



Bilag 1

Creative Footprint Report Copenhagen

Februar 2025

Københavns Kommunes Nattelivsudvalg besluttede ultimo 2023 at udarbejde en undersøgelse af det kulturbårne natteliv i København.

Undersøgelsen foreligger nu i form af en *Creative Footprint Report Copenhagen*, som blev præsenteret for Nattelivsudvalget den 20. februar 2025.

Rapporten undersøger det kulturbårne natteliv i København og identificerer både udfordringer og muligheder for at styrke et natteliv, hvor kultur og kreative formater er omdrejningspunkt for festen.

Der henvises til rapportens anbefalinger for kommunens videre arbejde med det kulturbårne natteliv i København på side 84-85.

Center for Borgerservice og
Myndighed
Bevillingsnævn og
Nattelivsudvalg
Nyropsgade 3
1602 København V

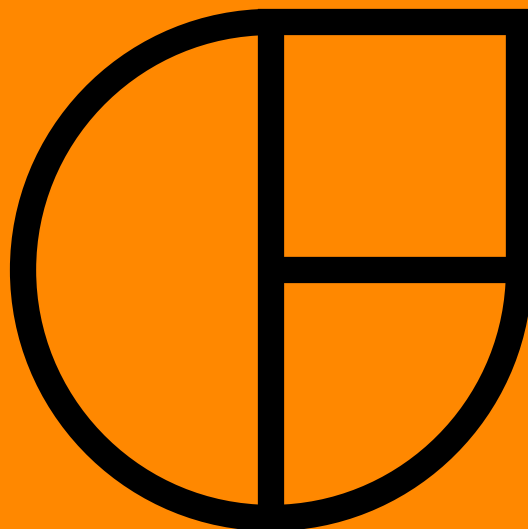
EAN-nummer
5798009781888



COPENHAGEN



Creative Footprint
Report 2025



Creative Footprint Copenhagen was
conducted on behalf of the City of
Copenhagen for the Culture and Leisure
Administration by VibeLab in 2024.

www.creative-footprint.org



City of Copenhagen
The Culture and Leisure Administration
Rådhuspladsen 1
1550 København V
Denmark

www.kk.dk



VibeLab
Rapenburg 97-2
Amsterdam 1011 TW
The Netherlands

www.vibe-lab.org

CONTENTS

Executive Summary	4
Project Partners	7
Section I: Introduction	11
1.0 Introduction	12
1.1 City profile	14
Section II: Methodology	19
2.0 Understanding Creative Footprint's methodology	20
2.1 Creative Footprint's process	21
2.2 Why music and nightlife venues?	22
2.3 Understanding Creative Footprint's score composition	26
2.4 Summary of research approaches, participants and scope	28
Section III: Presenting Copenhagen's Creative Footprint scores	31
3.0 Introducing Creative Footprint's research findings	32
3.1 Overall score	34
3.2 Comparing Copenhagen with CFP cities	36
3.3 Visualising Copenhagen's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure	37
3.4 Copenhagen's venues and the city	48
Section IV: Discussing Creative Footprint's research findings	56
4.0 Space	57
4.1 Community and Content	66
4.2 Framework Conditions	72
Section V: Creative Footprint's Recommendations	84
5.0 Recommendations	85
Section VI: Conclusion	96
6.0 Conclusion	97
References	100
Special thanks	105
Creative Footprint team	106

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

About Creative Footprint: Creative Footprint (CFP) is a research project conducted by VibeLab and PennPraxis that researches creative spaces and communities to study the cultural strength and impact of a city's music and nightlife. At the time of writing, this project has been conducted in Berlin, New York, Tokyo, Stockholm, Montréal, Sydney, Rotterdam, and now Copenhagen.

About CFP Copenhagen: CFP's data scientists examined 15 key indicators related to each music and nightlife venue in Copenhagen across the categories of *Space, Community and Content* and *Framework Conditions*. Two online focus groups, with 35 music and nightlife participants across both sessions, were conducted to gather primary data on a representative sample of 64 venues in Copenhagen, followed by additional qualitative research, including a *Framework Conditions* focus group at Copenhagen City Hall.

What the report contains: Following a brief overview of Copenhagen's development of night policy and governance (*Section I*) and CFP methodology (*Section II*), the report covers spatial and data-driven findings (*Section III*) and further discussion of key dynamics and issues identified by research participants. The report then details research findings across the parameters of *Space, Community and Content* and *Framework Conditions*, as well as sustainability (*Section IV*), before offering a set of recommendations for the years to come and an accompanying 'first 365 days action plan' (*Section V*).

Key findings:

Copenhagen's overall CFP score is 7.54/10, the second-highest score in the dataset of CFP cities, behind Berlin's overall score of 8.02/10. Of the three parameters, Copenhagen scored highest in *Space* (8.57), and only slightly lower in *Community & Content* (7.24) and *Framework Conditions* (6.82).

This report considers 108 nightlife venues, all of which fall within the City

Research participants noted that small venues serve as important incubators in which emerging nightlife actors can experiment and build communities.

of Copenhagen, representing the highest concentration of venues per capita in the CFP data set. While Copenhagen's city centre Indre By has the most venues (42), all ten districts in the city have venues, and this more even distribution is unique among CFP cities. The average distance between venues (less than 100 metres) is the lowest average distance observed in any CFP city, and venue density is clustered near Copenhagen's high-performing public transport infrastructure.

Copenhagen's programming is overall very high, with particularly high scores in the areas of *Creative output* (7.70) and *Interdisciplinarity* (8.05). Research participants praised the variety and depth of programming across Copenhagen's venues, including the municipality's 31 culture houses. However, Copenhagen scored lowest in *Community Focus* (5.11), which is arguably attributable to the high proportion of 'rental' venues in the set and the financial risks inherent in experimental and community-focused programming.

Despite a generally balanced venue mix, including 68% of venues identified as multi-use, Copenhagen lacks small venues (only 8% of the total set) essential for talent growth and development. Research participants noted that small venues serve as important incubators in which emerging nightlife actors can experiment and build communities. Similarly, the relative underrepresentation of mid-to-large-sized venues was identified as a barrier to growth for artists and promoters.

As in other CFP cities, venues cluster in areas with reliable transit access, with research participants largely praising Copenhagen's nighttime transit infrastructure. Programming ratings are generally inverse to rents, incomes, and transit density—meaning, more expensive areas such as Indre By have lower programming ratings.

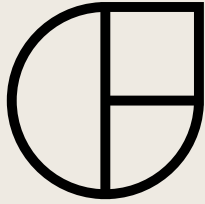
Stakeholders highlighted strengths of the city's nightlife, such as its diverse and considered programming and commitment



to sustainability, while also raising concerns about the high barriers to entry and inclusion for newer and DIY operators, including persistent noise and permitting challenges.

These and other insights form the basis of detailed recommendations, which fall into five topic clusters:

1. **Recognise the value of nightlife** by explicitly including nightlife initiatives in municipal planning documents and fostering more constructive conversations between residents, policymakers and nightlife actors.
2. **Establish a collective body or organisation** that unites stakeholders across music and nightlife scenes and offers practical, proactive support.
3. **Reduce bureaucratic hurdles for nightlife operators**, offering a 'single point of entry' for event permitting and venue licensing, and a more transparent permitting process that benefits both nightlife actors and municipal staffers.
4. **Address noise and licensing barriers to activate new short, medium- and long-term spaces** through a 'matchmaking' process that connects promoters and property owners whose spaces and concepts align, as well as enabling more nightlife use in cultural houses.
5. **Eliminate obstacles to accessing funding** so nightlife actors are more aware of the opportunities available, and applicants face fewer restrictions on how funding is used.



PROJECT PARTNERS

vibelab

Creative Footprint

CFP¹ is a research project by nighttime consultancy agency VibeLab that researches creative spaces and communities to study the cultural value and impact of music and nightlife in the city. Its unique methodology was developed by Lutz Leichsenring in partnership with Harvard University and has been used to research the creative nighttime sectors of Berlin (2017)², New York (2018)³, Tokyo (2019)⁴, Stockholm (2022)⁵, Montréal (2023)⁶, Sydney(2023)⁷, Rotterdam (2024)⁸, and now Copenhagen (2024).

CFP's team of data scientists, led by University of Pennsylvania professor Michael Fichman, analyse thousands of data points pertaining to a city's venues to develop a rich cultural analysis of the city's creative and cultural infrastructure. The team integrates venue data with economic and spatial data from government databases using a customised software environment. Working in collaboration with local music and nightlife experts, CFP's research team gathers insights from dozens of actors, stakeholders and decision makers embedded in a city's creative, music and nightlife scenes to assess the current picture from a diversity of perspectives. Through focus groups and in-depth interviews, the CFP process uncovers current issues, challenges and opportunities for the city's nighttime sectors.

VibeLab

VibeLab is a data-driven research, consultancy and advocacy agency dedicated to supporting creatives and preserving nighttime culture. With over ten years of experience, VibeLab works with local institutions and governments to develop strategies to effectively navigate and support the nightlife industry. We specialise in making complex data clear. VibeLab's research and consultancy helps identify growth opportunities and connects individuals, businesses, governments and institutions, to boost creativity and local economies. We are passionate about the

transformative power that nightlife culture and creative communities have on urban areas. Our strength lies in our connections: we bridge the gap between government authorities, nightlife creatives and local communities. VibeLab creates change with sustainable solutions, backed by data to make cities thrive at night.

PennPraxis: University of Pennsylvania

PennPraxis⁹ is the applied research, professional practice, and community engagement arm of the University of Pennsylvania's Weitzman School of Design. It provides opportunities for multi-disciplinary student and faculty collaboration through fee-for-service projects in the fields of Urban Planning, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Historic Preservation and more. PennPraxis' data analysis process involves the creation of custom, open-source software tools to allow for reproducible, flexible, and complex analysis for a range of use cases related to planning, health, landscape and the built environment. PennPraxis is an experienced global leader in nighttime urban planning and urban data analytics and has been a part of the CFP project since 2018.





City of Copenhagen

Commissioned by: The Copenhagen Nightlife Committee

The Nightlife Committee¹⁰ serves as an advisory and preparatory body for the City of Copenhagen¹¹ Culture and Leisure Committee and the Technical and Environmental Committee. The purpose of the Nightlife Committee is to inform decisions around Copenhagen's nightlife, as well as to act as a partnership between nightlife stakeholders in Copenhagen.

The committee works on specific initiatives, including conducting surveys and gathering data on nightlife in Copenhagen. Additionally, the Nightlife Committee is responsible for distributing funds from the Nightlife Fund to projects within the nightlife.

The committee's composition emphasises the involvement of different stakeholders from Copenhagen's nightlife sector. The committee consists of 15 members, representing local committees, residents, the industry, nightlife patrons, the cultural sector, retail, the police, and politicians from the Technical and Environmental Committee and the Culture and Leisure Committee. The Mayor of Culture and Leisure chairs the committee.

The Nightlife Committee is anchored within both the Culture and Leisure Administration¹² and the Technical and Environmental Administration¹³. These administrations support the Nightlife Committee and assist in implementing its decisions regarding nightlife. They also collaborate across various areas, such as alcohol licensing, noise, waste, and outdoor seating.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, POOLEN, BOILERROOM

SECTION I: **INTRODUCTION**

“Copenhageners do not only desire a city that functions but also a city that continually adapts and evolves—a city that inspires us”

—Our Copenhagen (2024)

Regarded as one of the world’s most liveable,¹⁴ safe¹⁵ and sustainable¹⁶ cities, Copenhagen’s dynamic nightlife has been shaped by its history of activism and counterculture. The city’s urban planning is also a key factor. Since its post World War II implementation of the “Finger Plan” (*Fingerplanen*), which guided urban expansion outwards from the city centre along corridors of businesses and housing units integrated with green spaces and accessible transit networks,^{17 18} Copenhagen has committed to policies^{19 20} that blend the tenets of contemporary living with the preservation of its historic centre.^{21 22} Copenhagen benefits from the nation’s welfare model²³ and relatively affordable city centre living, with cooperative housing making up over a third of all apartments, which significantly impacts the overall housing market.²⁴

An abundance of state-funded community spaces, such as culture houses (*Kulturhus*),²⁵ further contribute to a strong social safety net. These spaces empower citizens as participants in and contributors to local culture by hosting concerts, workshops, and communal meals, among other activities.^{26 27} It’s no surprise, then, that the Danish people consistently earn top rankings in the United Nations World Happiness Reports.²⁸

From the mid-to-late 20th century, activism and countercultural movements have defined Copenhagen’s cultural and nightlife scene, including resistance to the state’s urban transformation initiatives.^{29 30 31} The municipality’s urban renewal plans in the 1960s left many buildings empty which—among other factors—led to the emergence

of the city's first real squatting movement (*Slumstormerbevægelsen*)^{32 33} that went on to claim autonomous urban spaces in which people could assemble. These spaces served as the cornerstones of various communities and cultural and music scenes namely in Nørrebro and Freetown Christiania (*Fristaden Christiania*); the former, a district shaped by different migrant communities and political unrest between residents and police over urban space use^{34 35}, and the latter, a district of Christianshavn that was squatted and proclaimed as autonomous in 1971.³⁶

From 1982 to 2007, Nørrebro was home to The Youth House (*Ungdomshuset - Jagtvej 69*), a hub for counterculture, hosting anarchists and youth activists and serving as one of the strongest institutions for Copenhagen's underground alternative rock and punk scenes.³⁷ Plans for its demolition incited the largest youth uprising in Denmark's recent history. While the demolition went ahead, The Youth House's ethos lives on in the DIY roots and safe(r) space policies of Copenhagen's rave scene,³⁸ as well as its new location on Dorteavej Street in the Nordvest district.

Copenhagen's music scene has garnered worldwide acclaim over the decades. As one of the jazz capitals of Europe,³⁹ the city welcomed a number of American jazz icons as residents throughout the 1950s and 1960s, such as tenor saxophonist and composer Dexter Gordon.^{40 41} Jazzhus Montmartre, which first opened in 1959,⁴² was an integral institution of this era,⁴³ and the annual Copenhagen Jazz Festival, established in 1979, now gathers around 250,000 attendees across 120 venues.⁴⁴ Launched in 1998, electronic music festival Distortion⁴⁵ has grown from an experimental party to Copenhagen's largest street festival, drawing over 100,00 people annually. The city also boasts the Danish Music Museum,⁴⁶ founded in 1898, as well as Centralhjørnet,⁴⁷ one of Europe's oldest gay bars and a pillar of the city's queer scenes.

As the first comprehensive analysis of the music and nightlife landscape in Copenhagen,

this report underscores the municipality's interest in strengthening the frameworks of the creative and cultural industries and nighttime economy. It features detailed commentary from various nightlife communities and stakeholders and presents crucial data to inform policies towards a more resilient and sustainable nightlife. After establishing Copenhagen's city profile and outlining the CFP methodology, the report presents the quantitative, spatial, and qualitative findings of this research, including a section addressing sustainability. The report concludes with strategic recommendations and concrete next steps for the short, medium and long term to preserve and elevate the city's nightlife.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, POOLEN BOILERROOM

Geography

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is primarily situated on the islands of Zealand and Amager. The city is part of the larger Øresund geography, which includes parts of eastern Denmark and southern Sweden, and forms Scandinavia’s most densely populated metropolitan area.

Note: Demographic figures in this section are taken from the City of Copenhagen: Statbank (Year 2023)⁴⁸ unless otherwise indicated.

Quick facts Copenhagen:

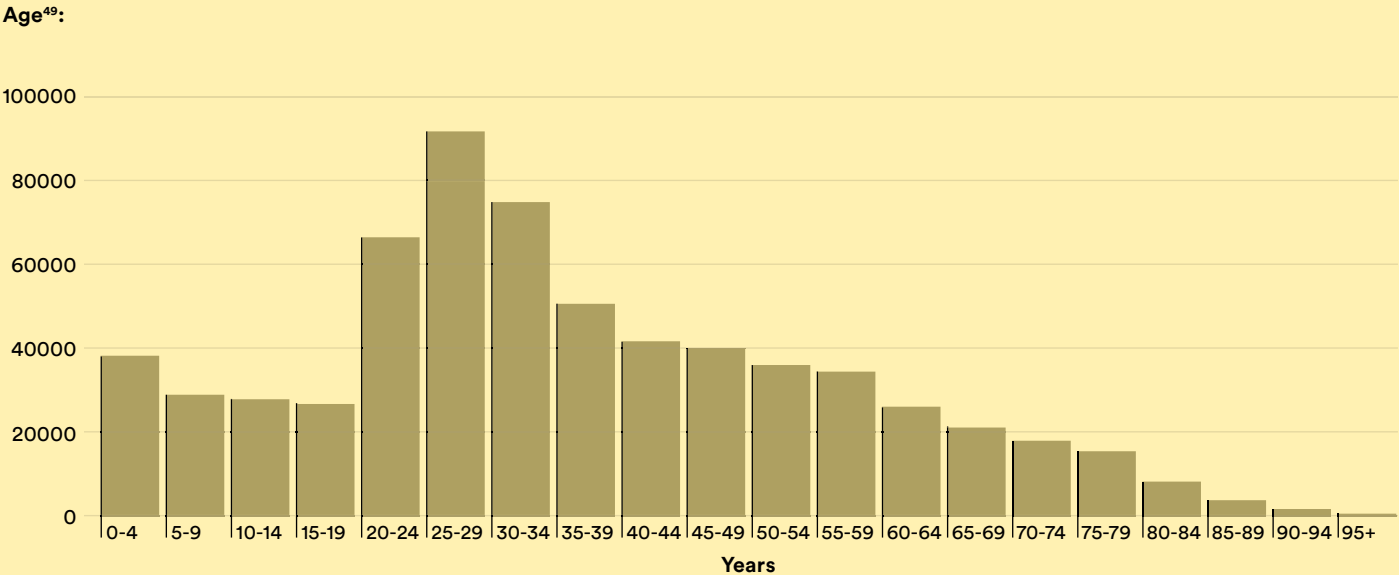
Area:

178.46 km²

Population:

653,648

Total population of Copenhagen municipality (153,277 - born abroad)



Countries of origin:	Denmark	475734
From Statistics Denmark, Q4 (Year 2023) ⁵⁰ (In order of population: Denmark, Pakistan, Germany, Turkey, Poland, Iraq, Sweden, United Kingdom, Somalia, Italy, USA, Morocco)	Pakistan	8241
	Germany	7434
	Turkey	7395
	Poland	6857
	Iraq	6703
	Sweden	5605
	United Kingdom	5526
	Somalia	5483
	Italy	5464
	USA	5409
	Morocco	5318

The City of Copenhagen's calculations on the basis of microdata from Statistics Denmark's Research Service. Taken from City of Copenhagen: Statbank. (Year 2022)⁵¹

11,302 - unemployed

25-34 years old is the most employed demographic. (132,293 - 34.5% of employed individuals)

Official language:
Danish

86% of Danes
speak English as a
second language

(Source: Statista)⁵³

The GDP more than doubled from 2000 to 2021 (220 billion to 517 billion) Danish Krone (DKK).

The GDP per capita in Copenhagen was **645,000 DKK** in 2021.

Andelsboliger
is a common
type of housing
co-operative in
Denmark.

There are over **210,000** in Denmark,⁵⁴ 70% of which are in Copenhagen.⁵⁵

They make up more than a third of apartment buildings in Copenhagen.⁵⁶

S-Train:

A hybrid urban-suburban rail serving the Copenhagen urban area, except Amager.
Hours of Operation are 5am - 12:30am. Friday and Saturday the trains run once an hour between 1am and 5am.

12:30AM

5:00AM

12:00AM

The A-buses are in service 24/7 (the primary buses in central Copenhagen).
The S-buses are in service from 6am - 1am.
The Night buses are in service 1am - 5am.

12:00AM

Metro lines are in service 24/7.

12:00AM

Kastrupbanen (the Øresund train) and
Kystbanen (coastal train route).

Harbour Bus (a canal boat).

Ferry (Havnebusserne) operates weekdays from 7am - 8pm and on weekends from 10am - 8pm.

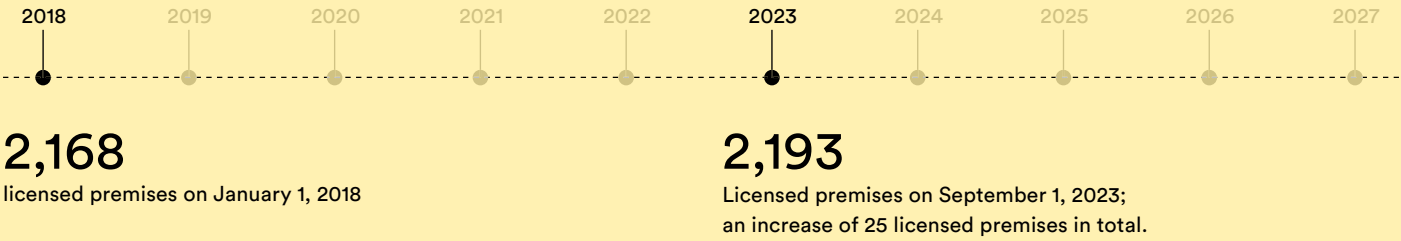
Copenhagen aims to be the 'the world's best bicycle city by 2025' through the Bicycle Strategy 2011-2025.⁵⁷

Rated 4th for the world's most bicycle-friendly city by the Global Bicycle Cities Index 2022 ⁵⁸

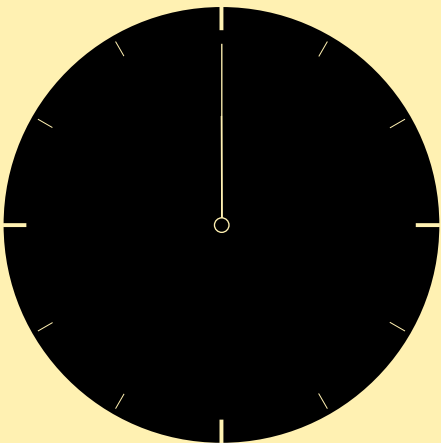
The Cycle Superhighway is a network of cycling commuter routes in the Capital Region. It features 60+ routes, over 850 kilometres, and accesses 28 municipalities.⁵⁹

Nightlife economy:

Taken from the Statistics on alcohol and night licences - Municipality of Copenhagen (2023)⁶⁰:



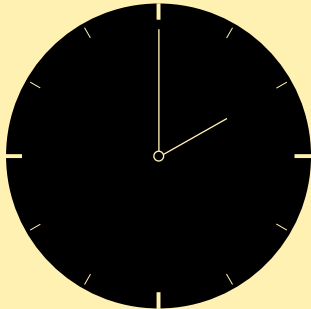
As of September 1, 2023:



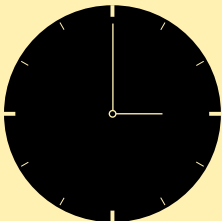
1,107
alcohol licensed premises do not have a night licence, meaning they must close by 12am at the latest.



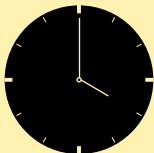
73
hospitality venues have night licences until 1am.



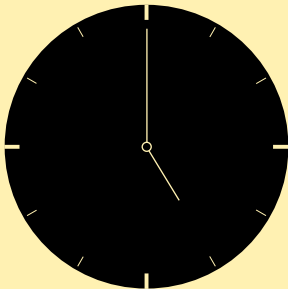
475
hospitality venues have a night licence until 2am.



99
hospitality venues have a night licence until 3am.



40
hospitality venues have a night licence until 4am.



399
hospitality venues have a night licence until 5am.

Night governance:

Night governance includes the various ways in which night-time economies⁶¹—both formal and informal—are managed between 6pm and 6am. Night governance in Copenhagen has evolved significantly since 2018, when the municipality introduced practices such as limiting alcohol licences in areas known for incidents of public disorder and insobriety⁶². Although the municipality

continues to follow the development of nightlife nuisance closely, through studies⁶³⁶⁴ and the creation of the noise guard,⁶⁵ the Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021 recognises the value of culture-driven nightlife.⁶⁶ In 2022, the city established the Copenhagen Nightlife Committee⁶⁷ where political representatives routinely meet with representatives in Copenhagen's nightlife

such as Copenhagen's Free Promoters (*Københavns Frie Promotere or KFP*),⁶⁸ an association which advocates for the right to use the city as a platform for artistic and cultural expression. Copenhagen Municipality is now preparing for its forthcoming Restaurant and Nightlife Plan in 2025.⁶⁹

Governance actor	Nightlife-related implementation
Technical and Environmental Administration ⁷⁰	• Local development planning • Building codes and fire regulations • Noise guards⁷¹ and city-wide noise regulations • Nightlife security guards⁷² • Granting permits for outdoor serving • Cleaning and maintenance of outdoor areas • Traffic and parking • Parks and recreational areas • Neighbourhood improvement
Culture and Leisure Administration ⁷³	• Administration of Culture Houses and other cultural institutions • Nightlife management coordination between departments • Music and art subsidies • Alcohol licensing • Regional and international cultural collaborations • Festivals and events • Night hosts and operational collaboration with the Copenhagen Police⁷⁴
Copenhagen Police	• Copenhagen police district includes Copenhagen, Frederiksberg, Tårnby, and Dragør municipalities⁷⁵
Transportation	• Buses: DOT • Metro: The Copenhagen Metro • S-trains and long distance trains: DSB
Nightlife Committee	• An advisory and preparatory committee for the Culture and Leisure committee and the Technical and Environment committee on restaurants and nightlife • Distributes funds from the Nightlife Pool • Initiate studies on nightlife and propose measures related to reduce disturbances caused by nightlife • Partnership model for nightlife stakeholders

Night governance timeline

2017	Survey of Electronic Music in Denmark ⁷⁶ shows a widespread negative association with partying.
2018	Introduction of restrictive practices in select areas of Middelalderbyen and Inner Nørrebro, areas characterised by a high concentration of hospitality venues, many registered public order and insobriety incidents and residents reporting nuisance from nightlife.
September 2020	The municipality establishes the Advisory Board for Nightlife ⁷⁷ to make recommendations and review the Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021.
January 2021	KFP ⁷⁸ is formed as a member-driven association for event and club promoters in Copenhagen's electronic underground scene.
2021	The municipality launches the Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021, ⁷⁹ which commits to reducing nuisance from nightlife as one of its main visions. The plan aims to foster a cultural change away from alcohol-driven nightlife towards culture and community.
January 2022	The city council votes to establish the Copenhagen Nightlife Committee ⁸⁰ with the Mayor of Culture and Leisure as the chairperson. The members represent residents and various stakeholders in nightlife. They work to limit nuisances from nightlife and distribute funds from the Nightlife Pool.
January 2022	Night Hosts become a regular part of Indre By nightlife and other seasonal hotspots and work in collaboration with the police, the noise guard, ⁸¹ bouncers and emergency services. ⁸²
2022	Local action groups established in several areas of the city that experience nightlife nuisance, to open dialogue and strengthen neighbourliness between residents and businesses. ⁸³
2022	The Lose Control ⁸⁴ video and online campaign by NusNus ⁸⁵ launches to create international awareness of Copenhagen club culture with full support from the municipality as part of a cultural recovery plan post COVID-19 lockdowns.
May 2023	Party in the Street and Noise in Nightlife: Mapping of Existing Knowledge shares up-to-date research, solutions based approaches and best practices in other cities to address noise nuisance. ⁸⁶
June 2023	KFP Awareness, ⁸⁷ a knowledge body within KFP works in collaboration with Sex & Society ⁸⁸ and Copenhagen Pride ⁸⁹ to publish a comprehensive report ⁹⁰ on discrimination and cross-border behaviour in Copenhagen's nightlife, supported by funds from the Nightlife Pool.
June 2023	Denmark Parliament passes an amendment to the law, allowing a three-year trial period for municipalities to employ their own security guards to supplement police in maintaining public order. ^{91 92}
2023	As part of Budget 2024, the municipality allocates DKK 8 million up to 2027 to establish municipal security guards for the reduction of noise and sobriety nuisances in public spaces. ⁹³
2023	The Nightlife Committee convenes a working group of property owners, cultural operators and local authorities to initiate the first phase of locating alternative outdoor locations for cultural and nightlife events and addressing noise reduction at open-air zones. ⁹⁴
February 2024	Launch of the Charter for a Nightlife Without Discrimination (2023) ⁹⁵ and its associated awareness campaign, The Night is Ours. ⁹⁶
October 2023	The Party in the Street and Noise in Nightlife: Investigation in Nørre Kvarter, is the follow-up report on noise nuisance. ⁹⁷
December 2023	The Technical and Environmental Administration adopts a new administrative framework for outdoor dining to ensure a fair balance of urban space use. Measures include limiting the area for outdoor seating on sidewalks to increase accessibility for wheelchair users and strollers. ⁹⁸
2024	Copenhagen Creative Partnership ⁹⁹ in collaboration with Culture Analysis Institute ¹⁰⁰ (<i>Kulturens Analyseinstitut</i>) launches the Creative City of the Future report. ¹⁰¹
July 2024	Copenhagen's nightlife security/safety guards ¹⁰² start their trial period, working alongside the police and other nightlife actors ¹⁰³ to improve safety at night.
2025	The municipality will launch its Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2025.

SECTION II: **METHODOLOGY**

CFP's methodology was originally developed in 2017 by Lutz Leichsenring in partnership with professors based at Harvard University and was further developed in collaboration with other leading academics and practitioners in urban planning at the University of Pennsylvania's PennPraxis. Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods, CFP's approach yields detailed insights into a city's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure, as well as the prevailing issues, challenges and opportunities for music and nightlife in the city.

