressed it this morning also.

00:01:02 Urban Developer

Good.

00:01:06 Antonia Michel

Yes, so you bought houses there and only the ones who are already, which are already done.

00:01:11 Urban Developer

Yeah, so we buy them when they are done with the construction.

00:01:15 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:01:15 Urban Developer

Yeah, so it has been... I'm just explaining about Mjølnerparken that Bo-Vita...

00:01:23 NREP Executive

259 apartments.

00:01:26 Urban Developer

Yeah.

00:01:27 Antonia Michel

259.

00:01:28 Urban Developer

Yeah. So there are four blocks.

00:01:30 NREP Executive

We're buying (inaudible) there.

00:01:31 Urban Developer

And we bought two of them.

00:01:33 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:01:34 Urban Developer

Yeah. And then the retail in the ground floor, that is something new. It wasn't there before. So the vision is sort of to make this like lively neighbourhood street. And we are in charge of making that happen as well.

00:01:53 Antonia Michel

To renting that out.

00:01:55 Urban Developer

Yes, exactly. And that is both for commercial tenants who will make a bakery or a coffee bar.

00:02:04 Antonia Michel

Benji, is that also?

00:02:05 Urban Developer

Benji is in it, but it's also non-commercial ones. So there is this local association called Be Free that sort of work with integration of the current residents, mainly young men, who are unemployed or sort of on the edge of society, you could say, they're working with making a place for them. And that they are like non-profit, but they are also, in our point of view, a part of the DNA. So of course they should also have a space there.

00:02:47 Antonia Michel

Okay, I think it's good to know to maybe also contact.

00:02:50 Urban Developer

Yeah. Yeah, she's called Dina, the person in front. And she's one of our residents, but she had a connection to Mjølnerparken way before we became a part of it.

00:03:07 Antonia Michel

Okay. And she's one of the newer residents.

00:03:09 Urban Developer

Yes, but she's sort of like the glue between the old and the new. And it's important to have bridge builders like that because she has a lot of street cred out there, and it's the same when we're working in Tingbjerg, for example. We need, we can't have this dynamic, them and us. We need to have some people who can change that dynamic. Yeah.

00:03:38 Antonia Michel

Okay. And then, yeah.

00:03:40 Urban Developer

But tell us a little about your thesis and where you are in the process and why Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken. Do you have other cases?

00:03:53 Antonia Michel

I can start.

00:03:54 Vera Nickel

Go ahead.

00:03:55 Antonia Michel

Yes, so our interest is in affordability, in affordable living spaces in Copenhagen. And so we want to do a GIS analysis and we want to use rentals only because then we can compare it better with people's incomes and we want to check out the different deciles of income in Copenhagen on average. And then see...

00:04:19 Urban Developer

So where people with affordable incomes or maybe lower middle class, where do they actually live? Is it something like that?

00:04:30 Antonia Michel

It's actually, so now we said we are going to do 2 areas only, Jernbanebyen, as this kind of model, ideal, planned now. So what if this would be as it is being planned? How would that look like affordability wise? And then Mjølnerparken, one that was redeveloped. And then we are looking at how many people, percent, like 10%, what is their average income? And then the upper 10% and up, up, up. And then seeing are all of these theoretically covered to have an affordable living space? So if you earn more, could you, then you could easily afford one of these higher cost apartments, for example.

00:05:13 Vera Nickel

And affordability is defined by only spending 30% of your net income.

00:05:20 Urban Developer

Yes. Measured as the housing burden, right?

00:05:22 Antonia Michel

Yes. And then you're overburdened if you're over 40%.

00:05:26 Urban Developer

I think the general in Copenhagen, the general housing burden is 40, 42%.

00:05:34 Antonia Michel

Yeah, and then it varies greatly. We will do some exceptions, for example, with students. We see that it's okay, like it's a situational situation, kind of. And so there it's normal that it also gets up to 50 or more percent. So we are really interested in housing types in these areas, also sizes, and then income levels if possible, but otherwise we will just look for the Copenhagen average and then non-profit housing rates and also the differences of these market rate housings and non-profit. So we're just trying to figure out the different stakeholders. And NREP being one in each is super nice that

we get to talk to you. And yes, we already talked a bit to one ministry and BL and getting an overview of the housing market. That's where we're at right now. And right now we're writing a case study on each.

00:06:47 Urban Developer

Do get back to us when you have that overview, because we don't have it yet.

00:06:51 Antonia Michel

Yes, yes, we will for sure.

00:06:54 Urban Developer

It's complex, the housing market, to understand for sure, but super interesting.

00:07:04 Antonia Michel

We will for sure have to break it down and focus really. But we also asked Bo-Vita for an interview, but they said that they are pressured from all sides right now, so they don't want to talk, which is of course also an interesting thing. But we'll see, maybe they, yeah, maybe they come around. We're trying another way now.

00:07:25 Urban Developer

Yeah.

00:07:28 Antonia Michel

And yeah, otherwise, yeah, we would have just, we want also to know what your role is here.

00:07:34 Urban Developer

Yeah. I can go first and then [Anonymous] can explain what he's doing and then we can see if there's a match. I work in our urban development team in NREP. It's a part of our investment team because that's what we do. We do investments fundamentally. We are investment organization. So we are for-profit, not an NGO, but basically we are a private equity capital fund. NREP comes from, the name we're actually changing soon, but NREP stands for Nordic Real Estate Partners. So it's because it's Nordic partners, Danes, Swedes, Finns and Norwegian, who originally founded NREP 20 years ago, and now we are changing the name to Urban Partners because we believe that's sort of like out of the mindset and understanding of the stakeholder economy. It is, you know, instead of shareholders, you're actually delivering value to stakeholders, that's the good business in the long run, being a relevant partner to the cities we operate in. So, yeah, and I'm an investment associate in NREP, and I'm, so my mom has asked me this several times, What is that?

00:09:20 Vera Nickel

What do you do?

00:09:22 Urban Developer

Exactly, what do you really do?

00:09:28 NREP Executive

I'm interested in hearing your answer to that.

00:09:33 Urban Developer

Yeah. So what I tell my mom is that I am partly a project manager. I manage different work streams, I answer emails, I do PowerPoints, and I do analyses internally. For Jernbanebyen, I'm in charge of our housing strategy. So, what housing should we build? And we have actually, the analysis you're working on, we have tried to do that several years ago. How do we answer to different income deciles? And yeah. So, and I'm an economist by education. So that's what I do. But I also have a political heart and we think that in order to successfully navigate in especially the political system, you need to understand it by heart. You need to understand the municipality, public planning processes, zonings, all that. So that is sort of what [Anonymous] and I are working on. [Anonymous] has been raised in that system, and now he has raised me in it. So we call it urban relations, trying to understand the different stakeholders in the city. And [Anonymous], you used to be a teacher, and then you ran for city council, and the rest is history, or what?

00:11:20 NREP Executive

That's right. I'm Director of Urban Development in NREP. That's what I used to be, I'm educated teaching mathematics originally. Then I've been a member of City Council of Copenhagen, (inaudible), for 27 years. Of them, 16 years as Lord Mayor of Copenhagen And after that, I was CEO of By & Havn City and Board Development Corporation for 11 years. And then I've been at NREP since September 2018. And I'm working with the big projects, the Tingbjerg project, where we are going to try as well as we're doing it in Mjølnerparken to retroactively create the mixed city as we're trying in Mjølnerparken. So, primarily big projects as what we're doing in Jernbanebyen and Tingbjerg, but also smaller projects as Mjølnerparken, which you could call a politically complicated project. So I'm dealing with them, and then together with [Anonymous], we have this urban partners team, more or less to understand the municipalities. People in this sector, they don't understand the municipalities, they do not do it. They don't understand the processes, they don't understand the thinking of almene boliger associationer, social housing companies, affordable housing companies. So I'm together with [Anonymous] trying to explain and trying to translate to these investment guys how municipalities think. And then we are analysing a lot of municipalities, the agendas, the trends, and how they happen to be, because two municipalities, for instance, with a conservative mayor and the neighbouring municipalities, they don't have the same policy. So we're trying to translate that to the investment guys. And then the collaboration with the social housing companies. And of course, we spent a lot of time arguing, talking to politicians at City Hall. I know them, they know me. And

[Anonymous] is a part of it. It took me 40 years to understand it, and [Anonymous] has a lot of years ahead of him. trying to understand what's going on. And of course, we are monitoring what's going on in the city of Copenhagen, the municipality of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg and all the other municipalities around Copenhagen. So that's what I'm doing. More or less.

00:14:45 Antonia Michel

We're also going to come back to that, yeah, working with the non-profit housing associations or your investors. But yeah, first of all, we were wondering exactly which types of housing you were managing in Mjølnerparken. And so you already said 295 units. And is it more larger family housing?

00:15:10 Urban Developer

So it's 259, to be exact.

00:15:15 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:15:16 Urban Developer

But the main share of it is family housing, how it was built back in the 80s, and [Anonymous] knows that as well. It's not necessarily large units. Most of them are three room apartments. Then a part of the new scheme for Mjølnerparken has been to add penthouse, larger penthouse apartments on top and then to fill in because Mjølnerparken has been built as these blocks, but there was space in between, so they were open blocks. And now we have built youth housing to finish the blocks.

00:16:03 Antonia Michel

To make these courtyards.

00:16:05 Urban Developer

Exactly, yeah.

00:16:06 Urban Developer

So a part of it is also, I think there are 12 units in each fill-in, are youth housing.

00:16:16 Antonia Michel

And so you did these densification measures? Basically, and then, but you also, or in the local plan, it also said that quite a few apartments were demolished, I think over 100, in order to make these bigger units and youth housing. Do you know anything about that, of the, like the renovation works, or is that more Bo-Vita and that?

00:16:42 Urban Developer

Yeah, so there used to be a senior sort of like collective out there that was partly demolished or transformed into family housing. And so, we haven't been involved in

the planning. And I think, [Anonymous], you can correct me if I'm wrong, but there are some things that we would change if it was us who had to make the planning. But the scheme for the new, the revitalisation of Mjølnerparken has been made with the Bo-Vita, the residents, the municipality and the advisors. So we came in later and bought a product already packaged.

00:17:36 Antonia Michel

The investors only decided to invest in this once the plan was already established like this?

00:17:42 NREP Executive

Yeah, but we are not a part of the planning process, but it was decided by Bo-Vita and the board of directors of Bo-Vita and the municipality of Copenhagen. And what we did was, and then they made, when they had to do this, start this process, then they had a beauty contest of how to find a suitable investor to collaborate with, and then they found us because they know what we're doing in Tingbjerg, and they know the tight collaboration we have with the social housing companies in Copenhagen. And it's right that we were not a part of the planning process, but we defined the level of quality of the apartments that we would buy. And we would not be a part of the process of getting, for the people who had to leave Mjølnerparken, we didn't want to be a part of the process. Because we are not the troublemakers, we are the ones that will participate in solving the problem in the long run. So it was more or less the quality of the apartments refurbished that we decided. And that gave, in fact, Bo-Vita, because it's much easier if you're going to, the prices you get if you buy new kitchens or new balconies or new staircases or new bathrooms, then they could buy to a much lower price and have a better quality because they can buy into 500 apartments instead of 250 apartments. That was a benefit for them, so they could choose and get better prices. But we did want to be a part of the process, the planning process. And behind the decision of Mjølnerparken, there's a huge majority politically in the city council and in Borgerrepræsentationen, I think only Enhedslisten and the party Alternativet was against it. So SF, socialistic-focused party, and the social democrats and the blue parties was behind the decision. And we didn't want to be a part of that political process. Then we wouldn't dare to do it. And you know, we have a co-investor. We are not investing our own money. We are investing money from the pension funds. And the co-investor in this project is IndustriensPension which is the metal workers' pension fund. And of course, these guys, they're going to be starting their pension life (inaudible) they want a fair share of the profit of the project.

00:20:58 Antonia Michel

Yeah, we contacted them as well. Yes, and because as we read, of course, there's these tensions, but maybe we can also get to that later again. Yes, how do you determine your rents? Because we've talked to BL and they have this very clear scheme, which is also public, and we were wondering what you use as a guidance.

00:21:30 Urban Developer

So usually when we invest in housing in Copenhagen, we invest in residential properties that have been built or transformed into residential purposes after '91. Because that is, maybe you already know, that is the properties without a rent cap, it's a free market rent, the deregulated sector, and that is way easier for us to navigate in, because there's a lot of different legislation, there's a lot of different regulations when you go to buildings before that, as the property of Mjølnerparken is. And that is not something we are used to dealing with a lot. We have a very few properties for historic reasons that are in a different rental scheme, but so the rent in Mjølnerparken has been determined by very sort of like with our lawyers what is the given regulation and then we have given a discount for the first three or four years?

00:23:06 NREP Executive

Three years.

00:23:07 Antonia Michel

For people who have already lived there?

00:23:10 Urban Developer

For the first residence, they get a rent discount.

00:23:16 Antonia Michel

And then these will rise after that.

00:23:20 Urban Developer

Because they are moving in...

00:23:23 NREP Executive

And they know the exact price, what would be the new level, which is the market price in that area.

00:23:33 Urban Developer

Yeah.

00:23:34 NREP Executive

The new level will be the target price.

00:23:36 Urban Developer

The regulated market price, but yeah. And so they are fully aware of it. And of course, you know, they're moving into a stigmatised area, a building site. So of course, there also had to be some discount to that. So it's very, you know, we can't really pull that many levers because it's very of course then you can argue pros and cons what is the

regulated market rent but in the end we also need to answer to our investors so whatever the real estate lawyer says is the regulated rent is what it is.

00:24:27 Antonia Michel

And you don't have to balance this with the neighbourhoods beside.

00:24:35 Urban Developer

Yes, so the level is sort of comes from a compound of matching properties in the area also under the same rental legislation. And that's where it gets, you know, tricky, to say at least. And honestly, even very professional landlords and investors, they have difficulty in navigating the regulated market, because you can't just look it up somewhere. So in the end, de facto, it is only regulated if a tenant takes a case to the local committee for huslejenaevn. We have these local committees where you can, if you think you're being treated unfairly, you can take it and they will decide what is the fair rent if you are in a regulated property.

00:25:42 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:25:44 Urban Developer

And until then, it's a grey zone. Yes.

00:25:50 Antonia Michel

And the prices for your apartments, we can find them?

00:25:55 Urban Developer

Online.

00:25:56 NREP Executive

There's no problem, you can get them or you can also, if you can't find them, then we can talk to our rental people and they will give you the exact numbers.

00:26:09 Urban Developer

But we can also share, we have made a memo that we shared with the city of Copenhagen. We can share that with you because it's official prices.

00:26:21 Antonia Michel

Perfect. Thank you.

00:26:23 Vera Nickel

Do you happen to know the criteria that the local committee will decide on whether the case is like feasible or not? Like is it too much of a burden?

00:26:33 Urban Developer

Yeah, so if a case is raised in the local huslejenaevn, then I think the evidence burden is on the landlord to find two or more similar properties with the same rent, a comparable rent. It's a crazy system to be honest.

00:26:56 Antonia Michel

So, if others are also having maybe unreasonably high prices, it's okay because together you'll become a majority.

00:27:05 Urban Developer

Yes, then you can lean on to each other. But of course, the understanding is that in regulated properties it should be lower than the market rent and typically it will be, but exactly how much is...yeah.

00:27:21 NREP Executive

Yeah and you cannot pretest it in huslejenaevn so to have good lawyers not to get in trouble help us not to get in trouble I think. I want to add for what we said in the beginning. This is a very, very difficult case for us. It's not the best business case at all. I don't call it a bad business case, but it's not about business. Going into a project like this is, as [Anonymous] mentioned, we want to make a fair case for the metal workers pension fund. And we want to show with this project that we can handle very complicated, very politically complicated projects in order to become and to be the city's best friend and the housing company's best friends. That's part of it. And that's what we're doing in Tingbjerg, which is a better business case than this one. This is not only a matter of having a very good business case, it's also a matter of having a good collaboration with the municipality. The municipality is very satisfied with the project process we are running. And even the two parties in the city council that voted against this, what's going on in Mjølnerparken, said a month ago: "We are against this, but if you have to do it, then Urban Partners is the best partner to do this with." But I don't think it's, we're not an NGO as [Anonymous] said, we are an investment company and urban development investment company. And yeah, so that's how we try to find our place in the market, and that goes quite well. So we're not, when we're talking about rental level, we are not challenging the huslejenaevn's competences. And we want to have tenants that... The best thing would be if you have a previous connection to Mjølnerparken. You have to apply for an apartment. And you have to, as well as we do it in Tingbjerg, where it's private ownership apartment, here you also have to apply for it. And tell us in a formular why you want to rent an apartment from us. and how will you participate in the local life. So it's not only highest price, what we're doing in Tingbjerg, we want to have engaged people. And it's a good thing if you were raised as a kid in Mjølnerparken, moved out and want to come back to the area or you have connections to Nørrebro. That's one of the success criteria for us. So, we're not having them and us. But this is a more tense situation in Mjølnerparken than in other parts, but we can manage it.

00:31:10 Antonia Michel

Have people applied who have lived in these apartments before? Before they were completely renovated and very much changed? I mean, they were usually in non-profit housing, or?

00:31:23 Urban Developer

Back when they were social housing or non-profit? They had to be members of the non-profit association and then on a waiting list. Some have been sort of like (inaudible) by the municipality.

00:31:44 NREP Executive

Normally the municipality can have 25% of the apartments, and then they go to the social housing companies saying: "We have a tenant, we have a family here, after divorce, or something like that, unemployment, big social problems." But you know, the companies, and it's not right to call it, I think it's very good what you call it, because they are not social housing companies. I'm a member of a social housing company called the Workers Co-op, something like that. So all people can have it, but I cannot because I can pay a higher rent. If I'm going to have a new apartment there, I have to start with a two-room apartment if I'm single, and three room if it's me and my wife. So the strength, I think, of that part of the housing sector is that it is, in fact, for all people, but it's the only sector that takes social responsibility. So if your theme is about affordability, there's only, I think, it's a political view for me. There's only one sector in Denmark that provides affordable housing. And that's the sector you're talking about.

00:33:12 Antonia Michel

At least for most people, yeah. Because I guess if you earn more...

00:33:16 NREP Executive

Because we're not... Where I have my pension, I don't go to tell them: "Now you have to invest in a project where people can pay low rent. So it's okay for me to have a lower pension. Don't invest for higher profit." No one will do that. So that's, in Denmark, I think the legislation, parliament has decided that affordable housing in Denmark, also decided by the municipality of Copenhagen, many municipalities, this sector.

00:33:55 Urban Developer

And then of course de facto in the older building stock, you have regulated private rentals that are also fairly affordable for historic reasons. And then, I don't know if you've seen, but Copenhagen municipality, they do this yearly housing report. And they actually looked at last year. They're going to publish one soon, I think next week, you know. But last year they looked at, so where are the welfare workers living? The teacher, the pedagogue, the police officer. And they found that the majority of them who live in Copenhagen City, they live in the co-ops, the older building stock, because that's where they can get in. But you can only get in if you have network, if your cousin lives next door in the same block and can write you up on a waiting list.

