

ISSN 2979-3343 (Online)

# National Policies of Adult and Lifelong Learning and Education

Volume 1, Number 3

Denmark



 **Asia-Europe Meeting**  
ASEM Education & Research Hub  
for Lifelong Learning

 **PASCAL International**  
**observatory**  **CR&DALL**

Author

Palle Rasmussen

Series Editors

Michael Osborne and Shalini Singh

## Introduction

This report on national policies of adult and lifelong learning is one of a series commissioned by Research Network 4 of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Lifelong Learning Hub. It is published by the Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning (CR&DALL), University of Glasgow, School of Education, 11 Eldon St, Glasgow G3 6NH, UK. It is a collaboration between the ASEM LLL Hub, CR&DALL, and the PASCAL Observatory's Centre for Lifelong Learning Ecosystems, Adi Shankara Institute of Engineering and Technology, India.

## Author

Palle Rasmussen, 2026.

The right of Palle Rasmussen to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

## Series Editors

Michael Osborne and Shalini Singh

## Design

Front and Back Cover Images ©Catherine Froy

## Disclaimer

The views expressed in this Report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of CR&DALL, the University of Glasgow, the PASCAL Observatory or the ASEM Lifelong Learning Hub.

## Citation

Rasmussen, P. (2026). National Policies of Adult and Lifelong Learning and Education: Denmark. In the Series: Osborne M. and Shalini S. (2026). *National Policies of Adult and Lifelong Learning and Education*, Volume 1, Number 3, Glasgow: Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning.

A catalogue record for this report is available from the British Library.

First published 2026

ISSN 2979-3343 (Online)

## **NATIONAL POLICIES OF ADULT AND LIFELONG LEARNING AND EDUCATION: DENMARK**

*Author: Palle Rasmussen<sup>1</sup>*

Series Editors: Michael Osborne, University of Glasgow, UK and Shalini Singh, Helmut Schmidt University/ University of the Federal Armed Forces, Germany

### **General Historical Background of ALE and LLL**

In Denmark, the idea of adult education was initially a by-product of the idea of basic school education for all children. While basic schooling was to build up fundamental knowledge and skills and instil virtues among the children, adult education was to spread the same qualities to the non-educated adult sections of the population. The concept of general basic schooling, inspired by Enlightenment ideas, was institutionalised in the 1814 Education Act, which also stipulated voluntary evening classes for young people and adults. Because of limited resources, the basic school system was only built up slowly during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the evening classes spread even more slowly.

The evening school for adults was, in fact, overtaken by a popular education initiative. This was the folk high school movement, inspired by ideas developed by Nikolaj Grundtvig from around 1830 and taken further by Christen Kold (Rasmussen, 2013). It was an educational initiative from below, rooted mainly in one social class, the farmers. The folk high schools were to enhance young people's commitment to and competence in developing agriculture, but they were also to boost national culture and consciousness. Teaching was based mainly on lecturing and discussion; there were no formal examinations, and the students stayed at the schools, sharing not only learning but also everyday life and practical activities. From 1860 onwards, many folk high schools were established in rural districts all over Denmark.

The educational ideal of the folk high school also influenced the liberal evening school, which developed from around 1900 and was institutionalised uniquely in the nineteen

---

<sup>1</sup> Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark.

forties. A scheme was adopted which allowed and funded teaching by voluntary associations linked to different ideologies and movements.

Adult vocational training gradually developed in Denmark from the 1950s onward and was later institutionalised as training for semi-skilled workers. The social partners of the labour market were strongly represented in the management of the schools and the training programmes. A further element introduced in the same period was general adult education aimed at giving adults a ‘second chance’ by preparing them for examinations in the public school system in order to get the relevant formal qualifications.

Around year 2000 a new system of part-time vocational adult education for all levels of education was introduced (Rasmusen, 2025). The system includes educational levels and degrees that are parallel to, but different from the ordinary system of vocational and higher education. A certain amount of previous relevant work experience is required to enter study at a given level. The main change was the introduction of part-time education at the level of higher of education. Below that level the earlier types of adult education still exist.