2.1 Creative Footprint's process

From May to October 2024, CFP researchers and PennPraxis data scientists studied the key characteristics of Copenhagen's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure, as well as the current issues, challenges and opportunities for the city's music and nightlife scenes.

2024						
May	June	July	August	September	October	November
Stage 1: Literature review Review of journalistic, grey and academic literature about Copenhagen's music, nightlife and nighttime governance. Developing a venue database Assembling a database of music and nightlife spaces within the City of Copenhagen municipal boundaries. Developing a stakeholder database Assembling a database of key actors, stakeholders and decision makers in Copenhagen's music and nightlife scenes.						
		Stage 2: Venue focus groups Two online focus groups with 35 total Copenhagen-based music and nightlife actors and stakeholders to gather data on the city's venues. Framework Conditions focus group In-person focus group with 34 Copenhagen-based music and nightlife actors and stakeholders, some of whom also participated in the venue focus groups, to gather data on issues related to Copenhagen's nighttime framework conditions. In-depth interviews Semi-structured interviews with 15 Copenhagen-based music and nightlife actors and stakeholders to explore key issues, challenges and opportunities for the city.				
				Stage 3: Analysing research data and score calculation Analysis of data related to Copenhagen's 108 music and nightlife venues, coupled with urban, economic and demographic datasets to understand the relationships between Copenhagen's venue clusters, urban environment and population. Recommendations formulation and report development Compilation of research findings from focus groups and interviews; formulation of recommendations; report development.		

2.2 Why music and nightlife venues?

CFP focuses on venues because nightlife requires physical space to thrive—and because increasingly, urban places that host or create cultural activity are at risk. Mapping and assessing nightlife spaces affords insight into the health of a city’s cultural and nighttime ecosystem.

Nightlife spaces facilitate the sharing of ideas, beliefs and customs between different people and communities,¹⁰⁴ and through that exchange, have the potential to transcend social, cultural and political differences between the people and communities that make up the fabric of a city. Music and nightlife venues are the physical spaces that have traditionally driven creative and cultural sectors. They serve as important anchors of a city’s nighttime economy, and play a crucial role in shaping urban life after dark. CFP recognises that nightlife spaces are primarily interdisciplinary: they bring together different creative practices, which fosters cultural innovation across a range of fields from music, visual arts, fashion, dance, film, design—and increasingly, cultural heritage. Nightlife is a core creative activity that influences and generates related social, economic and cultural activity in the city.

Music and nightlife venues are the physical spaces that have traditionally driven creative and cultural sectors.



FIGURE 1: GRAPHIC VISUALISING INFLUENCE OF ARTISTIC FORMS IN THE NIGHTTIME ECOSYSTEM ACROSS DISCIPLINES

How does Creative Footprint's methodology define a **music and nightlife venue**?

In CFP's definition, music and nightlife venues have regular music programming (at least one music event per month) that is advertised publicly. Our venue research in Copenhagen included dedicated live music venues, concert halls, arenas, nightclubs, parks and public spaces, bars regularly hosting music events, and rental venues regularly used by event organisers. It should be noted that CFP's methodology does not factor in venues that only host private events such as birthday parties or weddings.

What's the difference between **nightlife** and the **nighttime economy**?

CFP defines **nightlife** as social and creative culture traditionally expressed and experienced at night. It is created by a broad range of creatives, supporting workers, stakeholders and consumers—together, they form the **nighttime community**. These individuals are part of the **nighttime economy**, which encompasses all the activities, businesses and workers operating in nightlife, hospitality and leisure, as well as night shift workers, late-night transportation, retail, and more.



PHOTO CREDIT: ADRIENNE HAYDEN, FOCUS GROUP

CFP employs 15 different indicators across three sets of parameters—*Space*, *Community and Content*, and *Framework Conditions*—to examine a city's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure. Interviewees and focus group participants respond to specific statements using a psychometric response scale called the Likert scale to indicate their level of agreement or the validity of the statement for Copenhagen.

In addition to the three key parameters, *Section IV* explores the role of social, environmental, and economic sustainability in Copenhagen's nightlife. While the findings in this section are not reflected in the overall CFP score, they complement and add further nuance to the picture of the city's nightlife. These insights derive from content gathered through an activity in the *Framework Conditions* focus group, responses from participants in interviews, and a dedicated interview on this topic with a key arts and culture sustainability expert (see below for sustainability questions).

Space

Internal and external physical conditions of the city's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure, including venue size, how well connected venues are to nearby transportation hubs, the average age of venues, and their multifunctionality, reputation, and visibility.

Community and Content

Criteria related to how venues value creativity and culture, including how venues promote cultural offerings in their marketing, to what extent venues facilitate interdisciplinary and/or experimental artistic formats, how community-centred venues are, and if venues foreground original creative content.

Framework Conditions

External conditions affecting artistic, cultural and other nighttime activity, including relevant laws, regulations and policies; relationships between cultural actors and civic decision makers; the type of funding and support infrastructure available; nighttime public transportation; and access to public and private space for cultural programming and activities.

Space	Community and Content	Framework Conditions
Venue size Venue floor space used for music events and performances, in m².	Promotion To what degree does the venue centre music and artistic content in their marketing and promotion (in contrast to food offerings or drink specials)?	Public transportation at night To what degree is the city's public transportation available at high frequency after midnight? How affordable and accessible are venues via public transport?
Pedestrian frequency Venues' proximity to fixed public transport nodes and pedestrian accessibility.	Interdisciplinarity To what degree does the venue enable a range of artistic practices and interdisciplinary formats?	Overall funding for music and nightlife To what degree is public or government funding available for music and nightlife activities?
Years operating Number of years a venue has operated since opening	Community focus To what degree does the venue provide space for specific scenes and communities, whether minoritised, marginalised and/or underrepresented in the city? Does the venue act as a hub for emerging talent, subgenre(s) and local communities?	Overall policies and regulations To what degree do the city's policies, licencing, and law enforcement support music and nightlife activities
Multifunctionality of spaces Venues' number of regular uses and functions	Creative output To what degree does the venue platform original creative content (including DJing and electronic music) through their music and nightlife programming	Access to local politicians and decision makers To what degree can music and nightlife stakeholders access the city's politicians and decision makers? Is there a night mayor or representative that fosters a collaborative approach to resolving issues?
Reputation Venues' social media reach.	Experimentation To what degree does the venue platform original experimental content through their music and nightlife programming	Public cultural activities To what degree do the city's public spaces and properties allow for music and nightlife activities? How affordable and accessible is acquiring a licence for music and nightlife events?

Social sustainability

Economic sustainability

Environmental sustainability

What is working well now?

What has shifted or developed to get to today?

What would you like to see more of in the future?

Quantitative and qualitative research approaches

CFP’s data scientists examined 15 key indicators related to each music and nightlife venue in Copenhagen (totalling 108 venues) across *Space, Community and Content* and *Framework Conditions* parameters. Two online focus groups, with 35 music and nightlife participants across both sessions, were conducted to gather primary data on a representative sample of 64 venues in Copenhagen. These data points were then related to economic, geographic, demographic, and transit data. Using a custom software environment designed and maintained by Michael Fichman at PennPraxis, the CFP data team described the distribution of variables in the collected data, mined them for important trends and relationships, and compared Copenhagen’s data to that of other CFP cities. These data are also integrated with CFP’s proprietary algorithms to calculate the CFP score. In analysing the original content and programming of each of Copenhagen’s venues, this methodology evaluates the cultural strength and social cohesion of the city’s creative and cultural nightlife, as opposed to solely its economic impact.

CFP conducted additional qualitative research including a *Framework Conditions* focus group at Copenhagen City Hall and in depth interviews with a range of stakeholders, to identify key issues, challenges and opportunities for Copenhagen’s music and nightlife communities and creative spaces. This research was further contextualised with on-the-ground visits to a number of events and venues across Copenhagen and conversations with patrons and operators.

Research participants

Collectively, research participants of CFP’s focus groups and interviewees represented a broad cross-section of stakeholders across

Copenhagen’s music and nightlife. Participants included venue owners and operators, community, event and festival organisers, DJs, labels, bookers, artists, musicians, performers, producers, property managers and landowners, as well as staffers in the Municipality’s Culture and Leisure, and Technical and Environmental Administrations. Research participants ranged in age, background, ethnicity, sexual and gender identity, and experience, from several years’ to several decades’ work in music and nightlife across scenes and subcultures.

Venue focus groups	Date(s): 29–30 July 2024
	Hosted: Online
	Number of participants: 35
Framework Conditions focus group	Date: 25 August 2024
	Hosted: Copenhagen City Hall
	Number of participants: 34
Interviewees	Date(s): Throughout August - November 2024
	Hosted: In-person and online
	Number of participants: 15

Research scope

CFP's research scope examines the City of Copenhagen's ten administrative districts shown in Figure 2; it does not include the separate Frederiksberg Municipality nor surrounding municipalities.



FIGURE 2: MAP SHOWING RESEARCH SCOPE OF CREATIVE FOOTPRINT STUDY AREA



SECTION III: PRESENTING COPENHAGEN'S CREATIVE FOOTPRINT SCORES

CFP uses quantitative, spatial, and qualitative analysis to offer unique insights about a city's nightlife culture. Copenhagen's overall CFP score is **7.54/10**, the second-highest score in the dataset of CFP cities. This section details quantitative, spatial, and qualitative research findings.

Copenhagen's Space score (8.56/10) is the highest of the three categories.

This includes particularly high scores in *Pedestrian Frequency* (9.65) and *Venue Size* (9.11) that speak to an overall healthy mix of venues and accessibility, although research participants noted a scarcity of small venues (80 to 300-person capacity). Copenhagen's *Community and Content* score (7.24/10) is the highest among the CFP cities, while the city's *Framework Conditions* score (6.82/10) is second only to Berlin.

All 108 venues in the CFP sample fall within the City of Copenhagen, representing the highest concentration of venues per capita in the CFP data set. Every district in the city has venues, which is unique among CFP cities. The average distance between venues (less than 100 metres) is the lowest average distance observed in any CFP city, which speaks to its compact size.

Copenhagen's city centre Indre By has the highest number of venues (42). Programming ratings varied across Copenhagen's districts, with more expensive areas such as Indre By having slightly lower programming ratings than outlying areas, where rents tend to be lower.

Notably, however, Indre By scored higher in programming than other city centres in CFP cities, as research participants identified its strong mix of 'Legacy' venues with genre-specific programming, particularly with important clusters of venues in Freetown Christinia (9 venues), and Refshaleøen (7 venues respectively).

While Copenhagen has a diverse ecosystem of spaces, smaller venues (<100 m²) and mid-to-large-sized venues (501-1000 m²) are comparatively underrepresented. Smaller venues (representing 8% of venues in the CFP sample) tend to rank more highly on Community and Content metrics (also referred to throughout this report as "programming"), as they provide opportunities to emerging and experimental artists and collectives. Similarly, research participants identified mid-to-large-sized venues (21% of Copenhagen's total venues) as necessary to build and sustain nightlife communities.

Multi-use venues are a prominent feature of Copenhagen's nightlife, and 68% of venues are programmed for two or more uses. Warehouse, studio and open-air spaces are also more widely used than other CFP cities,

although these are primarily rental spaces without distinct in-house programming. As also seen in Rotterdam, multi-use spaces had, on average, higher programming scores than single-use spaces, as they arguably offer accessibility to multiple communities and benefit from a diversified income stream.

CFP's research shows that Copenhagen's venues cluster near transit (as do higher rents and incomes), with participants highlighting proximity to Metro stops as a key advantage.

Copenhagen's compact urban environment, mass transit-centered transportation system and cycling infrastructure makes it more similar to other European cities such as Rotterdam and Stockholm, as opposed to North American and Australian CFP cities. While Copenhagen's nighttime public transit scored very high (8.89/10), research participants raised safety concerns and the relative inaccessibility of more experimental-focused venues in outlying areas.

Community focus (5.11) was the lowest rated of the four dimensions that comprise *Community & Content*. This score is impacted by the high proportion of 'rental' venues in the set and the challenges that Copenhagen's smaller, community driven venues face, including increased costs and limited access to public funds, which policymakers could address with a more open-minded and equitable approach.

While Copenhagen is considered a world leader in environmental sustainability, CFP participants argued that most sustainability practices are largely cost prohibitive for smaller promoters and nightlife actors. More positively, participants pointed to a strong and productive discourse around social sustainability beginning at the level of grassroots nightlife.

In conclusion, CFP participants highlighted several of Copenhagen's strengths, such as its diversity of venues (including those that cater to a specific musical niche or experimental programming) and culture houses, and a

city-wide push to implement initiatives and practices to create safer and more inclusive spaces. However, against a backdrop of rising costs that most acutely affect smaller operators, participants also voiced concerns about limited access to decisionmakers, excessive regulation on noise and licensing, and a perceived underlying bias against nightlife at the municipal level.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL

3.1 Overall score

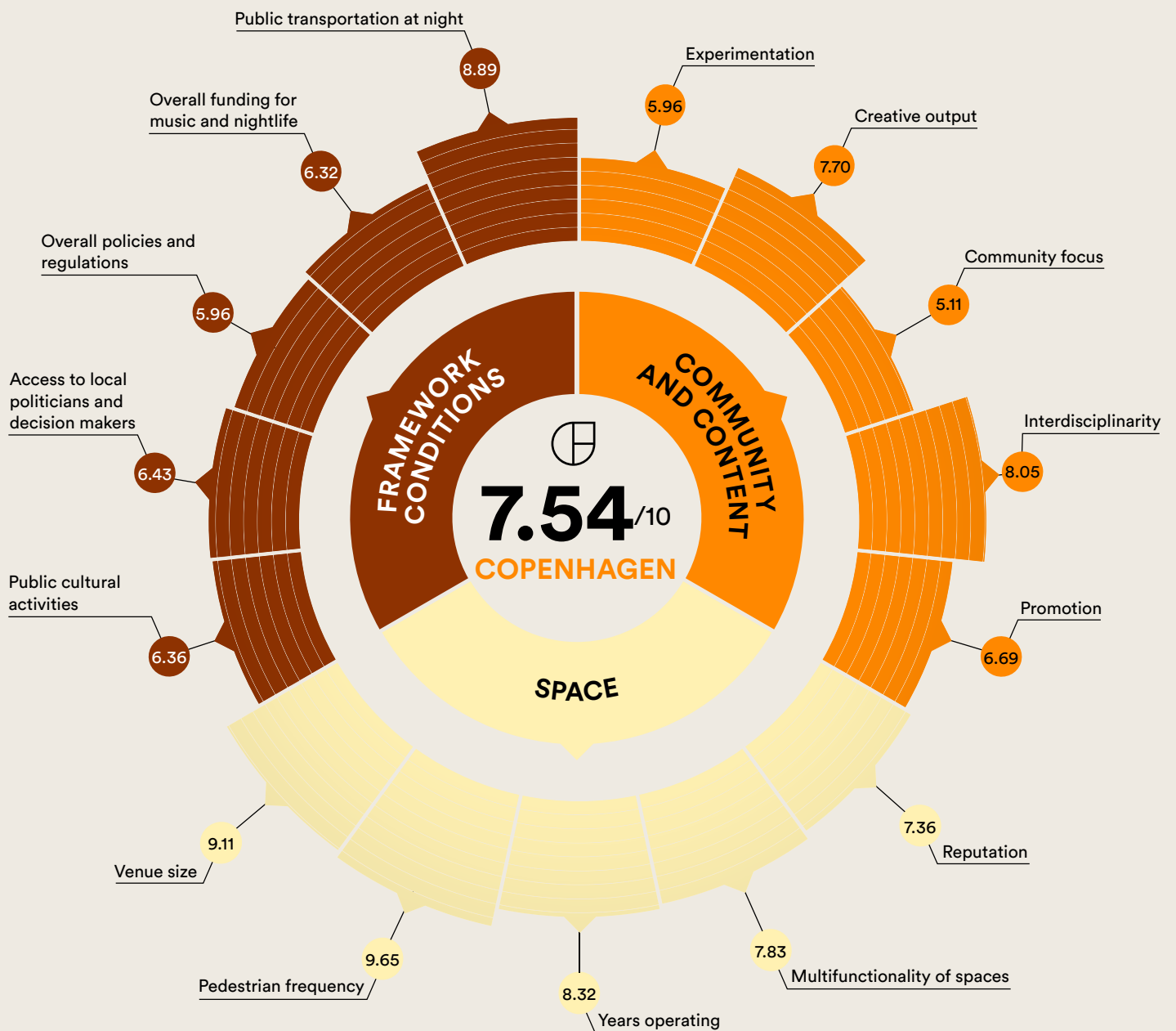


FIGURE 3: OVERALL CREATIVE FOOTPRINT SCORE FOR COPENHAGEN

Space	Community and Content	Framework Conditions
Venue size	Promotion	Public transportation at night
9.11	6.69	8.89
Pedestrian frequency	Interdisciplinarity	Overall funding for music and nightlife
9.65	8.05	6.32
Years operating	Community focus	Overall policies and regulations
8.32	5.11	5.96
Multifunctionality of spaces	Creative output	Access to local politicians and decision makers
7.83	7.70	6.43
Reputation	Experimentation	Public cultural activities
7.36	5.96	6.36
Overall	Overall	Overall
8.56	7.24	6.82

3.2 Comparing Copenhagen with Creative Footprint Cities

Copenhagen's overall CFP score is 7.54/10. Copenhagen scored highest across *Space*, lower on *Framework Conditions* (6.82/10) and slightly higher on *Community and Content* (7.24/10). While Copenhagen scored similarly to other CFP cities in *Space*, Copenhagen has the highest scores across *Framework Conditions* and *Community and Content*, second only to Berlin.

	Framework Conditions	Community and Content	Space	Overall Score
 Berlin 2017	8.82	6.75	8.49	8.02
 New York City 2018	6.35	6.92	8.59	7.29
 Tokyo 2019	4.48	6.96	8.08	6.51
 Stockholm 2021	5.06	6.27	8.40	6.58
 Montréal 2022	4.18	7.15	8.38	6.57
 Sydney 2023	5.37	7.08	8.38	6.94
 Rotterdam 2024	5.41	5.90	8.58	6.10
 Copenhagen 2024	6.82	7.24	8.56	7.54

3.3 Visualising Copenhagen's creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure

3.3.1 Venue density and geographic distribution

Copenhagen has a very high concentration of venues per capita and per area: as high as any CFP city. Venues are spread widely across the city; every district in the city has venues, which is unique among CFP cities. Indre By has, by far, the highest number of

venues (42), while some other central districts have 15-20 venues (Nørrebro and Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave) (Figures 4 and 5).

The venues, though widespread, are locally clustered, with an average distance between

them of less than 100 metres. This is the lowest average distance observed in any CFP city, and it suggests an opportunity for district-specific governance and management opportunities.

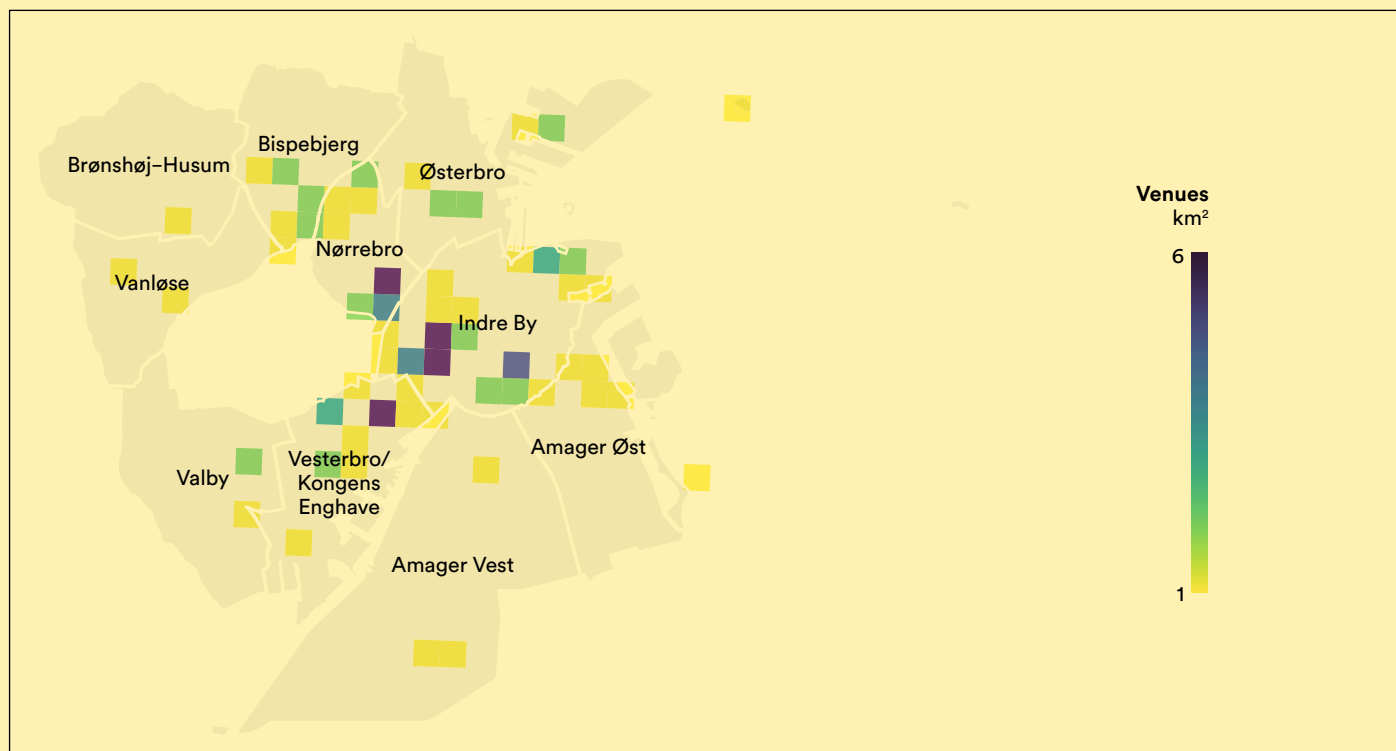


FIGURE 4: HEATMAP OF VENUE DENSITY IN COPENHAGEN. EACH CELL REPRESENTS 0.5 KM²

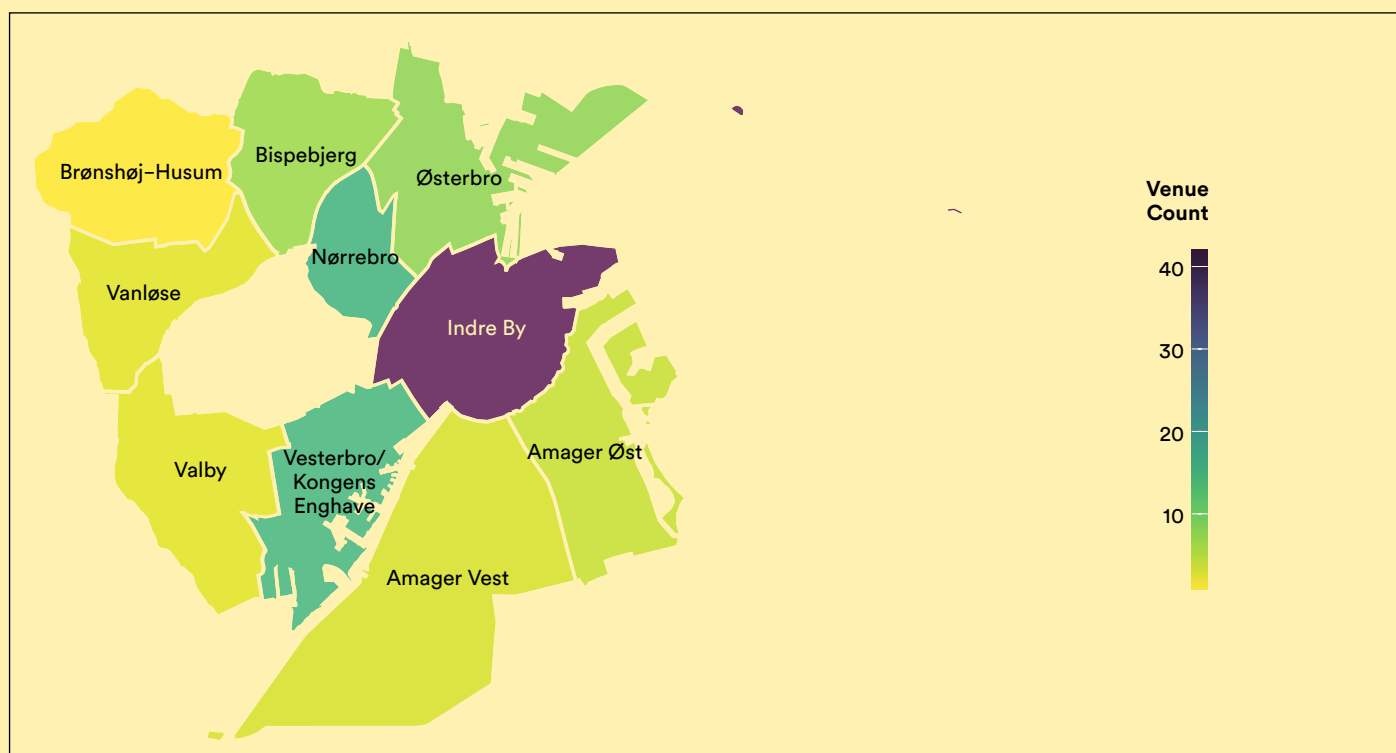


FIGURE 5: MAP OF VENUE DENSITY BY DISTRICT IN COPENHAGEN

Venues by district

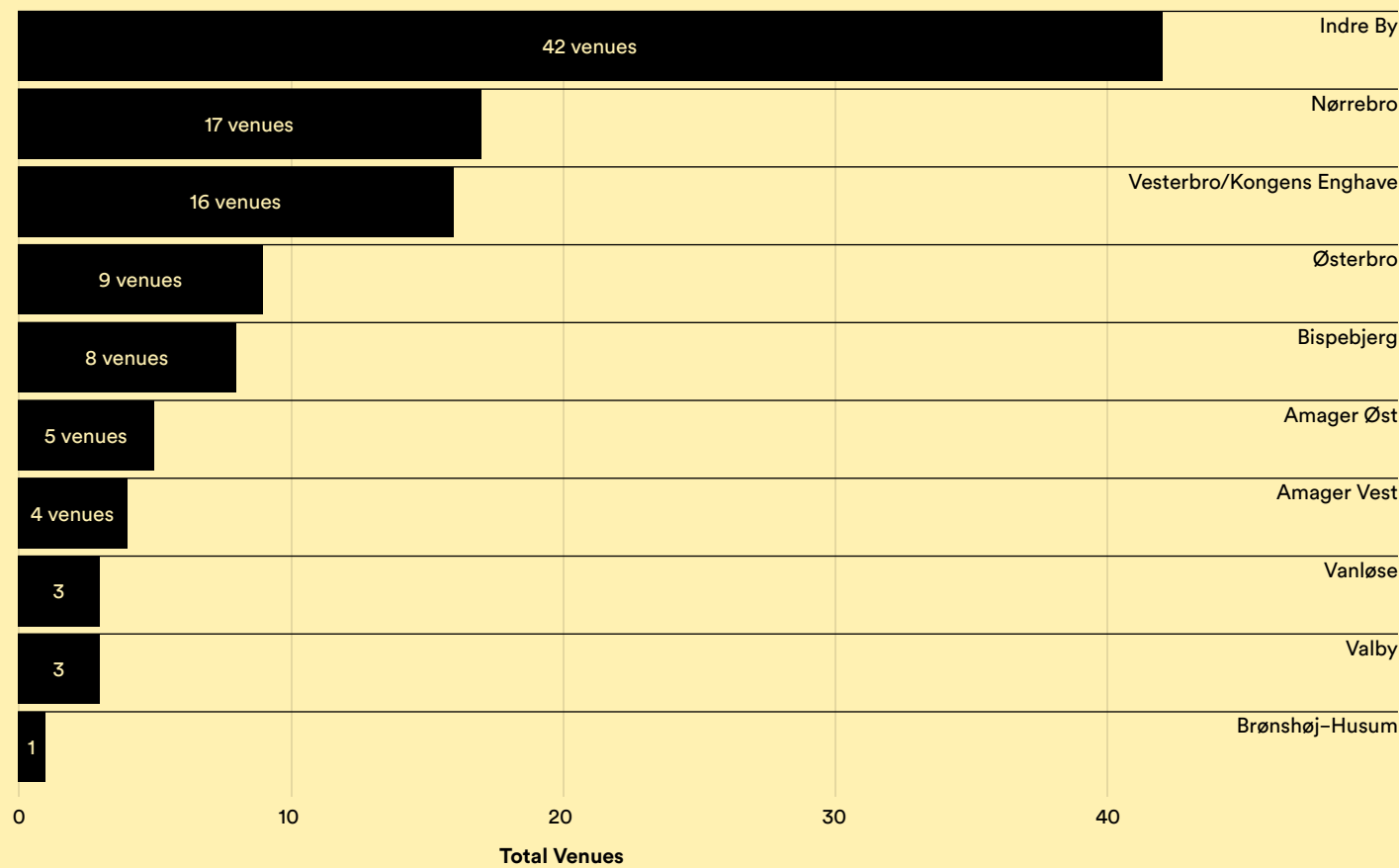


FIGURE 6: NUMBER OF VENUES BY DISTRICT IN COPENHAGEN

3.3.2 The “Venue Ladder”: Distribution of venue sizes

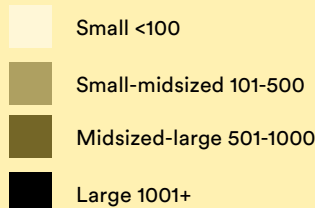
Venue size distribution



FIGURE 7: BAR CHART OF VENUE FLOOR SIZE (M²) IN COPENHAGEN

Venue size

Size (Square Meters)



Copenhagen's "venue ladder" is healthy (Figure 7)—with a diversity of spaces that mirrors that of other CFP cities. However, it lacks spaces in the <100 m² category: just nine spaces, or 8.3%, are in this category. And, in the 100-500 m² category: with 23

spaces, or 21%. Copenhagen's "venue ladder" is similar to that of Stockholm or New York (Figure 8). A more thorough discussion of the "venue ladder" and characteristics of spaces can be found in Section 4.0.