00:35:07 NREP Executive

But it's quite interesting, more of these social, or these welfare people live in Copenhagen and work outside Copenhagen. It's not that they have to live in the outskirts, 20 kilometers from Copenhagen and go into work. There's more living in Copenhagen than are moving into Copenhagen. So the system is that they live in cheap, affordable apartments and the co-ops and this housing sector we are talking about, or in the old private buildings, live here and work outside Copenhagen. So that's quite interesting. But I think also last year, there's the rental level in the social housing sector in Copenhagen. They've been reported last year in '24. Is that the one that you are also talking about, [Anonymous]? But as I remember it, I think that in the social housing sector in Copenhagen, for a couple without children living in it, we are talking about a burden around 20%. A little bit higher if you are single with a kid. But normally this is around these 30%. Quite interesting, I'm saying. That's much more in the new development areas. Also because the social housing units there are more expensive.

00:36:59 Urban Developer

An NGO that has been looking a lot at affordability and housing burdens, maybe you already know, is Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd. So, the workers commercial committee, whatever. I can send you it, but they have done this study, especially on middle-class family with two kids, what is their housing burden in different...yeah.

00:37:31 Antonia Michel

Nice. Yeah, we also found a bit on Danish StatBank. So, and you also already said how you kind of select residents in Mjølnerparken, for Jernbanebyen, is there already also a plan?

00:37:46 Urban Developer

That's a different thing because Mjølnerparken, the same as Tingbjerg, is a part of the Parallel Societies Act. So we have been, it's not standard procedure that we have our tenants apply for housing. It's because we were obliged to do that by law in the contract we had with Bo-Vita to ensure that our tenants did not skew the balance in the wrong direction. So we needed to make sure that our tenants were either employed or in education. And then of course, we added this layer of like, what do you plan to give back? How will you contribute to a good neighbourhood? But in Jernbanebyen, it's going to be more, well, you might say market-driven, because it will be a new residential building. So either the owner-occupied ones will be whatever the market is that day. And then, of course, the rentals will also be unregulated. And then 25% of the housing will be non-profits. So that will be regulated. And then of course, that's the ownership type. Then there's the housing sizes, the level of sort of like social integration and community. So there's, you know, a lot of... You can build differently if you build for bofællesskaber. You can build smaller units if you have larger common areas and a different social programming. And the non-profit social housing companies, they can deliver nursing homes, they can deliver student accommodation.

But they can also deliver family homes in various sizes. So, they cannot build big units. They can only build up until I think it's 110. So they are also regulated in that. So if we want larger units and that's something we need to deliver according to the new municipality plan, 20% of the new housing needs to be above 110%. So we also need to deliver some larger units, especially for families with kids, because that is something that hasn't been built a lot in the previous decade or so. So we will deliver the private share, 75%, give or take, and the other quarter is going to be a social housing non-profit.

00:41:15 Antonia Michel

Are these houses separate from each other?

00:41:18 Urban Developer

They are in... so the scheme of Jernbanebyen is this more... we have some towers and some blocks and it's not completely decided yet. The social housing is regulated in the zoning that is being proposed is regulated, I think it's in five-part areas of Jernbanebyen that all need to have 25%. So it's spread across the district and not only in one corner you have you know, all the social...

00:41:57 NREP Executive

We cannot choose the worst corner up next to the train and the traffic and then that's suitable for a social housing unit. So we are spreading it out in all the different areas of Jernbanebyen in order to have the mixed city also ownership wise. We'll have small apartments as for example, we will have big apartments. We will have these social housing units, we will have family apartments. And that would also be spread around.

00:42:32 Antonia Michel

But you don't invest in the non-profit housing?

00:42:36 Urban Developer

No, but we collaborate with them and we made sure, we made a beauty contest, we call it that, but we basically made an open call for social housing companies in Copenhagen.

00:42:51 NREP Executive

We asked 13 social housing companies in Copenhagen to participate in this beauty contest and chose three of them that we are collaborating with. And that's very good also for us that we have these social housing companies as partners in the planning process. And it's very good because they also have a big say in the municipality. So we are seeing them as partners.

00:43:24 Antonia Michel

It's also good to know that you're really collaborating, because what we've seen in Carlsbergbyen is that the non-profit housing has not been built. There's these empty

gaps between buildings where these 25% are supposed to come. But it's also a cost question.

00:43:42 Urban Developer

Yes, exactly. It is a cost question but they will build some of the typologies that we cannot deliver affordably. So, a nursing home is something that they're going to build because we will not build a private nursing home. That has something to do with the political atmosphere in Copenhagen. And then student housing most likely will be something that they will be building, if there's going to be student housing in Jernbanebyen it'll probably be social housing, exactly. We have tried to deliver private market student housing in Copenhagen, and we have done so. We built almost 2,000 units. But for us, it's the sort of like the right regulatory framework wasn't there to ensure that it had to be students living there. So we were the good guys. We sort of like built it and designed it for students to be affordable. But then we have our funds run for a limited amount of time. And when we had to sell it recently, we sold to a new company, a company called Greystar. And they haven't said that they will change the strategy, but they are free to do so. They can let out to anyone. not only students, and they can maximise the prices because it's newly built. And that has definitely been a learning for us, that it's within the given regulatory framework we have right now, NREP and Urban Partners can only deliver truly affordable housing in partnership with non-profit organisations, companies. Yeah. Right, [Anonymous]?

00:45:45 NREP Executive

Completely correct. So they were a part of the process alongside us when we bet for this and the whole planning process they've been a part of it. They have also being essential for us because they have knowledge that we don't have or our investment guys don't have. So it's very good. They're quite professional, I think.

00:46:09 Antonia Michel

Do you think it's possible to also have buildings that are then mixed in terms of private or...?

00:46:20 Urban Developer

So within a building block, maybe?

00:46:22 NREP Executive

It's very difficult. It's extremely difficult to have an apartment with different ownership mixed. It's very difficult because of the (inaudible) financing for the social housing companies.

00:46:42 Urban Developer

Yeah, because that needs to go through city council, you need to have a public tender. We usually, when we construct new buildings, we don't do a public tender. We choose the contractor we like and prefer to build for us at a negotiated price. So, it's sort of

clashes a bit, but in the recent housing strategy for Jernbanebyen and it's not, it's not made in concrete, so it can, it's a dynamic document, it can change over time, we actually have one building that is partly private, partly social housing. Because for us it's also a piece of math getting it to add up to twenty-five percent, and the municipality will make sure that we actually deliver on that. So, who knows? Maybe there will, maybe there won't be.

00:47:57 Vera Nickel

How often do you meet (inaudible)?

00:47:58 NREP Executive

But also do they have this in the social housing companies, the local units you have, they have a board for themselves and that would be very difficult to have a board, tenants board that are responsible for apartment on the second floor and an apartment on the first floor and the second floor to the left and third floor to the right and below them there's a co-op or then there are the private ownership and private rental, pension fund owned, that will be a mess and they cannot cope with it and the social housing companies are not interested in it. They're not interested in it. They want to have their own units so they can have a bit more. And if we are going to sell, you know, if I have a private apartment for rental and then we have 10 of them in an opgang...

00:48:59 Urban Developer

Yeah, in a staircase, whatever.

00:49:04 NREP Executive

Yeah, in the staircase. We have 10 apartments, and they have six, and then there are co-ops with four, and then we are going, some of them will be sold. That will be a mess. Administratively, it will be a mess.

00:49:20 Urban Developer

And maybe an important...

00:49:22 NREP Executive

It's idealistically thought, but it's impossible to realise, I think.

00:49:29 Urban Developer

So, something we've been working with in Jernbanebyen is to make sure that for the southern part that we are engaged with the development of, we have this place called Sport 10, which is a community, maybe you have been, so that is a place where we want residents across different building blocks. It's the heart of the neighborhood, really. It is already now, before people have moved in, but it is going to be a place where people mix and meet. So that is sort of to compensate for that, to have some cross-functional place to meet.

00:50:20 Antonia Michel

And in Jernbanebyen, who's your constructor there or your architects?

00:50:27 Urban Developer

So, the architect is Cobe Architects who won the master plan competition. We are still engaged with them. And so they also made the zoning proposal. We have a ton of advisors, but they are the main advisor. And the contractor we haven't found yet. And there are going to be many different ones for the individual plots and for the landscaping and all that. But yes, so they are our main advisor.

00:50:58 Antonia Michel

And then the three non-profit housing associations you also chose.

00:51:03 Urban Developer

Yes, exactly.

00:51:05 Urban Developer

Early on, so they have seen the zoning proposals, they have given their input on what is for them easier to construct, what do they think is viable, what do their organisation and their members need for new housing, and how does that match with what we have envisioned. And also we want, so in Jernbanebyen, we want to make a very healthy neighborhood. The overall vision is to make a really green and thriving neighborhood is sort of like the overarching...

00:51:45 NREP Executive

Could you elaborate and be a little more specific on that topic, [Anonymous]?

00:51:52 Urban Developer

Thank you, [Anonymous]. Yeah, it's going to be, I don't know how much you have looked at the zoning plan, but it's going to be a... We're going to have double as much greenery as in Vesterbro. It's going to be partly car free. So, people are going to bike and walk way more than they do in other new urban developments. And we want to promote a healthy lifestyle. And that's something that social housing companies also need to help us deliver on. So, we have a collaboration with one of them, KAB. It's called Civic Dollars. So, it's about how residents from their buildings in South Harbour, the old part of South Harbour that is a lower income decile, how they can become more active and use the sports facilities we have and take part in the communal dining and all that. So, is that specific enough?

00:53:04 NREP Executive

Yeah, yeah, it's not only about the physical health. So, I also think that to have these, fællesskaber, these communities, working with local communities, not only in Jernbanebyen, but it will also be facilities for people living outside Copenhagen. And it

will also be a non-for-profit organization. And then we have a tight collaboration with Novo... What you call diabetes? City's Changing Diabetes, they have an office up there.

00:53:42 Antonia Michel

Yeah, we saw that in the Sport 10 exhibition.

00:53:46 Urban Developer

So, we have many different partnerships to deliver that vision and of course the non-profit, the social housing companies are a part of that as well.

00:53:58 Antonia Michel

Has it ever been discussed to have a bigger share of non-profit housing?

00:54:02 Urban Developer

Above 25%? Not between us. It's something that the City and Port, By & Havn is working on in new areas in North Harbour. They have made a political agreement to deliver up to 40% social housing. And, of course, you know...

00:54:39 NREP Executive

And they will be compensated for the difference between 25% and 40%. So, they will be compensated by the government in order to have 40% instead of 25%.

00:54:51 Urban Developer

And our base case is, of course, that we want to build as much as a larger share, so for us it's seventy-five percent private, and then between that it's like fifty-fifty owner-occupied and private rental, but it hasn't been discussed. Let's see, anything can happen. There's a long way until completion and if there, let's see, maybe we run into, you know, the market conditions can change and maybe five years from now we are in a different situation where actually we would like to sell more building plots to social housing companies. I don't think it is likely.

00:55:43 NREP Executive

But (inaudible) during the financial crisis from 2008 until 2013, there was no building activity at all in Copenhagen. No one sold building rights, no one sold land, no new buildings, private buildings were built. And the only buildings that were built were private buildings decided before and started before 2008. And when the crisis was over in the spring 2013, the one that started were more in the social housing companies. So, the prices will not only go in that direction in Copenhagen or in Denmark as a whole, I think it will change. Before the financial crisis, it was more or less private ownership apartments and after that it was, we were in City and Port very happy that it was...

00:56:59 Urban Developer

You're freezing.

00:57:00 NREP Executive

I don't know what happened because I have a call that went into my iPad. And before the financial crisis, it was (inaudible) owner-occupied apartments. 90% of the private ones. And after that, it was pension funds, which was very good. We were happy that it was pension funds, because pension funds had the long-term perspective instead of this very speculation-oriented activities we had before.

00:57:38 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:57:38 NREP Executive

So things will change over time.

00:57:41 Antonia Michel

Yeah. What else?

00:57:52 Vera Nickel

I would be interested like when you go into contact with all the planners like Cobe for example. You have some analysis on what apartments you need. You said something about they need to build, I think, 20% over 110 meters square. There must also be some below 50. Do you actually go there with a list like: "Hey, we need these apartments. This is the demand that we expect." Or how does it work?

00:58:20 Urban Developer

That's a good question. So, of course, first there's regulation. And unit sizes, home sizes in new construction in Copenhagen is one of the most regulated in Denmark. So, they have the 95 square meter rule, if you know that, that 50% of new housing needs to be on average 95 square meters. Isn't that so, [Anonymous]? Yeah. And then in new areas, usually you can freely change, you can freely choose sizes of 50%. And, but so we know right now, if we only had to listen to the market, there would be a huge need for two room apartments and three room apartments that is you know, if we have a full property in Copenhagen with only those and maybe some even like one-bedroom apartments we can like let it out fairly quickly because the demographics of Copenhagen right now today is that there are a lot of singles, there are a lot of couples looking for places and it's not that the families with kids are not there, but they are often looking for when they are expecting their second kid or when they have a kid that is about to go into the school system and want a room to itself. Then they're looking for a larger apartment and oftentimes then they make the move and move to the suburb. But sort of like the reason why Copenhagen has seen a lot of growth since the mid-90s has been that the families have stayed in Copenhagen and raised their kids. And that is over the last five to seven years something that has gone down. More families moving out and it's one of the biggest problems for the city of Copenhagen is how do

we actually hold on to the families with kids that are fleeing the city. Because they are the tax base, they pay a lot in taxes typically, but it's also extremely hard to plan in a new district how big a school, how many daycare facilities do we need. So, there's current demographics and market and then there's the planning that goes into the zoning is to some extent anti-market. They plan larger units so there will be apartments for families down the line and not only the two-bedroom apartments we need right now, right here. And of course it changes over time and I do think that there will be a need for this like young urban population that we have in Copenhagen, a lot of internationals also, there will be a need for especially smaller private rentals but also just it's the city is where a lot of young people start their career and their grown-up life. And if they want an owner-occupied, if they want to own something down the line, we also have a responsibility to deliver smaller owner-occupied units and not only the big penthouse ones, you know? Yeah. So, we try to make sure to have sort of like supply for most demographic groups. But of course, some are more willing to pay than others. And some of them, especially some of the larger, the large, large units, five-bedroom apartments and plus, they are extremely easy to sell because you have a lot of really rich people who have money for all those square meters. But if you try to rent them out, it's not that easy.

01:03:22 NREP Executive

And many of them are in fact used by young people, occupied by young people, living three, four people together in a big apartment. I think my personal view is in connection to what [Anonymous] said. I think there's a need in the city for bigger apartments as well. And to have the families to stay in Copenhagen was one of the main reasons for the turnaround of Copenhagen since mid-90s. And in the 80s and the 90s, the population pyramid in Copenhagen, looked like that, so there was a very small tax base, and there was a lot of young people, a lot of old people, and those who paid for (inaudible) in the middle, then moved to the suburbs. And if the city doesn't cover that, that will be a repeat of the situation from the 90s, I think. That's disastrous. And that's the reason why they want to have more apartments, bigger apartments. And they hope to bomb the market to have more and bigger apartments and hoping that the competition will get prices down. That's part of this activity. And if you let the market solve it, then it will be single, expensive, one-room apartments. There's a market for it. But I'm not in favour of a completely market-driven system.

01:05:12 Urban Developer

It is a good thing we have urban planners and politicians to sort of like pull in the other direction.

01:05:19 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because people still have an agenda, and it is not only the market. But a lot of my friends also moved to Brønshøj, for example, and live in these houses and share it with, you know, 10 people. And I think it helps a lot of people also not living alone.

01:05:42 Urban Developer

Oh, then they rent a villa?

01:05:44 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:05:44 Urban Developer

Okay, yeah.

01:05:45 Antonia Michel

And then sometimes it's seven adults, three kids, and sometimes it's, yeah, it's changing a lot, but I think more and more communes kind of. And in Germany, we have more of that, I feel like, more shared apartments and a bit of alternative living, kind of.

01:06:04 Vera Nickel

But then on the other hand, we barely have student housing and dorms.

01:06:07 Antonia Michel

Exactly. But maybe it's less lonely sometimes, when you have people around, you're not alone in your container. One of the last questions, because also, when you have to go, you have to go. With the Parallelsamfundsloven and also the Maksimumsbeløbet, these policies kind of, they affect your business, I guess?

01:06:41 Urban Developer

Because we have chosen this playground to actually work in the areas that are under the legislation of Parallel Societies Act, but also in newly built, you know, if you want to do development in Copenhagen and many other municipalities in the larger cities, you need to work with the social housing companies. You need to actually understand their frameworks and what they can build for. Because you cannot just assume that they will buy building rights at the same price as the private ones, because then they won't get built. Then you will have these empty plots. So, it is a given. Almost all municipalities I can think of, they demand 25% social housing, unless you get really far out of the city. That's the place where I'm from, a small town down in Southern Zealand. The only housing that is being built down there it's not the private one because it cannot get built. It's the social housing that gets built. Okay. Interesting. Yeah.

01:07:56 NREP Executive

So, in fact, there's not a private market for new private apartments. For housing.

01:08:08 Urban Developer

And that's just an hour from Copenhagen.

01:08:10 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:08:11 Urban Developer

That's interesting, I think. But for us, they do affect our business for sure. And we want to, you know, we also need to some extent to deliver on social housing in Jernbanebyen. And if they don't have the right new regulation of the maksimumsbeløbet, you know what they can build for, it'll be really tough to make that happen.

01:08:48 NREP Executive

Outside, if you go over an hour from Copenhagen the maksimumsbeløbet is not a problem. It's a problem in Copenhagen, in Frederiksberg, in the central part of the Greater Copenhagen area, it's a problem in Aarhus but in rest of the country it's not a problem. And that's also a problem for the government if they want to raise the level, the maksimumsbeløbet, then the social housing companies outside Copenhagen, at the countryside, they could raise the rent because they can do it. So, they would do that. So, it would be more expensive outside Copenhagen. The government is, there's a proposal, there's new legislation, new level on its way with one of the coming days, weeks. But I think that sometimes in the discussion about affordable housing in Copenhagen, there's a tendency that people say: "If we just can buy it cheaper, then we would go operate with a lower rent." But someday it will be sold. And if you are going to buy, when you have your income for that, buy an apartment in Copenhagen, you can buy it cheap on a land leased or land sold by City and Port. But when you are going to sell it, you want to have the maximum price. So, I think there's only one way to have affordable housing in Denmark and Copenhagen. That's these housing companies. But I think it's speculation. And no one has proven they were able to build affordable housing in the long run, except for the social housing companies. That's my personal point of view.

01:10:43 Antonia Michel

Is it also because, like pension fund is one of your investors, do they demand a lot of profit to get out of it?

01:10:52 NREP Executive

Yes, of course they do. I don't want my pension fund to give you an apartment cheaper. I want my pension when I'm... later, when I'm going on pension, I want my pension.

01:11:05 Urban Developer

For me it's okay. There are many years until I have to go to pension.

01:11:12 NREP Executive

Five years ago we said don't invest in pension funds, don't invest in weapon production. With what's going on now, it's big business.

01:11:23 Urban Developer

But of course, the pension funds, they need to at least deliver when they invest in real estate. And real estate is for them an alternative investment strategy. They mainly buy bonds and shares. And this is sort of like to de-risk their portfolio. And they need to have an at least market comparable profit.

01:11:50 NREP Executive

Yes.

01:11:52 Urban Developer

Yeah.

01:11:57 NREP Executive

But you don't even see the social workers, unions, pension fund invest in housing that are affordable for their members. You know what I mean? They don't do that. They invest, of course, in what gives the best pension for their members.