During the last two decades, the general trend in the initiatives and reforms clearly reflect a focus on vocational and work-related adult education. Policymakers acknowledge the need to provide low-skilled adults, including also immigrants, with general skills and knowledge, but mainly as a basis for acquiring vocational skills for use in the labour market.

### **Current relevant national legislation pertaining to adult and lifelong learning (ALE) and lifelong learning (LLL)**

Danish adult education comprises four sectors: the ‘folk enlightenment’ sector of non-formal education, including evening schools and folk high schools; the vocational adult education sector, including labour market training centres and vocational schools; the general adult education sector, including courses at lower and upper secondary level; and the part-time higher education sector. Apart from the folk enlightenment sector, adult education generally has the character of a parallel system of part-time education, offering the same degrees as the full-time education system (Ministry of Children and Education et al, 2022; Ministry of Education, 2007a).

Most types of adult education are the responsibility of the Ministry of Children and Education; some have general curricula (parallel to those of secondary schooling), some have vocational education or training curricula; they are all embedded in a general system of governance and funding. For most programmes under the Ministry of Children and Education, the educational objectives are described in the Danish National Qualification Framework, following the model developed by the EU (see Danish Agency for Higher Education and Science, n.d.). In the framework descriptions, objectives generally refer to knowledge, skills and competences needed either for further education or for work. Part-time higher education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Research. The folk high school and popular enlightenment programmes are organised by the Ministry of Culture and only partly follow the same system of governance and funding as the Ministry of Children and Education.

In recent years, Danish education policy has given limited attention to adult education. Government and policy actors are much more concerned with other parts of the education system, such as primary education (because voters are generally also parents) and upper secondary vocational education, where participation rates have fallen, and trade unions and employer organisations call for action.

Practices in Danish adult education and lifelong learning are, in general, well documented through applied research commissioned by the government and stakeholders and carried out by public units such as the Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA) and the National Welfare Research Centre (VIVE), as well as by several private consultancies. Because students in upper secondary education have in recent years tended to choose general/academic schooling rather than vocational schooling, many forecasts indicate a coming lack of skilled workers, and much recent research has focused on this issue. Upskilling programmes for adults have been seen as part of the response, but it has proven difficult to attract adult students for these programmes, especially in the traditional manual trades

An initiative less connected to reform initiatives is Denmark's participation in OECD's PIAAC studies on adult skills. The Danish national report from the first round of surveys documented insufficient reading skills in parts of the Danish adult education (SFI<sup>2</sup> - The Danish National Centre for Social Research, 2014). Results from the second round were published late in 2024.

---

<sup>2</sup> The name has now been changed to VIVE.

Like other parts of the education systems, adult education is confronted with general societal problems such as demographic change, digitalisation and responses to climate change. In the Danish context, these problems are mostly discussed in connection with the general school system. The most important challenges confronting the system of adult education and lifelong learning are arguably the following:

1. Falling participation in adult education and lifelong learning: The rate of participation in Denmark had historically been high, but has fallen in recent years, especially within the systems of vocational education and adult labour market training (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2024). This is at least partly caused by system barriers to participation. Changes in the funding system, introducing more restrictive rules for wage compensation, have made the system of labour market training (AMU) less attractive to companies, and higher fees for those seeking to enrol personally have made participation in general adult education more difficult for individual adults. An important aspect of this challenge is providing relevant education for adults arriving in Denmark as refugees or immigrants<sup>3</sup>. Here, the situation has been improved by the establishment of the ‘Basic Education for Integration’ (IGU), combining job training and education.
2. Lack of policy focus and funding balance between vocational and general/popular adult education: In Danish adult learning policy, the concepts of adult skills and competencies often have a strong vocational perspective (Rasmussen, Larson and Cort, 2019). In the 2017 report ‘New competencies throughout life’, which was the basis for several government policy initiatives, competences were seen from a labour market perspective. It states,

*“Skills, knowledge and competencies are the crucial prerequisites for being able to meet the demands we meet in the labour market. Adult, continuing and further education play an important role here. Today, far from all the necessary basic skills come from the ordinary education system. Our adult, continuing and further education system thus enables adults to acquire the basic skills at a later stage”* (Ekspertgruppen for voksen-, efter- og videreuddannelse, 2017, p. 5).