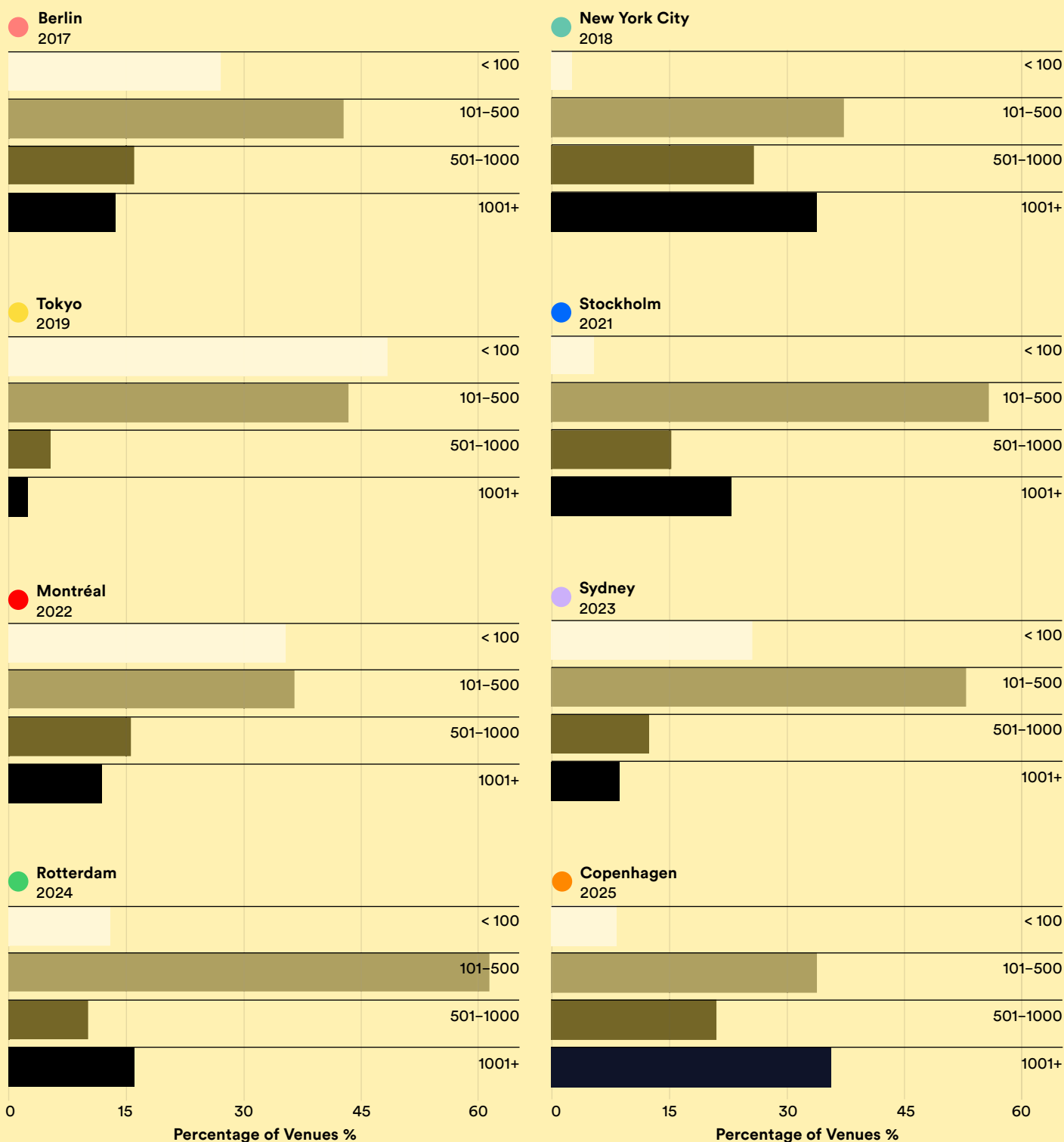


FIGURE 8: COMPARISON OF VENUE FLOOR SIZE (M²) ACROSS CFP CITIES

3.3.3 Programming and venue characteristics

Distribution of programming variables

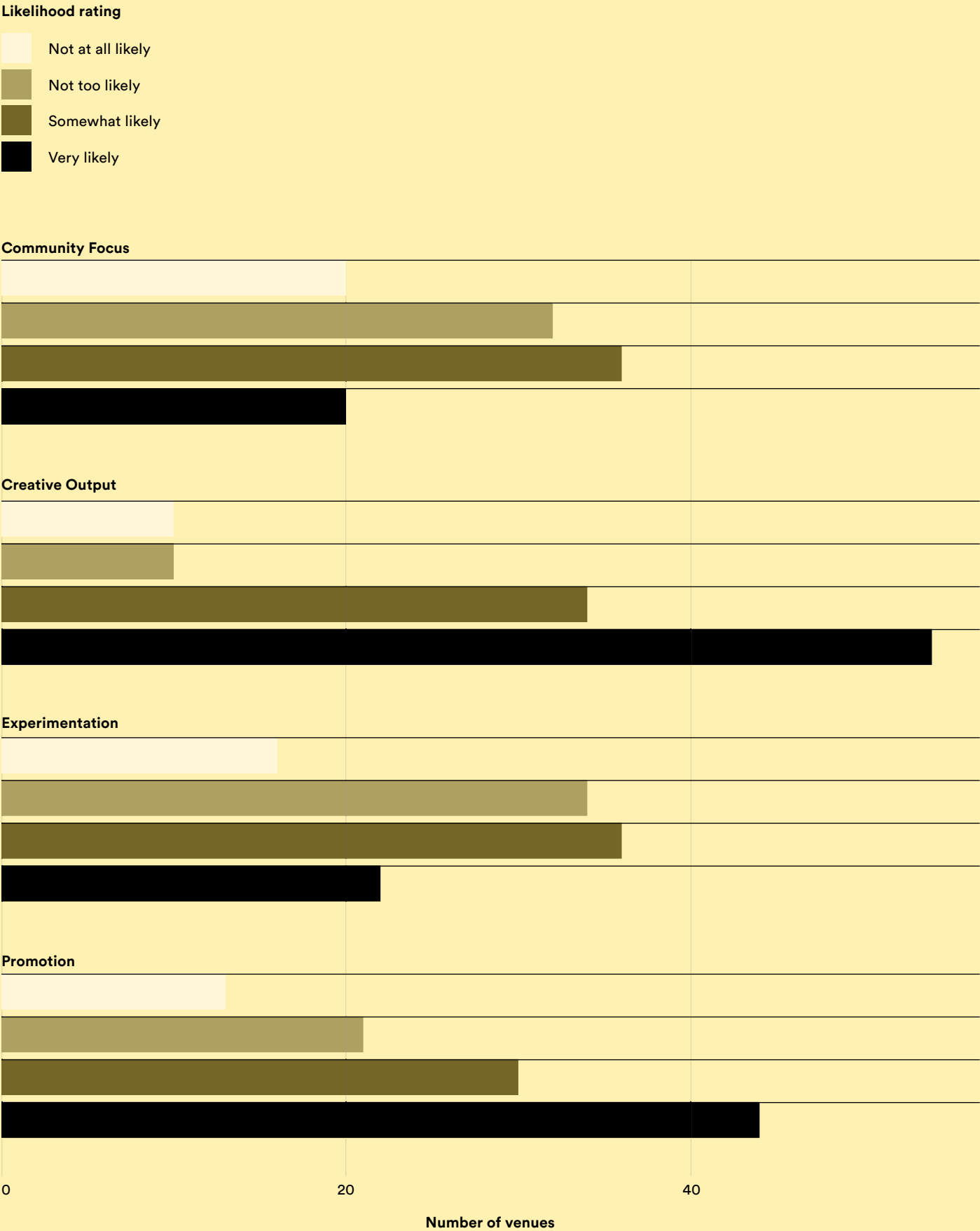


FIGURE 9A: DISTRIBUTION OF PROGRAMMING VARIABLES FOR COPENHAGEN VENUES AND COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS CFP CITIES

Distribution of Programming Variables

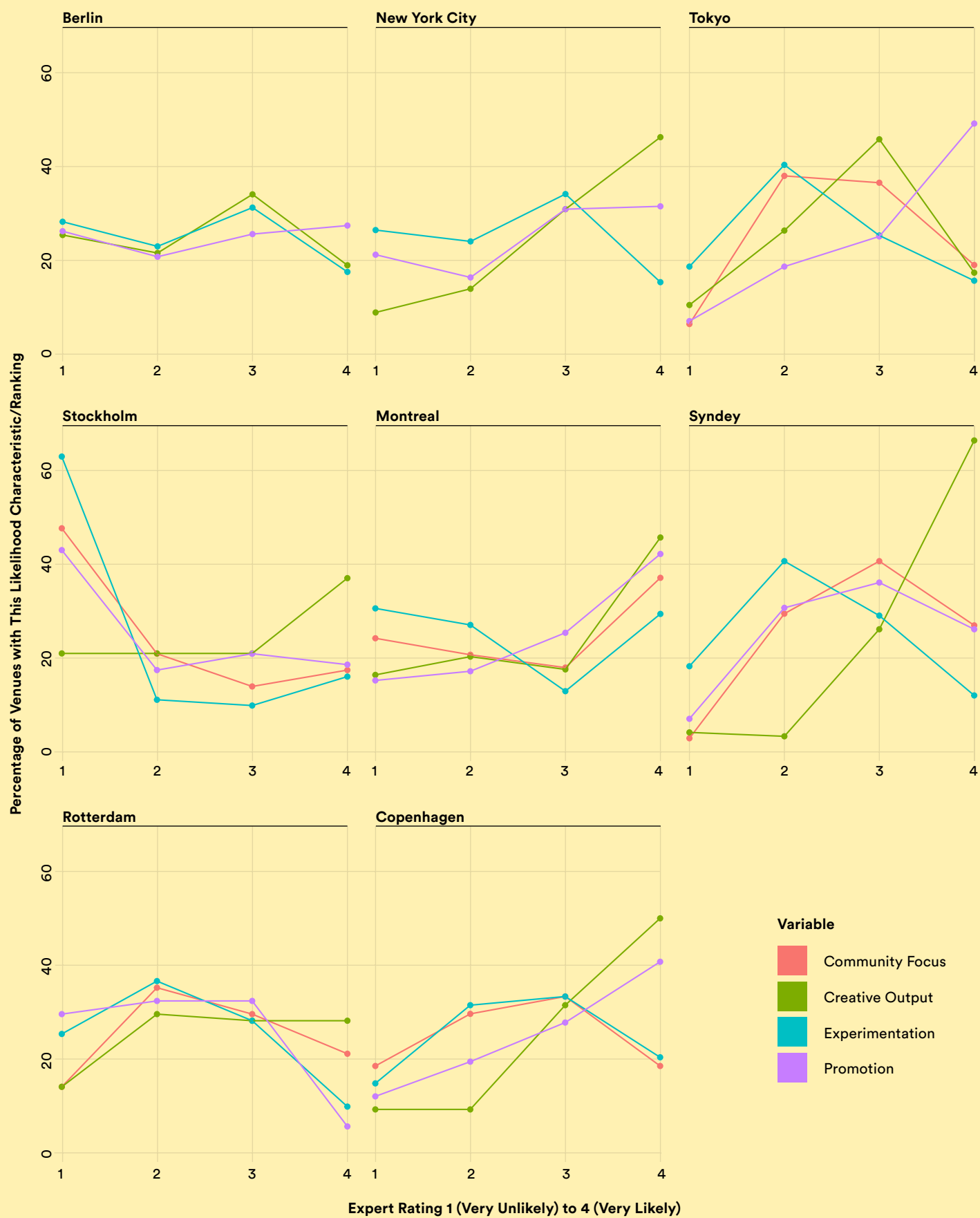


FIGURE 9B: DISTRIBUTION OF PROGRAMMING VARIABLES FOR COPENHAGEN VENUES AND COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS CFP CITIES

Focus group participants and CFP assessed each venue in terms of its likelihood of having particular programming characteristics (Figure 9) (see *Section 2.4* for more information about the focus groups and panels employed in this study). Specifically, each venue's characteristics were agreed upon using a Likert Scale to answer the following questions about its programming:

Indicator	Question	Response options
Promotion	To what degree does the venue centre music and artistic content in their marketing and promotion (in contrast to food offerings or drink specials)?	1. Not at all likely 2. Not too likely 3. Somewhat likely 4. Very likely
Community Focus	To what degree does the venue provide space for specific scenes and communities, whether minoritised, marginalised and/or underrepresented in the city? Does the venue act as a hub for emerging talent, subgenre(s) and local communities?	1. Not at all likely 2. Not too likely 3. Somewhat likely 4. Very likely
Creative Output	To what degree does the venue platform original creative content (including DJing and electronic music) through their music and nightlife programming?	1. Not at all likely 2. Not too likely 3. Somewhat likely 4. Very likely
Experimentation	To what degree does the venue platform original experimental content through their music and nightlife programming?	1. Not at all likely 2. Not too likely 3. Somewhat likely 4. Very likely

CFP's dedicated local team and experts gave Copenhagen's venues high ratings for overall programming quality. Copenhagen's *Experimentation* and *Promotion* ratings were, on average, the highest of any CFP cities, and Creative Output was second amongst CFP cities. This would suggest that local experts believe that their city's venues are especially focused on creativity and the promotion of artistic content.

There were notably few venues that were assessed poorly across all categories. Programming characteristics were generally similar between venue types, including venues that also have restaurant programming typically poorly rated in other CFP cities. Galleries, clubs and larger, older, "Legacy" venues were particularly well assessed.

Programming ratings vary across Copenhagen's districts. Notably, Nørrebro has consistently high content rankings, and outlying areas, where rents tend to be lower, have relatively high assessments as well (Figures 10 and 11). However, it is notable that the city centre, Indre By, has many venues with well assessed programming, as the area's traditionally higher concentration of alcohol licenses may drive competition on quality programming and content. In other CFP cities, the centre is often characterised by lower programming rankings, associated likely with higher land and operating costs and demands for tourist or consumer-orientated content.

Districts with highest experimental content scores

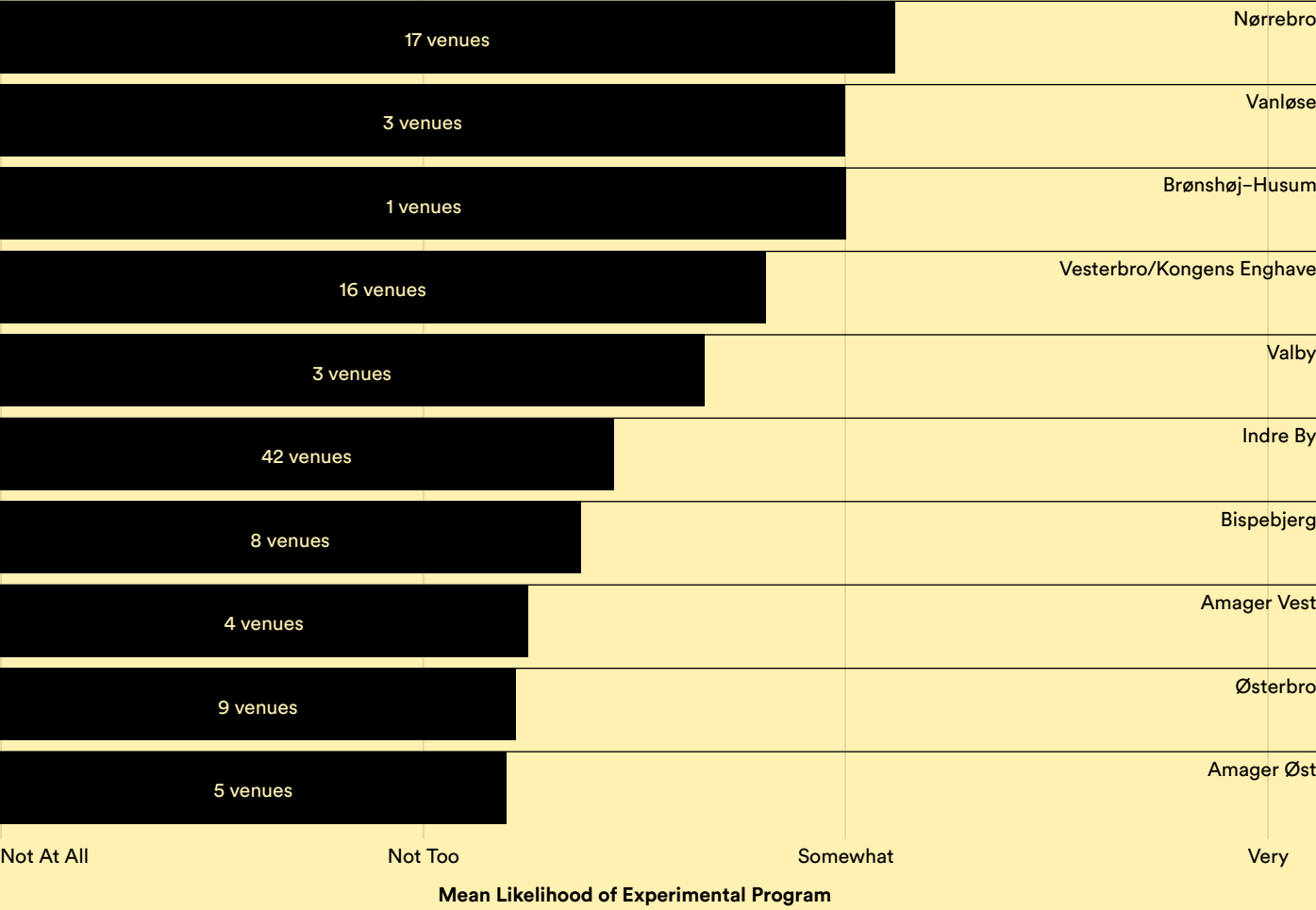


FIGURE 10: MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EXPERIMENTATION SCORES FOR COPENHAGEN VENUES

Districts with highest community likelihood scores

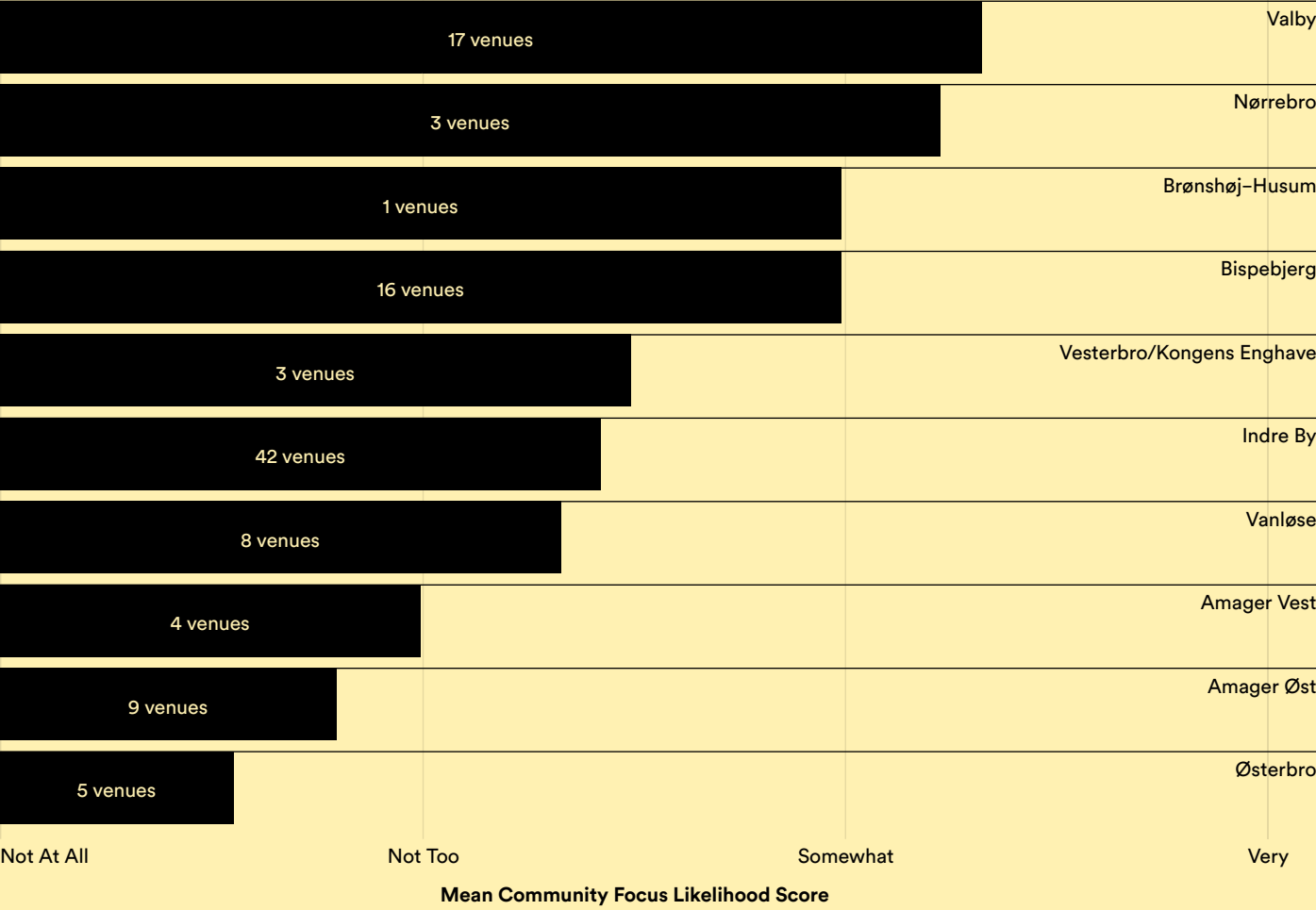
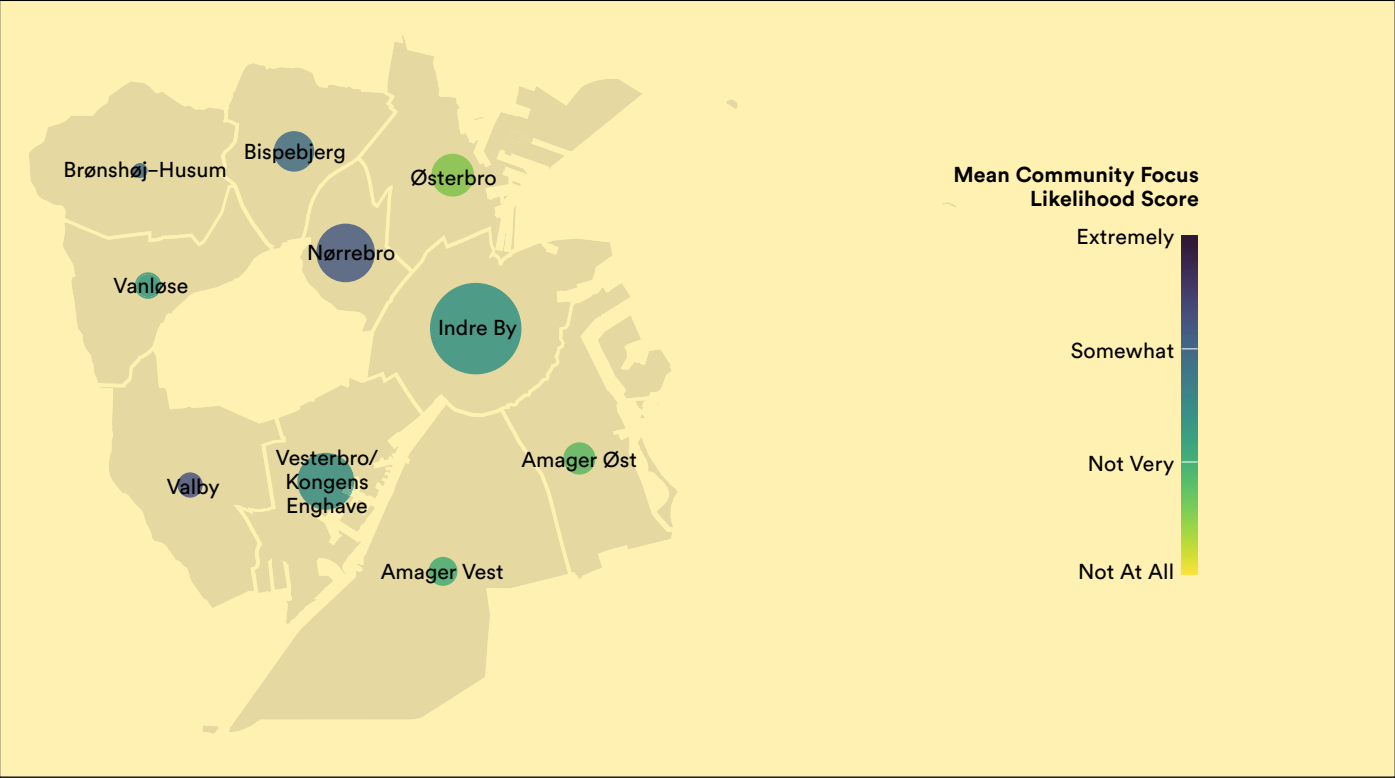


FIGURE 11: MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY FOCUS SCORES FOR COPENHAGEN VENUES

Thematic typology

How can we more easily see patterns among Copenhagen's venues when there are so many data points? The research team used a machine learning classification algorithm known as K-Means Clustering to understand patterns in the data. This method can reduce complexity from CFP's dozens of variables, making specific venue "types" visible. This algorithm identified three "thematic" types of venues which we can describe by the average characteristics of each group:

- **Creative Engines:** Small-to-medium venues, generally 1-10 years old, with the highest rated programming. Typically located in outlying areas. (36 venues)
- **Middle Ground:** Large venues, of middle age (4-20 years), with low-to-average programming ratings. (26 venues)
- **Legacy:** Larger and typically older venues (20+ years), with above average programming rankings. (44 venues)

3.3.4 Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity refers to the number of uses for which a space is utilised. Expert panels note whether spaces are used for a number of categories, including Gallery, Club, Restaurant, Retail, Film Screening, and several others. Copenhagen has notably high numbers of spaces that are used for 3 or more purposes, relative to other CFP cities where this method was also used (Figure 13 - Comparison of Number of Space Uses).

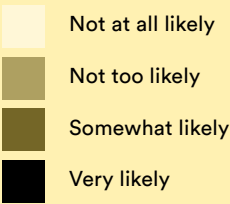
This is particularly notable because programming ratings were, on average, higher for multi-use venues in Copenhagen (Figure 12). There is reason to believe that multi-use spaces offer accessibility to multiple communities, and also provide financial resilience by diversifying income streams. Notably, Copenhagen's city centre, Indre By, has a diversity of well-regarded venue types and its 'Legacy' venues have very highly rated programming—a contrast to central districts in other CFP cities.