01:12:20 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:12:21 Urban Developer

And then an important point, maybe you are already aware, but newly constructed social housing is not necessarily affordable. Social housing gets affordable over time, but because it's cost-based and it's really expensive to build. Building prices, especially the last four to five years have been soaring after the war in Ukraine. And they are not coming down anytime soon. That is also a problem for the social housing companies, the ones who can even build. I was actually, I had signed up just for fun. I had signed up to get a new social housing apartment in Paper Island, down town. It wasn't affordable. It was a two-bedroom apartment and it costed, I think it was 14,000 a month. That is not in many people's perspective affordable housing.

01:13:30 Antonia Michel

No.

01:13:31 Urban Developer

But of course, in the long run it will become affordable.

01:13:37 Antonia Michel

Yeah, and the construction of non-profit housing is also going down.

01:13:40 NREP Executive

If you're talking about a rent of 5-6,000 DKK a month, you have to go back to building built in the mid of the 50s. The Bellahøj houses, there you can have these two-room

apartments for five or six thousand crowns. But the building costs are going up, as [Anonymous] mentioned, and we cannot tell the workers, the building workers, we have to work here because we want lower rent for the coming tenants, so your payment will go down 20% in order to have more affordable housing for the coming tenants. So that's not how the system functions.

01:14:25 Urban Developer

So actually, something I forgot to tell you is that we have a collaboration with the city of Copenhagen to deliver I think it's two affordable units for people either in some kind of social circumstances or on the edge of homelessness, and they are renting our student housing in Mjølnerparken. And then, at the same price as any other student would do, and then they are paying the difference down to what is considered affordable. So that is subsidised housing. But we are doing it in a partnership where we are okay with having some of these.

01:15:18 NREP Executive

And if they want more apartments, then they can get more apartments. And that's because it's for special groups. You cannot do it for ordinary tenants or people in Copenhagen that the municipality pays the difference. But they can have more (inaudible) apartments if they want to.

01:15:37 Antonia Michel

Because for you it doesn't make a difference.

01:15:38 Urban Developer

It doesn't make a difference. No. Of course, if there would become a large share of units let out, maybe there would be some problems, social problems in the building, whatever. But that could be anyway. So for us, it doesn't really make a difference. And of course, the business case for the municipality of Copenhagen is really good, because these people in the system who are homeless or have a lot of social issues, not having a home creates a lot of burden on the municipality. They become extremely expensive in treatments and what other support they need. So, they have made that calculation that it's actually okay to subsidise to make sure that these people have a home.

01:16:37 Antonia Michel

Part of the Housing First initiative?

01:16:39 Urban Developer

Exactly. It is with Housing First, yeah.

01:16:44 NREP Executive

Guys, I have to leave you now.

01:16:46 Urban Developer

Yeah.

01:16:48 Antonia Michel

No worries, thanks.

01:16:49 NREP Executive

Thanks a lot. I'm not going out on the balcony into the sun, but I have an appointment here. Okay?

01:16:58 Urban Developer

Yes.

01:16:58 Antonia Michel

Have a good day.

01:16:58 NREP Executive

Thank you so much.

01:16:59 Vera Nickel

Thank you.

01:17:00 NREP Executive

Ask [Anonymous] all the questions and let him give you all the materials and just call him after this meeting and he'll help you. Okay? Thank you. You can use him. You can also use him as AI. Okay, guys. Nice meeting you. Bye, bye.

01:17:28 Urban Developer

(inaudible)

01:17:30 Antonia Michel

Wow.

01:17:31 Urban Developer

Yeah.

01:17:33 Antonia Michel

No, I think that's also. Just one last question, maybe?

01:17:40 Urban Developer

Yes.

01:17:40 Antonia Michel

Do you feel like there's, because with the non-profit housing, they often either build something new or they, yeah, they don't take over established houses, right? Or already built housing stock.

01:17:57 Urban Developer

They have actually gotten a new pool of money where they can do transformations and buy existing properties.

01:18:06 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:18:08 Urban Developer

And I know one of the housing companies we are working with in Jernbanebyen, AAB, that is the same as [Anonymous] is a member of.

01:18:17 Urban Developer

They are doing a transformation in the Copenhagen suburb, Rødovre. But it's not something they do a lot of. There's also a really cool project out in Nørrebro, where they did a transformation of an old industrial building into student housing, also social housing. There's not a lot of it.

01:18:42 Antonia Michel

Yes.

01:18:42 Urban Developer

Because typically, you know, transformation is even more expensive than the newly built because of all the regulation and that.

01:18:54 Urban Developer

So, when they also need to do that on top of everything else, then even if you give the building for free, then they can barely make it happen. Crazy. Yeah. But yeah. So yeah.

01:19:10 Antonia Michel

Thanks a lot.

01:19:12 Urban Developer

Of course.

01:19:13 Vera Nickel

Yeah. Who is the third non-profit company in Jernbanebyen: KAB, AAB, and?

01:19:20 Urban Developer

FSB.

01:19:21 Antonia Michel

That's the same as in Carlsbergbyen.

01:19:23 Urban Developer

All these letters, yeah.

01:19:25 Antonia Michel

Yes, all them letters.

01:19:27 Urban Developer

Yeah. FSB are one of the ones who have the most success in building new construction in Copenhagen.

01:19:36 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:19:37 Urban Developer

And have you talked with them for Carlsbergbyen?

01:19:40 Antonia Michel

No, we asked them.

01:19:41 Urban Developer

Okay.

01:19:42 Antonia Michel

We'll see.

01:19:43 Urban Developer

Yeah. I know someone you should talk to in FSB. She's really sweet. She's called Lone. She's their development director.

01:19:55 Antonia Michel

Okay. Maybe we can write her directly?

01:19:58 Urban Developer

Yeah, She's also like their public profile. But you can say that you talked to [Anonymous] and me and then maybe she will, you know, by association. When I did my thesis a few years ago on urban development. I think I did 22 interviews and a lot of them were by network.

01:20:28 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:20:29 Urban Developer

So, can you refer me to X or who should we talk to next?

01:20:34 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:20:34 Urban Developer

And then that's how we went about it.

01:20:36 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:20:36 Urban Developer

It's a good way. Yeah.

01:20:39 Antonia Michel

Agreed. It's a, yeah, makes more sense. And one knows rather what is important.

01:20:45 Vera Nickel

Or calling, we found out yesterday.

01:20:48 Antonia Michel

Yes.

01:20:49 Urban Developer

So I'm also actually besides my day job here, I'm also a teaching assistant out at CBS. They have this elective course called Housing Economics (inaudible). And the program leader, Marc, he's called, he is an economist in Boligøkonomisk Videncenter. They have an old, he's like a wizard. So, they're not a lot of people and they have this, they have their chief economist, Curt Liliegreen he has like a beard and he's always in the news because he can remember all the statistics. He's always the expert, basically. Mark is, who has this course, is his, you know...

01:21:53 Antonia Michel

Right hand or...

01:21:54 Urban Developer

Exactly, yeah. But also really good. But I would recommend you to talk with them.

01:21:59 Antonia Michel

Great.

01:22:00 Urban Developer

Because they can say some general things. Yes. And they are often used as experts in the, now in the political campaigns. The media use them to prove whether the political proposals are viable or not.

01:22:21 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:22:22 Urban Developer

So, yeah.

01:22:23 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:22:24 Urban Developer

So, Boligøkonomisk Videncenter, BVC.

01:22:27 Antonia Michel

Yes.

01:22:28 Urban Developer

Yeah.

01:22:29 Antonia Michel

We checked that out for another report. And what is Marc's last name?

01:22:34 Urban Developer

Lund Andersen.

01:22:40 Antonia Michel

Super. Thank you so much.

01:22:42 Urban Developer

Of course, of course.

C4: National Building Fund (NBF) Interview Transcript

Interview ID: INT04

Role of interviewees: NBF Employee & NBF Executive

Organisation: National Building Fund

Date of interview: 30 October 2025

Mode: In Person

Duration: 78 minutes

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

00:00:00 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, you can do that. No problem.

00:00:02 Antonia Michel

It wakes you up though, for sure.

00:00:06 LBF-Driftsdirektør

All right.

00:00:09 Antonia Michel

Nice. Yes, this we have here. Yeah, I can tell you shortly what we write about. Or there's a little introduction here, but so, because we study sustainable cities and that's also in terms of social sustainability. And so we are looking at newly developed areas, and now we focus on Jernbanebyen and on redevelopment, so as in Mjølnerparken which is very politically loaded, which we're also kind of writing about in our case study, but this is not the focus. Because then we want to do some GIS-based analysis, so with the QGIS, geographical information system, load in the data, figure out what kind of housing types we have or are planned to have there. In Jernbanebyen, for example, it is more like an ideal or model right now, which can, of course, change a lot. We talked to NREP as well. And also the Ministry of Housing. And yes. And then we want to compare this with the income deciles in Copenhagen. So, looking at how much does the 10% of population always make on average? And then looking at rentals, how much do they spend on their rent? Is that, can it still be considered affordable? And if not, how did this develop? And then also non-profit housing versus for-profit or private. And yeah, so we're kind of looking at this. Because we think it could be interesting. One thing is very much ideal and planned. So are we then covering for everybody? And on the other side, if we redevelop, because politicians, the message is always we want social mixing. So then how is that in terms of economics, kind of?

00:02:12 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah. Yes.

00:02:14 LBF- Employee

Interesting.

00:02:14 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, that sounds like a... Yeah, interesting work ahead of you.

00:02:20 Antonia Michel

Hopefully, yeah, I also looked at your statistics and the huslejestatistik, and in that regard, often we have data that's only for Hovedstaden but not Copenhagen concentrated, but I think that's also all there is often.

00:02:43 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I'm not that much into the Huslejen.

00:02:47 LBF- Employee

Yeah, I'm not familiar with exactly which statistics we show. Maybe we'll be able to find some numbers, but I'm not sure.

00:02:55 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, but I agree that Hovedstaden is not... I mean, comparable to Copenhagen itself in that. So, but, and there's some differences in between what you can access just from a public side and what you can access if you have, if you're a municipality or the housing, ministry of housing or whatever, they have other access and so. So it might be possible to get a more specific data out of it.

00:03:33 Antonia Michel

Yeah, maybe if we talk to the municipality directly.

00:03:36 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I think there is, I mean, most of the universities have the scientific entrance to our system, so they could probably, should be able to get more specific data from.

00:03:52 LBF- Employee

Yeah, we also looked into the BL's work because I know they have a lot of data on municipality level. So probably, maybe they will have some data listed on their website.

00:04:04 Antonia Michel

We found some good publications already. Maybe this will, yeah. Now we're kind of trying to set it up one after the other. Yeah. But yeah, we can come to you first. Yeah. What are your roles in LBF or NBF as we say in English, but I think that's also confusing a bit.

00:04:27 LBF- Employee

I started working here in January after I finished my studies in Copenhagen University. So I'm more working with the finances, with the long-term finances and budgets in BF. So I will be more helpful with any questions regarding how the self-financing, what the role of the fund is in the self-financing in the sector.

00:04:51 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:04:52 LBF- Employee

So, yeah, so on a more general level, I guess. Yes.

00:04:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And you have been a student in BL.

00:04:59 LBF- Employee

I have been a student in BL.

00:05:00 LBF- Employee

That's why I know actually a lot about the numbers and data that they have. I've been... Yeah, so I was working there for three years while studying. So I do have some knowledge about the political side also.

00:05:15 Antonia Michel

Great. Okay, thanks. Nice.

00:05:18 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And I'm the COO of National Building Fund, and I have a background in public governance, municipalities, and the state, and also in a large housing organization. So I have also been on the other side. So yeah, a bit around.

00:05:46 Antonia Michel

Yes, covering a lot of bases. And yes, maybe you can shortly explain what LBF does. I mean, we have looked at your website, of course, talked to BL, but how does the, what is your day to day work look like?

00:06:04 LBF- Employee

Again, we have this role of ensuring the self-finance within the sector, so we ensure that we will have some income and that we will have some expenditure where we can use the funds that we have. So, we will support new development, we support large-scale renovations, we support area-based interventions, and we require the housing organizations to pay back funds to our fund when probably maybe 30 or 50 years

after the new development housing has been built. So yeah, that is our primary role also.

00:06:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, you can say, I think you have actually some slides describing it, but they keep on paying mortgage after they finish paying the actual mortgage, they keep on paying into the system. And it's basically the goal is to secure a steady increase in rent, which is not, which is slow and steady, and so that the tenants in the non-profit housing organizations, they can predict their future economy based on knowing that the rent is most likely just, climbing with inflation. And that's one of the goals. One of the other goals is that the non-profit housing organisations is completely economically sustainable, so that we can have a housing sector that is not depending on the financial cycles of the society. So whether we are in a good period or in a bad period, we will still be able to build and maintain the non-profit dwellings. Yes.

00:08:20 LBF- Employee

I have made actually this model of repayment, so it's easier to understand where we support and how we get the payments. So we will have the tenants payment is based on the total investment costs, so they will pay 2.8% of the total investment cost the first year, and then that will rise with inflation. So they will keep paying more each year. But the thing is that this will be independent of the underlying finances, like the interest rate and the loan. They will take these 30-year loans, which you see here. This is like the payment of the loan, and maybe the tenant's payment will only be down to here. And then the difference between the tenant's payment and the installment is how we and the state together support the organisation. So we will pay the rest together with the state of the payment. After the loan is finished, after 30 years at the moment, then the tenants will pay back, will pay some, will pay money to the state for 10 years. And after they finish with that, in year 41, they will start paying back to the fund. They will pay a third of the tenant's payment to the National Building Fund, 1/3 to the new construction fund, and then they will keep in their own fund 1/3 of the total payment that has been indexed. So that payment is based on the total investment costs. So they will approximately know for the whole, for all the years, how much they will pay. So the rent will not rise with like different interest rates.

00:10:12 Antonia Michel

Is that why in the long term it becomes like, now the older non-profit housings are way cheaper than the newer ones, right? Is that only because of now construction costs being higher or?

00:10:25 LBF- Employee

Yeah, I mean, the total investment costs are probably higher now, so they will...

00:10:31 LBF-Driftsdirektør

But it's also more or less a fact that when you have a completely new-build non-profit housing estate, there will not be a big difference in the rent of that and a private housing estate for rental because the building costs are, I mean, they're not the same because sometimes because we are keeping within some limits. We can discuss these limits later on, but they are close enough that there's no real difference. But the difference will start accumulating over years because we're non-profit and they have the need to take our profit. So over the years, that will start to build a difference. And so when you look back at 50 or 70 years old developments, obviously there will be a large difference in the rents between the non-profits and the I mean, normal competitive private developments, yes.

00:11:44 Antonia Michel

And now after renovation, as in Mjølnerparken, it also rises considerably?

00:11:50 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, but that's always the fact that actually the law says that a non-profit housing unit should cost, the rent should be the price for actually maintaining that building and that unit. So it shouldn't be any more than that and either not less than that. So that the tenant at this time is paying exactly what it costs to maintain the building that the person is living in, but also to secure that it's not the future tenants of the future who are actually paying for a building which is not being maintained properly to keep the rent lower. And when we look behind, I mean, back in time, there's definitely been housing estates where the rent has been kept too low. I mean, you can always discuss that out from a more social perspective compared to having small, good, well-maintained buildings with low rent. But from building maintenance perspective, the rent has been too low, so when you are making these what we call helhedsplaner, which is like, yeah, these total developments or redevelopments. You will have rises in rent because you are taking what is probably a building on too low a standard and rising it to a modern standard. And the gap between there, some of it will be with our support, but some are not. I mean, because we cannot support what is considered just the basic maintenance and we cannot support what is considered upgrades like that, unless they're within some specific areas where we can actually help. So there will be, and that will fall back on the rent. So there will be rises in the rent when you are, when you are, when you get a better living standard, yeah, development.

00:14:37 Antonia Michel

And now, in a new development, like in Jernbanebyen, it might equal out a bit when we look at the first rents?

00:14:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, they will be probably be still be a bit cheaper, but not significantly cheaper than the private developments. The private developments usually or the private renting companies usually have long-term business strategies where it will be acceptable for

them to have probably 20% of their flats, which is not rented out. And so what they actually do is that at some point, anyway, they are actually raising rent, even they know that they will not be able to get all of their apartments rented out, and but that's a strategy they can follow, and so there could be also in some, I mean, in Jernbanebyen there could be larger differences in rent than what the building costs actually would suggest they should be, but that we couldn't say that at this time, but it's not necessarily that there will be a big difference. Yeah.

00:16:06 Antonia Michel

Yes, maybe you could say, so I mean, you're responsible for the whole of Denmark, the non-profit housing sector. So there's probably a lot of areas. And yeah, exactly. Then, looking at Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken is very specific. Do you have different caseworkers in a way or how do you like when you now work with BL, maybe, or when you have these areas where they now construct new buildings, how does it, the workflow, let's say, how do you...?

00:16:43 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, well, in Jernbanebyen, we are not that involved because it's new development, so our role is pretty...

00:16:54 LBF- Employee

We only work with the co-financing, the support, so like a financial role, not an operating role kind of.

00:17:01 Antonia Michel

And then the new construction fund also, mostly?

00:17:07 LBF- Employee

I'm not sure about in Jernbanebyen, but the new construction fund would direct some money into the fund for mixed cities, which will be able to help solve some of the barriers for establishing new housing, new housing in Copenhagen, but I don't know what their role is.

00:17:26 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yes, but our role is pretty, I mean, it's the housing companies themselves and their advisors can actually they can pretty much do the math themselves, and so our role is pretty much standard financial support in after following the rules on that area, and they're pretty clear-cut, so, that's actually not we're not that involved. What we are way more involved in is, yeah, Mjølnerparken and all these areas where it's either redevelopment or it's a helhedsplaner with a lot of renovation going on, big renovations, and because we have a role in securing that the building standards are actually maintained and raised to a level which is durable, long time durable, because we do not want to support different solutions which are, well, questionable. So that we might be forced to go back into an area maybe after 10 years. That's not

long-term thinking in our terms. We are talking about maybe 30 or 50 years before we should revisit an area after such a big renovation. So we have standards that we need to maintain. So, on that, I mean, that's very much the physical building aspects that we focus on, then we have more today than ever before, also focus on the whole strategic level. So, is it wise to maybe have more student accommodation in this area and so on. So the whole more strategic level is also, yeah, it's more in focus now than it was before. Early on, we pretty much were focused on the building itself and securing that the maintenance would be of a certain standard. So and then obviously in some areas we also have a social focus because we have these social plans for certain areas. But that's not necessarily intervening in the renovation helhedsplaner because they can be like two different. Sometimes they're part of the same and sometimes they're not.

00:20:43 Antonia Michel

Do you work a lot with the municipalities then if there's supposed to be a strategy of maybe they want to attract certain people to certain areas?

00:20:51 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, the municipalities is always a big part of the big renovations. They have, we have this system which is actually pretty, it's a very old school system also, technically. But it's securing that we have three steps, actually. So it's very simple. There's one step called scheme A, scheme A. So it's pretty standard. And at that point, there's an agreement between the municipality, the housing organisation, and us about the, I mean, it's a first take on the renovation and also the financial side of it. How much support do they get from us and so on? How much do they expect the rent to rise and so on? And usually, they have also an acceptance from the rentals at that point. And then the next step is when they get, after elicitation and they get all the offers of doing the actual work and usually there's some adjustments in prices. And then we have a new economic situation and again the municipality will be part of this and have to give their approval, formal. And then in the end when everything is done and it's possible to make the final calculations, again, they have to be involved. So the municipality is a big partner all the way through.