---

<sup>3</sup> By January 2024, the number of immigrants and immigrant descendants in Denmark was 943.066 persons, corresponding to 15,8 pct. of the total population. Of these 600.531 people originated in non-western countries (<https://integrationsbarometer.dk/tal-og-analyser/INTEGRATION-STATUS-OG-UDVIKLING>).

Two levels of skills are indicated here: vocational competences needed in the labour market and basic skills needed as a basis for and part of vocational competences. Over the last decade, policy decisions have supported vocational adult education and labour market training rather than general adult education (leading to degrees at lower and higher secondary levels) and informal adult education at evening schools and folk high schools. Examples include the reduction of user payment for labour market training, but not for general adult education and the erosion of the benefit available to students in general adult education.

3. Too little attention to educational innovation: Very limited funding is made available for experiments and innovation in adult education and learning practices. Thus, new ideas for improving institutional provision, educational practice and guidance are not often tried out and reported in a way that makes advances available across the adult education and learning system.

In recent years, the Danish government and other policy actors have published a few statements or reports outlining visions for Danish adult education and lifelong learning. Government statements have generally resembled the 2017 report quoted above, focusing on the acquisition of vocational skills and the general skills needed for this. Stakeholder statements have not been significantly different from this. Because of the high level of tripartite collaboration in the Danish labour market, the organisations of employers and employees do not differ strongly in their visions for lifelong learning; but employers focus on more market dynamics and the latest demands for skills, while trade unions focus more on skills for broader groups of employees.

Danish authorities follow different strategies in implementing adult education policy. One is the standard policy process, where the objectives, curricula, capacity and funding of education programmes are decided by the state and parliament, the responsibility for implementation is given to educational institutions and specialised agencies, and the results are monitored by central authorities. Another process is the allocation of government funds for specific purposes, such as increasing activity in a certain sector of education. Here, institutions receive funds (often after an application process), use them according to purpose, and the results are assessed by central authorities. These strategies are sometimes complicated by the division of authority between central and local government.

## **Extent of devolution of powers in ALE and LLL to regions and cities, and to social partners**

Denmark is a relatively small and homogeneous country (Kaspersen, 2013). The state is structured mainly in two levels, the national or state level and the municipality level, with 98 municipalities. The state level, with its institutions (government, parliament, ministries), decides public policy, while the municipalities implement policy in some fields. The state and the municipalities both collect taxes, but municipalities are not allowed to tax above a certain limit. The public sector also has a regional level (which cannot collect taxes on its own), but its only real responsibility is the health system. The municipalities have the administrative responsibility for the 'Folkeskole' (public primary and lower secondary education) and for popular enlightenment activities such as the evening schools. All other education belongs at the state level.

In Danish education policy, the sectors of secondary vocational education and adult vocational education have a long tradition of institutionalized collaboration with the social partners of the labour market. The historical basis for this is the so-called 'general agreement' entered into by employer organisations and trade unions in 1899, stipulating that negotiated collective agreements were the norm for labour market relations. This institutionalised collaboration gradually came to encompass broader aspects of labour market policy, including education (Lind and Knudsen, 2018). Education committees in each trade, with equal representation from employers and employees, headed by state officials, have a main responsibility for developing the curricula and assessing competence in vocational education for young people as well as for adults. At a more central level, tripartite negotiations and agreements between the state and the social partners, concerning labour market issues in a broad sense, is an established part of Danish politics. During the last two decades, such tripartite negotiations have increasingly come to concern adult education.