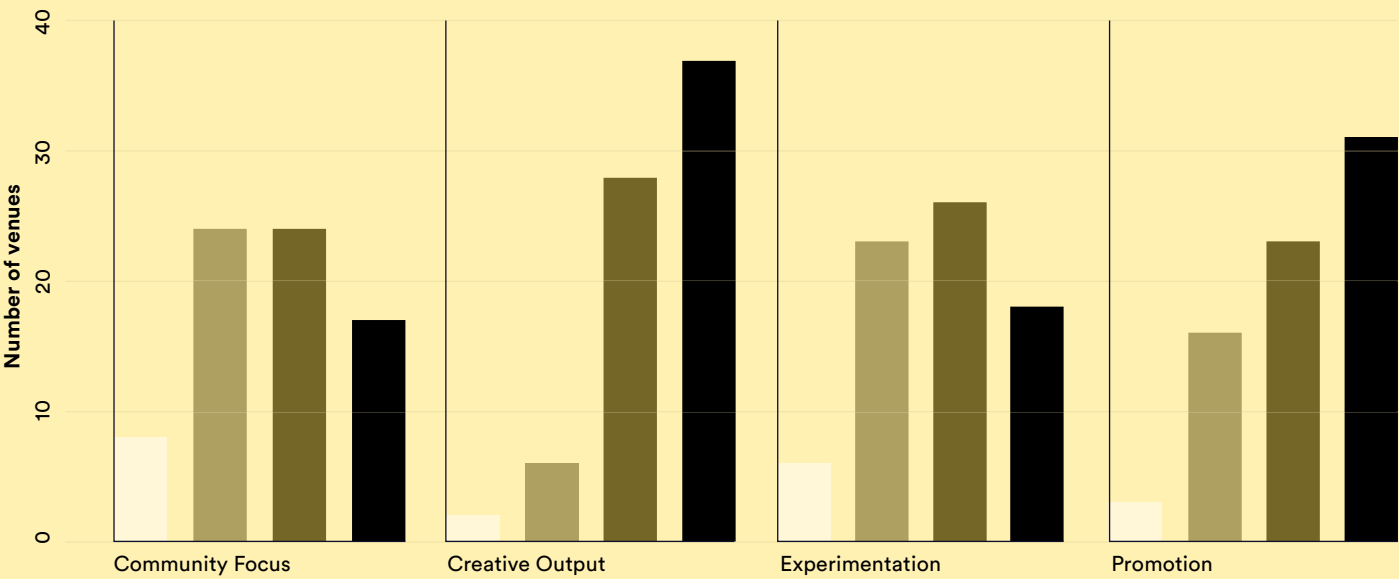
PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, CHRISTIANIA

Distribution of Programming Variables

Likelihood rating



Multi-Use



Single-Use

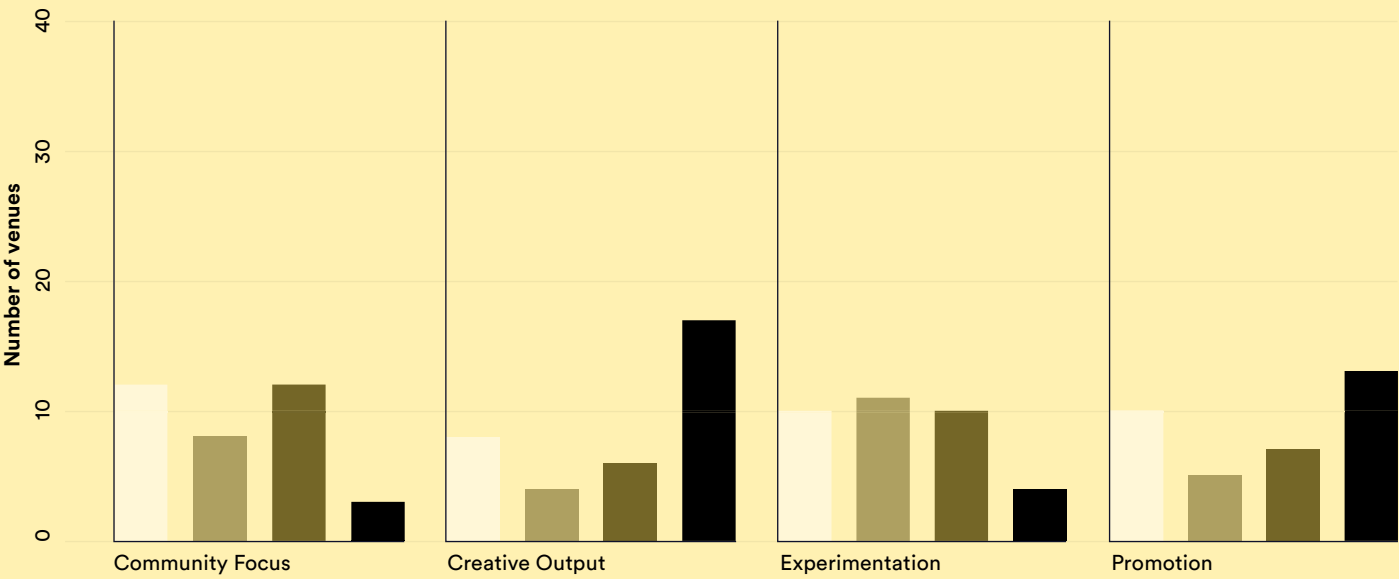


FIGURE 12: DISTRIBUTION OF PROGRAMMING VARIABLES FOR MULTI AND SINGLE USE COPENHAGEN VENUES

Number of programming or types of use in creative spaces

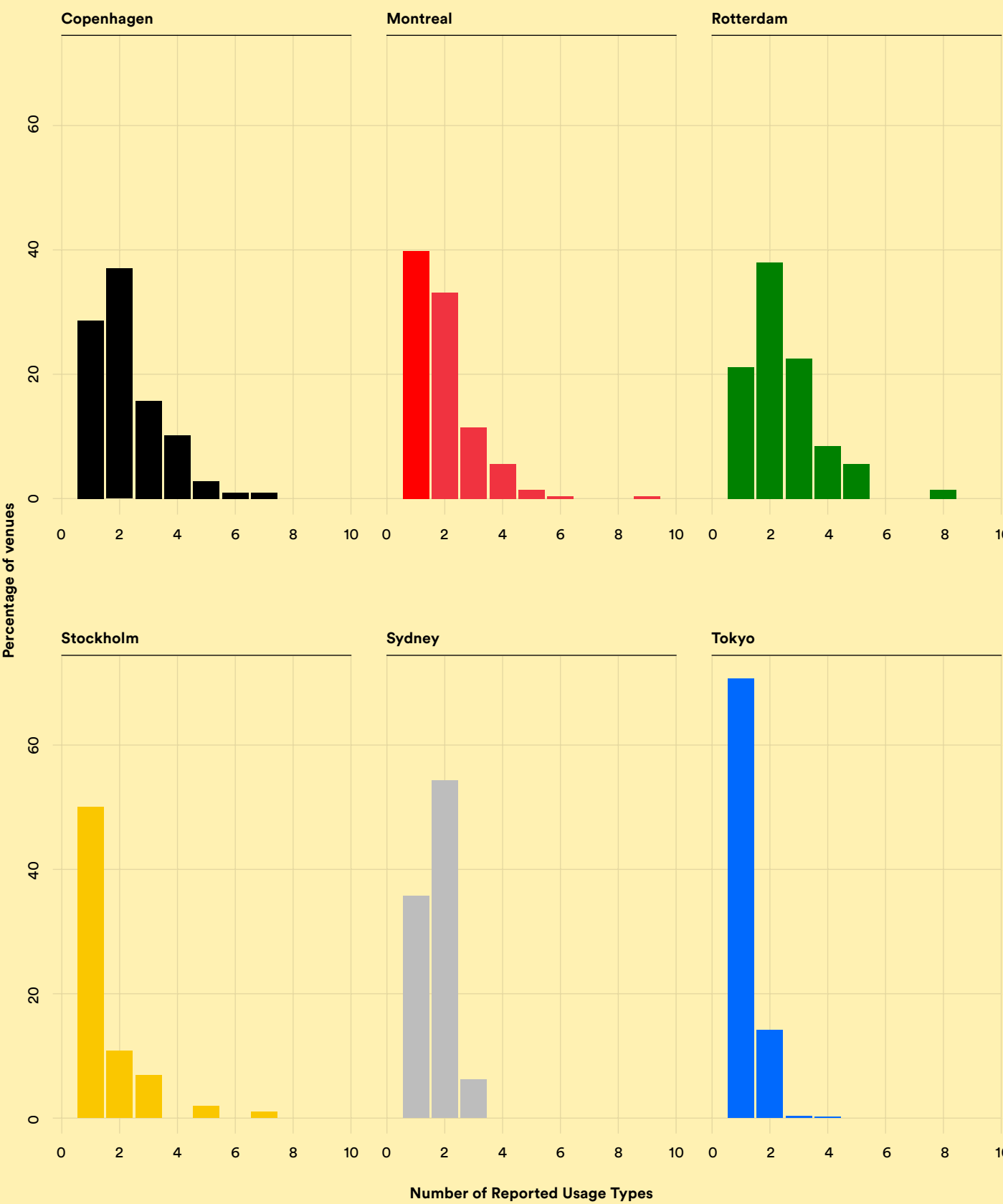


FIGURE 13: COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF SPACE USAGES ACROSS CFP CITIES

3.4 Copenhagen's venues and the city

The Creative Footprint Project has now analysed eight cities, and several patterns are commonly observed—notably that a city's areas of higher venue densities, higher rents, and higher transit density tend to co-locate. However, programming ratings tend to be lower in areas where rents are the highest. This suggests that there is a trade-off between investing in programming and paying high costs for land and access. This also means that “in-between areas”, where venues are

accessible by transit, but rents are not the highest, is an area of opportunity for creating and preserving investments in programming.

Copenhagen is a “strong centre” type of urban area, with the highest rents and transportation access at the centre, but the degree of access allowed by its compact form and broad transit infrastructure presents opportunities.

3.4.1 Venues and real estate

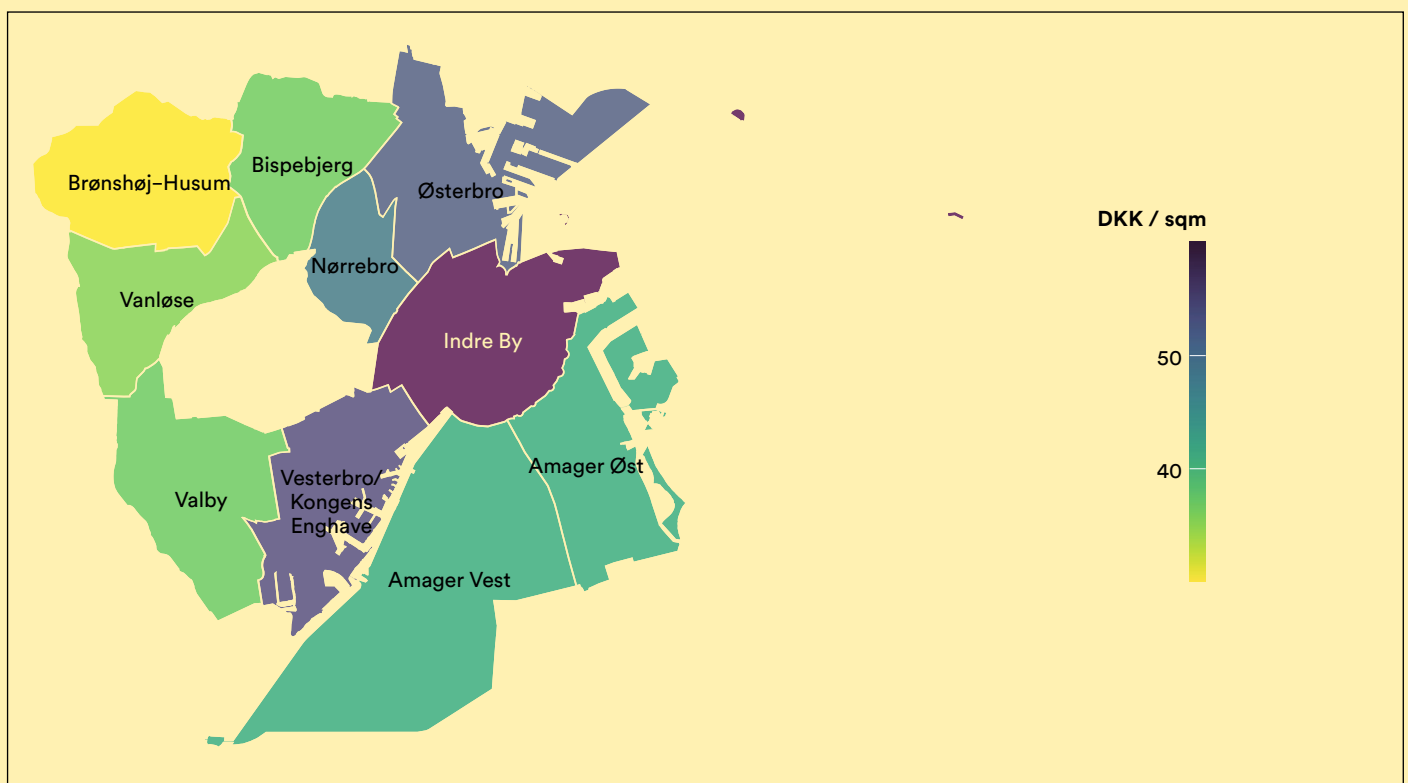


FIGURE 14: AVERAGE REPORTED PROPERTY PRICES¹⁰⁵ (PER M²) PER DISTRICT IN COPENHAGEN (2022)

As observed in other cities, average reported property prices (Figure 14) are highest in Copenhagen's central districts including Indre By and Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave, gradually decreasing in outlying districts such as Amager Øst, Brønshøj-Husum and Valby.

3.4.2 Venues and urban variables

CFP's research shows that Copenhagen's venues cluster near transit (as do higher rents and incomes). Programming ratings are negatively associated with rents, incomes, and transit density—meaning more expensive areas venues have lower programming ratings. This trend is seen across previous CFP cities. More expensive areas (e.g. Indre By) have slightly lower programming ratings. Nørrebro's programming ratings are the highest of any district.

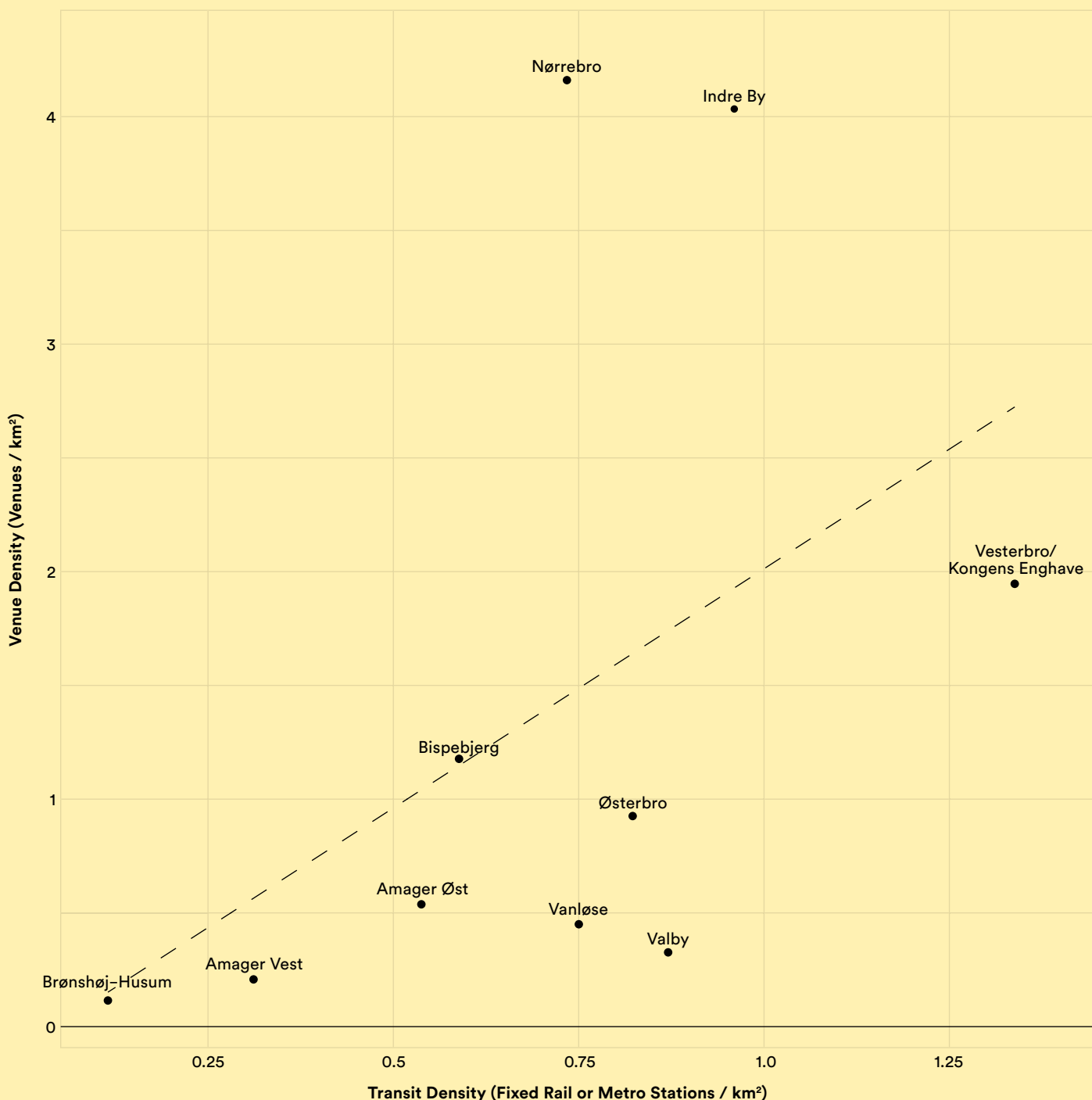


FIGURE 15: VENUE DENSITY AND RAIL DENSITY BY DISTRICT IN COPENHAGEN

CFP City:

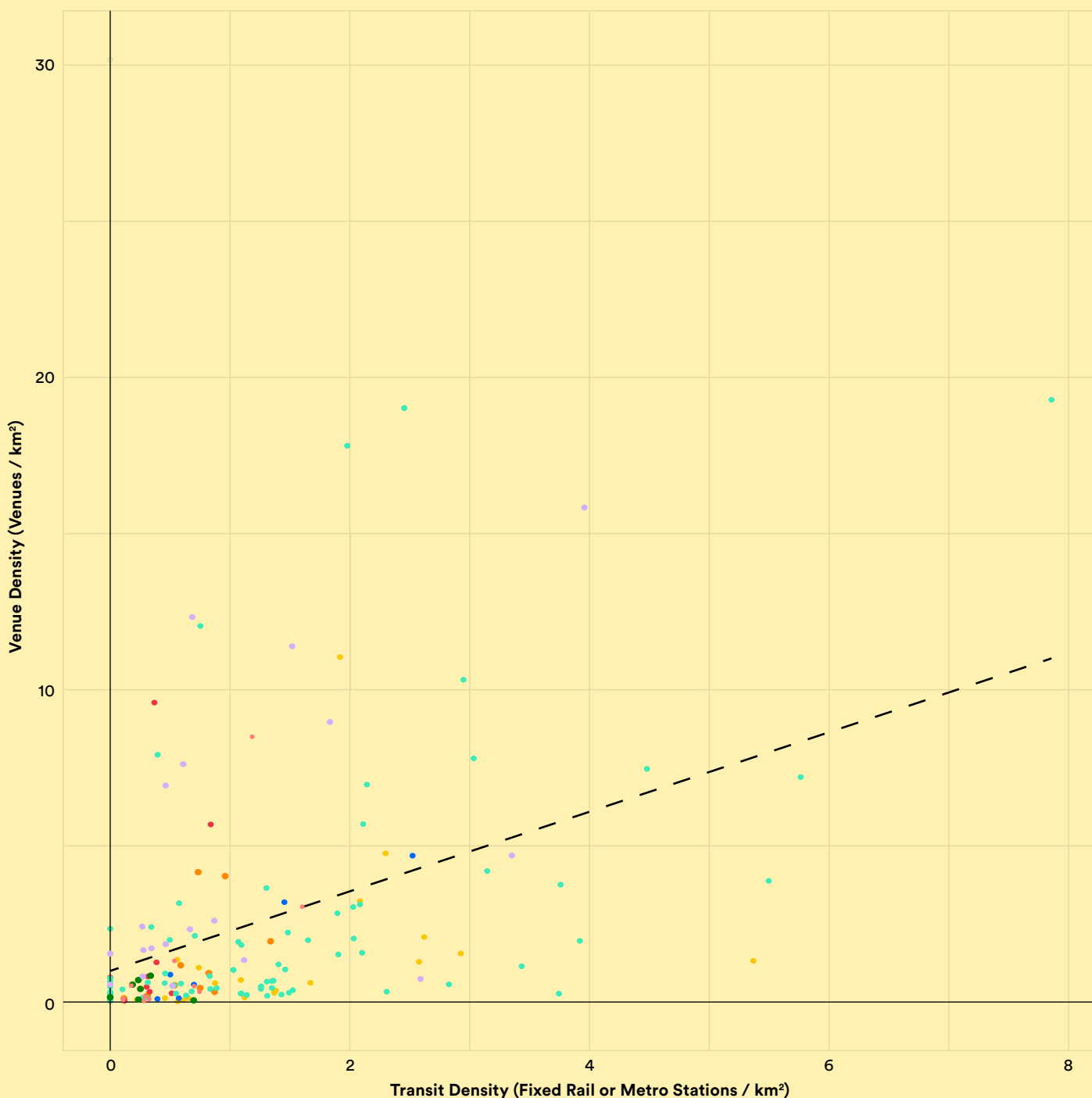


FIGURE 16: COMPARISON OF VENUE DENSITY AND RAIL DENSITY ACROSS CFP CITIES

Copenhagen aligns with the widely observed trend where venue density is positively correlated with six urban variables. Figures 15 and 16 show the pattern of venue and transit density in all CFP cities, followed by a closer look at five other urban variables in

Copenhagen specifically (Figure 17): venue density positively correlates with pedestrian accessibility, weekly household incomes and rents, percentage of young adults, and population density.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL

Venue density as a function of urban variables

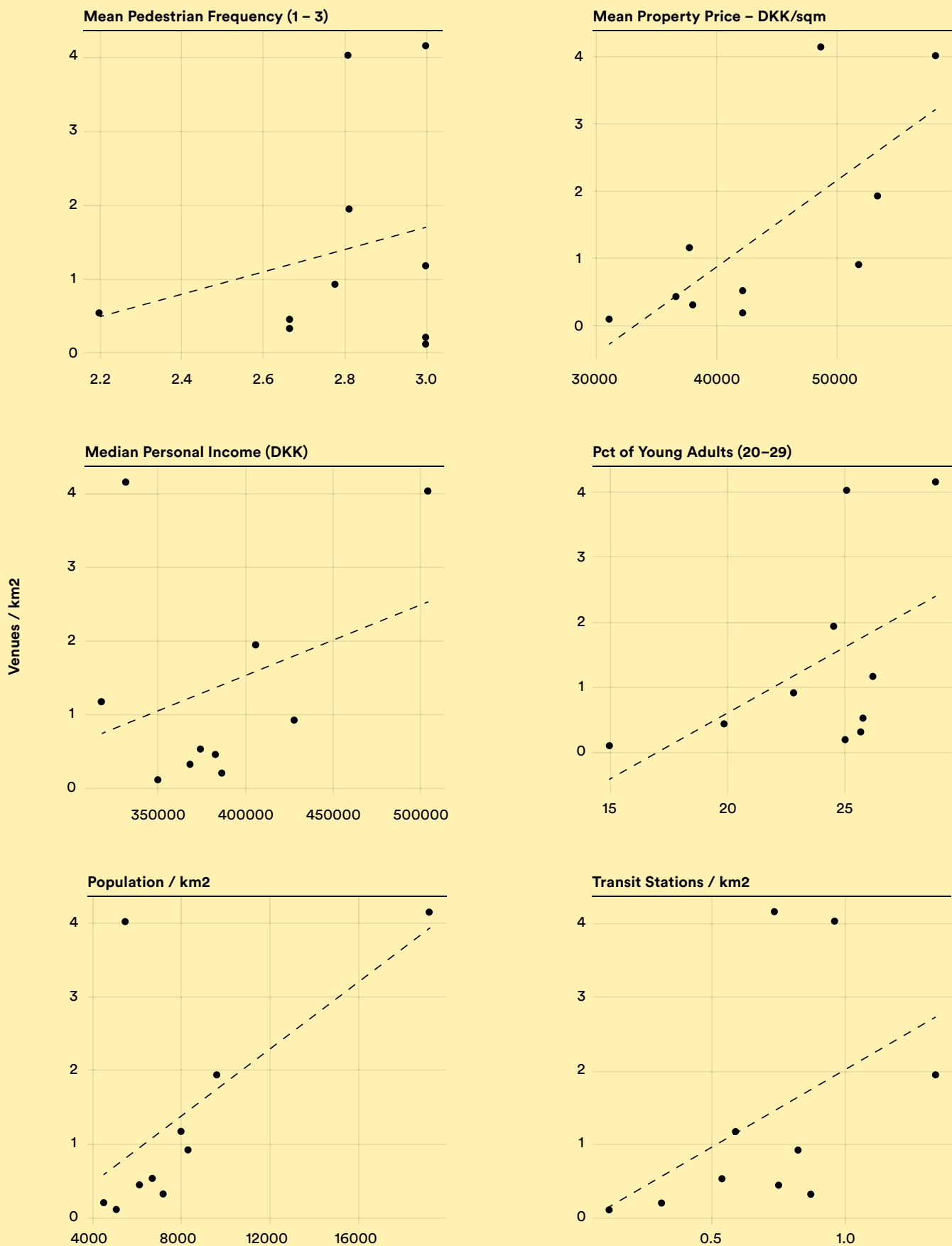


FIGURE 17: SCATTERPLOTS COMPARING VENUE DENSITY WITH SIX URBAN VARIABLES IN COPENHAGEN

Zoom in: Copenhagen's nightlife landscape

CFP finds that venues generally cluster in transit-dense areas with high pedestrian frequency, and population density—particularly of younger people. Several selected districts with notable characteristics are profiled here, to offer a more localised understanding of Copenhagen's nightlife landscape. The four districts profiled contain the majority of venues studied in Copenhagen including Indre By (within it the neighbourhoods of Christiania and Refshaleøen), Nørrebro, Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave and Østerbro.

Refshaleøen

7 venues

Refshaleøen, a former industrial island in Copenhagen's harbour, has transformed into a vibrant nightlife district blending industrial heritage with contemporary music. Venues like Hangaren, a converted shipyard hangar, Werkstatt, a repurposed machine workshop, or Poolen, a 2500 capacity warehouse, now host diverse electronic and rave events. The local government is interested in developing this area in the coming years, which could pose a challenge to the area's diverse venue mix and its annual heavy metal festival Copenhell.

Indre By

42 venues

Indre By, Copenhagen's historic urban centre, is home to the highest concentration of venues, with a total of 42 music and nightlife venues spanning "Legacy", "Creative Engine", and "Mainstream" categories (see Section 3.3.3 for further context). While high housing prices pose challenges to venue growth and new cultural spaces, the district remains popular with locals and residents, aided by its excellent public transit infrastructure, historical character and high concentration of alcohol licences.

Christiania

9 venues

Freetown Christiania, Copenhagen's former military base turned autonomous neighbourhood, has fostered a vibrant music and nightlife scene, with key venues including Den Grå Hal and Loppen, the latter programming alternative music in a former military hall for over 50 years.

Zoom in: Copenhagen's nightlife landscape

Nørrebro 17 venues

With 17 music venues, Nørrebro has the second highest venue density in Copenhagen, with a focus on alternative, rather than mainstream, programming. Rents are growing 17% slower than in Indre By, making it a more affordable option for residents and creatives. As gentrification increases, Nørrebro is seen as ideal for affordability controls and preservation efforts, and the 2019 Kommunenplan highlights Nordvest as a key area for fostering creative entrepreneurship.

Østerbro 9 venues

Østerbro, an affluent and family friendly district northeast of Copenhagen's city centre, features spacious parks, waterfront access and landmarks like Fælledparken and St. Alban's Church. With nine music venues, Østerbro has a notable venue density, though programming is primarily mainstream. The district is undergoing significant waterfront redevelopment, which may enhance its cultural landscape but also raises concerns about maintaining affordability (high property values average around DKK 51,794 per square metre). Notably, the 2019 Kommunenplan identifies adjoining district Nordhavn as a potential site for repurposing industrial buildings into creative spaces.

Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave 16 venues

Vesterbro, located west of Copenhagen's city centre, is a dynamic nightlife district, particularly in the reimagined Meatpacking District, now home to galleries, restaurants, and event spaces. The district features above average venue programming, well connected public transport and high property values, reflecting its desirability.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL

SECTION IV: DISCUSSING CREATIVE FOOTPRINT'S RESEARCH FINDINGS

Across all three of CFP's parameters, Copenhagen scored highest in *Space*, with an overall score of 8.56/10. This next section examines in greater detail the spatial distribution of venues throughout Copenhagen and gaps in the 'venue ladder' reported by both emerging and established nightlife actors, as well as the challenges surrounding noise, affordability and access to both indoor and outdoor music and nightlife space in the city.

CFP defines *Space* as the interconnected internal and external physical conditions surrounding creative and cultural nighttime infrastructure in the city. This includes analysis of venue size, how well connected venues are to nearby transportation hubs, the average age of venues, as well as their multifunctionality, reputation, and visibility.

CFP's analysis of Copenhagen's 108 venues reveals a relatively even geographic spread of differently sized venues across each of the city's 10 districts. Figure 18 shows that Copenhagen's venues are largely concentrated in the central districts of Indre By (42 venues) followed by Nørrebro (17 venues) and Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave (16 venues), with relatively high accessibility and close proximity to transportation nodes (see *Section III* for further insights).