00:22:37 LBF- Employee

Also in the new development, since they pay like 10, they have like the financing new construction, we have this municipality loan where they actually give out a loan at approximately 10%, 8 to 12%. So they will, yeah, they will work with us with the financing of the new construction.

00:22:59 Antonia Michel

And more than in renovation, or in renovation, not at all?

00:23:03 LBF- Employee

They will not be part of the financing in this way. I think the whole renovation will 100% of the total investment costs will be financed with mortgage loans, with the renovations.

00:23:15 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:23:16 Antonia Michel

Is the schema B kind of like the helhedsplan? Because I, it's also a thing of translation often. What came out in 2021, I think?

00:23:30 LBF-Driftsdirektør

The helhedsplan is, yeah, you could say the schema B is the final plan, it's a building plan actually for the area, so it's kind of not supposed to include new works or anything. I mean, after schema B, it's too late to say: "Oh, by the way, we would like to have new windows or something like that". Everything should be in Schema B, so it's pretty locked from there on.

00:24:07 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:24:07 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It can develop between schema A and schema B.

00:24:10 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

00:24:12 Antonia Michel

Okay, good. Yeah, I read 3 documents, one from 2014, 2021, 2025, I think, there was always a bit different numbers on, at least in Mjølnerparken, about how many units...?

00:24:28 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Mjølnerparken is a very, very special case. We can say a little bit about Mjølnerparken, but it's a very special case, so it's a bit difficult to read too much into our system about, because Mjølnerparken is... No, let me go back and just to add that the municipalities are, like [Anonymous] said, are not giving, like in new developments where they're actually giving out loans, they're not giving out any loans in renovation projects, but they have, they give a guarantee, and that guarantee is pretty important because it secures that that the mortgage loans will be at a good, better interest rate because of this guarantee. So they actually have a very important financial role, even though it doesn't cost them anything, but a guarantee is a guarantee. So they have, I mean, huge guarantees accumulated in municipalities towards the housing organisations. Sorry, that was just...

00:25:44 Antonia Michel

No, that's good. Yeah, risk reducing.

00:25:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, to finish the other subject. Regarding Mjølnerparken, it's very... it's under the special legislation. I'm sure you are aware about the parallelsamfundsavtalen, which is like early on called the "ghetto legislation". And, the special thing about is that it's such a small area geographically, so, the different ways to succeed within the demands of the parallelsamfundsavtalen was very limited because they couldn't do what many of the other areas were able to do because they could have private developers build new buildings within their area, and then at that, so they could lower the percentage of non-profit housing in the area just by building new private buildings instead of tearing down or selling their own housing units. So, but in Mjølnerparken, this has not been a possibility because it's a completely developed area. And also the housing units themselves, even though they were lacking a lot in maintenance, I mean a lot, they were still by far to superior standard to be torn down. It would be madness to tear them down. So the only solution was to sell parts of Mjølnerparken to private development. And what's very special about, because that has been done in other areas as well, but what's very special about Mjølnerparken is that it's such a small area, so it was deemed impossible to have two redevelopment building sites in this small area going parallel next to each other. So instead of selling the blocks for the private company to redevelop, it was decided that the housing organisation, the non-profit housing organisation, were redeveloping the whole area and then sell the finalised redeveloped buildings to NREP in this case. So, and that solution hasn't been done anywhere else than Mjølnerparken because there have been other available ways to go forward. Yeah. So it's a bit of a special case.

00:28:40 Antonia Michel

That's good to know.

00:28:42 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah. And as it turned out the whole redevelopment of Mjølnerparken was much more costly than anticipated. And one of the reasons of this, besides all kind of more specific building causes with different, yeah, you know... asbestos, they found things that they didn't expect to find. That's one reason. And another big reason was that the timing of Mjølnerparken and the redevelopment was in context of the economy and the rest of society very bad timing because they started, I mean, probably too late when we can see now because the interest rates were gone up and the cost of building the whole renovation did rise a lot in the time it took to get all the pre-work done, all the planning and so on. It took so long time that when they were finally ready to build, they had a big rise in cost, simply because of the price had risen on all the building materials and so on in the meantime. So it's been a costly project.

00:30:25 Antonia Michel

Yeah. And construction costs keep rising, no?

00:30:30 LBF- Employee

And they rise more than the inflation, actually. So that is also the problem.

00:30:35 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, a lot more actually.

00:30:37 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And have been, there's some developments now that it's, I mean, we probably reached the top and things are looking better now.

00:30:48 Antonia Michel

Due to political measures, is it going to ...?

00:30:51 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Probably no, mostly because of Donald Trump being Donald Trump. I mean, it's just because there's insecurity in the market, and then there's being built a little bit less than there have been for years, so the demands on getting construction workers and so on are a bit lower now, so than comparing with one or two years ago. So it looks like we are a bit on our way down again and it's closer to actual inflation than it has been for a long time.

00:31:29 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because when we talked to BL, they also said that, yeah, like in Carlsbergbyen, it's still a topic of how they can afford to build there, and the non-profit housing spots are kind of still open.

00:31:45 LBF- Employee

Yeah, I believe that actually in the local plans, they have sites for the non-profit housing, but we're not available. It's not possible for us to build there. Yeah, because it's too expensive. We have this like cost ceiling, so we are not able to build.

00:32:02 Antonia Michel

Exactly.

00:32:03 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And Carlsbergbyen is very visual, I mean, it's because there's these two empty building sites. I live right next to Carlsbergbyen and that's because the whole Carlsbergbyen is finished now, except these two sites. So, I mean, you cannot see it in the same way in Nordhavn or Jernbanebyen because they're not finished developments, but in Carlsbergbyen it's really, yeah, gets in your eye because it's so obvious that there should have been a building here, and it's not there.

00:32:41 Antonia Michel

But the land is already in the hands of the housing association?

00:32:45 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, and in Carlsbergbyen, they have the land already. It's pretty much the building cost that's holding them back at this time, and also because they hope there's a political solution around the corner. So it would be unwise to start your project now if they change the rules in two weeks. And that looks like it's plausible that they will do something about the spending cap.

00:33:15 Antonia Michel

Really? To raise it? And then the rents would raise to cover it.

00:33:21 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, definitely. I mean, that's the backside, and that's I mean, that's the reason that I mean, the minister we had before is now trying to get elected in the municipality of Copenhagen, and she has strong feelings about raising the spending cap to build more, I mean, non-profit housing estates and the minister we have now was in the municipality of Copenhagen before, and she has the same opinion, but none of them has actually done it as so far. And the reason for that is basically that the rent, the starting rent, will be higher. So, it would have been the easy solution to do years ago, but there's obviously reasons why they haven't done it.

00:34:21 LBF- Employee

And then the construction cost ceiling is also national, and I think it's more in the bigger cities that we need to have it raising, because it's not a problem outside the bigger cities.

00:34:31 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It's actually, it's pretty much Aarhus and Copenhagen who have this problem. I think they can build non-profit housing in all other cities and don't have the same problems. So this is most likely, I don't know yet, but what we're hearing is that it's probably going to be an area-specific rise because they're actually not interested. If you go out to the west coast of Jutland or something like that, they're not interested to have this rise because the offers they get in when they have elicitation will just be higher because the construction companies know that there's now another limit. So they don't have, and they will have a hard time renting out these new apartments if they have a higher starting cost.

00:35:21 Antonia Michel

For sure.

00:35:22 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

00:35:24 Antonia Michel

And I was also wondering about, so when Bo-Vita sold two blocks, or also if that happens in general, non-profit housing is being sold to private investors? Does this money go to the housing association or back to the fund in a way?

00:35:44 LBF- Employee

Part of the money goes to the housing association, but also part of it goes to the fund because we have been, we have supported the housing from the beginning, so we will have to receive some of the money.

00:35:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It will be a bit different from... depending on what area we're talking about, because there's also been some changes in the rules, not in legislation, but just in how you perceive the legislation. So early on, and that I think also goes for Mjølnerparken, the sale there, they you could I mean, if you sell part of your property, you have to lower the... Yeah, you have to lower the debt accordingly, as the rules are now. Early on, you could lower them on a different scale, so you could spend, take more money from your sales and put into the redevelopment of your non-housing buildings. But so now that you have a forced lowering of debt, which is higher. So it can be dependable on which area and when you actually sold that property. But some of it will go back. Some of the money from Mjølnerparken has gone into, I mean, the total renovation. Some has gone to us. Some has gone to, I mean, the housing organisation itself. And it's not earmarked money like that. When they go back to the housing organisation, they can put them into the redevelopment or they can put them into something else. But they're not really allowed to have like, I mean, they cannot just have a fortune, lying around, so they have to have a purpose with this money.

00:37:49 LBF- Employee

And they cannot just decide to sell some of the housing.

00:37:51 LBF-Driftsdirektør

No, it's very, it's because of parallelsamfundsavtalen that this is happening.

00:37:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It's not normal.

00:37:59 Antonia Michel

It's very rare, no?

00:38:00 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It's very rare. It can happen sometimes in we've seen in Lolland, South of here and in some places in Jutland where you simply cannot rent these apartments or houses or whatever.

00:38:19 Antonia Michel

The demand is not there?

00:38:21 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, there's simply no demand. And if you have like vacancies for two years in a row and you are having losses on this, then you can get ministry approval to sell them. But that's, I mean, that's a pretty rare thing.

00:38:44 Antonia Michel

And you also don't often buy already developed housing estates, right?

00:38:51 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, you can...

00:38:52 LBF- Employee

I mean, it can happen, but in Copenhagen, it would still be the construction cost ceiling that is in the way of this. But yeah, it happens. But the problem is that those housing units have not been supported. So they will, it's, we're not, they are not able to buy the private housing if the rent will be too high, if the cost will be too high. So that is a barrier to buy existing housing.

00:39:19 Antonia Michel

And if it's an older housing estate that's not as expensive, but then you would have to renovate it as well...

00:39:27 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, exactly.

00:39:27 Antonia Michel

It would need to...

00:39:29 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It would need to be within the financial means of the normal financial means of a non-profit housing organization. And you have something about the fund for mixed cities. Also, there's actually some money set aside to support buying either industrial estates or other housing estates. And there has been one example of lately in Frederiksberg. There was something called the (inaudible), which actually was the municipality who owned it, but they, but it was a financial unit, self-sustained unit, but they had, they couldn't go on and they had too bad finances. And so, with the help of

this fund for mixed cities, a non-profit housing organisation bought the entire complex and it's now a non-profit housing organisation.

00:40:44 LBF- Employee

But I have it like they have 700 million Danish kroner to buy this existing commercial buildings but I have also heard that it can be a bit tricky that a lot of, it's difficult to convert them into...

00:41:00 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, the office buildings and you know also in some of the other cities outside Copenhagen there's old municipality houses or, not houses, but municipality buildings like that, police stations or whatever, which could be considered, but many of them are built for another purpose. And it's very, can be very expensive to redevelop into housing properties instead. So that's sometimes it's out of our reach because it simply would mean to high of a starting rental level to be a non-profit housing unit. So that would need to go to the private sector.

00:41:55 Antonia Michel

Do you think that the Mixed Cities Fund has been effective?

00:42:01 LBF- Employee

I mean, maybe... I think it's not that old, so maybe in the future it will be more effective. I know they have not funded everything they can at the moment. I believe, I don't know all the specific details.

00:42:16 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Some of it has been effective, but because there's a lot of initiatives under the mixed cities fund, but the main initiatives in our, or where we are administrators of the funds, some of it is the ministry and some of it is administered here, but these initiatives to buy existing housing units or buy commercial buildings and turn them into redevelopment, into housing has not been as, I think, as widespread as it was hoped. And I know that the ministry has been looking into ways to simply to make it easier and also probably to remove some of all the administration connected to it, to simply make it easier to get some projects going on that part.

00:43:29 Antonia Michel

Because there's so many regulations on how this has to look like?

00:43:34 LBF-Driftsdirektør

There's a lot of regulations, and there's also a lot of local municipality planning regulations and so on. So that's a lot of things because everyone would love to take these already existing buildings and redevelop them into cheap housing because that's what we need in the society. And what we also need is to make it environmentally sustainable. And so let's use the already existing buildings. It's

extremely good. I mean, the basic idea is very good, but the practicalities connected to it is difficult. Yeah.

00:44:23 LBF- Employee

But they can also give an opportunity in Copenhagen with this construction cost ceiling, because I know they have set aside 1.8 billion Danish kroner to help fund, to help buy these land properties in Copenhagen, which can make it possible to establish non-profit housing in Copenhagen or in Aarhus.

00:44:44 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, the municipality of Copenhagen has actually some, in some areas they would like to develop up to 40% of non-profit housing in some of the new development areas, but so, the local support and wishes are there, but it's mainly, as I see it, a financial...

00:45:15 Antonia Michel

So the fund or these kinds of funds would need to increase maybe or also to be repeated?

00:45:22 LBF-Driftsdirektør

I think maybe now they are looking into the spending cap. And if, I mean, if there's a new cap and new rules on this, I think maybe together with the fund and so on that they'll be, they'll probably build a lot more non-profit housing in Copenhagen. And if that's not happening, they will have to look into it again.

00:45:53 Antonia Michel

Because right now it's under 20%, I think I read?

00:45:57 LBF- Employee

It's actually, I made a very fast figure of the share of non-profit and new construction in Copenhagen, and it is quite low.

00:46:08 Antonia Michel

Of new construction, yeah. And it has gotten less, no?

00:46:12 LBF- Employee

It has gotten less and it's quite low in 2024.

00:46:18 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, it's about what, 5%?

00:46:19 LBF- Employee

Yeah, around 5%, maybe even a bit less.

00:46:23 Antonia Michel

Yeah, and I think the total share in Copenhagen, I think, was under 20%, so not the 25% that now the municipality wants to always...

00:46:32 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, the goal is 25% in total, but we're a bit low on that.

00:46:41 Antonia Michel

Do you think the, I mean, that is a bit of a communist view, but could the state take over some more properties and just kind of give it to non-profit housing associations?

00:46:55 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Well, the state could do a lot of things, but the thing is that I think one of the founders of the whole non-profit housing system in Denmark was actually from all the political spectrum. So there were conservatives, liberals, social democrats, and socialists actually all together in its back in the 30s and 40s and 50s. And so, it's always been a balance between having this self-sustainable sector within the housing sector, but also on unreasonable terms compared to the private sector. So, I mean, It's a balance between giving the non-profit housing organisations, dealing them a good hand of cards to do their job, but also not make the competitive situation compared to the private developers and their rental market, not to screw that too much in favor of the non-profit organisations. So, and also because there wouldn't be enough non-profit buildings or housing estates if we should kind of have a bigger part of the entire housing market in Denmark. So, it's always a balance, I think, politically.

00:48:42 Antonia Michel

And there's not a lot of vacancy in Copenhagen, is there?

00:48:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

No, there's absolutely none. I mean, there can be some during redevelopment and renovation and so on, but there's no vacancies in Copenhagen. And that's, I mean, one of the big problems is that there's a lot of people on the waiting list in Copenhagen, but if you go outside in the countryside, in some areas we have empty buildings around and so, and that's of course a problem of society and not so much about non-profit housing.

00:49:24 Antonia Michel

Building stocks.

[OBJ]

00:49:26 LBF- Employee

Yeah, demand and supply.

00:49:28 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, exactly.

00:49:29 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Because I feel like in Germany, I've seen that more often in bigger cities that, I'm from Germany, and that there's, yeah, way more vacant housing and this is way more political, you know a struggle where people are demanding that these houses, instead of having them with speculators, to give them to, but here that's not so much, but it's...

00:49:53 LBF- Employee

There is very much rental in Germany, I believe it's almost none private property or like owned by the people who live in the housing.

00:50:00 Antonia Michel

Ah, the rental market? There's a lot of rentals actually, yeah.

00:50:04 LBF- Employee

I think it's almost only rental in Germany.

00:50:07 Antonia Michel

Yeah, it's way more than here, yeah. I was shocked when I heard of students buying apartments.

00:50:17 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, but that's the thing. It's very different. There could be some measures and political initiatives in Germany that would be appropriate due to the situation as it is. In Denmark, it would be difficult to compare because the system of our non-profit housing system is very different to most other countries. Also, the ones we usually comparing ourselves to like Sweden, Norway, but they have a more, also more traditional European social housing system, which is more, much more depending on the local municipalities and the state support and so on.

00:51:07 Antonia Michel

Right. While you're self-sustaining kind of.

00:51:10 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, we are in a different and also we don't have any income barriers.

00:51:15 Antonia Michel

You have a universal access.

00:51:17 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, exactly. And that's also obviously a political thing because it's a big point of discussion also in the EU. What is non-profit housing, what is social housing and what's the differences and so on. And really that would be BL to speak to on the more comparable international level, but there's a lot of reasons why it's not so easy to compare (inaudible) between our countries.

00:51:51 Antonia Michel

Yeah, we also talked to the ministry of social affairs and housing, and that they are working on the affordable housing plan now, the EU one, and yeah, but they are not sure about how much Denmark will take out of it because there are more already...

00:52:10 LBF- Employee

Yeah, we already have a very big non-profit housing sector.

00:52:14 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, there could be some legislation from the EU that will change or have some impact in our systems, whether we like it or not. But that's, I mean, that would, yeah, as I said, BL would be much more informed where these negotiations are going right now, but...

00:52:36 Antonia Michel

Is there something you would wish to see from an EU level?

00:52:43 LBF-Driftsdirektør

I don't know. I mean, it would be, I mean, completely, I mean, we would... I think it's difficult to say where the EU could regulate. I could say a lot of places where I wouldn't want them to regulate.

00:53:03 Antonia Michel

To deregulate the non...

00:53:04 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I think it's very difficult because we realise that in Europe there's a big housing crisis, but it's a lot different and a lot worse in many other countries than Denmark. So, actually, I think we couldn't possibly say that we have the perfect system because we obviously have a lot of challenges as you also are looking into. But we do have a system that is on a financial side pretty unique and working quite well. And when we look into the future, and obviously, it's more [Anonymous]'s future than mine, because we're talking maybe in 40 or 50 years' time. I mean, the financial aspects of the Danish system is really solid. I mean, right now we owe money to the state because we are lending money from the state to maintain the financial system. But in 2040, 2050, we will break-even. And after that, we'll be like a very financial solid institution. And that's so I think I wouldn't have any idea about the EU legislation, what could be

good, what could be not. But I think there's a lot of challenges to our system that could happen if they look at the European Union as a whole.

00:54:43 Antonia Michel

Do you think if the private housing sector would have more regulations or like a rent cap, something like this, would this help the non-profit housing sector as well? Or is there, are you like okay with them doing their business kind of?

00:55:01 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I don't think it's within our line of work that we have too much... I mean, actually we work a lot together with, in new developments with the private, I mean, the non-profit housing organisations are working closely together with the private developers. They have to because they're building right next to each other and sometimes private developers are actually building the buildings on contract for the non-profit organisations and so on. So there's a lot of cooperation going on and I think that any regulation on the private sector is, well, it's very much a political thing. It doesn't really directly impact the non-profit housing, especially not in Copenhagen where you can rent anything out.

00:55:55 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Okay. I had a question about, but I already asked this the BL. If you know when the residents, for example, from Mjølnerparken were evicted, some of them had to permanently get a new place from Bo-Vita. I think they were mostly offered that?