## **Influence and/or policy linkages to supranational organisations**

The supranational organisation influencing Danish adult education is mainly the European Union, of which Denmark has been a member since 1973, but the OECD also exerts some influence. The influence from these organisations is limited because Danish adult education and lifelong learning provision is generally strong and lives up to the criteria and benchmarks defined by the supranational organisations.

The EU influences Danish adult education policy in different ways. One is regular policy assessment and recommendations. An example of this is the yearly European Semester procedure, where national governments submit reports on their economic situation and policy, and the reports are assessed by the European Commission, which then returns recommendations (sometimes really demands) to national governments. Recommendations may concern education, most often as elements in labour market regulations<sup>4</sup>. Another influence is standardised European formats for education programmes through qualification frameworks and their presence in diplomas. Educational practices are also influenced through EU funding of development and exchange projects in different sectors of education, including adult education (Rasmussen and Juul, 2020). However, this funding is mainly allocated to member states with economic or social challenges, and consequently, the funds Denmark receives are limited and have limited policy impact. The OECD's focus on economic competitiveness and its mechanisms has little formal influence in education, but the high international status of the organisation means that the policy reviews it produces (mostly on economic policy, but sometimes also on education policy) are taken very seriously by Danish governments and policymakers (Ydesen et al, 2022). And the empirical research on educational performance initiated by OECD around the year 2000 - especially the PISA surveys, but also the PIAAC surveys on adult education - has strongly influenced national policy debates in Denmark. For instance, when the first round of national PIAAC results were released in 2013, indicating insufficient reading skills in parts of the adult population, Danish policy actors used this to argue for more focus on reading and writing in school (see Rasmussen et al, 2022).

## Financing of LLL

Education in Denmark is mainly financed by public funds, collected through taxation. Information from Statistics Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, 2023) shows that by 2022, 89% of educational expenditure was funded by the state (53%) or by municipalities and regional

---

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the 2019 recommendations for Denmark state, “Ensuring the supply of labour in times of demographic and technological changes and addressing labour shortages, in particular of skilled workers and ICT specialists, is key to fostering sustainable and inclusive growth in Denmark. Reforms and investments improving the attractiveness and thereby increasing the participation rates in vocational education and training is likely to have a positive impact on the supply of skilled workers. Continuous investments in adult and lifelong learning and digital skills could also help in addressing this challenge. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to focus on a better integration of marginalised and disadvantaged groups on the labour market. This relates in particular to young people with low educational attainment, people with a migrant background, people with reduced work capacity and disabilities. In addition, the educational performance of children with a migrant background remains a challenge.” (Council of the European Union, 2019, point 7, para. 8).

authorities (36%). While the municipalities mainly finance public primary and lower secondary education, upper secondary and higher education are financed by the state. In 2020, total educational expenses constituted 5.5% of Danish GDP. The table below (See Table I) shows the distribution between different levels of education. Figures are given in millions, DKK.

Table I: Expenditure on education by type of expenditure, ownership, level of education and time

|                                         | 2020    | 2021    | 2022    |
|-----------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Expenditures, total                     | 159 822 | 166 877 | 164 436 |
| Primary and lower secondary school      | 70 614  | 72 612  | 74 582  |
| Upper secondary school                  | 25 810  | 25 708  | 23 411  |
| Short-cycle higher education            | 4 464   | 4 919   | 4 763   |
| Medium- and long-cycle higher education | 58 934  | 63 638  | 61 679  |

Source: Danmarks Statistik, [www.statbank.dk/UOE1](http://www.statbank.dk/UOE1)

Unfortunately, current national statistics do not allow for singling out expenses on adult education. Earlier statistics did this. In a report by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2007b), it is evident that the total public expenses on education in 2006 constituted 7.7% of national GDP, while expenses on adult education constituted 12.3% of total expenses on education.