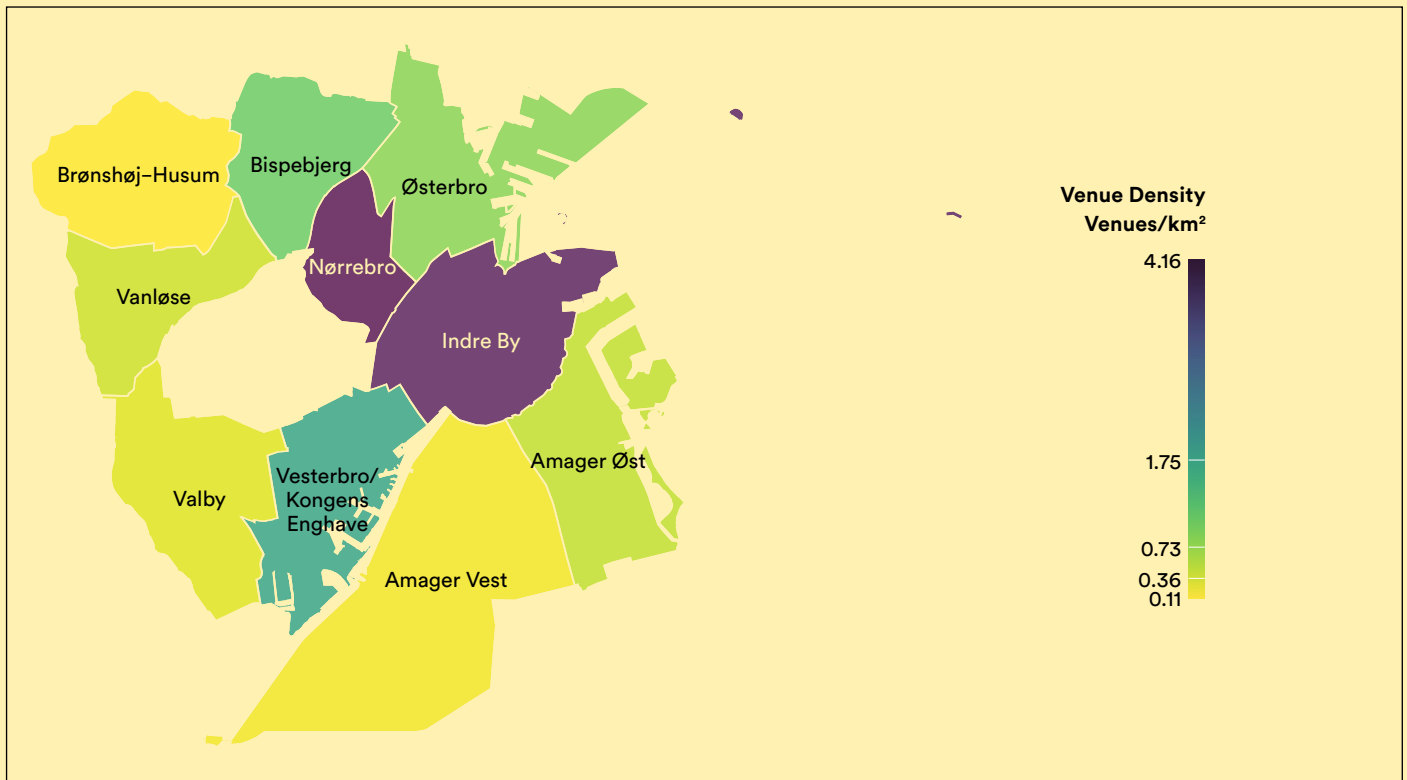


FIGURE 18: MAP OF VENUE DENSITY BY DISTRICT IN COPENHAGEN

Venue Size Distribution – Copenhagen (Square Meters)

Size (Square Meters)

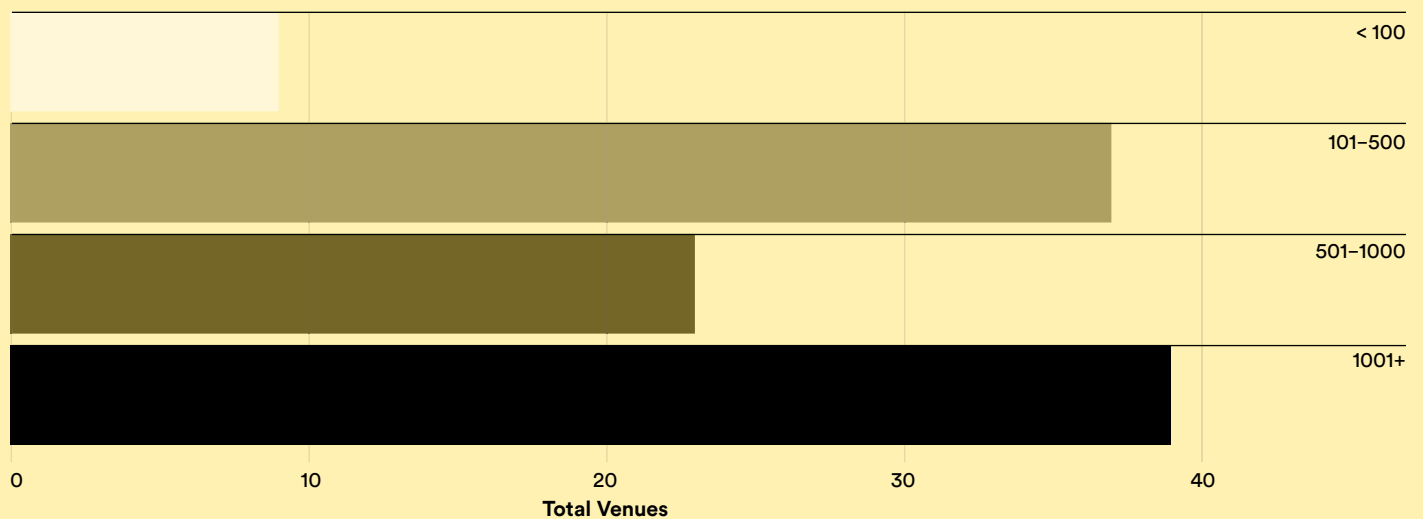
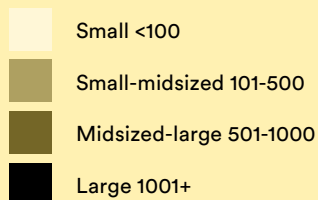


FIGURE 19: BAR CHART OF VENUE FLOOR SIZE (M²) IN COPENHAGEN

While Copenhagen has a generally well balanced ‘venue ladder’ similar to that of Stockholm or New York, research participants reported key gaps in smaller venues (<100 m²)—the types of spaces essential to emerging and experimental artists and collectives. Mid-to-large-sized venues (501-1000 m²)—the types of spaces necessary to build and sustain nightlife communities—were also seen as underrepresented. CFP’s analysis of venue size distribution (as seen in Figure 19) shows that a mere nine venues, or 8% of the total number of venues identified in the study area, fall within the smallest size category (<100 m²). While mid-sized venues (37 venues: 101-500 m²) and large venues (39 venues: 1001+ m²) are well served, CFP’s research shows a lower count of 23 mid-to-large-sized venues (501-1000 m²).

Here, a ‘venue ladder’ describes the spectrum of venue sizes in a given city—from intimate basement clubs, to mid-sized concert halls, to large arenas and festival grounds.¹⁰⁸ This continuum of venues (Figure 20) serves as an important pipeline, accommodating music and nightlife actors as they scale up from smaller to larger stages in developing their careers; building and sustaining communities, recognition and audiences. In any creative and cultural ecosystem, small venues offer the necessary low-risk first point of entry to newcomers—serving as important incubators for smaller emerging actors, providing essential spaces to experiment. As described by DJ and promoter Esther Kakai Wanyama, “There has to be room for small to large scale promoters to experiment and fail.”

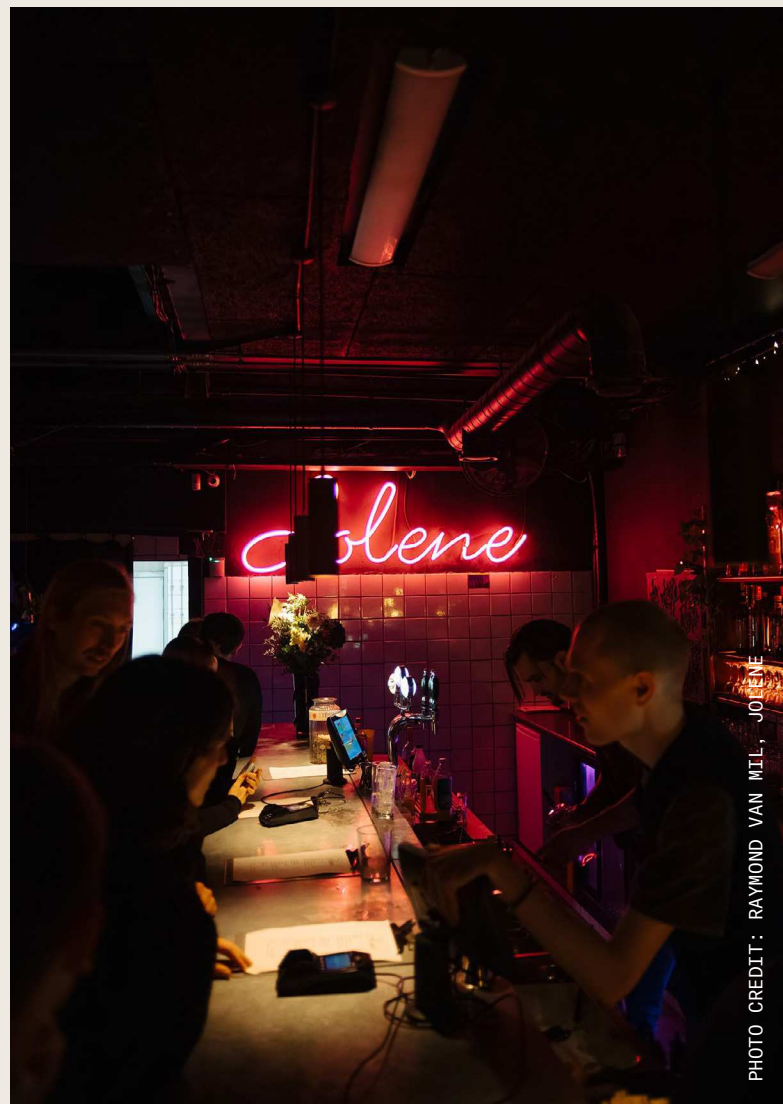


PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, JOLENE

Venue Size Distribution



FIGURE 20: BAR CHART OF VENUE FLOOR SIZE (M²) BY USE IN COPENHAGEN

Copenhagen's event operators and venues benefit from a diverse ecosystem of spaces—the highest per capita in the CFP dataset—with 68% of venues defined as multi-use (two or more programme uses). However, CFP's research finds that gaps in venue sizes and uses are felt differently among the various genres and scenes that make up Copenhagen's nightlife. While Copenhagen's live music scenes (e.g. jazz, rock, pop) are served by dedicated live music venues including VEGA, Spillestedet Stengade, Loppen or ALICE, actors representing Copenhagen's independent grassroots, DIY and electronic music scenes all voiced the need for more flexible, affordable, permanent, modular, and accessible venues of sizes ranging from 80 to 500 to 1000 capacity¹⁰⁷ to accommodate a variety of events, concepts and activities. Participants envisioned such spaces to be independent “promoter, and culture driven spaces”, run and programmed on a rotation or “board” of different independent promoters in the city. As Galleri Anti co-founder and KFP board member Kir S. Thomsen noted, “All we really want is a permanent space—so we can really build the community around it.”

Despite recent efforts by the Municipality to secure and open up more outdoor and indoor space for music and nightlife use, participants perceived noise regulations on outdoor music and nightlife use set by the Municipality (seen in Figure 21) to be excessive and ‘extremely challenging.’ At present, noise emissions from events are restricted to a maximum of 60-70 dB¹⁰⁸ (to the nearest building), and is limited both in time frame, duration, and number of days per year. Culture Box's Head of Music Tim Andresen welcomed the recent extension of two hours for outdoor events (from 10pm to midnight), yet stressed the “need to have a bigger discussion [about noise regulations] in the municipality.”

Throughout 2023 and 2024, Copenhagen Nightlife Committee's RFX Open Air Zones working group¹⁰⁹ was tasked with finding locations and testing solutions to maintain a

diverse range of cultural and music events. This effort aimed to address shortages in suitable new spaces for music and nightlife activities in the city. However, research participants emphasised that current noise regulations severely restrict the use of existing and potential private or municipally-owned spaces that could otherwise be suitable for music and nightlife. Some participants further attributed the lack of suitable space to increasingly risk averse property owners. These owners are often unwilling to collaborate with outdoor event operators over concerns about potential noise conflicts with nearby residents in an increasingly densifying city, further limiting the options available to operators.

Koncertsted	Højeste antal dage m. koncerter/år	Start-/slut tidspunkt	Længste varighed i timer	Højeste støjniveau i omgivelser dB(A)
Amager Kulturpunkt, Musiktorvet	15	*22.00/24.00	5	60
Amager Strandpark	8	*22.00/24.00	10	60
Axeltorv	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Balders Plads	15	*22.00/24.00	5	60
Bellahøj Friluftscene	20	*22.00/24.00	5	70
Bellahøjmarken	10	*22.00/24.00	6	70
Blågårds Plads	10	*22.00/24.00	5	60
Christiansborg Ridebane	10	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	10	70
Christiansborg Slotsplads	10	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	10	70
Churchill Parken	10	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	65
Den Røde Plads	10	*22.00/24.00	6	70
Den Sorte Plads	10	*22.00/24.00	10	70
Enghave Plads	10	*22.00/24.00	5	65
Enghaveparken	15	*22.00/24.00	6	70
Femøren og Tiøren	10	*22.00/24.00	10	60
Fisketorvet	5	22.00	5	60
Frue Plads	6	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	65
Fælledparken 1	5	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Fælledparken 2	5	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Fælledparken 3	5	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Fælledparken v. Trianglen	2 pr. uge	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Gråbrødretorv	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Halmtorvet	15	*22.00/24.00	6	65
Havneparken Islands Brygge incl. privat areal	20	22.00	3	60
Højbro Plads	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Israels Plads	15	*22.00/24.00	6	65
Kay Fiskers Plads	10	*22.00/24.00	6	65
Kløvermarken	10	*22.00/24.00	10	60
Kongens Have	10	*22.00/24.00	6	65
Kultorvet	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Litauens Plads	15	*22.00/24.00	5	60
Nikolaj Plads	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	65
Nyhavn	20	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Nytorv og Gammeltorv	20	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Nørrebroparken (Nord)	10	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Nørrebroparken (Syd)	10	*22.00/24.00	6	60
Refshaleøen (vest)	5	*22.00/24.00	5	60
Refshaleøen (øst)	20	Ingen miljøvilkår		
Regnbuepladsen	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Rådhuspladsen	Ingen miljøvilkår			
Sankt Hans Torv	15	22.00	5	60
Sønder Boulevard fordelt på hele strækningen	20	*22.00/24.00	6	65
Valbyparken incl. Festpladsen	**20	*22.00/24.00	10	70
Valby Idrætspark	5	*22.00/24.00	10	70
Vesterbro Torv	15	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	65
Ørstedsparken	20	*14.00 - 22.00/24.00	6	70
Østre Anlæg incl. Museumshaven	15	*22.00/24.00	6	60

* Sluttidspunkt: Søndag - torsdag kl. 22.00, fredag - lørdag kl. 24.00.

** Ingen koncerter i perioden 1. november - 31. marts.

FIGURE 21: COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY'S CURRENT REGULATIONS FOR OUTDOOR MUSIC EVENTS FROM 'FORSKRIFT FOR UDENDØRS MUSIKARRANGEMENTER'

This section highlights the need within Copenhagen's music and nightlife actors for more affordable, accessible, adaptable, long-term, noise-permitting, community driven spaces in the city. In the face of increasing urban densification, gentrification and development, debates about the future provision of public/private indoor and outdoor space in Copenhagen's central districts as well as further areas including Amager Øst, Refshaleøen, Nordhavn and the yet to be developed Prøvestenen island must be taken into consideration. Similarly, current debates about the future of Copenhagen's provision of underutilised Culture Houses for music and nightlife use (as earmarked in the Municipality's KUBI plan¹¹⁰ and Mapping Culture Houses research¹¹¹) serve as significant opportunities for remedying the challenges identified by CFP's research participants.



SPOTLIGHT: COPENHAGEN'S CULTURE HOUSES (KULTURHUSE)

Every municipality of Denmark has at least one culture house,¹¹² with the highest concentration in the municipality of Copenhagen (31).¹¹³

¹¹⁴ These houses are an integral feature of the city's civic, social and cultural fabric¹¹⁵ and provide arguably the most space for local communities to organise activities and events.¹¹⁶ Copenhagen's culture houses are most often differentiated as either broad (*breddekulturhuse*) or niche (*nichekulturhuse*), with the latter designation including dedicated music venues.

Currently only three culture houses in Copenhagen are dedicated music venues:¹¹⁷ Basement,¹¹⁸ Amager Bio and Beta.¹¹⁹ Each has an uncertain future: noise complaints threaten Basement's music programming, while tenders¹²⁰ have been requested for Amager Bio and Beta. Niche culture houses can also have multiple uses, for example, 'youth culture house' KraftWerket¹²¹ also operates a venue in their basement called UnderWerket.¹²² With minimal inhouse production, the venue primarily serves as a rental space for the local underground and DIY operators as well as international touring bands, playing a crucial role in the city's creative growth.¹²³

CFP research participants expressed a desire for more community-driven and collective-owned spaces that can be flexibly programmed. One focus group participant lamented the restrictions on venues available to DIY promoters: "You only have a very limited set of experimentation you can do in the framework that most venues allow, both commercially owned and municipality owned."

Copenhagen's early culture houses were rooted in activism and countercultural movements. These spaces were claimed through the squatting of underused urban buildings, with many adopting values of community, participation and democratic processes.^{124 125 126} By 2005, most culture houses were municipalised, while a select amount were formalised through municipal subsidies and permitted to maintain their autonomy as independent associations and



foundations.¹²⁷ One of these is the 'new' Youth House (*Ungdomshuset - Dorteavej 61*),^{128 129} which was provided by the municipality to Foundation Jagtvej 69 through a cooperation agreement which mandates full leadership to its young operators.¹³⁰ This served as consolation after local authorities evacuated and demolished the 'original' Youth House (*Ungdomshuset - Jagtvej 69*)¹³¹ in 2007, once an integral venue for various genres of the underground music scene.^{132 133 134}

For the first time ever, the trajectory of the city's culture houses will be directed by a municipal strategy known as the KUBI plan 2025-2028.¹³⁵ Among its proposals is a pilot for more user-driven models allowing select culture houses more autonomy to operate on behalf of the municipality.¹³⁶ Benefits of this approach can be observed in Denmark's second largest city Aarhus, where the municipality granted cultural actors unbridled access to the decommissioned Godsbanen rail yards in 2009,¹³⁷ which catalysed a remarkable transformation of the area's identity. The emergence of Institut for (X),¹³⁸ a not-for-profit cultural association which now boasts over 600 members, turned the space into a thriving 'DIY Village' for creatives and entrepreneurs. One such member, Aarhus Volume,¹³⁹ garnered local and national acclaim for their contribution to the creative landscape of Aarhus.^{140 141} By 2016,¹⁴² the once overlooked area surrounding the rail yard came to be known as Aarhus K,¹⁴³ the city's creative and cultural district, with Institut for (X) securing a long-term operational contract and collaborative partnership with the municipality.^{144 145 146}

Granting space and autonomy to cultural actors can transform a district's identity. The success of this initiative in Aarhus offers a model for Copenhagen to reduce restrictive frameworks and promote experimentation, which is further discussed in *Recommendations*.

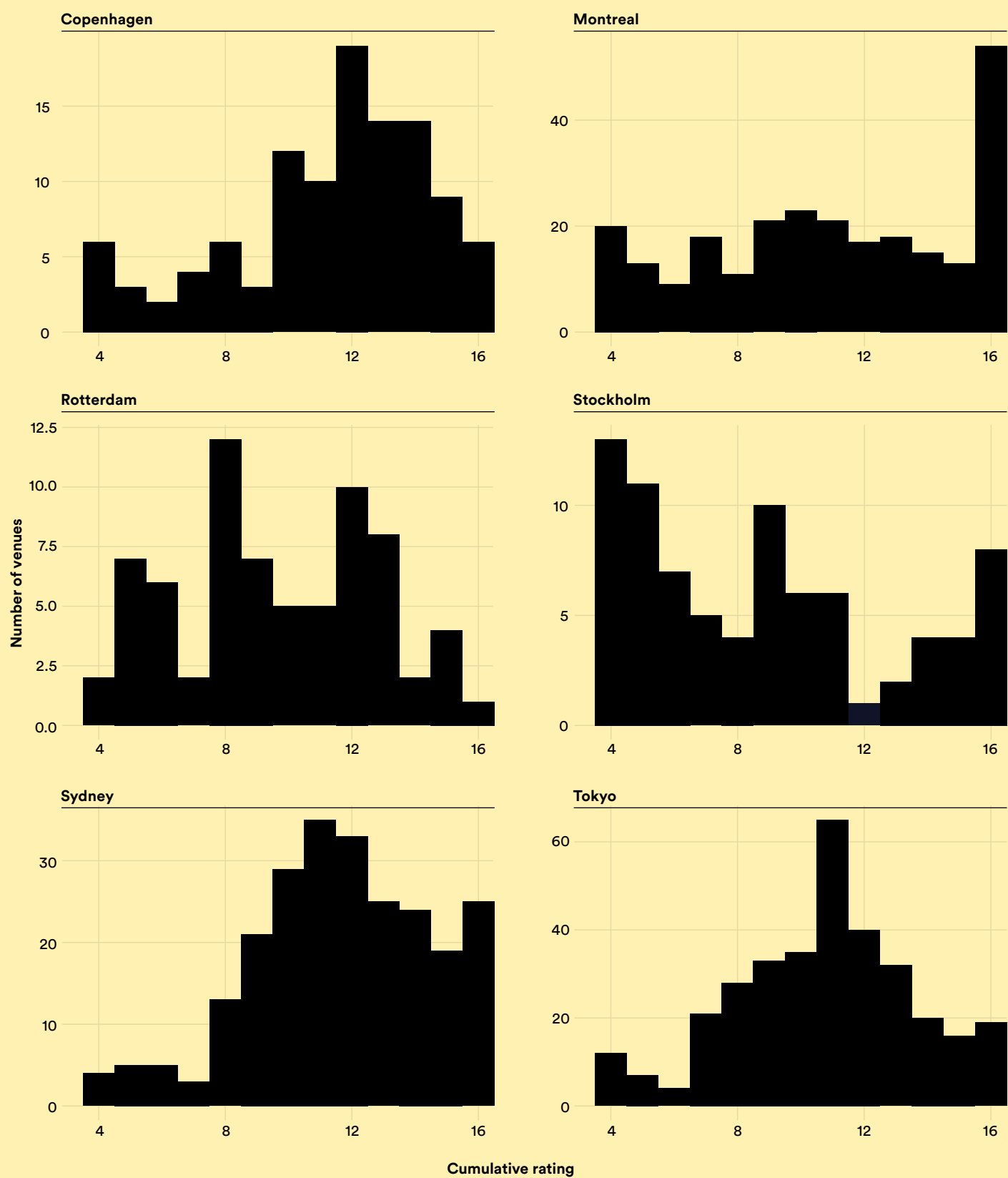
Copenhagen’s *Community and Content* rating of 7.24 is the highest among the CFP cities, ahead of Montreal (7.15) and Sydney (7.08). The city’s “programming” ratings were some of the highest in the CFP dataset, suggesting venues’ strong focus on creative practice, experimentation—and to a lesser extent, community. Among the CFP dataset, its *Experimentation* (5.96) and *Promotion* (6.69) ratings were the highest of any city, and its Creative Output ratings second-highest after only Sydney.

CFP defines *Community and Content* as interconnected criteria related to how venues value creativity and culture, including how venues promote cultural offerings in their marketing, to what extent venues facilitate interdisciplinary and/or experimental artistic formats, how community-centred venues are, and to what extent venues foreground original creative content.

***Community Focus* (5.11) was the lowest of the four dimensions, which may be attributable to the high proportion of “rental” venues in**

the set. In these cases, the draw for audiences is not the venue itself, but rather the promoter or collective programming offerings on a given night—meaning that community is built more around the itinerant group than the physical space. These ratings also varied based upon venue type: discotheques and arenas skewed lowest, followed by restaurants and rental venues, while galleries and studios—as well as shops and clubs—scored higher. Notably few venues received across-the-board low ratings, but rather high cumulative scores, especially in comparison to other cities’ distributions:

Cumulative Programming Variables by Venue



**Note: Bar charts show cumulative programming ratings for four score areas across CFP cities. Each rating category is assigned an ordinal value associated with its likelihood to have a certain programming characteristic. 1 indicates 'Not at all likely', 2: 'Not too likely', 3: 'Somewhat likely' and 4: 'Very likely'. NYC and Berlin cumulative ratings are not shown here, as Community Focus was not asked in these early analyses.*

FIGURE 22: BAR CHARTS SHOWING CUMULATIVE PROGRAMMING RATINGS FOR FOUR SCORE AREAS ACROSS CFP CITIES.

We hypothesise that the city's culture houses (see Spotlight: Copenhagen's Culture Houses) may contribute to this stronger-than-usual focus on creative practice, experimentation and promotion of artistic content. Additionally, Copenhagen's 'Legacy' venues (larger, older spaces making up 44 of the city's 108 venues) received quite high programming ratings from research participants—unusual among CFP cities, where this type of space tends to have more commercial programming, and lower ratings as a result. This may be attributable to Copenhagen's 'Legacy' venues serving niche communities over several decades, including long-running alternative music venues Stengade and Rust, both in Nørrebro.

This overall strong showing is borne out differently depending on the venue, as the city's spaces demonstrate varied approaches to cultural programming, interdisciplinarity, and foregrounding original content based on their focus, operational model, or to a specific musical niche. Some long-established venues cater specifically to a genre, such as Jazzhus Montmartre, which has served the jazz community since 1959. The recently reopened ALICE emphasises varied, experimental programming that other industry leaders praise as being daring and exciting, while live music venue Mayhem programmes strictly 'extreme and experimental music', which is underrepresented elsewhere. Meanwhile, clubs such as Den Anden Side are valued as a 'safer space' for specific scenes and communities, particularly LGBTQ+ and BIPOC audiences. Culture Box, Denmark's first club to focus exclusively on electronic music, takes seriously its role to, as co-owner Tim Andresen puts it, 'push the next generation'. The club hosts open practice sessions and debut nights for emerging DJs, and workshops that support electronic music scenes locally and nationally, including ones on topics of business education, music production, artist care practices and inclusivity.

Venue operators and promoters are feeling the pressure of rising operational costs, which include higher rents, staff

wages, production expenses, and fees for international artists - all of which impact programming scores. These factors make it increasingly difficult for operators to prioritise and programme often lesser-known creative and experimental formats and artists, and content that's not commercially proven. Club operators noted other impediments to sustaining non-commercial nightlife formats, such as the proliferation of free-to-attend music and nightlife events and a broader industry shift from smaller, one-off events to larger-scale festivals. Additionally, the financial strain exacerbated by the post-COVID economic climate has intensified these challenges, reflecting a broader global trend across nightlife sectors.

Johannes Astrup, booker and co-owner of club Den Anden Side, observes the impact of broader economic trends on Copenhagen's nightlife: "DJ fees have really exploded during the last few years. A couple of years ago, you could book a headliner for around €500, plus flights—and now it's doubled just within a few years."

While larger, established players in Copenhagen's nightlife often have the resources to work through these financial pressures, rising costs raise the barrier to entry for smaller, independent players and newcomers, ultimately limiting opportunities for a more diverse, dynamic and inclusive nightlife. Funding is a major challenge, with many promoters struggling to cover operational costs, and unable to use public funds for expenses like fences, toilets, and rent (often comprising upwards of two thirds of total expenses for event production budgets, as one promoter underscored). In addition to a slow and complex permitting process, there are few affordable and accessible spaces for DIY events that allow for experimentation and creativity. In the absence of these dedicated spaces, one grassroots DJ and promoter urged larger, more established venues to take on the risk of supporting experimental programming: "If we don't have any venues in which to experiment, I think some of these big places that can take on the burden of a loss of one

night, should perhaps consider that for the growth of this type of culture.”

Mirroring global nightlife trends, promoters and venues in Copenhagen are increasingly implementing initiatives and practices to create safer and more inclusive spaces (see ‘Spotlight: Awareness and safe(r) space policies in club culture’). The city has introduced a Discrimination Free Nightlife initiative, which involves venues displaying a sticker to indicate their commitment to addressing safety concerns. In line with this initiative, many venues and promoters have adopted their own codes of conduct or “safer space” policies to set clear expectations for behaviour, while venues such as Den Anden Side have moved away from using door pickers to create a more inclusive atmosphere. DJ and promoter Esther Kaikai Wanyama argues, “People are engaging in what representation, inclusion and safer space awareness actually means on a deeper level than 5-6 years ago.” While this is a positive shift, implementation of policies varies across venues and organisations, and there are still improvements to be made in areas such as staff training to ensure these policies translate into meaningful action.

In all CFP cities to date, and notably in Copenhagen, community radio stations serve as important platforms for grassroots actors to showcase local talent, promote diverse music genres, and foster community engagement. Copenhagen-based community radio platforms, most notably Drift Radio and Radio Panini (see *Spotlight: Copenhagen’s Community Radio Stations*), serve as important connectors within the nightlife ecosystem, elevating new and lesser-known artists and offering opportunities for different collectives to showcase their sound and promote their events. This in turn contributes to the diversity and vibrancy of Copenhagen’s nightlife culture, as listeners discover new DJs, artists and communities throughout the city.

This section showcases the dynamism of Copenhagen’s programming across a range of venue types, including a high proportion

of multi-use and rental venues, with a range of approaches to experimentation, interdisciplinarity and creative output. Echoing the conclusions within Section 4.0 (*Space*), participants noted the contrasting experiences of larger, well-established nightlife operators and those at the grassroots level, who face persistent financial and venue-specific challenges. Of particular note is the city-wide effort to create safer and more inclusive spaces, which represents a positive, ongoing development in the area of *Community Focus*.