00:56:17 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

00:56:18 LBF- Employee

I know that they are entitled to some rehousing, where they will either it can be temporary or it will be more long-term or permanent. But they will have, I believe that they will have three possibilities. They will be, so which they can choose from. And then they will also receive some moving support. So they will not be completely on their own when they are evicted for the...

00:56:42 LBF-Driftsdirektør

But it's not, I mean, it's not something that we have any direct role in. It's the housing organisation and a municipality together who is responsible and also by law is responsible to find a new home for these people. And as [Anonymous] said, I think when it's permanent, they have to have at least three different offers to choose from to move on to. But again, Mjølnerparken is under a very special legislation, so it's, yeah, it's difficult to compare to a normal renovation because a normal renovation can also, in practical terms, mean permanent relocation of the people living there,

residents, because some of them are taking place over so many years that it's not considered, yeah, it's considered permanent actually, yeah.

00:57:51 Antonia Michel

And they also get other offers usually?

00:57:53 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

00:57:53 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:57:54 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, they always...

00:57:54 Antonia Michel

Because if the rents rise too much, kind of...

00:57:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Exactly, that is the more social side of it, that if the rent rises so much that you don't have the means to live there anymore, then actually the municipality has an obligation to go in and say, okay, can we help you find another place to live?

00:58:15 Antonia Michel

That's the municipalities?

00:58:16 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

00:58:16 Antonia Michel

Okay. Maybe I'll ask them.

00:58:19 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I mean, the municipality of Copenhagen would have a lot, I think, to say about the practicalities.

00:58:29 Antonia Michel

And where people move to. Yeah, because Bo-Vita didn't want to talk, I think, because they're pressured.

00:58:33 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Bo-Vita is, yeah, it's not been the easiest role for the housing organisation who has these... Yeah, under the parallelsamfundsafalen, who owns these areas, because, I mean, they have to redevelop within the law and the legislation is, well, it's political,

so there will be a lot of people opposing that. But they still have to do it. And so it's not...

00:59:09 Antonia Michel

They're the target of...

00:59:09 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, they don't have an easy role as the ones who are actually doing that. And the ones who are actually telling people: "You have to move from your home." So, but yeah, so they're not probably too interested to go into too much details about these things because no matter what they say, they will be...

00:59:33 Antonia Michel

Used against them, yeah. It definitely came across like a bit cautious at this point.

00:59:39 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, I would imagine.

00:59:43 Antonia Michel

I had another question. Yeah, you already said that you work a lot with municipalities and also the private housing companies. And are there other...?

00:59:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

A lot of organisations, I mean, a lot of other funds with more private funds like Realdania and some of the big building funds, Velux, and I mean, these funds are who are working to either a social purpose or a more building constructive purpose, creating better buildings with less CO2 and so on. And so, there's a lot of partners there, and also there's a lot of organisations, maybe where we have these social helhedsplaner, there's a lot of organisations working in different aspects, maybe working with getting private tutoring for kids with needs in schools or whatever, and some special organisations with a special purpose that are needed to co-work in this housing area. So, yeah.

01:01:10 Antonia Michel

And when you make these, let's say you fund new buildings and housing types, you don't decide about if this is going to be more student living, seniors, family housing, it's more the municipality in cooperation with the housing association?

01:01:29 LBF-Driftsdirektør

It's the municipality which is like responsible for the total developments of obviously of their municipalities. But we have a saying in terms of the more of the long-term financial aspects, because we're supporting financially. So in the end, we also need to have a qualified project, which, I mean, we have seen examples of new developments, non-profit housing organisation areas, in areas where there have

been a lot of vacancies already. And that's not very healthy financially going forward. And so we have a role in saying that when we are supporting the projects, we need to know that there are actually tenants who want to rent these apartments, whether it's for students, whether it's for the elderly or it's just family apartments. We still need to know that there is a financial reality on the other side. And as I said in the beginning, the private rental companies, they can have a long-term financial situation which allows them to have like 80% of their apartments rented out. But our system works on 100%. I mean, that all apartments are at any time rented. And if they're not, it's a financial complication because it falls back on the other tenants, because they are the ones covering the cost of having vacancies.

01:03:36 Antonia Michel

Makes sense. I think we kind of already talked about this, but and also, let me know whenever you have to go. I think we're on the last two questions maybe.

01:03:49 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, okay.

01:03:51 Antonia Michel

Yeah, what kind of barriers and opportunities maybe that you see for affordable housing in Copenhagen?

01:03:59 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah.

01:04:00 LBF- Employee

Again, we had this with the fund for mixed cities where they have 1.8 billion Danish kroner to help buy land properties so we can establish or build more non-profit housing, even though there's the construction cost ceiling. So that was one opportunity for sure. And yeah, the barrier would be the construction ceiling cost, mostly, in Copenhagen.

01:04:30 Antonia Michel

And do you feel like if it gets raised, the rents are still going to be quite affordable in terms of...?

01:04:42 LBF- Employee

Yeah, I mean, if the rents were not affordable, then we would not fund the projects, I believe.

01:04:49 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:04:49 LBF- Employee

Or we wouldn't, I don't believe that the construction cost ceiling will be...

01:04:55 LBF-Driftsdirektør

But I mean, whether or not it's actually considered cheap housing is a political question. And it also depends on how, I mean, how big apartments we are talking about and so on, because obviously the smaller they are, the cheaper they will be. And so it depends a lot on local planning and the wishes, I mean, right now we have a, I have been for years missing a lot of student places for students to live within reasonable economical means in Copenhagen. And I mean, that's, it's also in the non-profit housing organisations, it's a challenge to build these homes for students at rates which actually could be considered reasonable within their economy.

01:06:00 Antonia Michel

Right.

01:06:00 LBF-Driftsdirektør

So, yeah.

01:06:03 LBF- Employee

But for the non-profit self-financing to work, then yeah, it's just not possible to build, so that they will have such a low rent as older housing in Copenhagen.

01:06:13 LBF-Driftsdirektør

There's a lot of, I mean, when you have big problems, you have also a lot of people working on it, and there's a lot of new ways to construct. Also, we've seen a lot, some of the student buildings in the recent years have been constructed like shipping containers, not off shipping containers, but the same modular construction, yeah, and also temporary in some places, yeah, exactly. So, when you have a new development area, you can start... putting out a lot of these temporary student homes, then you can develop your area around it. And in the end, you can move these homes or you can make them permanent. But the thing is, the idea is that you don't need the same planning because they're temporary.

01:07:15 Antonia Michel

They also don't have a real base, right? They're just...

01:07:20 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Exactly. And so, but in any other ways, they're pretty standard living accommodations. And we also seen that in cooperation with non-profit housing organisations. So there's a lot of takes on how can we build in Copenhagen within reasonable living standards and also reasonable economical standards?

01:07:47 Antonia Michel

Right. But these villages, they are privately owned?

01:07:52 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Some of them are, but there's also non-profit housing organisations which are moving into this way of thinking. So I think we'll see more of it also in the non-profit housing sector in the future. And I think it's one of the ways to go forward, but we'll have to see now what's happening because what I'm hearing is that there's a political initiative on the spending cap just within a matter of days, I think. So maybe if you ask us in a week, the situation will be a bit different because I think they will like to have this sorted before the local elections in the municipalities.

01:08:34 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:08:35 LBF- Employee

There's also something with the self-financing when they will pay back to the National Building Fund after approximately 40 years, 41 years, then with the temporary housing they will probably...

01:08:47 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, there's definitely some issues there, but it's more the idea of building in a modular and being able to take things apart actually also because you can in general you can build more environmentally smart if, I mean because you have to sometimes use new building methods and new building materials and if you do that and you don't know the long-term consequences you need to be able to remove these building parts again.

01:09:26 Antonia Michel

And separate them.

01:09:27 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And separate them, yeah. So this separation is also something that is being worked a lot on in the non-profit housing organisations. So there's a lot of initiatives to kind of trying to tackle some of the issues that we have in Copenhagen and also Aarhus in a sense, yeah.

01:09:52 Antonia Michel

And also with these modular housing types, you can, I guess, change the sizes of the apartments more easily?

01:09:57 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Exactly. That's also one of the big issues that we have when you look around in some of the areas where we have difficulties to rent out the apartments or the houses is that, I mean, they can be of a certain standard, and they usually are because the law

says they should be, but they're just not what's in demand in that area. And so that's a big problem, that it's very expensive to rebuild them into what is probably in public demand. And in some of these areas, there's a lot of older people, and they would like this certain kind of dwelling, which is easy to maintain, and I mean, easy to get in and out, and no stairs and so on and so on. But if what you have is, stairs and I mean, it's just, it's very expensive to redevelopment these buildings. So the idea of building to the current demand, but also have an eye on what is happening in 30 or 50 years is very good.

01:11:19 Antonia Michel

I think in Germany it also happens that families have these places and then the rent doesn't get so much higher because they don't move out, move in and then when the kids are out or one partner dies, then they have so much space and then there's new families who live in tiny apartments. But it wouldn't make sense to leave these places because they're cheaper than the tiny ones.

01:11:44 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, that's also a problem in Denmark because of also the financial support system in how people are, especially older people, how they get, besides the state pension, they get some benefits and some of it is housing benefit compared to the rent. But if you move, if you're a widow and your husband died and so on, you keep your benefit for two people to the current apartment you have. If you move to a smaller apartment, they will scale down the benefits and what you are saving in rent moving there will be taken up by, you don't get that much support anymore. And so, you don't have like an incentive. No, there's not an incentive.

01:12:39 LBF-Employee

Yeah, very cheap rent.

01:12:42 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, exactly.

01:12:43 Antonia Michel

That's why a lot of people have way more square meters than...

01:12:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Exactly. And that's one of the, I mean, that's obviously one of the problems in Copenhagen and heavily dense areas is that there's, actually, we have a lot more, yeah, we have a lot of space, but it's more the distribution of the space.

01:13:05 LBF- Employee

And there's a tendency for more people living alone, I guess.

01:13:09 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Also, that, and that needs smaller apartments, and if you take some of the places being built today, more modular, they can be turned into smaller apartments or bigger apartments. But when you have a lot of our fantastic, in some ways, buildings from maybe the 50s or the 40s, which are build with red bricks and then really, really solid and will be there in 100 years and then 200 years. but they are very expensive to redevelop on the inside because of the demands of the constructional safety and so on. So, fire regulations and all these kinds of things. So these redevelopments are very, it's very difficult to get a good economical situation afterwards. If you are taking huge apartments, making them smaller, you have to, your bathrooms and so on and so on. And it's a question of weight and yeah. So that's, it's very difficult to take these older buildings and change them dramatically into something else.

01:14:22 Antonia Michel

Yeah, and if you, I don't know, if you go after the market demand right now, I guess, then it will not match the one in 40 years or the one you want to maybe get.

01:14:36 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Exactly. So, yeah.

01:14:39 Antonia Michel

Okay, thanks a lot. Do you have any other people you think we should talk to in regard to maybe our case or...

01:14:49 LBF- Employee

I did talk to Kristine Vasiljeva from BL who would like to talk to you if you have any more questions.

01:14:55 Antonia Michel

Yes, okay, What was her name?

01:14:57 LBF- Employee

Kristine Vasiljeva.

01:15:02 LBF-Driftsdirektør

She's very good on data and yeah. So that could be a possibility.

01:15:09 LBF- Employee

And also with the political aspects.

01:15:11 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Okay, perfect.

01:15:13 LBF- Employee

And she already told me that she would be happy to answer some questions.

01:15:17 Antonia Michel

Oh, great.

01:15:19 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And also, we have some connections in the municipality of Copenhagen if you're going in that direction. Of course, depending a bit of what you want to talk to them about, but I mean, they're obviously a big part in both Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken.

01:15:42 Antonia Michel

That would be great. Yeah. Because I wrote to one thing with the transport and housing department, but they were busy with the elections.

01:15:53 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Oh yeah.

01:15:54 Antonia Michel

So yeah, if there's a person that's like, yeah, not so involved in that maybe.

01:15:59 LBF-Driftsdirektør

We are working more with the ones which are in the planning units and working with non-profit housing organisations and so on. And so, I could send you a name there and you could probably reach out.

01:16:18 Antonia Michel

That would be very nice.

01:16:20 LBF- Employee

And I guess I believe it's DSB Property, owning a lot of the land.

01:16:27 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, and if you already talked to NREP, obviously they'll...

01:16:31 Antonia Michel

Yeah, they are both in Mjølnerparken and Jernbanebyen. So, we're kind of writing all the stakeholders that we found so far, also the housing associations, but I think especially in the municipality, there's like every different people mentioned and departments.

01:16:48 LBF-Driftsdirektør

Yeah, that's a big problem when you're speaking to the municipality of Copenhagen is that it's such a big unit that if you're speaking to this guy, you can ask him these three questions, but he will know nothing about the 12 other questions. And then you

need to go to the economical unit and ask one of these girls there... I mean, so yeah, you need to shop around a bit, I think.

01:17:14 Antonia Michel

Yes, exactly. And we need to, I think, also just make sure that we stay on track with exactly the data that we need and then also say maybe some things have to be, you know, side aspect.

01:17:27 LBF-Driftsdirektør

And also, we might be a bit conservative because we're working in a non-political organisation, a fund, but the people working in the municipality, they will be extremely limited in what they can say and what they can't say.

01:17:45 Antonia Michel

Yes.

01:17:46 LBF-Driftsdirektør

I mean, that would be the normal thing for civil servants.

01:17:51 Antonia Michel

Yeah, the ministry person was definitely limited in what they can say. Its interesting, yeah.

01:18:00 LBF-Driftsdirektør

But that can tell you a story as well, because then you know for sure this is political, so. That's a way. Yeah.

☐☐☐

C5: Spor 10 Interview Transcript

Interview ID: INT05

Role of interviewees: Community Manager & NREP Employee

Organisation: Sport10

Date of interview: 05 November 2025

Mode: In Person

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

The microphone did not record properly during the interviews, therefore own notes were made afterwards:

Your role/Social responsibilities

1. What is your role at Spor10?

M: He is the Community manager since 2023. Was supposed to be in that position till 2025, now excdended because the local plan has not been finalised yet. Instead of renovating Sport 10 from January 2025, it got pushed to Summer 2026 and maybe will get delayed again. He support the programmes in Sport 10, such as helping the skaters to use the facilities. He has worked a lot with children and knows some people for a long time who are now working at Sport 10.

V: She works for NREP, which is owning and managing Sport 10. She supports community building.

2. What are your/ Spor10 responsibilities & commitments now and in the future?

M: He helps companies to use Spor 10, such as the Sauna start up, pilates (or yoga?), but there are also organisations that offer e.g. sport programmes that get sinancially supported by the municipality. They also have an open Wednesday with programmes and cheap food, where everybody is welcome. Sport 10 will be renovated and during that time (probably in 2026), they will move across the street. Afterards Sport 10 shall still be this open place where everybody can go. They are trying to get more youth (young adults) and seniors involved, since those are the smallest group at the moment. Sport 10 also works with (cities against diabetes?) and ...

V: Sport 10 is being used by people from other neighbourhoods at the moment and it shall also stay open to them. For NREP the community is of course also very important to have people wanting to become long-term residents and invest in moving into the neighbourhood.

Social responsibilities

3. Do you have any data (beyond the local plan and if already available) on which housing types will be built and their rental prices?

M: Has no information on housing. There is a school now and he does not know if they will stay. There will be a new public and a private school. They will start with the public school because they have a deadline. Banegaarden and a DSB building will stay, so will yellow town. Unfortunately not everything can be reused. But there is also going to be a home for seniors close to Sport 10.

V: This is still too far in the future to say, but just yesterday was decided that the non-profit housing association can raise their construction cap (by 20%?), so that will definetely make it

possible for them to build the 25% there. This also means higher rents but at least there will be non-profit housing.

4. Which issues do you see regarding the future social mix of residents?

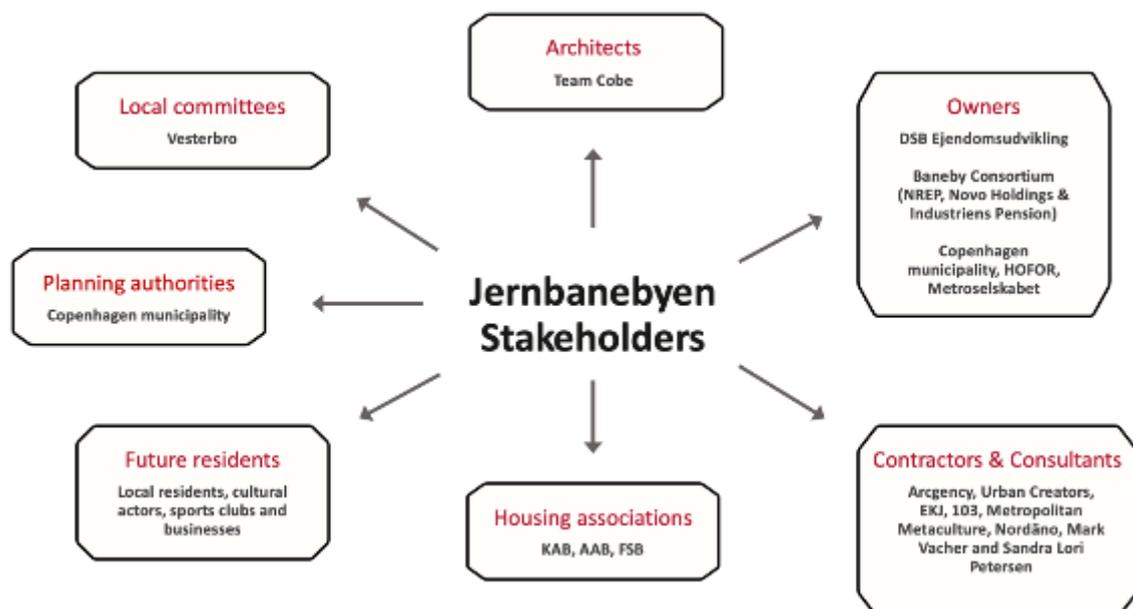
M: Of course it is important that everybody, no matter the age, background or so can come to Sport 10 and can live in Jernbanebyen. He hopes that this will become such a place. It is very special that there are no residents or direct neighbours in Jernbanebyen at the moment so the building is really from the ground up or at least not with people protesting and having strong opinions on it. One could not do such a project in an established district such as Nørrebro.

Housing market stakeholders/ policies

5. Who are the stakeholders you are collaborating with/ involved in Jernbanebyen?

M: Not an expert on that, so we shall talk to [Anonymous]. He thinks that Housing associations are not part of the owners group. He is also unsure about including Freja as a stakeholder. We should contact DSB as they could have the most information on the plans.

V: The housing associations will become housing owners once there are houses. Right now there is only land owners and they are not a part of that. Freja still owns a part but once the local plans are finished, they will be bought out. The municipality is really important for Sport 10 (especially the culture department?), they are financing beside planning.



6. How is the communication between stakeholders?

7. Are deadlines kept so far?

V: Since the local plan is not finished things are getting delayed.

Wrapping up...