### The role of sectors and involvement of community stakeholders

Denmark has a long tradition of civil society organisations supporting adult education and lifelong learning. Two key historical moments relevant to this were the emergence of the folk high schools in the second half of the 19th century (Rasmussen, 2013) and the legislation on state support for popular enlightenment activities introduced in the 1940s. Today, popular enlightenment is the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, while administration and funding are the responsibility of municipalities. Types of activity include evening schools, day folk colleges (a type of non-residential folk high schools aimed at unemployed persons) and university extension courses. Activities are based on a combination of fees paid by individuals and a limited level of public funding (from municipalities). There are a few

limitations on the content of activities; the principle is that public enlightenment should be based on the ideas of individual initiators and the active participation of citizens. Much of the activity is organised by voluntary organisations focused on different issues (such as the environment, international understanding and collaboration, and political ideologies). The coordinating organisation for popular enlightenment, 'Dansk Folkeoplysnings Samraad', currently lists 39 member organisations on its website. To be recognised and get economic support, popular enlightenment organisations must be democratically structured and be open to anyone who agrees with the association's purpose. In the field of formal education and adult education, the activities of civil society organisations mainly consist of proposing or commenting on topics and issues in the curricula of study programmes.

Offers of adult and lifelong learning are available from higher education institutions as well as from vocational schools. For higher education, a system of part-time programmes was developed some two decades ago and has gradually been updated (Ministry of Education, 2007a). Programmes are offered by the HE institutions at different levels - universities, university colleges and business academies. The main types of provision are master's programmes (parallel to the full-time master's degrees) and diploma degrees (parallel to the full-time professional bachelor's degrees). Programmes are funded by state grants in combination with participant fees. Substantial prior learning in the field of study is a condition for enrolment. Students are most often professionals seeking to upskill for more advanced jobs.

Vocational education in Denmark is education at the upper secondary level, offered by vocational schools. Part-time vocational education has been available for several decades. The present form is called Vocational Education for Adults (EUV). As part of the enrolment process, the prior learning and competence of adult applicants are assessed, and the duration and content of the programme are adjusted accordingly. In contrast to part-time higher education, part-time vocational education does not demand participant fees; it follows the general funding model for vocational education, with a combination of state grants and employer-generated funds. However, enrolment in EUV programmes has not lived up to expectations (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2021). Students and schools have often found the tight planning of learner trajectories based on assessment of prior learning unsatisfactory. For students, it tends to limit access to broader learning resources: for schools, it creates difficulty in planning and resource allocation.

Libraries and museums are the main entities involved in non-formal lifelong learning. Public libraries in Denmark are funded by the state and are open to all citizens. In all municipalities, there is at least one main library and often several supplementary libraries.

There are also mobile libraries ('book buses') servicing scarcely populated areas. Libraries hold physical books available for loan and increasingly also electronic texts and media. According to a survey of cultural habits, 43% of all Danes visited a public library within a period of three months in 2019 (Ministry of Culture, 2019). While educational institutions provide learning in organised groups and with common curricula, public libraries give individual access to learning resources and support them in using the resources. A study of librarians' perception of their role (Nielsen and Borlund, 2014) found that they think of the public library as a place for independent learning in contrast to the teaching in other educational settings. According to the study, librarians find themselves qualified to give user support in many ways but think they need more training in pedagogy. This independent learning in public libraries is supplemented by organised learning activities, often developed in collaboration between libraries and other actors, especially non-profit adult learning associations. Many libraries also organise reading groups, where people meet and discuss books they have read.

The Danish museum sector is comprehensive and varied. There are at present 95 nationally recognised museums that receive financial support from the state, but many local museums also receive some support from municipalities. Recognised museums are obliged to develop and implement strategies for public communication, often involving informal learning events for young people or adults.