SPOTLIGHT: COPENHAGEN'S COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS

In a digitally connected era, online community radio has leveraged social media and live streaming technology to foster connection and community in specific cities and scenes.¹⁴⁷ MMH Radio,¹⁴⁸ founded by DJ and music curator Malika Mahmoud,¹⁴⁹ has been credited as Denmark's first music radio collective¹⁵⁰ and a platform for the versatile sounds coming from Copenhagen's most underrepresented voices. With MMH Radio airing its final broadcast in 2020, other players have stepped into its place as champions of inclusivity and diverse representation.

Two online community radio stations have quickly amassed devoted followings, elevating Copenhagen's underground music scene by showcasing a wide spectrum of musical guests, hosting free listening sessions and collaborating with local event promoters. Led by non-Danish members of the scene both stations work to foster intercultural exchange both online and in-person. Nonetheless, as volunteer-driven initiatives, they face similar structural and economic pressures as grassroots and DIY event promoters.

Drift Radio¹⁵¹ was founded by Icelandic DJ and event organiser Anton Örn Sandholt (Fruit DJ)¹⁵² in 2023. It is known for its local programming that celebrates the city's varied musical identity.¹⁵³ Broadcasting on Thursdays from the smallest culture house in the city, Øen in Nørrebro, Drift Radio provides an unpretentious space in a neighbourhood with not many options for casual gathering, and welcomes listeners to interact with the music and the space however they see fit. A CFP research participant suggests the Thursday broadcasting schedule incentivises the radio's strong local profile since touring DJs typically frequent the city on weekends. In addition to their Drift Extended event series,¹⁵⁴ showcasing local talent with 'more of a party atmosphere', the station also collaborates with local event promoters, as seen in their curated stage at O Days Festival 2024,¹⁵⁵ platforming the city's electronic community across all three days of the event.¹⁵⁶

A photograph of a DJ, a Black woman, performing at a nightclub. She is wearing a black leather jacket and large headphones, focused on her work. Her hands are on the DJ mixer, which has glowing blue and yellow buttons. In the background, there is a large, billowing cloud of white smoke. To the right, a red digital display shows some text, though it is partially obscured and blurry. The overall atmosphere is dimly lit with warm, ambient light.

Radio Panini^{157 158} is the shared vision of Italians Francesco Pastorelli and Simone Favorito, who launched the station in early 2024. The community radio and panini bar concept has been broadcasting every Saturday from the Baggen nightclub,¹⁵⁹ where they unlock the potential of the multi-use space to promote social interaction.¹⁶⁰ This includes removing barriers between DJ and the guests by placing the DJ booth in the centre, introducing brighter light to the space and harnessing the convening power of food with made-to-order paninis.¹⁶¹ With a self-proclaimed focus on enjoyment, they experiment with event concepts such as their 14-hour ‘all dayer’,¹⁶² open air session¹⁶³ and boat party,¹⁶⁴ as well as culinary collaborations with local businesses^{165 166} to engage and enrich the wider community. At Pleasure Control’s¹⁶⁷ Refractions Festival 2024,¹⁶⁸ Radio Panini curated a stage of local and international artists representing five different nationalities.¹⁶⁹

PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, RADIO PANINI, BAGGEN

While Copenhagen's score of **6.82/10** for *Framework Conditions* is the lowest of the three categories, it is the second highest score in this category across CFP cities, second only to Berlin. Here, transit scores highest at **8.89** and policies and regulations lowest, at **5.96**.

CFP defines *Framework Conditions* as the external conditions that affect artistic, cultural and other nighttime activity. This includes relevant laws, regulations and policies; relationships between cultural actors and civic decision makers; the type of funding and support infrastructure available; nighttime public transportation; and access to public and private space for cultural programming and activities.

Topics in *Space, Community and Content*, and *Framework Conditions* are often interrelated: while some aspects have been discussed in prior report sections, this section provides further insight into key dynamics around transit accessibility, regulatory frameworks, access to decision makers, and funding for nightlife activities.

Public transportation at night (8.89/10): While Copenhagen's transit and cycling infrastructure is world class, participants—particularly for those with marginalised identities—perceived gaps in the system at night and when accessing more distant areas. Multiple respondents observed that Copenhageners are generally willing to travel only about 15-20 minutes for nightlife, unlike in other major cities where 25 minutes or more would be considered a normal journey. Those living near Metro stations are best served, as one venue owner noted, “You’re good if based near a Metro.” However, at night, S-train users must choose between longer bus routes, longer walks, or staying out until trains resume at 5am. Other participants identified safety concerns around night transit, especially given large, intoxicated groups of people: Den

Anden Side's Denise Garbov explained that she avoids transit at night "because I always get harassed in the train." But rather than more night guards or hosts, Garbov hoped instead to see a cultural shift towards more collective responsibility, both for individuals to consume responsibly and for bystanders to intervene.

While the city's cycling infrastructure is overall very strong, poor lighting and narrow routes are perceived in some areas as issues at night. Weather conditions also play a significant role—cycling is easier in summer months, while poor weather tends to incentivise people to favour central locations at night.

Lack of connectivity in outlying areas is a barrier to new areas for nightlife—but also raises fears of gentrification once better connected. As alternative nightlife venues are increasingly pushed to less accessible areas, limited mobility creates particular challenges. While areas like Amager are seen as potentially viable for nightlife, given its former industrial spaces at a distance from neighbours, its poor transit connectivity makes organising events there a risky prospect for promoters. One venue operator and large event promoter described it as "unbelievably time consuming getting there." Another noted that a denser node of venues and other related businesses could help make these areas feel more viable: "If Amager had a big rich cultural scene, I don't think people would consider it far away." This approach is similar to Refshaleøen, where a bus line and multiple cultural and entertainment venues contribute to its reputation as a 'destination', despite its relatively distant location. However, this raises longer term concerns about gentrification. As transport links improve and an area's visibility grows, there's a risk of displacement, highlighting the need for nightlife to be explicitly included for the long term in urban planning processes.

Overall Policies and Regulations (5.96/10): Regulatory and permit processes, particularly for one-off events and temporary venues, were consistently seen by both

emerging and established actors as overly complex, costly, and intransparent. While participants raised a range of issues around permitting and regulation, the topics most often named were:

- **Short timeframe for event permit approvals.** In contrast to other major cities like Amsterdam, where permits can be secured months in advance, participants described receiving event permits only one day beforehand, even for major events. This creates uncertainty that 'really stifles' promoters' ability to book and invest in programming—or dissuades smaller promoters altogether.
- **Excessive regulation, intransparency and duplicative work:** Festival and outdoor event operators noted that the need to secure building permits for a temporary structure used for one day, like a pop-up tent, created an extra layer of work for both applicants and municipal staff. Others noted the 'parallel' platforms in different city departments causing double or triple work for promoters and confusion in navigating processes. One owner of multiple venues compared the transparency and speed of residential permitting processes to the "black box" of venue permitting: "You could make this 1000 times more advanced than it is today."
- **Prohibitively expensive fire inspections.** Multiple participants explained that the privatisation of fire inspections for new venues has made them prohibitively expensive for many organisers, creating an additional barrier particularly for smaller or emerging actors. Both municipal and industry participants suggested alternatives, such as simplified rules for smaller actors, or rentable mobile fire systems to fulfil requirements more affordably.

Established promoters and venue operators note that their experience and connections do make it slightly easier for them to navigate these processes, but these concerns were generally shared by actors of all sizes and levels of experience. While the Municipality is working towards remedying these challenges, one noted that municipal employees are genuinely “trying to help, trying to translate all these rules, trying to actually make it happen” but that the frameworks continue to be a major obstacle. Participants were quick to suggest specific reforms, such as:

- Creation of a ‘one point of entry’ system (see *Recommendations*).
- Streamlining and clarification of requirements, including lower thresholds for smaller events.
- Development of a portal that saves organisational profiles, enabling municipal staff across departments to access common files—and check organisations’ good track records.

The city’s Nightlife Plan is seen as a positive start but not yet integrated into decision making. Although the Nightlife Plan and the consensus around the need for nightlife are significant advancements in nightlife governance, the plan was seldom mentioned during consultations, and research participants are yet to see its full influence and impact. As one elected official said, “[Almost] everyone agrees that we need a more culture driven nightlife, in stating that, there’s still quite a way from the statement to do something.” He noted that the plan was seldom referred to as a guiding document, and that few of its points have thus far been incorporated into municipal policymaking.

Access to Decision Makers (6.43/10): Participants described varying levels of access to public officials—but many noted a lingering stigma against nightlife that manifests across the municipality’s approach to nightlife governance. Participants’ perceived access to decision makers varied based on their position within

nightlife. Some reported direct, accessible communication channels—even being able to text politicians directly—and a sense that politicians are “actually quite supportive of the nightlife in Copenhagen.” Others, especially newer or DIY operators described a “confusing structure” that’s difficult to navigate without established connections. This is exacerbated by the city’s administrative structure: participants described a “crazy organism”, where interdepartmental divisions, particularly between Culture & Leisure and Technical & Environmental departments, can lead to contradictory outcomes, where one department financially supports an initiative while another prohibits it. While efforts to streamline these processes have been underway since 2022, participants reported not yet feeling their effects, and repeatedly brought up the need for a ‘single point of entry’ for permitting and licensing.

As of now, the Nightlife Committee, while seen by some as a positive “starting point”, was primarily viewed as more of a discussion platform than an effective governance actor. Critiques included the committee’s diffuse or vague goals, its scarce representation of grassroots nightlife actors, and a structure that does not effectively enable action. Some called for stronger connections between it and the municipal staff who regulate nightlife (e.g. alcohol licensing), in order to reframe it as a more action-orientated body. (These ideas are further discussed in *Recommendations*.) Outside of government, Copenhagen’s Free Promoters’ work was widely seen as impactful, though participants noted it primarily represents electronic music culture and event promoters, leaving other genres and venue operators without a similar ‘umbrella’ organisation.

Overall, a persistent theme emerged around the perceived lack of genuine respect for nightlife, particularly electronic music. While many participants noted that municipal staff do individually seem to understand the value and the needs of nightlife, others expressed frustration that politicians do not more vocally

support it, for fear of the opposition from neighbourhood associations. In general, industry participants felt that they must still be their own advocates: one independent venue operator explained having to “retell the story again and again” about nightlife’s cultural value. According to a larger venue group operator, “[Politicians] don’t want to talk about nightlife in the same way that they want to talk about kids and families and family houses and kindergartens.” A multi-genre DIY promoter noted there’s “an even bigger hill to climb” when advocating for electronic music and DJ culture, despite events like Bas Under Buen and Strøm operating since the early 2000s as a central part of Copenhagen’s cultural life.

Overall Funding for Music and Nightlife (6.32/10): While funding is perceived as available, participants described significant challenges in accessing it, particularly for smaller actors and electronic music initiatives. Obstacles identified here generally fell into two categories: restrictions on funding types, and access to knowledge to navigate application processes.

“There are very limited ways of getting information about how to write a good application and also just knowing what grants or funds are out there.”

—Focus group participant

“Many grants are limited in the way where if you get funding: suddenly you’re not allowed to profit off of the event or you can only use it to rent equipment, but you can’t use it to buy equipment.”

—Focus group participant

“I definitely feel that there is a lack of funding for making new initiatives for nightlife workers, for training and qualifying your staff.”

—Focus group participant

Respondents across genres, from large to small actors, identified specific constraints that hinder their work. The most frequent issue raised was the fact that while funding for musician stipends (*Honorarstøtte*) is quite accessible, funding is severely lacking for other expenses, such as general operating costs for venues, venue rental fees for promoters, specialised training for staff, or practical needs like fencing or toilets for outdoor events. Recent changes to the honorarium rules have also excluded artists of other disciplines beyond music, disincentivising multidisciplinary concepts. Other requirements were seen as obstacles to sustainable growth for smaller promoters, such as deficit guarantees rather than outright funding, single-event stipends instead of longer term support, requirements to rent rather than purchase equipment, and bans on making profit on events that receive funding.

Younger actors—particularly those in electronic music—described challenges in navigating funding applications. One promoter explained, “as an electrician, I have not gone to academia. I don’t know how to write funding applications, so [for] people who are less fortunate, it can sometimes feel a bit gatekept.” Participants recognised that for events outside of the four most established music genres, there is a pressure to reframe projects as something more explicitly cultural and interdisciplinary, rather than as nightlife. Some wondered to what extent application reviewers are knowledgeable about new music trends, or representative of the diversity the scene hopes to embody. And others hypothesised that easing the funding constraints and offering more accessible expertise and support for funding applications, would encourage more young promoters to enter the scene.

Public Cultural Activities (6.36/10): While Copenhagen does have existing frameworks for cultural events in public and outdoor space, such as its culture houses and open air frameworks, participants find it difficult to actually access these spaces, particularly

for nighttime and higher decibel events.

The primary barriers to exploring new nightlife spaces—both outdoor and indoor—centred around noise regulations, permitting challenges, and affordability. These issues are further explored earlier in this section (see *Overall Policies and Regulations*) as well as in the *Space* section of this report.

This section considers the connections between Copenhagen’s world-class transit and cycling infrastructure, regulatory and permit processes, accessibility of public officials, funding opportunities, and frameworks for cultural events, and how they impact the city’s nightlife economy and its artistic and cultural expression. CFP’s research participants created a nuanced picture of the key dynamics that exist in the city, including the difficulties of navigating funding applications and approval from government authorities in light of a persistent underlying bias against nightlife.

SPOTLIGHT: NY LILLE KLUB AND MOTOPOL

As described earlier in this report (see *Introduction* and *Space: Culture Houses*), Copenhagen's music and social histories have often been strongly influenced by autonomous and self-organised collectives and spaces. The recent cases of Motopol and Ny lille klub—two self-organised venues operating in Amager between 2023 and 2024—demonstrate both the continuing vitality of this tradition and the ways Copenhagen's current permitting, zoning and regulatory frameworks can clash with the desire to develop new spaces in the city.

Established in early 2023 in a former auto workshop, **Motopol** emerged from Pleasure Control, a 'community driven Copenhagen-based DIY rave and art collective' focused on music, art, and multicultural expression. As the collective's co-founder Kevin Jessen explains, the space created unexpected opportunities: 'Young people in their early twenties had to step up and become managers and chair people, and seeing their growth, used the venue to launch DJ careers; those are the things that are beautiful'. However, the building wasn't zoned for assembly nor equipped with necessary ventilation, heating, or soundproofing to host large gatherings—and had to operate under the radar for its first months.

Similarly, the neighbouring **Ny lille klub** at Laplandsgade sought to be a welcoming "clubhouse" for multidisciplinary art and community ventures, 'based on trust, knowledge sharing, curiosity and warmth',¹⁷⁰ hosting everything from DJ sets and concerts to poetry readings and knitting clubs.¹⁷¹ In a 2024 interview, co-founder Victor Tao Dinesen explained initial reservations about the venue's location, 'What if people don't want to come to Amager? But of course they do. If it's worth going'.¹⁷² Both Motopol and Ny lille klub operated on volunteer-based models, involving an expanding group of people in co-creating each space. The size of the two venues' audiences demonstrated a clear demand: by one estimate offered by KFP, the two spaces drew between 1000-2000 visitors each weekend, to an area typically considered too far-flung for nightlife.



But in spring 2024, both venues were shut down by the authorities. Motopol and Ny lille klub both made the decision in December 2023 to work towards official approvals and contacted the planning department to start the process. While the municipal planning department was in the process of determining whether the venues were in fact violating regulations, planning authorities notified property owners of the activities taking place in the buildings. Operations of both were ordered to cease, without time to make structural changes or pursue zoning alterations that may have enabled continued, legal operation. No conclusive assessment was delivered in either case.

cases highlight the potential for success when proper support systems are in place—and underscore the urgency of addressing the framework conditions that currently prevent these spaces from thriving.

The experiences of both Motopol and Ny lille klub highlighted the contradictions in Copenhagen's regulatory framework and urban visions: the municipality's 2022 "Vision for Laplandskvarteret"¹⁷³ specifically highlighted the area's potential for creative use, noting how its industrial buildings' 'rawness and flexibility' made them suitable for cultural activities. Furthermore, the Culture & Leisure department provided Motopol DKK 300,000 in funding support, even while interactions with planning authorities ultimately led to the venue's closure. In Jessen's words, 'these departments do not speak together, and are not interested in speaking together'.

Copenhagen's municipality has shown some promising efforts to identify and pilot approaches to activating new outdoor spaces alongside scene actors.¹⁷⁴ However, in a city becoming increasingly residential, with few remaining spaces accessible for cultural use, new approaches to activating former industrial spaces or disused municipal spaces (with necessary attention to fire safety and compatible coexistence with neighbours) are sorely needed. The experiences of Motopol and Ny lille klub demonstrate the necessity of developing lower threshold licensing requirements and innovative approaches to rezoning, even on a temporary basis. Their

Though definitions of sustainability draw from various schools of thought and contexts,¹⁷⁵ a widely-accepted UN definition frames sustainability as ‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs,’¹⁷⁶ and increasingly, sustainability is understood through the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well as its application to social, economic and environmental factors.^{177 178 179}

In this sense, environmental sustainability involves protecting and managing natural resources and ecosystems to ensure future generations can meet their needs; social sustainability focuses on building inclusive, equitable societies that provide access to essential services, human rights, and social justice for all; and economic sustainability aims to create a resilient and inclusive economy that fosters long-term prosperity and equitable growth without compromising environmental and social progress.

There is a growing awareness that nightlife can directly contribute to social cohesion, environmental protection and economic vitality.¹⁸⁰ These aim to preserve the long-term viability of the industry, support the communities within it and contribute to a more sustainable future for cities. VibeLab and Creative Footprint have chosen to highlight 9 SDGs¹⁸¹ with strong connections to the three “sustainability pillars” in nightlife, they are summarised as follows:

Socially sustainable nightlife acknowledges the impacts of social, cultural and economic systems on the lived experience of nightlife goers as well as nightlife and nighttime workers. Efforts focus on creating safe, inclusive and accessible spaces for self expression and communal fulfilment. Possible methods include strategies for ‘awareness’,¹⁸² renovations for improved accessibility, mental health support for nightlife workers, harm reduction¹⁸³ and sensitivity and safety training¹⁸⁴ for nightlife workers, including security.



Environmental sustainability in nightlife relies on a collective effort between nightlife spaces, nightlife goers and governments to work towards a circular nighttime economy,¹⁸⁵ underpinned by responsible production and consumption practices and protection of the environment and human livelihoods. Possible methods include transitions to renewable energy sources, retrofitting venues to improve energy efficiency, waste reduction, local sourcing of beverages and other eco-friendly practices in nightlife spaces.



Economically sustainable nightlife relies on equal and inclusive economic growth and integration as well as social and economic inclusion into local urban economies. Possible methods include fair employment policies, maintaining affordability of nightlife, adequate public transportation and strategies for coexistence with residents such as venue soundproofing.



Copenhagen is a global leader in urban sustainability and climate action with ambitious plans for the coming decades.¹⁸⁶ Target areas include tourism, mobility, energy consumption and urban development.^{187 188} These plans consider the municipality, businesses and residents all as active participants in achieving sustainable development; increasingly at the local level.¹⁸⁹ Wonderful Copenhagen,¹⁹⁰ the city’s official tourist organisation, piloted its CopenPay initiative during the summer of 2024 to encourage environmentally-friendly behaviour such as bike riding, the use of reusable mugs and litter retrieval throughout the city.¹⁹¹ In exchange, residents and tourists alike were awarded with discounts, complimentary items and free admission at select hospitality businesses and cultural attractions.¹⁹² Reducing environmental nuisance

is one of the three overarching priorities of The Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021, which covers the period of 2022-2025.¹⁹³ Actions thus far have included increasing the number of waste bins and their routine cleaning in the city’s party hotspots as well as piloting waterless eco toilets in certain public squares.¹⁹⁴ The municipality has the opportunity to collaborate with nightlife operators as partners in advancing environmental sustainability, shifting the perspective of nightlife as a source of environmental nuisances to recognising and supporting its potential for positive change. For example, Berlin’s Energy and Climate Protection Programme 2030¹⁹⁵ recognises club owners as contributors to its objectives and the Senate funds projects that promote environmental protection within the club scene.^{196 197 198}

CFP participants communicated that incorporating environmental sustainability is a matter of scale and affordability—it is mostly larger venues and festivals that have the resources to implement structural changes. They reported that most sustainability practices are cost prohibitive for smaller promoters and nightlife actors. According to Pleasure Control's Kevin Jessen: "All of these things [are] a luxury. If you want to do something environmentally friendly, you need money. It's never the cheapest solution." A number of participants also expressed frustration with conflicting and shifting sustainability guidelines from the municipality. Daniel Toghil, general manager of NusNus recalls the experience of adopting reusable hard plastic cups for their street parties, believing it to be the best approach under guidance from the Technical and Environmental Administration. Over three years of this approach they faced significant costs and questioned its environmental benefits. They later transitioned to a single-use cup system where collected cups are melted and repurposed into new ones, which proved to be more eco-friendly and cost-efficient. This experience underscores the evolving nature of "best practices" and the financial risks of less established actors engaging in early adoption of unproven solutions.

CFP participants observed a number of compounding barriers that make it increasingly difficult to pursue economic growth sustainably when operating a venue, especially for smaller and less established venues and event producers. These include increasing operations costs and artist fees. Additionally, for these emerging nightlife actors, funding support is seen as generally unpredictable, which makes it difficult to establish lasting sustainable business practices.

"If you are a new organiser, you will get the funds once. There are a lot of practical expenses and it is getting more and more expensive. It's a very [uncertain] thing, unsafe to create parties."

"Most organisations, events and small venues want to have a sustainable business. [Funding] doesn't give a push to make something sustainable."

Despite these experiences, there are funding opportunities to offset costs. One example is the minimum fee for DJs, which comes with no exclusivity requirement.¹⁹⁹ Overall, participants are eager to see and implement more sustainable practices in nightlife. However, more can be done to address barriers faced across the industry, but particularly by smaller and more emerging actors who lack starting funding, space, know-how and networks.

CFP participants view the discourse and understanding of social sustainability in Copenhagen's nightlife to be advanced, with many industry-driven initiatives and programmes currently in place. The report 'Another Life: Representation and Discrimination in the Danish Music Industry' presents the results of a national survey on the realities of minoritised people navigating the music industry.²⁰⁰ The municipality has developed the Charter for a Nightlife Without Discrimination in close consultation with nightlife stakeholders, with at least 55 signatories to date.²⁰¹ Social sustainability is inherently most developed at the level of grassroots nightlife. According to event producer and social sustainability consultant Lea Hedeskov: 'In DIY nightlife, social sustainability conversations are front and centre. This makes sense, because it [DIY nightlife] is so community-driven and made out of the social systems and people of minoritised backgrounds'.

SPOTLIGHT: AWARENESS AND SAFE(R) SPACE POLICIES IN CLUB CULTURE

Club Mafia co-founder Anna Gunvor explained in a 2020 interview: ‘A rave is a chance to create a society we cannot have outside the party, and make the utopia you like!’.²⁰² Indeed, nightlife can bring together people of very different backgrounds, in a context that feels distinct from everyday life—but in so doing, operators must also consider how to ensure the safety and wellbeing of all its visitors. One notable characteristic of Copenhagen’s nightlife sector is its progressive approach to safety and inclusivity, driven by grassroots initiatives that have steadily influenced mainstream venues and practices. This move towards greater awareness and “safe(r) spaces” (given that no venue can promise to be an entirely “safe space”), shows both progress and ongoing work.

The autonomous group Club Mafia has helped lead this shift, working in partnership with Ved Siden Af, a venue that operated from 2018 to 2022. Coupled with clear codes of conduct posted on social media and in the venue, Club Mafia members were stationed at the door as well as circulating within the space to offer support as needed. Similar initiatives gained particular momentum once venues reopened after COVID-19 closures, with established venues like Culture Box embracing the practice. Culture Box’s Tim Andresen explains that it began with a revamp of its attitude code²⁰³ and posters, and then extended to include a Safer Space crew, and formal training, ‘practising and teaching and making more documentation like action cards on what to do and when to do it and how to handle things’. In Andresen’s eyes, this initiative transformed the staff’s experience: Everyone here is part of it; security has changed their minds completely and they said it’s never been better working in nightlife than it is now’.

The cultural shift has reached even Copenhagen’s largest commercial operators. Lars Børsting, political head of Rekom Group, notes how customer expectations drove change: ‘After Corona... people started to expect that you were able to handle this. They want new guidelines for what’s acceptable and

not acceptable in the club or bar they go to'. This led to specific staff training programmes beyond legal requirements for security, focusing on discrimination and offensive behaviour.

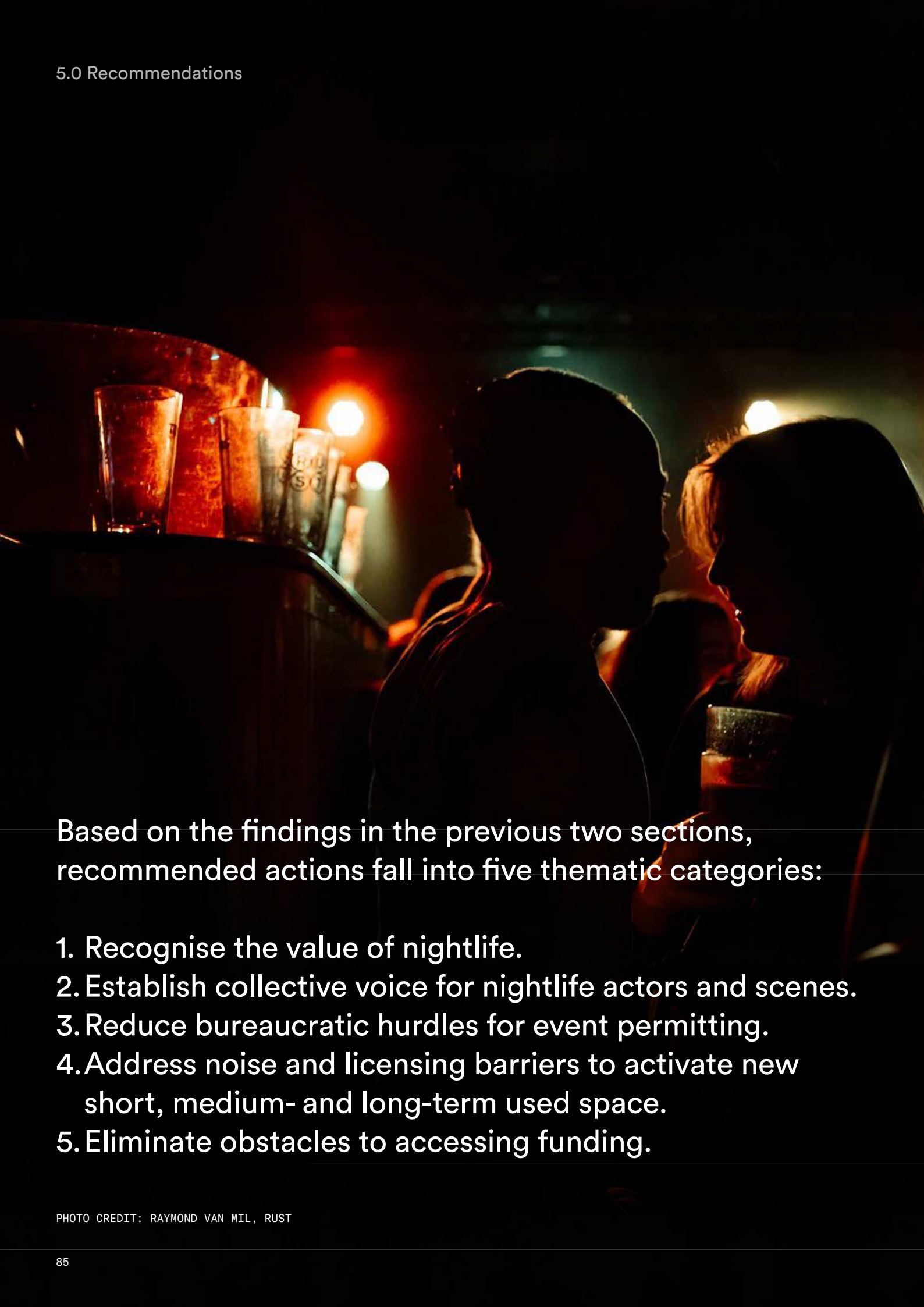
And knowledge sharing has become increasingly formalised: KFP began offering awareness training in 2023, conducting approximately ten sessions to date for different organisations. Denise Garbov of Den Anden Side and KFP Awareness explains that after a number of informal requests to both organisations to learn more about awareness, KFP established a framework to share knowledge and tailor approaches to different crowds, 'instead of just reproducing what Den Anden Side does because that's our way of doing it'.

To complement the Charter for a Nightlife Without Discrimination, Door stickers were also launched, indicating a venue's commitment to addressing reported issues of discrimination. During a CFP venue focus group, nightlife operators expressed concern over the initiative's effectiveness in ensuring genuine commitment and accountability, noting that the stickers are too easily obtained and cannot be revoked for non-compliance. The Charter is not without its flaws—industry members voice concerns about how to ensure that adequate training standards are enforced for participating venues—but as Børsting puts it, 'it's important for us that everyone is doing something, and that we as an industry are capable of describing what is it that we do. So it's kind of a bare minimum to do this. But if all the venues in Copenhagen are capable of reaching the bare minimum, it's a much better place tomorrow'.