8. What barriers and opportunities do you see for affordable housing provision in Jernbanebyen?

V: Affordable housing is of course important, but what could be done besides the 25% rule? A problem is also the distribution of square meters, since some single elderly people live in large apartments, but it does make sense for them to move, because their older contracts keep their rents down. Also, making it easier to make apartments smaller or share houses could be a solution. In Tingbjerg NREP built row houses for people to buy and sold them for 3.5 million DKK which is quite cheap for Copenhagen. There was no market price for orientation and they wanted to make it possible for established residents to buy homes in their neighbourhood. If the residents would have sold their homes again within 4 years, they would need to give half of their profit to the local housing association.

9. Who would you recommend we speak with next?

M: We should come around to the open wednesdays and speak with the people coming

C6: Jean Thierry Interview Transcript

Interview ID: INT05

Role of interviewees: Jean Thierry

Organisation: Enhedslisten, FSB Board member, Almenmodstand member

Date of INTERVIEW: 27 December 2025

Mode: Online

Duration: 87 minutes

Language: English

Interviewer: Vera Nickel & Antonia Michel

00:00:09 Thierry

Interesting.

00:00:10 Antonia Michel

Hi. Hey. Nice. Now we're all here. Yeah, I can just shortly introduce ourselves. And yes, we already talked about recording, so already started on that. And yes, so we both write on our thesis right now about affordability and housing in Copenhagen. And we're looking at Jernbanebyen and Mjølnerparken. And we're doing a, yeah, really an analysis mostly on costs per square meter and what income groups can afford it in these areas. But of course, so it's also about regulation around it and policy and we're also trying to understand what are alternatives and what could work better. So we are really glad to talk to you because you're all around in all the different positions. And yes, so our first question is, yeah, what's your understanding of housing affordability in Copenhagen and where do you see the biggest tensions between political goals and practical housing delivery?

00:01:29 Thierry

In the 90s, almost all kind of housing was affordable. There were like 20,000 council homes or council housing apartments. And even, yeah, also the what we call the kind of cooperative housing that is not in non-profit, was at that time quite cheap. And even when you, I mean, houses to buy were rather cheap apartments to buy. And also the private rent, market or what you call it, was quite affordable and it was very regulated at the time, before 92. And also, of course, the non-profit housing, I mean, was maybe actually not always the cheapest. The old ones were, but the newer apartments were maybe not cheap considering the housing sector at that time, but it was not expensive. It was still what you would call affordable. And in the 80s, around 77% of the new build apartments or homes in Copenhagen, were the non-profit housing. And still in the 90s, it was more than 60%. It was something 63, 66%. So yeah, that has changed a lot. The council house. Thing was privatized, what you might say to that was actually privatization, mostly to the in this kind of corporate housing that is not necessarily non-profit, and people could buy their own homes, but in that, yeah, corporate manner, but soon that became very capitalized and now it's very expensive.

00:04:34 Antonia Michel

They wanted to do the same, no, with non-profit housing? That people can buy their apartments but it didn't go through. The conservatives wanted to do it.

00:04:44 Thierry

Recently it was mainly for the election, you know, promises for the election. But it was tried a long time ago.

00:05:03 Antonia Michel

And what you call council housing is owned by the municipality or?

00:05:08 Thierry

Yes.

00:05:09 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:05:11 Thierry

It almost does not exist in Copenhagen now. And it's only for social housing. What you call it? I mean, for the use for social housing. As it is now. And it's very, I mean, compared to 20,000, maybe there are 300 or 500 apartments spread around now. And so in Frederiksberg, they have like 1 or 2,000 or something. A few, I mean, more than Copenhagen or some percentage because it's smaller.

00:05:56 Antonia Michel

Sorry. I have to...

00:06:10 Vera Nickel

Well, now she's out. I didn't have the chance to meet you yet. You met at the demonstration, right? Are you back, Antonia?

00:06:22 Antonia Michel

Yes, now you can't see me, but I got a call on the other end, so I'm just here now, but without camera.

00:06:31 Thierry

Sorry, I took off the microphone. I should not do that.

00:06:35 Antonia Michel

No worries.

00:06:36 Thierry

See you.

00:06:40 Antonia Michel

Yes. Okay, yes. And our second question is actually regarding Mjølnerparken. So because you have maybe have more of an overview right now who moved in there

and what changed to before the transformation, which groups and which income groups can still afford to live there if you see there as a change?

00:07:04 Thierry

Yeah, that's actually quite interesting. You made some good, very good questions. And I don't know exactly. One thing is, Mjølnerparken is not really a development area. In that sense, we would normally say in Denmark. The word is different. Maybe you would translate it into the same, but normally developer and development is new build. While Mjølnerparken is apartment grabbing.

00:07:47 Antonia Michel

Apartment prepping?

00:07:49 Thierry

Like land grabbing. Africa or other places. Because it's actually, yeah, it's the board of the housing association in the non-profit housing, but in association level, not on the local level. that has decided to handover the apartments to this private company that used to be called Nordic Real Estate Partners. Now it's mainly called Urban Partners, but they also have the name Juli Living. And probably also others.

00:08:38 Antonia Michel

Yeah, we talked to them a few weeks ago.

00:08:40 Thierry

Yeah.

00:08:43 Antonia Michel

Yes. Also to the old mayor and...

00:08:48 Thierry

Yeah.

00:08:50 Antonia Michel

But I think it's really good that we get different perspectives on this because they also said that the only truly affordable housing you can get from non-profit organisations and all that, but also that they really tried to keep out of the process, I think, in order to not, you know, become a part as seen as the problem, but then, of course, still profiting from the results. And I mean, yeah, he, as the former mayor, of course, was also in charge when liberalisations were made, right?

00:09:25 Thierry

Yeah, yeah, he has done it all the way through. When he was Lord Mayor, he was doing this. And now, and he's claiming like, no, it's the state that did it. And that forced them to sell off the council housing. But it was the same party that was in

government, the Social Democrats. And at the last election, he was also campaigning for them. I mean, in the background. He was advisor for the Lord Mayor candidate, who has now disappeared and withdrawn from everything, even the mandates he was elected for. And he was also fundraising for them. That is also quite interesting still. And in the meantime, he was a manager, director and different CEO in different public companies that made the new area called Ørestad on Amager, which is really made on the nature preserve area.

00:10:44 Antonia Michel

Oh, okay.

00:10:45 Thierry

Yeah, that is the big problem when they're talking now about enlarging it and they're even trying to do it. Apart from that part actually also being a waste dump, so it's very poisonous when you dig into the ground, not when you leave it. And you have to dig into the ground to build. But he has been there all the way through in every role and position almost you could imagine. And municipality and in public companies, like public sector companies and now in the private sector, but benefiting a lot from him and others political connections. Yeah, but the grabbing. Yeah, by the way, the council houses one, just one last thing about the council housing is that it was the former council homes were renewed for like five or six billion kroner, after the privatization. So they could actually, and it was state money, so they could actually have used the state money to renew the municipality housing and it could still be owned by the municipality, it could still be affordable public housing. But they decided not to find somebody. Just like they decided in Mjølnerparken not to make it into, I mean, to share the flats that were people were moving from anyway, because there's a natural percentage of movement every year, always in any kind of apartments. They could have made them for youth housing. Normally, especially before renovation, it was mainly three bedroom flats, apartments, so they could actually have had three homes for students in every apartment that was free, so they could very easily have fulfilled the obligation of having 60%, not of only 40%, 60% that was not non-profit family housing.

00:13:25 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because it's only about family housing. So if you categorize it as youth or elderly, that's both different, okay.

00:13:34 Thierry

Yeah, yeah, they're different if it's really elderly people housing. Not the... what do you call it...

00:13:46 Antonia Michel

Bofaelles...

00:13:49 Thierry

Yeah. The community there of senior people, they were not considered elderly enough or weak enough or something, or actually the homes, the apartments were categorised as family housing still, because you have to have a very certain degree to be old people, elderly people, homes, housing in the non-profit sector.

00:14:20 Antonia Michel

Right, yes. And the ones that are there now, that are categorised as senior living, are they still considered family housing or are those elderly living?

00:14:32 Thierry

There's none of that left in Mjølnerparken. Or maybe... There's the other, what you call it, branch, what you call it, also in the same buildings. But that's Høthørs Plads in Danish, it's called (inaudible). They are two different ones, a different one from Mjølnerparken. And they are actually the kind of elderly housing that is characterized the other way. So it's very strange that they could not do something clever.

00:15:22 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because I only heard that you couldn't densify and so on, and that's why...

00:15:29 Thierry

No, no, it's because they decided, the inhabitants decided I think unanimously, or at least almost everyone. I was at a meeting. It was in the old common house that was later destroyed. They had the meeting and they're actually the one deciding. But the special things about the development plans, they are not, it's not the local inhabitants who decide, it's the central board. And yeah, or the central, what do you call it? It's not really a general, it's a representative meeting. So it's mainly, it's almost only people living elsewhere deciding in that legislation about the development plans.

00:16:27 Antonia Michel

Because we read about this one meeting where it was approved, the plan.

00:16:32 Thierry

Yeah, but that was not the inhabitants.

00:16:34 Thierry

I think maybe there were three inhabitants from Mjølnerparken and they voted no.

00:16:42 Antonia Michel

That's so interesting to know, yeah, because it's really not well written to be understood from the outside.

00:16:51 Thierry

No. And that's interesting also in the sources to look at that, how they manipulate. They do that a lot, as you might imagine.

00:17:04 Antonia Michel

Yeah, that's good to know. And OK, going on.

00:17:11 Thierry

Yeah, and it's, but it's true if he said that the only affordable housing today in Copenhagen is the, or at least the only affordable new or accessible housing is the non-profit housing, Almene Bolig, which is a rather unique model of a non-profit. It's for all. So it's not social housing. Everybody can live there, even if you're a billionaire. And it's the municipality... have the access to at least 25 of the flats that become or apartments that become available. So they can use them for social purposes. But actually, they can also use it for other purposes. It's the municipality who decide. And they can even decide that they should have 100%. They have done in some suburbs. So, yeah. So it can be totally managed, who can come to stay there, but there have to be objective, what you call it, criteria. So it's always the waiting list and objective criteria. For example, you cannot say that a Western and non-Western background is a criteria. But it could be something about employment, perhaps in the local area, or that you have a very bad situation. It could be, it could also be that you have a good situation. So they can mix socially what does, but again, based on the area. Also, if you are a young student, it could also be a what you call yeah like a priority priority yeah but again you would normally have that you that it's different they have this wheel of nine different where you have some of them I mean for each nine apartment that becomes available then you would have some criteria in each or maybe none, but the municipality normally decides over 1/3 and in Copenhagen, and in Copenhagen it is if you are in a bad situation. You get these apartments that is distributed through the municipality and then maybe some of the other parts of the apartments that become available will have some other criteria and or maybe they will not. So it's just for the waiting list.

00:20:26 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:20:27 Thierry

So yeah.

00:20:28 Antonia Michel

And then in an area like Mjølnerparken or prevention areas, you also have other criteria, right?

00:20:38 Thierry

Yeah.

00:20:39 Antonia Michel

Do they apply to Mjølnerparken now going forward?

00:20:44 Thierry

I could find out or you could try to look at it's in there's a agreement between the municipality and the local association of housing as a non-profit housing associations. And they, it's normally, at least at thatpoint when the agreement is made, it's written in. I don't think I have it here.

00:21:35 Antonia Michel

Yeah, I would need to look into what, when it's a prevention area, because I'm not sure if...

00:21:43 Thierry

Yeah, but Mjølnerparken is not. It's too small. And actually also this story about the list of the prevention areas is also interesting. I don't know if you know it, but originally that was made one list in 2010. Then itwas renamed and there were no criteria during the time. But then in 2018, there was the big new stigma, paradigm, where they made three lists instead of one. So they had the vulnerable area list, they had theone which originally had the G word, and then the hard..., the soft lists, the hard list.

00:22:36 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:22:37 Thierry

Now called (inaudible).

00:22:40 Antonia Michel

Transformation.

00:22:42 Thierry

Yeah, the transformation area.

00:22:45 Thierry

And that's actually what Mjølnerparken is. It's not really a development area, it's a transformation area.

00:22:50 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:22:51 Thierry

Even though it's called a development plan. But they went there in 2018. At that time, 43 areas were on the vulnerable list. That's (inaudible) list. That's the one without the non-western criteria, what we call an ethnic or racist criteria. And then there were fewer on the other lists, of course. But still, I think, I don't think, I think there were 15 on the hard list, on the toughest list, what was later called the transformation areas. Already in 2020 and 21, they were disappearing from the list. Maybe there were only like 13 or something left on the list, the vulnerable list that used to have 43, because the development is real development. I mean, the situation in the area is so good because of social work, et cetera. So they made a new list so they could still claim that there are lots of areas on the list. So they changed the criteria, lowered some and raised some, and they did that already in the past with the original lists. But this one was really a push to make around 60 areas on a list. But officially, and of course also in reality, it was only a list to prevent that the areas was going to be on one of the real lists. So they are, but they can still claim this is a listed area. But there are, as might know from legislation, there's some kind of nationality regulation on the waiting list or something like that, but that's not ethnic or racist nationality in some way. Yeah, maybe you can look it up, maybe, yeah.

00:25:10 Antonia Michel

Yeah, yeah.

00:25:11 Thierry

You can ask further if you need. But still, all of these areas has to be non-profit housing and thousand inhabitants. And right now, Mjølnerparken doesn't have thousand inhabitants. I don't know if they count it in the new ones. So it will be more than thousand again. And what will happen? Because at least officially, living there, you need to have lots of money or be a very big family or be many families, but I don't think they do that as much. In Mjølnerparken, it happens elsewhere in this private rent in non-affordable housing, because to afford living there, like 10 people live there or three families or something like that in one apartment, which means that the average income must be low, but I don't know how they count it. I don't know how they count it in an apartment. And I don't, my impression is that it's more normal kind of young people from abroad sharing an apartment to afford it or more rich families.

00:26:34 Antonia Michel

Yeah, they said that for the private ones that they will prefer people who have a connection to Mjølnerparken already or used to live there maybe or grew up there or something. But I also don't know how many people apply, so.

00:26:53 Thierry

Did they say that?

00:26:54 Antonia Michel

They said that, yeah.

00:26:56 Antonia Michel

They also want to make people, I think, write like an application in a way.

00:27:01 Thierry

Yeah.

00:27:04 Antonia Michel

And then, yeah, they have some discounts now, but then they will expire very soon. So it doesn't really change a lot.

00:27:13 Thierry

That's really the interesting. Oh, I'm sorry.

00:27:15 Antonia Michel

Yeah, no worries. No, that's why we're also looking at the prices for 2028. To have a non-skewed version.

00:27:25 Thierry

Yeah, but that's very interesting. Even the discounted prices are double the rent.

00:27:31 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:27:33 Thierry

As the current price in the Mjølnerparken, the actual non-profit housing.

00:27:39 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:27:40 Thierry

So then it will be like 124% or even more, 150% increase compared from the non-profit housing. And that has even also been renewed. And that was also what they did. They renewed the apartments as the side from the inhabitants. Actually, they voted for it. But what they didn't know at that time, that was... I think it was in 15, they said, what they didn't know was when they were rehoused, they were told, you cannot come back because we have sold this, your apartment to [Anonymous] .

00:28:35 Antonia Michel

The blocks that were privatized, they didn't know that it wasn't just a renovation and...

00:28:41 Thierry

Not when they voted in 15. 2015, then it was not known.

00:28:48 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:28:49 Thierry

I don't know when they knew it, maybe not even when they were rehoused, the first ones.

00:28:56 Antonia Michel

Do you know more about where people moved to or if it was like very spread out? Because I only talked to one person at the demonstration about where she went from her like senior commune kind of and that they got multiple offers which were not very good because they're expensive or far out. Do you think this was the case very often, or?

00:29:24 Thierry

Yeah, it was. Some have also been rehoused inside Mjølnerparken, but many have been rehoused several times during the process. And some are still rehoused somewhere else waiting to get back to Mjølnerparken. And yeah, and cannot afford the new rehousing, if they should pay the actual rent. So they're waiting. I don't know if they're hoping for something to get, I mean, to be available or to, or if it's planned that they can come back. So, yeah, it's, and it has been a very bad process. And by the way, also a bad renovation.

00:30:19 Antonia Michel

Are people unhappy with it?

00:30:23 Thierry

Yeah. They have lots of complaints.

00:30:27 Antonia Michel

Why? Because of the quality or functionality...?

00:30:29 Thierry

Yeah, quality. Yeah, both.

00:30:32 Antonia Michel

Okay.

00:30:33 Thierry

And also some people have been without electricity or heating for a long time.

00:30:40 Antonia Michel

In the non-profit buildings?

00:30:42 Thierry

Yeah, I don't know how it is in the other part. It might not be, I think it has been, what do you say, it has been repaired early, sooner in the other part?

00:31:05 Antonia Michel

Yeah. And we were also wondering what you think about the 30% of income rule to look at affordability, to use that as a benchmark. Do you think that's a valid kind of percentage to look at in Mjølnerparken aswell?

00:31:25 Thierry

It's interesting. I haven't seen it before and I think it makes sense. And it's also one of your questions, which actually makes me more, what do you say, wiser or maybe that's a big word, more clever in someway.

00:31:52 Antonia Michel

Yeah, that's at least how a lot of international organisations do it maybe. But of course, at the same time, if you have very little income and you still spend 30% on rent, it could still mean that you're under a lot of you know, financial stress.

00:32:08 Thierry

Yeah, but it's, yeah, actually we have the support, I mean, money support if you have low income. Boligsikring, and if you're, what you call it, retired, then boligydelse also. That is actually, if you are not retired, you can only get subsidies for rent both non-profit but also the private rent, which means that lots of public money is spent on a high, maybe not extremely high, but still relatively high, what you call it, subsidising high rents in the private sector.

00:32:57 Antonia Michel

Falls back on the public as well, yeah.

00:33:00 Thierry

Yeah, but I mean, again, in non-profit housing, it's not so expensive compared to what you get.

00:33:08 Thierry

And I think this makes sense, this 30% of income spent on rent. I saw some numbers from the BL, which is the National Association of the Non-profit Housing Associations. They play a very bad role in these development plans and also in the court case, part of the court case on the housing association side against the tenant, the inhabitants, which is strange because it should be inhabitants democracy, etc. But that's a different story. But they actually have some numbers on this on average. And I think it was like 25% in the non-profit housing and 50% or more in the private rent. And it makes sense because it's about these levels that is twice as expensive, the rent and the private rent, as some kind of average number. So I think it makes sense, but especially when you also count in the public subsidies for the lowest income groups.

But I think it makes sense. At least that should be the maximum in some way, the 30% spend on rent. And problem, I mean, problem is in Denmark, housing costs and especially in Copenhagen, housing costs are high compared to other countries. As I see it, at least when looking at, maybe I'm looking too much towards Vienna, but still...

00:35:07 Antonia Michel

We looked at that, yeah.

00:35:11 Thierry

It's, yeah, we should compare to the places that are better.

00:35:16 Antonia Michel

That makes sense. Yeah, we also talked to BL. We also had an interview with them and yeah. But that's interesting that you say that. Is there something you think they could be doing better right now?

00:35:32 Thierry

Yeah, a lot. The principle is, for them, is mixed cities instead of non-profit housing. I mean, we should have the most non-profit housing. What do you say? The highest percentage possible.

00:35:57 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:35:57 Thierry

Non-profit housing.

00:35:59 Thierry

I mean, 100%.

00:36:00 Antonia Michel

50% at least, right?

00:36:02 Thierry

What?

00:36:03 Antonia Michel

You were also saying that in your statements online that you would like a 50% non-profit rate at least, right?