The stakeholders involved in Danish adult education policy are primarily the social partners of the labour market, but also other voluntary and professional associations. The state and legislation decided in parliament are the main drivers of Danish adult learning policy, but during the last two decades, the state has increasingly involved the social partners. As described above, the national organisations of employers and employees are involved in local educational governance in the vocational schooling and labour market training sector, and in national policy through tripartite negotiations (Rasmussen, Larson and Cort, 2019). In recent years, the social partners have presented two tripartite agreements on adult education and training, the first in 2017 and the second in 2023 (Regeringen og arbejdsmarkedets parter, 2017, 2023). Both agreements included various types of initiatives. Examples are improving the basic skills of workers through courses in the English language, information technology and Danish language for immigrants; developing the system of labour market training to uphold quality while adjusting to a falling demand; and improving the conditions for in-service training through increasing the wage compensation from 80% to 100% of the maximum unemployment benefit.

Employer associations and trade unions are important institutions in Danish society. However, their increasing role in adult education policy processes involves risks that welfare policy becomes narrow, and that forms of adult learning not directly linked to the labour market are marginalised. Other stakeholders, such as associations of informal adult education providers, teacher associations, and key public institutions, are consulted in the preparation of legislation crucial to their field of work.

### **The tracking of the effective implementation of policies**

Policy implementation in Danish education is tracked in different ways. Probably the most important one is quantitative documentation based on administrative registers. Person-based education registers with information about all Danish citizens have been in place since the early 1970s. Registers are generated from the administrative records of schools and education institutions, and collaborations between Statistics Denmark and education authorities secure high-quality data. The information on education is linked to the individual citizen codes (based on birth dates), which allows linking to other types of individual information, such as income, employment and health. The basic information for each person in the education registers includes the individual code, the programme of education, the educational institution, the educational qualification obtained, the time the education started and the time when it is supposed to be completed. There are dedicated registers for adult education and training, including information on shorter courses and part-time education. Data from the national education registers are used for continuous quality assurance and for analysis both by government agencies and by research institutions and think-tanks.

Another way of assessing policy implementation consists of focused evaluation studies. These include major investigations following up on important reforms such as the 2014 reform of secondary vocational education done by VIVE, the Danish centre for social science research (Koudahl et al., 2018), but they also include smaller studies of issues in different parts of the education system. Focused evaluation studies draw on qualitative as well as quantitative data and are carried out by public agencies such as VIVE, but also by private consultancies such as Ramboll (see, for instance, the Ramboll evaluation of a dedicated major fund for adult education and training, Rambøll (2020)). The Danish Evaluations Institute (EVA - see Danish Evaluation Institute, n.d.) mostly undertakes minor evaluation studies of general adult education, the labour market training system, vocational education programmes for adults, vocational higher education and adult education teaching and

learning environments. EVA has published several reports on adult enrolment in vocational education following the 2014 reform (see, for example, EVA, 2021). In contrast to register-based quantitative assessment, the focused evaluation studies not only inform authorities about successes or failures of programmes; they also provide knowledge that can be used by institutions and educators