Garbov notes that others in the cultural sector are also reaching out to KFP for training: 'They definitely see that it's not just a party thing'. This evolution demonstrates how nightlife can lead broader cultural change, offering lessons for both Copenhagen's wider cultural sector and other cities' nightlife scenes.



SECTION V: CREATIVE FOOTPRINT'S RECOMMEN- DATIONS



Based on the findings in the previous two sections, recommended actions fall into five thematic categories:

1. Recognise the value of nightlife.
2. Establish collective voice for nightlife actors and scenes.
3. Reduce bureaucratic hurdles for event permitting.
4. Address noise and licensing barriers to activate new short, medium- and long-term used space.
5. Eliminate obstacles to accessing funding.

RECOMMENDATION

1

Recognise the value of nightlife.

1.1 Enhance Support for Copenhagen's Actors and Scenes

As explored in *Framework Conditions*, CFP participants highlighted uneven support for nightlife in Copenhagen. Despite policymakers broadly agreeing on the cultural significance of nightlife, a lingering stigma is evident in areas such as permitting and funding, with concerns from residents often prioritised over needs of the industry, even when nightlife operates within official bounds.

Explicit recognition of the industry's value and its integration into urban planning and policy decisions are essential for fostering a more supportive ecosystem.

- A city-backed campaign or award, using storytelling, documentaries, and exhibitions, could emphasise the historical and cultural significance of Copenhagen's nightlife. Community forums can provide a platform to discuss nightlife's value while addressing concerns about noise, safety, and inclusivity. Additionally, providing forums for dialogue between residents, policymakers, and nightlife actors would help build mutual understanding and collaboration.

1.2 Integrate Nightlife into Copenhagen's Growth Strategy

CFP participants argued nightlife must be considered in Copenhagen's urban planning processes to protect its cultural and economic contribution, while mitigating challenges of gentrification and displacement, with successful models seen in Amsterdam²⁰⁴ and New York.²⁰⁵

- Include nightlife explicitly in municipal planning documents like the Kommuneplan. Ensure urban planning decisions account for cultural and logistical needs of the nightlife economy, including zoning, noise regulations, and transport as well as developing incentives for property owners to host cultural events, such as subsidies for soundproofing or temporary permits to activate unconventional spaces.

RECOMMENDATION

2

Establish collective voice and active governance for the scene.

2.1 Develop an entity where music scene actors can represent their needs with a unified voice.

Copenhagen lacks an advocate and meeting point that unites actors across music and nightlife scenes: non-commercial venues, commercial venues, and free scene actors across genres. While KFP serves as an important organisation to advocate for the interests of primarily electronic music promoters, in one participant's words, "We are missing an institution that gathers the ones that aren't represented; there's no common organisation that connects them all." At present, the Nightlife Committee is the only platform where commercial and non-commercial actors meet. This platform is seen as useful, but alongside other relevant actors from politics, retail, and resident groups, participants also felt it to be potentially too broad, a 'collection of a lot of voices'.

- Whether in the format of civil society or an industry subgroup within the Nightlife Committee, scene actors must develop a platform to network across scales and genres, to more effectively articulate their unified interests and in turn be a more impactful partner to municipal actors.

2.2 Empower governance and case management functions alongside the existing Nightlife Committee forum.

It is a positive development that the Nightlife Committee exists in Copenhagen, but as discussed in *Framework Conditions*, the current Nightlife Committee is perceived primarily as a discussion forum rather than an active support mechanism for nightlife actors—who often struggle to navigate bureaucratic processes.

- By further funding and supporting a secretariat or liaisons linked to the Nightlife Committee, this entity can also house a "case management" service for events and venues, helping individual actors to access the "single point of entry" approach and provide direct support to nightlife stakeholders. This recommendation aligns with the further steps in point 3, below.

RECOMMENDATION

3

Reduce bureaucratic hurdles for event permitting.

3.1 Offer a "single point of entry" for event permitting and venue licensing.

One of the most frequent wishes articulated by participants was a "single point of entry" to ease the process of securing event permits and venue licensing. As one venue focus group participant explained it:

"So you basically call to one person and they can guide you about everything from what kind of permission you need to apply at the municipality [to] relevant funding that might be able to support you...because when you're starting out as a smaller community and you might not have the network or skillset for it, it can be really hard figuring out where and how to do these things."

This initiative should be implemented as part of continuing efforts to coordinate between Culture & Leisure and Technical & Environmental departments and eliminate "parallel platforms." Key components include:

- **Case management:** Pilot a "guide" or "navigator" role for 1-2 years to help streamline individual cases through the process, similar to Stockholm's *Kulturlots* programme.
- **Identifying roadblocks:** Through these pilot years, the "navigator" can gather evidence on the most significant, recurring issues and propose potential solutions for long-term implementation.
- **Phased implementation timeline:** Roll out the "single point of entry" system gradually, starting with pilot programs in the identified locations from the RFX Open Air Zones report (including areas of Prøvestenen, Nordhavn and Valbyparken) or other areas, such as the Skjolds Plads/ Haraldsgadekvarteret and Amager Øst neighbourhoods, where nightlife activity is concentrated or faces the greatest administrative hurdles. Evaluate the pilot's impact before expanding citywide.

The goal here is to reduce bureaucracy for both nightlife actors and municipal staffers, without becoming a "bottleneck" or further obstacle to permitting.

3.2 Simplify and Make Permitting Processes More Transparent

Reducing the complexity and increasing transparency in the permitting process is crucial for fostering innovation and inclusivity in the nightlife ecosystem. While Copenhagen benefits from a robust "venue ladder," gaps in accessible and affordable venue sizes, restrictive regulations, and administrative hurdles hinder the development of smaller and grassroots initiatives.

- **Streamline venue approvals based on size and use:** Develop specific permitting categories for different types of venues and events. Smaller DIY spaces (<100 m²) should benefit from simplified requirements, while mid-to-large venues (501–1000 m²) should receive guidance on zoning and modular adaptability to make them multifunctional.
- **Facilitate venue use in culture houses:** Leverage the forthcoming KUBI plan to pilot new, user-driven models for culture houses, granting more autonomy to local promoters and cultural actors. Allow culture houses to operate as semi-independent entities that prioritise community-driven programming, with streamlined processes for hosting nighttime events.
- **Increase transparency and accessibility:** Further develop the Municipality's [Event Permitting Portal](#) (*Erhvervsportalen*) website where applicants can track their permits in real-time, access standardised guidelines, and find resources like templates for common applications.
- **Support flexible, modular, and affordable spaces:** Encourage the creation of modular and adaptable spaces, to meet the demand for more experimental venues. Offer financial incentives or grants for venue owners willing to adapt their spaces for temporary or flexible use, ensuring accessibility for grassroots initiatives.



RECOMMENDATION

4

Address noise and licensing barriers to activate new short, medium- and long-term used space.

4.1 "Match" promoters across disciplines with those who can offer space.

In response to calls for space needs, and the RFX Open Air Zones report finding barriers between cultural actors and landowners, a "matchmaking" programme can be initiated. This can connect promoters with property owners whose spaces and concepts align with one another in timeframe, capacity, budget, and sound or volume requirements. These property owners might fall into three categories:

1. Existing nightlife venues (e.g. clubs) who can offer up "open" days for innovative concepts.
2. City-owned venues who may not typically program nightlife, such as theatres, museums, outdoor spaces and culture houses, who can offer evening, late-night or weekend day slots.
3. Property owners of spaces not currently activated for culture (e.g. warehouse spaces or other unconventional spaces), who are willing to do so on a 1-5 year timeline.

This programme can be overseen by the Nightlife Committee's secretariat or liaisons, and supported by relevant municipal officials to ease logistical challenges wherever possible. Optimally, this programme should include seed funding to offset rental costs of more expensive venues for small actors, and/or logistical support to make "rough" spaces like warehouses suitable for assembly.

4.2 Activate a wider range of publicly- and privately-owned outdoor spaces for one-off events.

To expand opportunities for cultural activities, both public and private outdoor spaces must be made more accessible for music and nightlife events.

- **Adjust noise regulations:** Revise current decibel limits and event restrictions to better balance residential concerns with

cultural needs. Designate specific "sound zones" with extended hours and higher permissible noise levels.

- **Encourage private collaboration:** Offer tax benefits or sponsorship deals to private landowners for hosting events, along with agreements to protect them from liability and noise issues, as seen in the City of Antwerp's regulation on urban development charges for sustainable growth.²⁰⁸

4.3 Develop and pilot lower-threshold licensing requirements for medium-to-long-term indoor event space.

As discussed in Space, current regulations around zoning, alcohol licensing, and fire safety create significant barriers to activating new venues for nightlife and culture. These barriers shift based on spaces' size and desired audience. A significant challenge is the requirement for automatic sprinkler systems (AMBA) in venues hosting more than 150 attendees. This stipulation poses financial and logistical hurdles for small collectives aiming to utilize spaces temporarily. Organizers can apply for temporary event licenses, allowing them to host events without fully complying with permanent venue regulations. However, these licenses are limited in number per year. Once this limit is reached, authorities may mandate the acquisition of permanent licenses, triggering stringent requirements, including comprehensive fire safety measures.

By convening discussions ("hackathons") between event promoters, interested property owners, and authorities responsible for fire safety and zoning, to envision the ways in which logistical barriers can be eased. This can yield to:

- **Experimental technologies:** Affordable, mobile sprinkler systems and other fire prevention measures (noted by multiple participants), low cost or green soundproofing methods, or other measures that allow former industrial spaces to be activated on a temporary basis for cultural events.
- **Temporary event license framework:**

Working with municipal authorities (c.f. City of Toronto's Nighttime Economy review²⁰⁷) to increase the annual quota of temporary event licenses, providing more opportunities for cultural events without necessitating permanent venue status. Creating clear guidelines outlining the transition from temporary to permanent licensing, offering organisers a transparent pathway to compliance.

- **Support for compliance:** Offer financial assistance or subsidies to small and emerging cultural actors to help them meet fire safety and licensing requirements. Organise workshops and advisory services to educate organisers about regulatory obligations and best practices for compliance.

Property owners have expressed openness to experimenting with cultural concepts, but are concerned about potential negative consequences affecting their building processes after hosting cultural events, or about drawing new noise complaints from neighbours. The municipality may consider encouraging their involvement through short-term equivalent of incentives similar to those outlined in the 2024 Kommuneplan.²⁰⁸

4.4 Enable more nightlife use in cultural houses.

The forthcoming KUBI (Cultural Centre and Library) plan has spurred discussion and proposals for the city's culture houses—including the possibility of allowing houses to operate as independent institutions, and making some spaces available via tender in open calls.²⁰⁹ A systematic approach to expanding nightlife use in cultural houses might begin with a comprehensive mapping effort to identify which cultural houses already have spaces potentially suitable for music events (or those that could be adapted with some investment in soundproofing, sound systems, and/or aesthetic updates).

- **Support community-led venues:** Establish cultural hubs managed by collectives or

boards of local promoters, allowing rotating use by grassroots organisations. For example, adapt culture houses into modular spaces that prioritise accessibility for smaller events. Berlin's *TXL Turbulence*²¹⁰, a music and arts space occupying the former staff cafeteria at the now-shuttered Tegel Airport, is one model to emulate, allowing local nightlife promoters and collectives to run events at reduced or free rates.

- **Leverage the KUBI Plan:** Use the upcoming municipal strategy to pilot user-driven models for culture houses, granting autonomy to promoters while maintaining municipal support.
- **Incentivise underutilised properties:** Offer grants or tax incentives to landlords who repurpose unused properties for cultural use. Streamline processes for temporary occupation of industrial or commercial buildings for nightlife events.

Whatever the outcomes of the forthcoming KUBI plan, nighttime use should be explicitly considered as a key priority, particularly as space for louder nightlife events is an increasingly scarce resource in Copenhagen.

4.5 Define a single pilot area of the city as a long-term "sound zone."

One focus group participant explained that after their collective lost space in Refshaleøen, "Our options seem[ed] very limited...you never have a safe and constant space that for sure will be here for the next 10 or 15 years."

While the city works on identifying potential replacements for the Refshaleøen festival ground, it's crucial to proactively "hold" space in the city for sound-producing activities, both indoor and outdoor. This involves either retaining existing spaces through design and soundproofing, or ensuring alternatives are found when well established sites are redeveloped for uses no longer compatible with sound, such as new residential construction. Malmö's Sofielund cultural sound zone (*kulturljudzon*), while drawing some criticisms,²¹¹ is one potential roadmap for such

a space. Defining this area should include the following considerations:

- **Transit:** Ensure that nighttime service frequency and stop locations match venue operating hours, such that audiences and night workers can safely get there and back. The recently added bus line for Refshaleøen provides one local precedent.
- **Residential neighbours:** Ideally, the "sound zone" excludes residential development nearby to preclude future noise complaints. If this proves impossible, implementing "Agent of Change"²¹² and even the "eyes wide open" clause²¹³ in rental contracts, as used in New South Wales, can help protect cultural spaces for the long term.

RECOMMENDATION

5

Eliminate obstacles to accessing funding.

As Relevance Festival's Andrea Lonardo asked, 'It's about the strategy. Do you want the big guys to grow even bigger or do you want the next big guys?' Earlier in this report (see *Framework Conditions: Funding*), two types of funding barriers were identified: access to knowledge about funding applications, and specific constraints on how funding is used. These recommendations address both.

5.1 Create a regularly updated list of funding opportunities and deadlines.

Given that simply knowing what funds are out there is often a first obstacle for new applicants, Copenhagen municipality might follow the model of New South Wales' Music NSW's Funding Calendar.²¹⁴ A single comprehensive, current resource can help nightlife and music actors to know what's available, increasing uptake of existing resources and reducing barriers for industry entrants.

5.2 Create an accessible resource or support framework for those new to grant applications.

Focus group participants emphasised the need for support structures for early-career grant applicants. Coupled with the prior recommendation of a funding database, a comprehensive support framework would optimally include a detailed handbook or wiki to help demystify the application process, as well as regular workshops and one-to-one "office hours." Rotterdam's N8W8 offers one potential example of how this can work.²¹⁵

5.3 Consider how existing funding sources might better support nightlife and grassroots culture.

Participants identified a range of limitations on funding that create challenges (see *Section IV: Framework Conditions: Funding*). While increasing access to funding is one first step, current funding structures require some reassessment to best support Copenhagen's nightlife cultural ecosystem. First, existing funding mechanisms need greater flexibility

to cover the full range of costs essential to cultural production, beyond traditional musician honoraria. For promoters, funds can include venue rental, equipment purchases (with appropriate justification); venue funding should also apply to operating costs in justified cases, and staff training in areas such as anti-discrimination awareness. For smaller grants, the current deficit guarantee approach often forces individuals to incur personal debt while awaiting reimbursement. Shifting to rapid outright funding would remove this barrier to entry for emerging operators.

As of now, electronic music is eligible for fewer funding opportunities than jazz, rock, classical, and world music. Frameworks can explicitly name electronic music and DJ sets as eligible activities, and incorporate expertise in electronic music and emerging genres into evaluation panels. Furthermore, funding assessment processes can also reward applications demonstrating a commitment to diversity and inclusion, supporting an increasingly diverse nightlife in the city.

5.4 Consider developing new funding sources, independent of public frameworks.

To supplement existing public funding sources, industry actors can explore innovative financing mechanisms. For example, a voluntary ticket levy could support a revolving cultural fund providing microloans or outright grants specifically targeted at electronic music initiatives—even applying to free events through an optional donation or subscription system linked to a signup for entry. The recently proposed Bristol Music Fund^{216 217} is one potential model: a 1% levy on tickets at participating spaces feeds into a member owned Community Benefit Society, who can then help to direct how the funds are used. In lieu of a national organisation for electronic music, such an entity could fill existing gaps for electronic music promoters.



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, DEN ANDEN SIDE, CLOTHES MARKET

5.1 Recommendations timeline

(OPTIONAL) 'First 365 Days' Action Plan

The following steps must be taken in the next year to kickstart the above recommendations. Making these first steps will ensure their successful implementation now and into the future.

Short term	Medium term	Long term
1. Establish collective voice for nightlife actors and scenes	3. Reduce bureaucratic hurdles for event permitting	5. Reduce bureaucratic hurdles for event permitting
First Action Step	First Action Step	First Action Step
Host an informal networking event series to establish a unified advocacy platform for nightlife actors (that can be formalised later).	Identify 1-2 pilot neighbourhoods and identify a navigator to streamline permit applications.	Begin development of clear guidelines for venue approvals and simplified requirements for small venues.
Responsibility	Responsibility	Responsibility
Nightlife Committee Secretariat	Technical and Environmental Administration, Culture and Leisure Administration and Pilot Navigators	Technical and Environmental Administration
2. Address noise and licensing barriers	4. Eliminate obstacles to accessing funding	
First Action Step	First Action Step	
Create a matchmaking program connecting promoters with venue/property owners.	Host an informal networking event series to establish a unified advocacy platform for nightlife actors (that can be formalised later).	
Responsibility	Responsibility	
Nightlife Committee Secretariat	Nightlife Committee Secretariat	

SECTION VI: **CONCLUSION**

In 2025, Copenhagen is set to adopt a new Restaurant and Nightlife Plan that will formalise an ambitious vision for the city at night. This provides a decisive moment for nightlife actors to work alongside the municipality towards a more dynamic, inclusive and culture-driven nightlife for all Copenhageners.

With deep roots in activism and counterculture, Copenhagen's nightlife landscape has evolved dramatically in the past five years. The municipality's introduction of night hosts, the formation of the Nightlife Committee, and a considered post-COVID-19 cultural recovery plan reflect a positive commitment to supporting and nurturing nightlife.

While Copenhagen stands out for its world-class infrastructure and high programming ratings, including the unique potential of its culture houses, emerging and established nightlife actors face the same pressures felt in other CFP cities, such as rising operational costs, noise and licensing barriers, and a lack of smaller venues essential for talent development. Research participants also emphasised the need for nightlife to be better integrated into urban planning processes, governance and funding opportunities. This is

especially critical for independent, grassroots operators who play a crucial role in the city's creative growth.

This report's analysis and recommendations have focused on reported challenges, and areas for improvement and growth, Copenhagen is distinct among European CFP cities for its commitments to nightlife. The city's existing support systems, such as grants for cultural actors and a clear strategic alignment with nighttime culture through the Nightlife Committee, showcase its dedication to fostering vibrant scenes after dark. Copenhagen's nightlife has exciting prospects ahead.

When asked to imagine an ideal future for Copenhagen's nightlife, participants shared the following sentiments on what they want to see more and less of:

“Prioritise space for festivals and events in future city planning; let it be an integrated part of the city and future development.”

“Nightlife is more integrated and prioritised in the city development—in the same way as bike lanes, football fields and libraries.”

“More civil servants who know not only about desk work and rules, but have experience or are connected to practices in nightlife.”

“Louder dB levels for open air events.”

“More frameworks and support for the electronic music scenes.”

“More accessible systems for funding applications.”

“Better options for artists in nightlife to make a career and living.”

“More support for new venues; venues in buildings which have not previously been nightlife venues e.g. licensing, adjusting venues to meet regulations, soundproofing.”

“A better integration of commercial and culture driven nightlife.”

“More safer spaces and safer space policies.”

“More guidance and support by the municipality on how to get licenses and legalise events. There’s many creatives and people with good ideas, but it can be very hard to know where to start.”

“Nightlife is more integrated and prioritised in the city development—in the same way as bike lanes, football fields and libraries.”

“More culture and creative spaces that create value in other ways than traditional monetary value.”

“Long processes and procedures that could be much more efficient.”

“More culture driven nightlife, and less alcohol and capitalistic driven nightlife.”



PHOTO CREDIT: RAYMOND VAN MIL, POOLEN, BOILERROOM

References

1. Creative Footprint: www.creative-footprint.org/
2. Creative Footprint Berlin: www.creative-footprint.org/berlin
3. Creative Footprint New York: www.creative-footprint.org/new-york/
4. Creative Footprint Tokyo: www.creative-footprint.org/tokyo/
5. Creative Footprint Stockholm: www.creative-footprint.org/stockholm/
6. Creative Footprint Montréal: <https://montrealresults.creative-footprint.org/>
7. Creative Footprint Sydney: <https://sydneyresults.creative-footprint.org/>
8. Creative Footprint Rotterdam: <https://rotterdamresults.creative-footprint.org/>
9. PennPraxis: www.design.upenn.edu/pennpraxis/
10. Copenhagen Nightlife Committee: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/lokaludvalgsaerlige-udvalg-raad-og-naevn/saerlige-udvalg/nattellivsudvalget>
11. City of Copenhagen: <https://international.kk.dk/>
12. The Culture and Leisure Administration: <https://international.kk.dk/kontaktoversigt/about-copenhagen/administrations/the-culture-and-leisure-administration>
13. The Technical and Environmental Administration: <https://international.kk.dk/kontaktoversigt/about-copenhagen/administrations/the-technical-and-environmental-administration>
14. EIU's Global Liveability Index 2023: https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/global-liveability-index-2023/?utm_source=eiu-website&utm_medium=blog&utm_campaign=liveability23
15. The Economist's Safe Cities Index 2021: <https://impact.economist.com/projects/safe-cities/safe-cities-2021-whitepaper/>
16. Corporate Knight's Sustainable Cities Index 2023: <https://www.corporateknight.com/issues/2023-04-spring-issue/sustainable-cities-index-2023/#rankings>
17. The Copenhagen Metropolitan 'Finger Plan': A Robust Urban Planning Success Based on Collaborative Governance (2019): <https://academic.oup.com/book/42635/chapter/358102557>
18. Study on Green Transportation System of International Metropolises (2016): https://www.researchgate.net/publication/294139457_Study_on_Green_Transportation_System_of_International_Metropolises
19. Metropolis for People (2009): https://kk.sites.itera.dk/apps/kk_pub2/pdf/646_mirOdq6wdu.pdf
20. Our Copenhagen (2024): https://kk.sites.itera.dk/apps/kk_pub2/index.asp?mode=detalje&id=2721
21. Organization of World Heritage Cities: Copenhagen, Denmark: https://www.ovpm.org/study_case/copenhagen-denmark/
22. History: Home to kings, queens and vikings: <https://www.wonderfulcopenhagen.com/wonderful-copenhagen/international-press/history-home-kings-queens-and-vikings>
23. The Danish welfare state and why it is hard to copy: <https://denmark.dk/society-and-business/the-danish-welfare-state>
24. Statistics Denmark. Sales of Housing Cooperatives: <https://www.dst.dk/en/Statistik/dokumentation/documentationofstatistics/sales-of-housing-cooperatives>
25. Participation in Cultural Centres in Denmark: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376523262_PARTICIPATION_IN_CULTURAL_CENTRES_IN_DENMARK
26. Culture houses: <https://international.kk.dk/culture-houses>
27. Participation in Cultural Centres in Denmark: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376523262_PARTICIPATION_IN_CULTURAL_CENTRES_IN_DENMARK
28. Denmark 'closer' to Finland but still second in 2024 World Happiness Report: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20240320/denmark-closer-to-finland-but-still-second-in-2024-world-happiness-report#:~:text=Finland%20takes%20the%20title%20of,happy%20country%20to%20live%20in%3F>
29. 'No hate. No bigotry. Fight white supremacy!': A case study of Nørrebro Pride and collective organising in the face of ongoing apocalypse: <https://ephemerajournal.org/contribution/no-hate-no-bigotry-fight-white-supremacy-case-study-norrebro-pride-and-collective>
30. Space for Urban Alternatives: Christianity 1971-2011: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/handle/2077/26558/gupea_2077_26558_3.pdf
31. The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present: <https://en.squat.net/wp-content/uploads/en/2014/12/TCiO.pdf>
32. 10 Setbacks in Perhaps the Most Important Activist Movement in Recent Times: <https://www.dr.dk/historie/web-feature/derfor-besatte-de-huse>
33. Space for Urban Alternatives: Christianity 1971-2011: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/handle/2077/26558/gupea_2077_26558_3.pdf
34. The Socioeconomic and Ethnic Segregation of Living Conditions in Copenhagen: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287388440_The_Socioeconomic_and_Ethnic_Segregation_of_Living_Conditions_in_Copenhagen
35. The Copenhagen neighbourhood of Nørrebro. A pictorial study of migrant place in a Copenhagen neighbourhood: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/304a31d31ab24321896115d-2f89d7790>
36. Space for Urban Alternatives: Christianity 1971-2011: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/handle/2077/26558/gupea_2077_26558_3.pdf
37. The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present: <https://en.squat.net/wp-content/uploads/en/2014/12/TCiO.pdf>
38. Meet the Punk-Turned-Techno-Activist Revolutionizing Copenhagen's Rave Scene: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/meet-the-punk-turned-technoactivist-revolutionizing-copenhagen-rave-scene/>
39. A Brief History of Jazz in Copenhagen: <https://www.scandinaviastandard.com/a-brief-history-of-jazz-in-copenhagen/>
40. Copenhagen Jazz Festival 2024: <https://jazz.dk/en/copenhagen-jazz-festival-2024/about-the-festival/about/>
41. A Brief History of Jazz in Copenhagen: <https://www.scandinaviastandard.com/a-brief-history-of-jazz-in-copenhagen/>
42. Jazzhus Montmartre: <https://www.jazzhusmontmartre.dk/husetshistorie>
43. Copenhagen Jazz Festival 2024: <https://jazz.dk/en/copenhagen-jazz-festival-2024/about-the-festival/about/>
44. Copenhagen Jazz Festival 2024: <https://jazz.dk/en/copenhagen-jazz-festival-2024/about-the-festival/about/>
45. Distortion Festival: <https://www.cphdistortion.dk/history/>
46. Danish Music Museum: <https://natmus.dk/museer-og-slott/musikmuseet/>
47. Centralhjørnet: <https://www.centralhjørnet.dk/>
48. City of Copenhagen based on data from the Civil Registration System (CPR). Taken from City of Copenhagen: Statbank (Year 2023)
49. Ibid
50. Statistics Denmark. Country of Origin (2023): <https://www.statbank.dk/statbank5a/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?MainTable=FOLK1C&PLanguage=1&PX-SId=0&wsid=cfree>
51. City of Copenhagen Statbank. Labour Market (2022): <https://kk.statistikbank.dk/statbank5a/SelectVarVal/Define>