00:36:11 Thierry

Yeah, yeah. That was even in the Enhedslisten campaign. It ended up being the official policy of our party. Yeah, and some of us even could, and I could hear that on

other candidates also, also very top candidates that, at least in top four, that the 25% self-owners housing, we did not need that as much. So it could really be 75%, but still 50% would do something. And it has also been the norm or even more in the suburbs. And as you know, I mean, in the (inaudible) suburb, west of Copenhagen, (inaudible), and it has always been the case in Copenhagen, as I mentioned, in the 1980s and 90s, that it was, yeah, at least 50%, but actually more. And that would mean a lot, especially if we also were talking about reducing buildings that exists. Like if we really want to make city, we should go out to the what we call villas, this kind of that is the principal single family housing in the other areas of Copenhagen. But some of them are quite big. So, I mean, some of them are small, so they could be used for one non-profit housing unit, but lots of them are big, so they could be used for a community or for independent apartments or some kind of... 2000 for many students or at least some. So that we really mix the city instead of being only sold, they are sold as what you call it? Self-own a house or inhabitation owner's house, at least in principle. I think if you're rich enough, you can buy more of them and live there.

00:38:50 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because so far people have explained to us that one issue with taking over or renovating existing housing is the high obligations for public entities, that they have to be energy certified level A, EU-wide, and well, private companies apparently don't have the same obligations. But also, yeah, and also, so we were wondering maybe how, yeah, what do you think stands in the way of this, of taking over more existing housing or also building more?

00:39:31 Thierry

The municipality in reality regulates technical environment administration and municipality, and they could probably make it. And when you say public, you mean the non-profit housing?

00:39:50 Antonia Michel

Yes.

00:39:51 Thierry

Because it might, no, yeah, but it's, there are also municipality buildings, but they're used for schools, et cetera. And they might have an even higher level of free, I don't know, regulation, but standards. They are building extremely expensive buildings. And some of it is also having to do with quality and sustainability in the broad sense that they last for a long time. And that's also part of the story. Maybe the problem, sometimes the problem is that a non-profit housing is regulated so much, but sometimes it's also that the profit sector is regulated too little. And that is kind of a problem. We should really move to a regime or a situation where almost all of the housing is a non-profit. That would solve many of the problems because you don't have to compete with a profit sector that can put in lots of money because they know

that they will make profit on it. Or even if they cannot rent it out, they would have tax advantages from it so they can actually save money or they can sell the tax version or what you call it to other companies of their own or from completely different companies. So they will always earn money on it and earn profits in some ways. So yeah, it's difficult to compete with. Also, the main problem.

00:41:47 Antonia Michel

Is not just that maybe land is expensive, et cetera, but also that it's just not regulated enough, the private sector?

00:41:55 Thierry

Yeah. And also that it exists. I don't think that you would accept, especially not in Denmark, where so many people are so price conscious, that it would exist that you had one supermarket with double the price and everything and it was the same good you got and that is just because they should have profit to the owners and then you had another supermarket half the price and only because it was not profit all the goods were the same and maybe even some of the things were better for the people working there etc. Of course, everybody would go to the supermarket with half the price instead of the one with double the price. But it doesn't work that way because the regulation is so much in favor of the deregulation according to what you, how you see it, is so much in favor of the profit sector. I would call it profit and non-profit because it's really also private associations, the non-profit associations, even though they are heavily regulated by law.

00:43:26 Antonia Michel

Yes, true. Also, when we talked to NREP, they also talked about that their investors is the pension fund and talking about that a lot of people who get the pension from this pension fund might not be able to afford the apartments they invest in, but that, of course, everybody would want their pension fund to have a lot of profit in order to get better pensions later on or to secure the pensions. Do you think this could become a problem if pension funds can't invest in real estate anymore in this sense they're doing now?

00:44:07 Thierry

No, they could just invest in green, what do you call it, transformation. I mean, they could invest in energy or in energy savings even, or many kinds of these kind of investments. That would be much better for the society.

00:44:28 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:44:29 Thierry

But I know that, and that's also part of the problem because some of the pension funds are also bipartisan from employers and trade unions, and trade unions mainly

controlled by the Social Democrats. So they have a big interest in this kind of profit housing, or for-profit housing.

00:44:52 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:44:56 Thierry

So it's not that they could invest in so many constructive things, where it's actually makes more sense.

00:45:08 Antonia Michel

And you also talk about, yeah, that you think one should have this general rent cap again, like before 1992. And I think we both and all of us see the big benefits of that. Do you also see any risks of introducing it again? Now, as you said already, with the pension funds, it could be exactly... taken in another direction.

00:45:42 Thierry

Yeah, yeah. And even in direct production of more sustainable products. But what is the problem about the cap is more like the loopholes. because we already have the regulation and the legislation for the apartments built before 1902 and larger than, I think it's six apartments. But there are also loopholes and of course we should get rid of them because if they renew the apartment, they could raise the rent and when somebody moves out, there are at least some possibilities to raise the rent. So if we get rid of these, then it would work. Also because these arguments that there will not be build enough apartments etc. is simply not true because we have the non-profit housing sector that can take over. That would be much better for tenants and for society.

00:46:56 Antonia Michel

It's true. Yeah, I think what we were also very surprised about, I think because NREP said that they, because the buildings in Mjølnerparken are from the 80s, and even though they're renovated, they still have to be, they still have this pre-1992 regulation, but that you can still have kind of like a high rent unless somebody complains to this local council and then they have to compare with other prices, right? So they're kind of still, making it together, right, as private entities.

00:47:39 Thierry

Yeah, but that's also quite interesting because they tried to have this board, Huslejenævnet, out in the apartments before it was sold to find out the value, how much could they take rent, and they were thrown out with the help from the Tenants Association, because they were not allowed to do that. As long as it was non-profit housing. And I don't know what they have done since, and I don't know if any of the inhabitants of the new, I mean, of the private rent, what they're doing, because they have less, much less rights as the private tenants, as you have in the non-profit

housing. In non-profit housing, you, in principle, you actually rule your area together and decide the rent and decide what should happen and how should things be kept and renewed and what should happen in the area, et cetera. While as a tenant in the private sector, you are just, I mean, you're subject to the landlord, which is in this case, Urban Partners and NREP and Juli living.

00:49:12 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

00:49:13 Thierry

But you can complain, as they mentioned. It sounds really interesting, like NREP, has given you all of the arguments against them in some way, and then tried to make some kind of an excuse.

00:49:28 Antonia Michel

Yes, maybe they have foreseen where this could go.

00:49:32 Thierry

I think it sounds very interesting, and if I can get, I can see some kind of, or if... when you make the final report or at some time in between. I would really like to say what they have said, especially, of course, if it's the actual [Anonymous] that you have interviewed.

00:49:53 Antonia Michel

Yes, yes, we have. I'm not sure if we can publish the whole transcript or just quotes, but definitely some quotes there will be in there if they agree to the ones we select. And yeah, but so it's really good to get a reality check through different perspectives because, yeah, we're also not Danish, so sometimes I think things get slipped. Yes, you also really talk a lot about resident democracy in general, and so we were wondering a bit about where you see that resident influence is maybe bypassed sometimes or weakened, especially in Myrna Park, but also in general, you're also a board member of your housing association, right?

00:50:40 Thierry

Yeah, yeah. Yes, quite interesting. I was quite recently I was asked by another active member to, I mean, the (inaudible), etc., to actually complain that we cannot really make proposals even within the board of our housing association because it's always transferred into a, and some kind of, it's called instilling, it's a recommendation from the, from three persons in, I mean, some kind of central bureau inside the board who... And it's actually just taken over from the administration. But they make a recommendation that it's almost always to vote no to proposals, even from the members of the board. It's quite interesting because, as the other person mentioned, it's probably written inside the statutes that you have the right to make a proposal, of course. But that is bypassed by this system of making that you cannot actually make

a proposal. You can hand it in to this board, which is the chairman, vice chairman and third member. And then they will make the demonstration to say, to make a recommendation that this proposal should not be passed through. That's quite interesting. And I didn't think about that way before, even though it's kind of a, I mean, you destroy the actual purpose. And that's one of the kinds of bypassing. Also that you don't decide locally on the actual development plans. That was changed during the legislation process in 2018 in Parliament. That in the original proposal, actually like any other plan, like any other decision, it should be decided in the local meeting. of the inhabitants that is grounded. It's called (inaudible), and (inaudible) is the area.

00:53:33 Antonia Michel

And in the transformation area, you don't have that?

00:53:40 Thierry

No, during the legislation process, it was changed so that you have no decision on the local level, it's up on the association level. And that is in all of the associations that is, that actually have development plans, it's representatives of the different areas, which means, and it's all the (inaudible) all the parts of the association. So it means that it will mainly be people who are not living in these areas and almost entirely people who are not living in the area that has to decide on the transformation plan and it has been passed through like that. And normally they are also the chairman and yeah, you so to say chiefs or governors of their own area. So it's people in some way, people in power, local people in power locally that sits on the side and the social level about areas where they don't live themselves.

00:55:03 Antonia Michel

Okay. And that is for new development areas such as Jernbanebyen or also...?

00:55:09 Thierry

No, that's completely different because that's... That's something totally different because that has nothing to do with the legislation at all. The legislation is only about existing non-profit housing areas. Jernbanebyen is actually a new development. So that's, they use many of the same words, words that sound the same, even in the areas like these helhedsplan, it's called, and that's ...yeah, that is two different things in the non-profit housing areas, social ones and then building ones. And that is something completely different from a development plan. Yeah, and you can also have other kinds of plans. Municipalities also make plans. And then, yeah, so it's very different and very difficult to, yeah. point out from each other. But in Jernbanebyen, it's a new development area and it's local plan regulated, which is also, that's the municipality plans. They're called local plan and also municipality plan. Which is for the whole municipality and local plans for this area. They have used, while they're trying to make it, fortunately, it's the state railways have stopped it because they fear that it will be too difficult still to run the railways. But it's next to Central Station and it

used to be a railway maintenance area. So, yeah, that's why the name Jernbanebyen means railway. But probably during time they will be able to build this new new part of the city. And yeah, it's something completely different. But then again, they have said that they would like 25%... that is the possibility in the local plans normally to have 25% non-profit housing. Problem is then that students housing and even as we discussed in City Hall recently, which the subject mayor didn't know, that it's actually... It can also be, what you call it, care homes for old people.

00:58:16 Antonia Michel

Senior homes, yeah.

00:58:18 Thierry

Yeah, yeah, I mean, like when you're really, it's... It's in between a home and a hospital.

00:58:26 Antonia Michel

Like a nursing home.

00:58:29 Thierry

Yeah, you might call it that, yeah.

00:58:32 Antonia Michel

That these don't fall into these 25%, the youth.

00:58:35 Thierry

They do.

00:58:36 Antonia Michel

Nursing?

00:58:37 Antonia Michel

Okay, they both do.

00:58:40 Thierry

The actual apartments of that is also non-profit housing because of legislation, the municipality cannot build it any more themselves. So it's, yeah, for better and especially sometimes worse, it is also the non-profit housing association that takes care of that.

00:59:06 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because the privates, yeah, they're also not touching that, right? The nursing homes.

00:59:13 Thierry

No. And it would also be more expensive and then you also would have to pay the profits.

00:59:23 Antonia Michel

Also, yeah, I think maybe to our last question, because you said you have to go, right, soon-ish?

00:59:30 Thierry

Oh, no, it's not so bad now, but yeah.

00:59:34 Antonia Michel

We can go there first and otherwise. Yes, because we were wondering because we do a lot of criticizing I also feel like in our thesis so far, and that makes sense, I guess. But how do you imagine an alternative or a more fair and inclusive housing market in the future and what is necessary to get there?

01:00:02 Thierry

Yeah, of course, as much as possible should be non-profit housing. Actually, you could transfer at least the private rent housing owned by the big companies and especially the pension funds, because many of them are regulated by law. So they could simply change the law so they could not anymore have this kind of private rent housing for profit, and they had to transfer it to other existing or new nonprofit housing associations.

01:00:43 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:00:43 Thierry

And if that was really efficient, it would mean that we would go from 19% or something to almost 50% nonprofit housing alone on that.

01:00:57 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:00:59 Thierry

And then something should be done about the.. Of course, the democracy within the non-profit housing sector should also be strengthened. So that it is really the people living there who decide. That's also necessary.

01:01:18 Antonia Michel

So it's more active? Because right now it's a bit more reacting? The way you explained it, it sounded like it's a bit more reacting kind of to proposals and you would like it a bit more active too, yeah.

01:01:32 Thierry

And more local power to the actual inhabitants and not that the powers up in the top of the associations, and especially with the administrations instead of with the inhabitants. Or sentence, if you might use that, like to use that word. So it should really be an inhabitants democracy instead of an administrative safe kind of rule with some kind of polish or painting on top that looks like there's some, like in George Orwell's Animal Farm. Yeah, it's actually the Animal Farm that is the best. Because the pigs take over the power when the animals should have the power. So it should be all of the inhabitants, all of the animals should have the power, not only the pigs in the top of the system. Of course that, but also as we talked about some of this kind of in principle, one-family housing in the outer, especially the outer areas of Copenhagen, should be made also into non-profit housing so that it of different kinds so that it will really mix the city that way because the non-profit housing is the mixed city. Different kind of forms of ownership does not make a mixed city because it means that 80% or 81% of the housing is actually for the richest people because they're the only ones that can afford the market price housing, which the other kinds of housing are in different ways. Yeah, and that's also a problem about these cooperatives that are very capitalised, Andels Bolig. Now it's the big thing in City Hall to make more of that. And of course, as long as they make it out of the private rent, it has advantages. People get to decide more on their own homes. But at the same time, it will be capitalised if it's not capitalised yet, and it will become very expensive housing. So that's and that is very difficult. If you could decapitalise these kind of houses, it would be good, but it's also very difficult. It's an easier way to actually use the non-profit housing. Yeah. And then again, to use the buildings that we already have, unused roofs, unused buildings. That's the real renewal, because if you take down a building and then try to use the materials again, it's very expensive and it's very difficult. It's not so sustainable. It's much better to use what we already have and to save. Like in den grønne trekant, in Sigynsgade, which is now out of all of the lists, including the so-called prevention list. They will take down existing apartments, big building, just because they think it's in the way for their city planning. It's a little stupid.

01:05:26 Antonia Michel

In Sigurdsgade?

01:05:29 Thierry

No, it's close to... It's not Sigurdsgade, but it's almost parallel.

01:05:37 Antonia Michel

OK.

01:05:38 Thierry

It's called the green triangle. And then again, I don't know if you spoke to [Anonymous], who has absolutely nothing to do with that he should take over the handicap friendly, what do you call them, one level houses in row houses in Tingbjerg. Or actually the land that will become there if the housing association gets to demolish it. But that's also completely insane and very undemocratic, by the way. We have the decisions that we should not demolish it, but it should be preserved and renewed. But they have just pushed from the top that it should be demolished. Fortunately, the inhabitants have the right to stay there. So that's what they do until all the court cases are finished. And that will be next year in October. From there, then something on and then to next level of court. And hopefully before that, it will all be stopped.

01:07:15 Antonia Michel

What is the newest update now on the court cases?

01:07:21 Thierry

It is that... I mean, from the EU court, it's... They have... made those conditions almost like the general attorney. So it will be extremely difficult for the Danish court, (inaudible), to decide anything else than the Danish legislation is illegal and it should be stopped. I don't know if they will try to do it in court, but of course the lawyer, the inhabitants lawyer, will push on. It's 28 pages in normal print. And I think they're saying if you have a different position according to either your area is on the list where there is no non-Western criteria, the vulnerable list, or you are on the next list where you have the criteria of a sort of non-Western background, then it's discrimination and then it's illegal. And of course you are in a worse position when you risk getting on the transformation list. You're not risking that from the vulnerable list, but you're risking that from the next list.

01:08:43 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:08:45 Thierry

Which are even called parallel societies, which is also very stigmatising.

01:08:54 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:08:55 Thierry

So it should be... Unfortunately, they did not decide, but they had given the very strict advice to the Danish court, from the EU court.

01:09:10 Antonia Michel

And in retrospective, so from Mjølnerparken, that might mean financial compensation maybe, but probably not deprivatisation, right? Or like that it becomes a non-profit again or anything like this.

01:09:25 Thierry

I don't know, because it could be, it's very easy, or easy in some way. Physically, it's very easy because the houses still exist. So I think it would be worth trying to say this is illegal. And they knew because the general attorney had already given her advice to the court at the time where at least one of the squares were sort of capitalised so they knew that it was a very big risk. And I think it should be tested. I don't know what people will do, inhabitants, etc. but I think it makes sense to try.

01:10:18 Antonia Michel

Yes. And also just very important for the future for other areas.

01:10:24 Thierry

Yeah, and it has already meant something that there had been such a lot of resistance in the most affected areas that they had, it had stopped something.

01:10:35 Antonia Michel

There are new parties in power in the Kommune starting next year, right? And SF as a mayor, right? Do you think there will be any changes or maybe it will take time?

01:10:58 Thierry

I hope so. I'm not very optimistic. SF has not been one of the progressive parties in this. Actually, in some ways, many of the other parties have been more progressive, like the parties that offered the Housing Association that the preservation of the handicap or disability suitable houses in Tingbjerg, that they could be part of the local plan to preserve them was the Red Green Alliance, Enhedslisten, but also the Conservatives (inaudible) and the alternative and the radical party, but not SF. And then sometimes even the Danish People's Party, which was, as you know, a populist party, they have also been more supportive of the inhabitants if they think that at least some of them had a better skin colour or something. So they have actually also been sometimes at least... and SF have been in housing not so progressive. Hopefully they will be because during the election campaign they sounded a little bit more progressive. But yeah but let's see and we'll try to put maximum pressure on the new majority. So they will have the chance to do. And what you should also know that it's not a real new majority. It's a new constellation in some way, because what has actually happened is that the right wing, the election coalition of them, have camped with the left wing... principal left wing coalition.

01:13:19 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because SF switched over kind of?

01:13:22 Thierry

Yeah, in some way. So formally now, all the positions, almost all the positions are now not with Social Democrats, they're isolated, but with this, with the left wing,

principal left wing parties, And with the support of the right. So it means that the actual majority constellation, when you talk about politics, is not like it has changed. It's not a left-wing majority now that we had hoped for. We didn't get the two seats extra that would have or it would have been three, according to last elections. We actually had one extra seat, but that goes to Fri Grønne, the party that has been some kind of, they're all for themselves. They have been made kind of a barrier because the right wing don't like them, and then the left wing cannot be so much cooperating with them. But in the end, it doesn't mean so much because we wouldn't have a clear right left-wing majority anyway. But still, again, lots of different constellations have been made inside City Hall. We already did that in the last period that ends now, but it's still a possibility, but there's not a clear left-wing majority and it will not, in few instances, like it has been in the past, then actually the left-wing and social democrats can make a majority. But normally it would rather more be with this left-wing and the radical party, which is a center-wing party like in France or something, as you might know. So-called social liberal, but with a very strong and actually leading neoliberal wing, but still in value issues, they are more like, they don't like the non-Western criteria, for instance. So they were against the legislation, but then again, on local level, sometimes they have voted in favor, like they also did both in Mjølnerparken and Tingbjerg, but still claiming that if the legislation were changing, then they should also change the development plan.

01:15:59 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because in Mjølnerparken it was only Enhedslisten and Alternativet, correct? Who were against it?