- [asp?MainTable=KKARB3&PLanguage=1&PXSID=0&wsid=cflist](#)
52. University of Copenhagen: <https://ism.ku.dk/language-culture/language/>
 53. Gross domestic product of Copenhagen 2000-2021: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1304689/copenhagen-gdp/>
 54. Statistics Denmark. Sales of Housing Cooperatives: <https://www.dst.dk/en/Statistik/dokumentation/documenta-tionofstatistics/sales-of-housing-coop-eratives>
 55. Andelsbolig - The Atlas of Ownership: <https://atlasofownership.org/entry/andelsbolig>
 56. Statistics Denmark. Sales of Housing Cooperatives: <https://www.dst.dk/en/Statistik/dokumentation/documenta-tionofstatistics/sales-of-housing-coop-eratives>
 57. Bicycle Strategy 2011-2025: https://kk.sites.itera.dk/apps/kk_pub2/index.asp
 58. The Global Bicycle Cities Index 2022: <https://www.statista.com/chart/18206/most-bicycle-friendly-cities-worldwide/>
 59. Cycle Superhighway: <https://super-cykelstier.dk/english/>
 60. Statistics on Alcohol and Night Licences (2023): <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2023-11/Statistik%20over%20alkoholbevillinger%20og%20nattilladelser%20i%20K%C3%B8benhavn%20september%202023.pdf>
 61. What is Night-Time Economy?: <https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/forms-of-night-time-economy-governance/98852>
 62. Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2021-12/Restaurations-%20og%20Nattellivsplan%202021.pdf>
 63. Party in the Street and Noise in Nightlife. Mapping of Existing Knowledge (2023): <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/e864d3d5-cd4a-4574-a67e-405bb6d17e15/82d8d7d9-f925-4148-a8ea-5b216251256d-bilag-1.pdf>
 64. The Party in the Street and Noise in Nightlife. Investigation in Nørre Kvarter (2023): <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/7dbc3dd1-4ed4-4dd4-88bc-3398f439cf3d/a96c685e-49c8-40f9-81e7-ce53bf61a3af-bilag-1.pdf>
 65. Noise Guard: <https://www.kk.dk/borg-er/affald-og-miljoe/stoej-stoev-og-luft/klag-over-stoej-stoev-lugt-eller-ude-servering>
 66. Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2021-12/Restaurations-%20og%20Nattellivsplan%202021.pdf>
 67. Copenhagen Nightlife Committee: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/lokaludvalg-saerlige-udvalg-raad-og-naevn/saerlige-udvalg/nattellivsudvalget>
 68. Copenhagen's Free Promoters: <https://www.k-f-p.dk/>
 69. Draft timeline for Restaurant and Night-life Plan 2025: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/3970ce93-f37b-4161-906a-b0dc297c1c20/d046a56a-15e1-4705-93ec-bc45783ff433-bilag-1.pdf>
 70. Technical and Environmental Administration: <https://international.kk.dk/kontaktoversigt/about-copenhagen/administrations/the-technical-and-environmental-administration>
 71. Noise Guard: <https://www.kk.dk/borg-er/affald-og-miljoe/stoej-stoev-og-luft/klag-over-stoej-stoev-lugt-eller-ude-servering>
 72. Nightlife Security Guards: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/sikker-by/tryghedsvagter-i-nattellivet>
 73. Culture and Leisure Administration: <https://international.kk.dk/kontaktoversigt/about-copenhagen/administrations/the-culture-and-leisure-adminis-tration>
 74. Night Hosts: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/kultur-idraet-og-fritid/nattevaerterne-i-københavn>
 75. Copenhagen Police: <https://politi.dk/en/police-districts/copenhagen-police/about-copenhagen-police>
 76. Survey of Electronic Music in Denmark (2017): <https://strm.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Unders%C3%B8gelse-af-elektronisk-musik-i-Dan-mark-2017-final.pdf>
 77. Joint communique from 'Advisory Board for Nightlife': <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/78524603-27ce-44ec-8fa8-2f4f95ffaeaf/eeec2d0e4-aae0-4d20-8ce4-ef1b6bea18c3-bilag-4.pdf>
 78. Copenhagen's Free Promoters: <https://www.k-f-p.dk/>
 79. Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2021-12/Restaurations-%20og%20Nattellivsplan%202021.pdf>
 80. Copenhagen Nightlife Committee: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/lokaludvalg-saerlige-udvalg-raad-og-naevn/saerlige-udvalg/nattellivsudvalget>
 81. Noise Guard: <https://www.kk.dk/borg-er/affald-og-miljoe/stoej-stoev-og-luft/klag-over-stoej-stoev-lugt-eller-ude-servering>
 82. Debriefing: The City of Copenhagen's Work on the Restaurant and Nightlife space in 2023: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/245e30de-1396-4af1-8d64-b129faf7dbd6/57e7c498-c3bd-483e-a30d-9536038b1d74-bilag-6.pdf>
 83. Debriefing: The City of Copenhagen's Work on the Restaurant and Nightlife space in 2023: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/245e30de-1396-4af1-8d64-b129faf7dbd6/57e7c498-c3bd-483e-a30d-9536038b1d74-bilag-6.pdf>
 84. Lose Control campaign: <https://www.nusnus.dk/project/lose-control/>
 85. NusNus: <https://www.nusnus.dk/>
 86. Party in the Street and Noise in Night-life. Mapping of Existing Knowledge (2023): <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/e864d3d5-cd4a-4574-a67e-405bb6d17e15/82d8d7d9-f925-4148-a8ea-5b216251256d-bilag-1.pdf>
 87. KFP Awareness: <https://www.k-f-p.dk/kfp-awareness-da/>
 88. Sex and Society: <https://sexogsamfund.dk/en>
 89. Copenhagen Pride: <https://www.copenhagenpride.dk/en/>
 90. Discrimination and Cross-Border Behaviour in Copenhagen's Nightlife: <https://sexogsamfund.dk/kampagner/tryggere-nattelliv>
 91. Parliament passes security guard law: <https://danishnews.ritzau.com/article/parliament-passes-security-guard-law>
 92. Security guard locations: <https://www.kk.dk/dagsordener-og-referater/Teknik-%20og%20Milj%C3%B8udvalget/m%C3%B8de-08042024/referat/punkt-3>
 93. Debriefing: The City of Copenhagen's Work on the Restaurant and Nightlife space in 2023: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/245e30de-1396-4af1-8d64-b129faf7dbd6/57e7c498-c3bd-483e-a30d-9536038b1d74-bilag-6.pdf>
 94. Open Air Zoner RFX: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/c399ca8d-f604-4d63-9be4-7a93675917ca/acd7abc2-02b2-4fd3-93bc-b20aa254d8cd-bilag-4.pdf>
 95. Charter for a Nightlife Without Discrimination (2023): https://www.nattennervores.nu/_files/ugd/66fb9d_eeef99e1e3b34f38ac2d5ecc1964ae77.pdf
 96. The Night is Ours: <https://www.nattennervores.nu/>
 97. The Party in the Street and Noise in Nightlife. Investigation in Nørre Kvarter: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/7dbc3dd1-4ed4-4dd4-88bc-3398f439cf3d/a96c685e-49c8-40f9-81e7-ce53bf61a3af-bilag-1.pdf>
 98. Administrative Framework: https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/4b5a8428-8f56-4e43-86e8-c4e6722c-f11a/c720f804-3bfe-496a-910d-4756f5a37671-bilag-1_0.pdf
 99. Copenhagen Creative Partnership: <https://www.copenhagencreative-partnership.dk/omccp>
 100. Culture Analysis Institute: <https://kultursanalyseinstitut.dk/#>
 101. The Creative City of the Future: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/652548d3d99f6c-21c9e02823/t/660fe5fb32488d31e0ef-10ca/1712317950286/CCP+Ana->

- lyse+20240315.pdf
102. Nightlife Security Guards: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/sikker-by/tryghedsvagter-i-nattelivet>
 103. Framing of the topic discussion about safety in the nightlife: https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/4b5a8428-8f56-4e43-86e8-c4e6722c-f11a/3b9b7d0f-bf2d-4c05-8741-b76c15bafdb1-bilag-1_0.pdf
 104. Nofre 2021: Nightlife as a source of social wellbeing, community-building and psychological mutual support after the COVID-19 pandemic <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2021.1964991>
 105. All economic data were obtained from the City of Copenhagen: Statbank for years 2017 and 2022 <https://kk.statistikbank.dk/statbank5a/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?MainTable=KKBEF1&Language=1&PXSID=0&wsid=cflist>
 106. Re:Venues - A Case and Path Forward for Toronto's Live Music Industry (2020): <https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/9846-Re-Venues-FINAL-REPORT.pdf>
 107. At present, independent electronic music promoters participants emphasised that venues Hangaren and Pumpehuset remain the only venues in the city that facilitate space for independent promoters running events in the 500-1000 capacity range.
 108. Regulations for outdoor music events: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/85c6ccff-3ca8-4eb5-b638-1af6543d2565/fd8bdfd4-082d-4b33-a7e9-efb2795c7013-bilag-4.pdf> <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/c399ca8d-f604-4d63-9be4-7a93675917ca/acd7abc2-02b2-4fd3-93bc-b20aa254d8cd-bilag-4.pdf>
 109. KUBI Plan: <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/kultur-idraet-og-fritid/kulturhus-og-biblioteksplan>
 110. Mapping Culture Houses (2022): <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 111. Participation in Cultural Centres in Denmark: https://pure.au.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/358543921/PARTICIPATION_IN_CULTURAL_CENTRES_IN_DENMARK.pdf
 112. City of Copenhagen. Culture Houses: <https://international.kk.dk/culture-houses>
 113. Data material about Libraries and Culture Houses: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-03/Datamateriale%20om%20biblioteker%20og%20kulturhuse%20version%201.4-a.pdf>
 114. City of Copenhagen. Culture Houses: <https://international.kk.dk/culture-houses>
 115. Mapping the Culture Houses 2022: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 116. Mapping the Culture Houses 2022: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 117. Basement: <https://basement.kk.dk/om-basement>
 118. Amager Bio and Beta: <https://amager-bio.dk/in-english/>
 119. Tender for Operation of Amager Bio and BETA: <https://www.mercell.com/en/tender/231647215/udbud-af-drift-af-amager-bio-og-beta-tender.aspx>
 120. KraftWerket: <https://kraftverket.kk.dk/>
 121. UnderWerket: <https://kraftverket.kk.dk/en/cultural-spaces/underverket>
 122. Mapping the Culture Houses 2022: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 123. Space for Urban Alternatives: Christiania 1971-2011: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/handle/2077/26558/gupea_2077_26558_3.pdf
 124. The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present: <https://en.squat.net/wp-content/uploads/en/2014/12/TCiO.pdf>
 125. Mapping the Culture Houses 2022: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 126. Mapping the Culture Houses 2022: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 127. Ungdomshuset - Dorteavej 61: <https://www.ungdomshuset.dk/>
 128. Ungdomshuset - Dorteavej 61: https://www.instagram.com/ungdomshuset_d61/
 129. Ungdomshuset: <https://lex.dk/Ungdomshuset> <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 130. Ungdomshuset: <https://lex.dk/Ungdomshuset> <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 131. The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present: <https://en.squat.net/wp-content/uploads/en/2014/12/TCiO.pdf>
 132. Meet the Punk-Turned-Techno-Activist Revolutionizing Copenhagen's Rave Scene: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/meet-the-punk-turned-technoactivist-revolutionizing-copenhagens-rave-scene/>
 133. Ungdomshuset - Dorteavej 61: <https://www.ungdomshuset.dk/om-ungdomshuset>
 134. Draft Cultural Centres and Library Plan 2025-2028 (KUBI Plan): <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/kultur-idraet-og-fritid/kulturhus-og-biblioteksplan>
 135. Draft Cultural Centres and Library Plan 2025-2028 (KUBI Plan): <https://www.kk.dk/politik/politikker-og-indsatser/kultur-idraet-og-fritid/kulturhus-og-biblioteksplan>
 136. Urban Alternatives. Creative Communities Influence on the Preservation of Urban Heritage: https://institutforx.dk/uploads/2019/08/UrbanAlternatives_EN.pdf
 137. Institut for (X): <https://institutforx.dk/about/> <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2024-02/Kortl%C3%A6gning%20af%20kulturhusene-a.pdf>
 138. Aarhus Volume: <https://www.instagram.com/aarhusvolume/>
 139. Institut for (X). Aarhus Volume: <https://institutforx.dk/member/aarhus-volume/>
 140. Aarhus Volume: <https://www.aarhusvolume.dk/en/home>
 141. Institut for (X) Timeline: <https://institutforx.dk/about/timeline/>
 142. Aarhus K: <https://www.visitaarhus.com/aarhus-region/plan-your-trip/aarhus-k-gdk1094212>
 143. Unique environment becomes part of Aarhus K's DNA: <https://hsfo.dk/oestjylland/unikt-miljoe-bliver-del-af-aarhus-k-s-dna>
 144. Trans Europe Halles: <https://www.teh.net/our-members/institut-for-x/>
 145. Bydelskontoret: <https://institutforx.dk/member/bydelskontoret/>
 146. Radio Broadcasting in the Digital Age. Adapting to the Challenges of the 21 st century: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376349471_Radio_broadcasting_in_the_digital_age_Adapting_to_the_challenges_of_the_21_st_century
 147. MMH Radio: <https://www.instagram.com/mmhradio>
 148. Malika Mahmoud: <https://www.instagram.com/malikamahmoud/>
 149. DJ Malika Mahmoud is on a Mission: <https://politiken.dk/annoncoer-betalindhold/Politiken/art8801777/Dj-Malika-Mahmoud-er-p%C3%A5-en-mission-%C2%BBJeg-vil-gerne-bane-vejen-for-at-flere-som-mig-kan-tage-plads-og-fylde%C2%AB>
 150. Drift Radio: <https://www.instagram.com/drift.radio/>
 151. Fruit DJ: https://www.instagram.com/fruit_dj/
 152. Drift Radio on Housing Diversities and Facilitating Communities: <https://passiveaggressive.dk/drift-radio-on-housing-diversities-and-facilitating-communities/>
 153. Drift Extended on Resident Advisor: <https://ra.co/events/1836148>
 154. O Days Festival: <https://www.instagram.com/odaysfestival/>
 155. Drift Stage: https://www.instagram.com/p/C705bd_MKu8/?img_index=3
 156. Radio Panini: <https://www.radiopanini.>

- com/
157. Radio Panini: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/
 158. Baggen: <https://www.instagram.com/baggenkbh/>
 159. Radio Panini: Copenhagen's Culinary Airwaves: <https://blackrhinoradio.com/interviews/radio-panini-copenhagens-culinary-airwaves>
 160. Radio Panini: Copenhagen's Culinary Airwaves: <https://blackrhinoradio.com/interviews/radio-panini-copenhagens-culinary-airwaves>
 161. Radio Panini All Dayer: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/p/C6Jaa-frscuP/?img_index=1
 162. Radio Panini Open Air Sunday Funday: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/reel/C7ERX4hM3hr/
 163. Radio Panini Boat Party: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/p/C8EzP-mOseUL/?img_index=1
 164. Radio Panini x MoMo: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/reel/C-DG-LftMQ3D/
 165. Radio Panini x Pizzetta: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/reel/C8u-CloRshzj/
 166. Pleasure Control: https://www.instagram.com/pleasure_control/?hl=en
 167. Refractions Festival: <https://pleasure-control.org/refractions>
 168. Radio Panini Stage: https://www.instagram.com/radio_panini/p/DBORMmc-MOxu/
<https://nylilleklub.com/>
<https://passiveaggressive.dk/ny-lille-klub-is-there-room-for-diverse-venues-in-copenhagen/>
<https://passiveaggressive.dk/ny-lille-klub-is-there-room-for-diverse-venues-in-copenhagen/>
https://amageroestlokaludvalg.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2023-09/VISION%20FOR%20LAPLANDSKVARTERET_comp.pdf
<https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/c399ca8d-f604-4d63-9be4-7a93675917ca/acd7abc2-02b2-4fd3-93bc-b20aa254d8cd-bilag-4.pdf>
 169. Three pillars of sustainability: in search of conceptual origins: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11625-018-0627-5>
 170. United Nations - Sustainability: <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/sustainability>
 171. Three pillars of sustainability: in search of conceptual origins: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11625-018-0627-5>
 172. United Nations Economic and Social Council: <https://ecosoc.un.org/en/what-we-do/promoting-sustainable-development>
 173. UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>
 174. Creative Footprint Montréal: <https://montrealresults.creative-footprint.org/>
 175. The nightlife industry has the potential to positively impact many of the SDGs but its direct connection to all 17 SDGs is nuanced and context-dependent <https://awareness-akademie.de/glossary/?lang=en>
<https://awareness-akademie.de/glossary/?lang=en>
 176. Creative Footprint Sydney: <https://sydneyresults.creative-footprint.org/>
<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/en/article/20151201STO05603/circular-economy-definition-importance-and-benefits>
<https://carbonneutralcities.org/cities/copenhagen/>
 177. CPH 2025 Climate Plan: https://kk.sites.itera.dk/apps/kk_pub2/index.asp?-mode=detalje&id=983
 178. The End of Tourism As We Know It: Towards a New Beginning of Localhood (2020): <https://localhood.wonderful-copenhagen.dk/wonderful-copenhagen-strategy-2020.pdf>
 179. CPH 2035 Climate Plan: <https://urbandevelopmentcph.kk.dk/climate/climate-plan-2035>
 180. Wonderful Copenhagen - Copenpay: <https://www.wonderfulcopenhagen.com/wonderful-copenhagen/international-press/copenhagen-launches-new-green-experience-economy-initiative-copenpay> <https://urbandevelopmentcph.kk.dk/climate/climate-plan-2035>
 181. CopenPay: <https://www.visitcopenhagen.com/copenpay>
 182. CopenPay Attractions: <https://www.visitcopenhagen.com/copenpay-attractions>
 183. Restaurant and Nightlife Plan 2021: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2021-12/Restaurations-%20og%20Nattelivsplan%202021.pdf>
 184. Debriefing: The City of Copenhagen's work on the restaurant and nightlife space in 2023: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/agenda/245e30de-1396-4af1-8d64-b129faf7dbd6/57e7c498-c3bd-483e-a30d-9536038b1d74-bilag-6.pdf>
 185. Energy and Climate Protection Programme 2030: https://www.berlin.de/sen/uvk/_assets/klimaschutz/publikationen/bek2030_broschuere_en.pdf
 186. Cleaning up Berlin's club scene: <https://www.dw.com/en/making-berlin-clubbing-greener/a-47412968>
 187. Zukunft Feiern: <https://www.zukunft-feiern.de/en/about/>
 188. Clubtopia: <https://clubtopia.de/>
 189. Dansk Musiker Forbund's Minimumstariffer & Overenskomster: https://dmf.dk/sites/default/files/paragraf/field_files/Tarifplan%202024%20-%202025_3.pdf
 190. Another Life: Representation and Discrimination in the Danish Music Industry 2022: <https://anotherlifecommunity.com/en/knowledgebank/>
 191. Charter For a Nightlife Without Discrimination (2022): <https://www.nattener-vores.nu/a-nightlife-without-discrimination>
<https://medium.com/@nasenbluten333/club-mafia-a-rave-is-a-chance-to-create-a-society-we-cannot-have-outside-the-party-82eca488d586>
<https://culture-box.com/attitude-code/>
<https://www.amsterdam.nl/en/leisure/night-vision/>
<https://www.nyc.gov/site/sbs/business-es/nightlife.page>
<https://pers.antwerpen.be/nieu-we-stedelijke-verordening-stedenbouwkundige-lasten-in-antwerpen>
<https://www.toronto.ca/business-economy/industry-sector-support/tourism/night-economy/>
 192. "I Kommuneplan 2024 er der bestemmelser for særlige bebyggelsesforhold for at fremme kulturelle formål og idræt m.m. I lokalplaner kan den maksimale bebyggelsesprocent overskrides med op til 10 procent (fx fra 110 til 120 eller fra 150 til 160), hvis dette etageareal benyttes til kulturelle formål, primært af publikumsorienteret art, eller til idrætsformål. Fri arealkravet kan fraviges for denne del af bebyggelsen. Kulturelle formål og idræt forstås i bred forstand som fx biblioteker, museer, koncertsale, teatre, biografier, gallerier, foreningsslokaler og træningsfaciliteter," Kommuneplan 2024 "Fremtidens Hovedstad p.98 <https://kp24.kk.dk/>
<https://kulturmonitor.dk/debat/art9868971/Her-er-grunden-til-krisen-hos-de-k%C3%B8benhavnske-kulturfuse-%E2%80%93-og-tre-greb-der-kan-l%C3%B8se-den>
<https://www.turbulence.berlin/>
<https://mau.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1866299&dsid=6>
<https://www.ukmusic.org/policy-campaigns/incentivising-growth/agent-of-change/>
<https://www.nsw.gov.au/departments-and-agencies/dciths/ministerial-media-releases/vibrancy-reforms-to-reboot-nightlife-live-music-and-entertainment-community-by-community>
 193. MusicNSW Funding Calendar: <https://www.musicnsw.com/funding/funding-calendar/>
 194. Open Night: <https://n8w8rdam.nl/organisatie/>
<https://www.bristolnights.co.uk/news/a-ticket-to-the-future>
<https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cg57z04dm2jo>

Datasets used for quantitative analysis:

1. All venue data, which includes the selected venues and their corresponding geographic information, characteristics and rankings, were obtained through CFP research and local workshops throughout 2024.
2. Geographic district boundaries were obtained from Open Data DK in 2024.
<https://www.opendata.dk/city-of-copenhagen/bydele>
3. Transportation data, which includes 2024 train station entrance locations, were obtained from Clustering of Copenhagen Stations research conducted by Anas Rezk. The data was released on May 27, 2020.
https://github.com/rezkanas/CLUSTERING-OF-COPENHAGEN-TRANSPORT-STATIONS/blob/master/stations_venues_P.csv
4. Demographic data were obtained from the City of Copenhagen: Statbank for years 2017 and 2022
<https://kk.statistikbank.dk/statbank5a/SelectVarVal/Define>.

References to planning initiatives in Copenhagen relate to the following documents:

City of Copenhagen. (2019). KommunenPlan 2019 Copenhagen's municipal plan 2019. City of Copenhagen. Retrieved from <https://kp19.kk.dk/copenhagen-municipal-plan-2019>

Madsen, M. D., Paasch, J. M., & Sørensen, E. M. (2022). The many faces of condominiums and various management structures – The Danish case. Land Use Policy, 120, 106273. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2022.106273>

Special thanks

We extend our deepest gratitude to all those who contributed to Creative Footprint's focus groups and interviews and contributed to the development of this report: without your invaluable knowledge and insights on Copenhagen's nightlife, this project would not have been possible.

Alexander Rastén Rydberg
Alma Azimi Steenberg
Amalie Lind
Anders Irgang
Anders Marc Jørgensen
Andrea Lonardo
Azad Demiroz
Bağak Tüsüz
Camilla Konstantin
Christian Maciel Linneberg
Cirkeline Marlow
Claus Jensen
Connor Bingham
Daniel Bruhn Jensen
Daniel Savi
Daniel Toghill
Denise Garbov
Esther Wanyama
Faidon Gkaniatsas
Frederik Birket-Smith
Frederik Kronborg
Frederik Tollund
Geo Dushnoki
Greta Tunioli
Heinrich Kipp
Irina Panovich
Isak Brenner
Jasper Jensen
Johannes Astrup
John Indome
Jun Kamata
Katinka Grøn
Kenneth Cockwhore
Kenneth Hansen
Kevin Jessen

Kir S. Thomsen
Kjeld Hansen
Kristoffer Bramsen
Lark Uldal
Lars Børsting
Lea Hedeskov
Mads Ulriksen
Magda Markova
Marcus Friederich Voigt
Matteo Massi
Mette Josephsen
Mia Dalby Thorup
Mikkel Mindegaard
Mohit Khatwani
Nina Rasmussen
Nurul Atiqah
Oscar Hugo Fälling
Peter Andreas Heiberg
Petra Skibsted
Rares Stefan Alecu
Rebecca Mariah Petersen
Sebastian Henriksen
Shayi Addean
Sine Jochumsen
Sofie Westh
Sofus Pilehave
SØS Gunver Ryberg
Stine Tange
Thomas Vig
Tim Andresen
Victor Tao Dinesen
Vinnie Gotfredsen
Zakarias Winter



Lutz Leichsenring (he/him)
Project Lead and Consultant

Lutz is the co-founder of VibeLab and based in Berlin and Lisbon. Since 2009 he serves as Executive Board Member for Clubcommission Berlin, member of Berlin's Musicboard and Chamber of Commerce as well as consultant for Clubcommission Vienna. In 2023 Lutz was recognised as one of the "100 most important minds of Berlin's economy" and received the "Ambassador of the Night Award" of NTIA UK in 2024.

CREATIVE FOOTPRINT TEAM



Mirik Milan (he/him)
Project Lead and Consultant

Mirik is a former nightlife promoter and one of the first night mayors in the world, having played an instrumental role in the reshaping of Amsterdam's nightlife scene into one of the most vibrant and economically robust in the world. Mirik's inaugural position as Amsterdam's Nachtburgemeester in 2012 has since been replicated in major cities around the world, from New York, Paris and London. Nowadays, Mirik is a nightlife advocate, co-founder of VibeLab and author of the paper 'Governing the Night-time City: The Rise of Night Mayors as a New Form of Urban Governance After Dark'. In January 2020, the journal Urban Studies released the first qualitative study on night mayors around the world.



Amir Alexander Salem (he/him)
Project Manager and Researcher

Amir is a London-born, Berlin-based project manager, researcher and writer of Swedish, Egyptian and German heritage. As Project Manager and Researcher for VibeLab, he has led nighttime research, advocacy and collaborative projects for governmental and cultural organisations across Europe, North America and Australia/Oceania. Through reflexive and engaged research, Amir's work seeks equitable and sustainable futures for people, communities and cities at night. He holds degrees in Geography from King's College London, and Urban Studies from University College London.



Diana Raiselis (they/them)
Research and Report Lead

Diana is a researcher, writer and cultural manager working closely with VibeLab, Berlin Clubcommission, and a variety of arts and urban organisations across Europe and North America. With experience in nonprofit program design, civic leadership education and facilitation, and theatre directing with a focus on queer stories, Diana has held fellowships with Creative Impact Research Centre Europe, Salzburg Global, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Coro Fellowship in Public Affairs, and Steppenwolf Theater Company. They hold degrees in urban studies, theatre and civic engagement.

www.dianaraiselis.com



Maarten van Brederode (he/him)

Researcher and Report Writer

VibeLab

Maarten is a researcher who believes in the power of grassroots advocacy and engagement to enact real policy change for thriving music, arts and cultural scenes. He was born and raised in Seattle, calling Berlin home since early 2020. Maarten has dual American/Dutch citizenship, having also lived in New York and studied in Amsterdam. He received a BA in Geography from the University of Washington and an MSc in Urban Geography from the University of Amsterdam. Maarten has been with VibeLab since November 2022.



Kerronia Thomas (she/her)

Researcher and Report Writer

VibeLab

Kerronia is Jamaican-born and currently based in Montréal, Canada, with a BSc in Toxicology from the University of Guelph and a MSc in Environmental Science from the University of Toronto. She has garnered over 3 years of experience in policy research on national level climate change strategies including gender mainstreaming and other intersectional considerations. She was introduced to the innovative work of VibeLab during the launch of Creative Footprint - Montréal which inspired her to explore her appreciation for underground nightlife as a microcosm of society, conducive for inclusive and forward thinking community driven practices.



Jack Tregoning (he/him)

Report Editor

Jack is a writer, journalist and editor based in Sydney, Australia. He writes regularly about music and culture for publications including the Guardian, Billboard, Red Bull, MusicTech and the Recording Academy.



Victor Tao Dinesen (he/him)

Local Coordinator

Victor is a freelance curator, writer and cultural producer based in Copenhagen. He has for the past 5 years been organising exhibitions, concerts, performances and been a part of the now defunct venue Ny lille klub. Community building and cultural political frameworks have been key aspects throughout his cultural work which has also led him to be a part of the association of alternative nightlife organisers in Copenhagen, Københavns Frie Promotere (KFP). Through KFP, he has been organising workshops and courses on safer space, awareness work and restorative/transformational justice and been engaged in political projects and debates with municipal organs on topics to improve political frameworks for cultural organisers. On the side, he also works as an art educator and mediator and writes articles on subjects of architecture, urban development, art and cultural critique.



Sofie Westh (she/her)

Local Coordinator

Sofie is the co-founder and Project Manager at Another Life. As a Project Manager, she is working to better representation, discrimination and general conditions for minoritised individuals including women in the Danish music and culture industries through nuanced research and knowledge-sharing. Sofie is a musician, playing in various bands in Copenhagen, while also promoting music she loves as part of the venue ALICE's Music Group and as a resident DJ at Drift Radio. She has a BA in Music Management from the Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen.



Michael Fichman (he/him)

Lead Data Scientist

PennPraxis

Michael Fichman is Associate Professor of Practice in City and Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania's Weitzman School of Design and Senior Research Associate at PennPraxis. He is also a co-creator and editor of the Global Nighttime Recovery Plan. He has been directing the urban planning and geospatial data research components of the Creative Footprint Project since 2017. He is a nightlife organiser and musician, and a member of Philadelphia City Council's Arts and Culture Task Force. He has been DJing, producing music, touring, and promoting music events for over 20 years.



Xiaxin Tang (he/him)

Data Scientist

PennPraxis

Xiaxin is a dedicated researcher at PennPraxis, where he plays a pivotal role in the collection and organisation of demographic and social economy data for Rotterdam and Copenhagen. His work is guided by a deep commitment to preserving and promoting music communities and cultural heritage. In addition to his research endeavours, Xiaxin is a co-founder of the Free Jam Club. This initiative supports international students in Changsha, China; Seattle; and Philadelphia in discovering and celebrating their musical cultures. Xiaxin's passion for music is further evidenced by his roles as a drummer and band leader, where he continues to contribute to the vibrant music scene. Xiaxin is also deeply interested in urban planning, spatial data analysis, and community development. Through his expertise and dedication, he aims to positively impact and support various communities, leveraging his knowledge to foster growth and improvement.



Richard Foster (he/him)

Copy Editor

Richard is Advisor on Marketing and Communications to the Directors at WORM, in Rotterdam. He writes regularly about culture and pop music for The Quietus, The Wire, Caught By the River and Louder than War. Between 2004-2015 he was co-editor of Incendiary Magazine. Richard's work on the history of Dutch post-punk is published by Routledge, Cambridge Scholars and Intellect Books. His debut novel, Flower Factory, was published by Ortac Press in 2022. His second book, The Punk Rock Birdwatching Club, is published by Ortac Press in February 2025. He runs the Museum of Photocopies.



Jack Waghorn (he/him)

Report Designer

Jack is a versatile digital designer, working across print and web. With an MA in Design of Experiences from Amsterdam's Sandberg Instituut, he crafts immersive connections between technology and visual communication. Based in the UK, Jack's designs resonate in cultural realms, particularly within alternative music, art and culture.

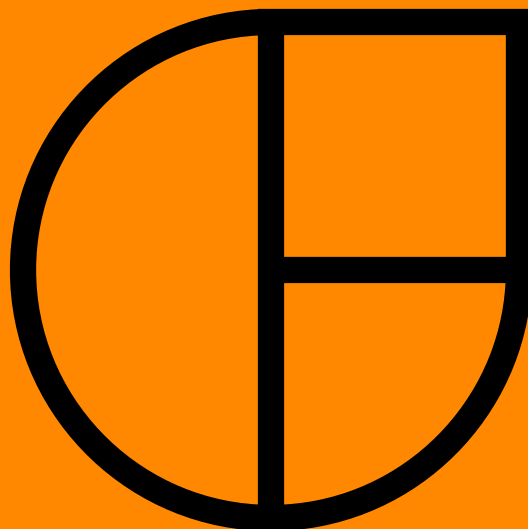


Raymond van Mil (he/him)

Photographer

Raymond is a freelance photographer based in Amsterdam and VICE Netherlands photo editor — Polaroid, analog, and digital work.

www.raymondvanmil.nl



Creative Footprint Copenhagen was
conducted on behalf of the City of
Copenhagen for the Culture and Leisure
Administration by VibeLab in 2024.

www.creative-footprint.org



City of Copenhagen
The Culture and Leisure Administration
Rådhuspladsen 1
1550 København V
Denmark

www.kk.dk



VibeLab
Rapenburg 97-2
Amsterdam 1011 TW
The Netherlands

www.vibe-lab.org

C