01:16:06 Thierry

Yeah, and in Tingbjerg, actually no parliamentary parties were against it, even though it was totally split half and half in Enhedslisten. But because of the voting system, it ended up by being in favor.

01:16:29 Antonia Michel

Yeah.

01:16:31 Thierry

And what you call it, at what time during the election process in three rounds, which election... voting rules were complying. So, yeah, that's also an interesting story. But actually, you could also make the plan in Tingbjerg. It was not planned, but you could make the plan without destroying any home or forced removal of anyone or forced to, what you call it, rehousing of anyone.

01:17:08 Antonia Michel

Yes.

01:17:09 Thierry

But still maintaining the plan, actually. Actually, now they have changed the plan more than they said that you could not do, that you're not allowed to do, just to preserve the homes that they want to demolish. So that's the struggle.

01:17:27 Antonia Michel

The accessible ones? And they were non-profit and now they will become like for-profit housing?

01:17:40 Thierry

Their plan is to demolish the non-profit housing, sell the land with a loss to [Anonymous] , NREP, Urban Partners. And then they will build three times as many apartments on the land. And then they will sell back also 42 apartments to the housing association. But they will be smaller and not with the same facilities at all. And also some of them on the second floor or third floor. Yeah, and they will rent out the rests and it will be for profit, all of it. But then the ones that will go back to the housing association will be, or they will sell back to the housing association will then be rented out as a non-profit. But we are not really sure that it will be the number 42, but we are sure that they will not have the same accessibility or, yeah, facilities or anything.

01:18:59 Antonia Michel

Sometimes we also came about homes for people with disabilities, like accessible homes, but are they also another subcategory?

01:19:11 Thierry

No.

01:19:11 Antonia Michel

So when you have family housing, that still counts as a (inaudible) in transformation areas?

01:19:18 Thierry

That has been the case here, but actually they could make it into elderly, they could re-label it into elderly non-profit housing. Which would actually mean that they could count on the other side, which is also one of our solutions.

01:19:36 Antonia Michel

Because the elderly homes, you could also say it's for people with disability of every age?

01:19:41 Thierry

It could be in practice, yeah.

01:19:44 Antonia Michel

Oh, wow, okay.

01:19:45 Thierry

And especially right now, lots of people, yeah, (inaudible) people live in these houses.

01:19:53 Antonia Michel

I'm just checking if we had another... I think you answered our questions. We were also looking a bit into relocations. But yeah, there's not a lot of data on it, where people go, etc. If you have an idea how municipalities could act differently, maybe to reduce relocations or, yeah, and also divestment, but...

01:20:44 Thierry

Yeah, the relocation, you mean of people...

01:20:49 Antonia Michel

Yeah, when it's renovated, when the prices increase or, yeah.

01:20:57 Thierry

Yeah. Actually, that used to be from the public renewal, (inaudible), city renewal. There used to be some kind of extra support for people. And it's not like that in non-profit housing, at least not today. And I don't know if this kind of law exist anymore also because some people claim that it was expensive but and then it was also with the time limit and the next inhabitants had other kinds of but one thing is to avoid that in normal areas that the new becomes too expensive that is also important but especially about transformation areas, it should be stuffed.

01:22:02 Antonia Michel

Do you think in Mjølnerparken they could have made renovations that would be less pricey? Or do you think these renovations were maybe necessary either way in the long run for the non-profit housing?

01:22:19 Thierry

I'm not really sure. It might be both. Especially, I think they have not done it in a proper way, it seems like. And I don't know how much was needed. The inhabitants voted in favor originally, but right now it looks like they will not have any increased rent, but they might end up having it anyway because there's a large some kind of deficit somewhere. It's also very strange and it's something that is unstable in the housing association with the economy, also in other areas.

01:23:10 Antonia Michel

Yeah, because the rent also depends on other estates, right, to redistribute the cost?

01:23:19 Thierry

Not so much, but a little bit. There are some kind of... what we all pay, or the whole sector, in our rent as inhabitants, tenants, and then also in our own association. By far most is paid, like the (inaudible) plan is paid by the single area, But then also some parts are paid from all of us.

01:23:53 Antonia Michel

Spanning over.

01:23:56 Thierry

And also within associations.

01:23:58 Thierry

But I think the most important part in Mjølnerparken is actually not the renovation of the non-profit area or the non-profit squares. It is the capitalisation of the two middle squares. So that is what should be changed into non-profit housing again. And all of all of the parties, including NREP Urban Partners, knew the risks. So they should not really be having reward to have made that, they should just be kicked out.

01:24:42 Thierry

Yeah.

01:24:43 Antonia Michel

Okay.

01:24:44 Thierry

So I think that's the most important in that area. Other areas can be different if it's not transformation area. But in the transformation areas, the important thing is to stop all the capitalisations and also especially the demolishing buildings. Also because it's normally cheap and good homes, so that's much better to keep them.

01:25:12 Antonia Michel

Yeah. Nice. That's good last words, I would say. Maybe. Unless you still feel like you haven't said something that is pressing.

01:25:27 Thierry

No. Just one thing, and thanks a lot for the interview and the questions. Some of the quantified numbers that you're looking into, and also some of the things that you're asking me, also this, if we have 50% non-profit housing, and what about the incomes, et cetera? I think it's something that, if you can, it's a very good idea to look into it, because much of what has been done has been focusing on legal stuff and discrimination, et cetera. But you are actually trying to look in, as I can see it, on actually affordability of housing in Copenhagen. And I think that's very good. And it's also something that we haven't examined so much. So I think it would be very useful

for society. And all of us. If you have the possibility to look into this question and also quantify some of it, that you have already been writing and asking.

01:26:42 Antonia Michel

Perfect. Yes, that's exactly what we're trying to do right now. We're a lot in contact with the people from LBF as well and figuring out the right numbers and also forecasting it a little bit. We're not economists, but we're trying our best. And we will also, if we use any of your quotes, we will definitely send it to you before and also the whole thesis once it's done.

01:27:12 Thierry

Yeah, thanks a lot and if you have the need to ask about some of the things you get from LBF or other sources, then feel free to contact me and ask.

01:27:27 Antonia Michel

Great. Yes, that could happen. Yes. Our main analysis time will be beginning of January, I think. And yeah, maybe we'll shoot you an e-mail. Great. Okay, then have a good day. Enjoy the weekend. Have someweekend.

01:27:46 Thierry

The same to you.

01:27:48 Antonia Michel

Thank you so much. And speak to you another time.

01:27:52 Antonia Michel

Bye bye.

01:27:52 Vera Nickel

Bye.

Appendix D - Forecast Calculations

In Table D1:

B31 cell formula for 2029: “=FORECAST.LINEAR(\$A31;B\$2:B\$26; \$A\$2:\$A\$26)”

| | A | B |
|----|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Year | 1. decile/year |
| 2 | 2000 | 87.041 DKK |
| 3 | 2001 | 89.546 DKK |
| 4 | 2002 | 94.627 DKK |
| 5 | 2003 | 97.361 DKK |
| 6 | 2004 | 100.703 DKK |
| 7 | 2005 | 103.179 DKK |
| 8 | 2006 | 107.106 DKK |
| 9 | 2007 | 109.700 DKK |
| 10 | 2008 | 110.153 DKK |
| 11 | 2009 | 112.221 DKK |
| 12 | 2010 | 118.333 DKK |
| 13 | 2011 | 119.723 DKK |
| 14 | 2012 | 122.911 DKK |
| 15 | 2013 | 123.815 DKK |
| 16 | 2014 | 125.149 DKK |
| 17 | 2015 | 126.169 DKK |
| 18 | 2016 | 125.946 DKK |
| 19 | 2017 | 126.441 DKK |
| 20 | 2018 | 130.472 DKK |
| 21 | 2019 | 134.195 DKK |
| 22 | 2020 | 139.448 DKK |
| 23 | 2021 | 146.492 DKK |
| 24 | 2022 | 149.953 DKK |
| 25 | 2023 | 155.238 DKK |
| 26 | 2024 | 160.995 DKK |
| 27 | 2025 | 155.469 DKK |
| 28 | 2026 | 158.145 DKK |
| 29 | 2027 | 160.821 DKK |
| 30 | 2028 | 163.498 DKK |
| 31 | 2029 | 166.174 DKK |

Table D1: Income Deciles Forecast in Denmark until 2029

The price increase from 2028 is approximately 18.88% (15.8k/13.3k). Our Excel calculation rounded it wrongly to 19.23%. It is a negligible quirk of less than 0.5 percentage points that does not impact the trends we calculated.



Statusnotat om udlejning i Mjølnerparken pr. 18. November 2025

Generelt er der stor interesse for at bo i Mjølnerparken, hvor der er lav til ingen tomgang i udlejningsboliger og generelt stor interesse for erhvervsdrivende for at åbne butik.

Status for boligudlejning:

- Der er meget stor interesse for at bo i Mjølnerparken. De første etaper er blevet udlejet nærmest med det samme, og de første beboere er flyttet ind.
- Mere end 4.600 personer har skrevet sig på Nreps interesseliste for udlejningen.
- Generelt er der en stor diversitet i beboersammensætningen, hvor der både er tidligere beboere fra Mjølnerparken, børnefamilier, Københavnerne, expats og tilflyttere fra Jylland, lokale frivillige, tidligere beboere fra den almene sektor (Bo-Vita, AAB og FSB) samt, studerende og unge mennesker, der deler bolig.
- Der gives huslejerabat indtil d. 31/12/2027. For en 3-værelse lejlighed betyder det eksempelvis en månedlig rabat på 2.500 kr/md med en husleje på 13.300 kr/md frem mod d. 1/1/2028, hvor huslejen vil være 15.800 kr/md uden rabat.

| Etape | Type | Boligtype | Status (boligenheder) | Indflytning | Gns. størrelse | Gns. m2-leje* | Prisekseksempel |
|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Etape 1-8 | Privat udlejning | Familieboliger | 100% udlejet (229 ud af 229) | 15/5/2024 | 89 kvm. | 2.220 kr/år | 3-vær./85kvm: 13.300 kr/md. (2024-2027) 15.800 kr/md. (fra 2028) |
| Etape 1-8 | Privat udlejning | Studieboliger | 100% udlejet (30 ud af 30) | Dec. 2024 - H2 2025 | 30 kvm. | 2.317 kr/år | 1-vær./30kvm: 5.793 kr/md |
| Total | | 259 boliger | | | | | |

* Gns. m2-priser er 2028-niveauer uden lejerabat

Figure D2: Price Increase at Mjølnerparken in 2028

| Block 2 Adress | Rooms | sqm | 2024 Rent/year DKK | 2024 Rent/Month DKK | 2024 month price/sqm | 2028 month price/sqm |
|--------------------------|-------|-----|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Mjølnerparken 26, 1. tv. | 4 | 99 | 177.600 | 14.800 | 149 | 178,244 |
| Mjølnerparken 26, 1. th. | 4 | 85 | 158.400 | 13.200 | 155 | 185,158 |
| Mjølnerparken 26, 2. tv. | 4 | 99 | 178.800 | 14.900 | 151 | 179,448 |

Table D3: Monthly Price per sqm Calculation, Mjølnerparken 2028

D4: Indices Forecasting

| Year | Private Index |
|------|---------------|
| 2021 | 99,80 |
| 2022 | 101,80 |
| 2023 | 106,60 |
| 2024 | 108,30 |
| 2025 | 110,50 |
| 2026 | 113,77 |
| 2027 | 116,56 |
| 2028 | 119,35 |
| 2029 | 122,14 |
| 2030 | 124,93 |
| 2031 | 127,72 |
| 2032 | 130,51 |
| 2033 | 133,3 |
| 2034 | 136,09 |
| 2035 | 138,88 |

Figure D4.1: Private Index Forecast

| Year | Private Index | Year2 | Non-profit Index |
|---------------------------------|---------------|-------|------------------|
| 2024 | 100 | 2024 | 100 |
| 2025 | 102,03 | 2025 | 103,17 |
| 2026 | 105,05 | 2026 | 105,38 |
| 2027 | 107,63 | 2027 | 108,03 |
| 2028 | 110,20 | 2028 | 110,67 |
| Yearly Average Increase: | 2,46% | | 2,57% |

Figure D4.2: Private Index Forecast, with Yearly Average Increase

| Year | Avg. All DKK/sqm/year Hoveds |
|------|------------------------------|
| 2020 | 928 |
| 2021 | 943 |
| 2022 | 961 |
| 2023 | 986 |
| 2024 | 1018 |
| 2025 | 1050 |
| | |
| | |
| 2025 | 1055,666 |
| 2026 | 1100,531805 |
| 2027 | 1153,357332 |
| 2028 | 1215,061949 |

Figure D5: Average Rise for Non-Profit Rent

D6: Scenario Forecasting

| | primary average |
|------|-----------------|
| 2017 | 1.950,00 |
| 2018 | 2.025,00 |
| 2019 | 2.100,00 |
| 2020 | 2.100,00 |
| 2021 | 2.187,50 |
| 2022 | 2.287,50 |
| 2023 | 2.387,50 |
| 2024 | 2.462,50 |
| 2025 | 2.531,25 |
| 2026 | 2.592,36 |
| 2027 | 2.665,69 |
| 2028 | 2.739,03 |
| 2029 | 2.812,36 |
| 2030 | 2.885,69 |
| 2031 | 2.959,03 |
| 2032 | 3.032,36 |
| 2033 | 3.105,69 |
| 2034 | 3.179,03 |
| 2035 | 3.252,36 |

Table D6.1: Forecasted Colliers Values from 2026

| Household type | m2 | Rent/ month |
|--------------------|----|---------------|
| Youth, single | 30 | 7.470 |
| Youth, couple | 45 | 11.204 |
| Senior, single | 30 | Not available |
| Senior, couple | 45 | Not available |
| Family, single, 0 | 30 | 7.430 |
| Family, single + 1 | 45 | 11.145 |
| Family, single + 2 | 60 | 14.860 |
| Family, couple + | 45 | 11.145 |
| Family, couple + | 60 | 14.860 |
| Family, couple + | 75 | 18.574 |

Table D6.2: Calculation for Minimum Size Scenario

| Household type | m2 | 1. CAP in 2027 | 2. 2,8% CAP in 2029 DKK/month | 3. Shares in 2029 (DKK/m2/year) | 4. Shares 2029 per month (Dkk/month) | 5. MONTHLY RENT in first year (2029) |
|-----------------------------|----|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Youth, single | 30 | 1.348.057 | 3.145 | 176 | 440 | 3.585 |
| Youth, couple | 45 | 1.776.621 | 4.145 | 176 | 660 | 4.805 |
| Senior, single | 30 | 1.248.814 | 2.914 | 176 | 440 | 3.354 |
| Senior, couple | 45 | 2.144.401 | 5.004 | 176 | 660 | 5.664 |
| Family, single, 0 children | 30 | 1.348.057 | 3.145 | 160 | 400 | 3.545 |
| Family, single + 1 children | 45 | 1.776.621 | 4.145 | 160 | 600 | 4.745 |
| Family, single + 2 children | 60 | 2.205.185 | 5.145 | 160 | 800 | 5.945 |
| Family, couple + 0 children | 45 | 1.776.621 | 4.145 | 160 | 600 | 4.745 |
| Family, couple + 1 children | 60 | 2.205.185 | 5.145 | 160 | 800 | 5.945 |
| Family, couple + 2 children | 75 | 2.633.749 | 6.145 | 160 | 1.000 | 7.145 |
| larger size flats | | | | | | |
| Youth, couple | 25 | 1.205.203 | 2.812 | 176 | 367 | 3.179 |
| Family, single, 0 children | 95 | 3.205.167 | 7.479 | 160 | 1.267 | 8.745 |
| Senior, single | 67 | 2.789.019 | 6.508 | 176 | 983 | 7.490 |

Table D6.3: Housing Cost Scenarios for Jembanebyen

| Year | Inflation (Sep) PRIS116 | Wage index (May) SBLON1 | Total increase [%] | total increase | Climate index | 10% out of 20% add | Total increase with 10% [%] |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2015 | 0,7035 | | 0,3518 | | | | |
| 2016 | 0,1996 | | 0,0998 | | | | |
| 2017 | 1,6932 | 2,2000 | 1,9466 | | | | |
| 2018 | 0,6856 | 1,5000 | 1,0928 | | | | |
| 2019 | 0,5837 | 2,4000 | 1,4918 | | | | |
| 2020 | 0,2901 | 2,0000 | 1,1451 | 1,0115 | | | |
| 2021 | 2,0251 | 2,6000 | 2,3125 | 1,0231 | | | |
| 2022 | 1,3780 | 2,4000 | 1,8890 | 1,0189 | | | |
| 2023 | 1,3746 | 3,2000 | 2,2873 | 1,0229 | | | |
| 2024 | 1,0169 | 5,3000 | 3,1585 | 1,0316 | | | |
| 2025 | 2,2651 | 3,4000 | 2,8326 | 1,0283 | | | |
| 2026 | 1,8167 | 4 | 3,0556 | 1,0306 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 14,0556 |
| 2027 | 1,9344 | 4,5978 | 3,2661 | 1,0327 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 14,2661 |
| 2028 | 2,0521 | 4,9011 | 3,4766 | 1,0348 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 14,4766 |
| 2029 | 2,1698 | 5,2044 | 3,6871 | 1,0369 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 14,6871 |
| 2030 | 2,2876 | 5,5078 | 3,8977 | 1,0390 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 14,8977 |
| 2031 | 2,4053 | 5,8111 | 4,1082 | 1,0411 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 15,1082 |
| 2032 | 2,5230 | 6,1144 | 4,3187 | 1,0432 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 15,3187 |
| 2033 | 2,6407 | 6,4178 | 4,5292 | 1,0453 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 15,5292 |
| 2034 | 2,7584 | 6,7211 | 4,7397 | 1,0474 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 15,7397 |
| 2035 | 2,8761 | 7,0244 | 4,9503 | 1,0495 | 1,0000 | 10,0000 | 15,9503 |

Table D6.4: Net-price Index

| | A | B | C | D | G | I |
|---|---------------|----------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|-----------|
| 1 | Income Decile | Category | 2028 Max. Monthly Disposable Income | 1,4* Income (sensitivity) | Sens.30% | Sens. 40% |
| 2 | 1 | Student | 4.491 | 6.287 | 1.886 | 2.515 |
| 3 | | Family | 13.625 | 19.075 | 5.723 | 7.630 |
| 4 | | Senior | 15.994 | 22.392 | 6.717 | 8.957 |

Table D6.5: Thresholds for Sensitivity Check

| | | 2029 |
|-------------------|----|---------------|
| Youth, couple | 25 | 6.225 |
| Senior, single | 67 | Not available |
| Family, single, 0 | 40 | 9.906 |
| family | 95 | 23.528 |

Table D6.6: Calculation for Larger Flat Sizes Affordability

Appendix E - Overview of residential building potential in Jernbanebyen

| Residential building potential | Description |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 94.800 – 177.500 m ² | With 40-75% housing share in the north in subareas I-II |
| 133.800 - 200.600 m ² | With 50-75% housing share in the south in subareas III-VII |
| 57.000 - 94.000 m ² Including 17.500 m ² | Total area allocated to private NPH (25%) Allocated for nursing home |
| 10 units | For socially vulnerable citizens (social housing) in subarea XI |
| 700 units | Additional buildings in Den Gule By |

Data from Copenhagen Municipality, 2024.