## References

- Council of the European Union. (2019). *Council Recommendation of 9 July 2019 on the 2019 National Reform Programme of Denmark and delivering a Council opinion on the 2019 Convergence Programme of Denmark*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32019H0905%2804%29&qid=1737371191715>
- Danish Agency for Higher Education and Science. (n.d.). *Qualifications frameworks*. <https://ufsn.dk/english/education/recognition-and-transparency/transparency-tools/qualifications-frameworks/>
- Danish Evaluation Institute. (n.d.). *EVA in English*. <https://eva.dk/om-eva/eva-in-english>
- Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut. (2021). *Fra ufaglært til faglært: Analyse af hvor stor en andel ufaglærte, der er startet på en erhvervsuddannelse i perioden 2015-19* [From unskilled to skilled: Analysis of the share of unskilled that entered vocational education 2015-2019]. <https://eva.dk/udgivelser/2021/dec/fra-ufaglaert-til-faglaert-analyse-af-hvor-stor-en-andel-ufaglaerte-der-er-startet-paa-en-erhvervsuddannelse-i-perioden-2015-19>
- Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut. (2024). *Virkningsfuld rekruttering af VEU-kursister* [Effective recruitment of students for adult and continuing education]. EVA. <https://eva.dk/udgivelser/2024/apr/virkningsfuld-rekruttering-af-veu-kursister-rapport>
- Danmarks Statistik. (2023). *Fald i uddannelsesudgifterne på 2,4 mia. kr. i 2022* [Educational expenses fell by 2.4 bio in 2022] (Nyt fra Danmarks Statistik, No. 394). <https://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/udgivelser/NytHtml?cid=47713#:~:text=I%202022%20var%20de%20samlede,gymnasier%20og%20erhvervsskoler>
- Ekspertgruppen for voksen-, efter- og videreuddannelse. (2017). *Nye kompetencer hele livet: Fremtidens voksen-, efter og videreuddannelse* [New competencies throughout the whole life: The future adult and further education]. Danish Ministry of Education. <https://uvm.dk/media/ynljs0pu/170613-nye-kompetencer-hele-livet.pdf>
- Kaspersen, L. B. (2013). *Denmark in the world*. Hans Reitzel.
- Koudal, P., et al. (2018). *Hovedforløb på erhvervsuddannelserne efter reformen* [Main courses in vocational education after the reform]. VIVE. <https://www.vive.dk/media/pure/mxb8k5xb/2302513>
- Lind, J., & Knudsen, H. (2018). Denmark: The long-lasting class compromise. *Employee Relations*, 40(4), 580-599. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ER-01-2017-0012>

- Ministry of Children and Education, Ministry of Higher Education and Science, & Ministry of Culture. (2022). *The Danish education system*. <https://ufsn.dk/media/ai4e5fpg/the-danish-education-system.pdf>
- Ministry of Culture. (2019). *Folkebiblioteker i tal* [Public libraries in figures]. [https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user\\_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Kulturinstitutioner/Biblioteker/Biblioteksstatistik/Folkebiblioteker\\_i\\_tal\\_2019.pdf](https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Kulturinstitutioner/Biblioteker/Biblioteksstatistik/Folkebiblioteker_i_tal_2019.pdf)
- Ministry of Education. (2007a). *Denmark's strategy for lifelong learning: Education and lifelong skills upgrading for all*. <https://uil.unesco.org/fileadmin/keydocuments/LifelongLearning/en/denmark-2007-abstract-lll-strategy.pdf>
- Ministry of Education. (2007b). *Tal der taler* [Numbers that tell]. Danish Ministry of Education.
- Nielsen, B. G., & Borlund, P. (2014). Public libraries and lifelong learning. *Perspectives of Innovations, Economics & Business*, 14(2), 94-102. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286477729\\_Public\\_libraries\\_and\\_lifelong\\_learning](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286477729_Public_libraries_and_lifelong_learning)
- Rambøll. (2020). *Evaluering af VEU-milliarden* [Evaluation of the one billion grant for adult education and training]. Undervisningsministeriet/Rambøll. <https://ufsn.dk/media/5wbee2lv/evaluering-af-veu-milliarden.pdf>
- Rasmussen, P. (2013). The folk high school: Denmark's contribution to adult education. In P. Mayo (Ed.), *Learning with adults: A reader* (pp. 219-229). Sense Publishers. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-335-5\\_17](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-335-5_17)
- Rasmussen, P. (2025). Danish adult education: Between welfare state and market. In R. Desjardins & J. Kalenda (Eds.), *A modern guide to adult learning systems* (pp. 183-199). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781035359523.00023>
- Rasmussen, P., & Juul, T. M. (2020). The Danish response to Youth Guarantee. In M. Milana, G. Klatt, & S. Vatrella (Eds.), *Europe's lifelong learning markets, governance and policy: Palgrave studies in adult education and lifelong learning* (pp. 317-337). Palgrave Macmillan. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38069-4\\_16](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38069-4_16)
- Rasmussen, P., Larson, A., & Cort, P. (2019). The vocational turn of adult education in Denmark: An analysis of adult education policy from the late 1990s. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 38(3), 254-267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2019.1586778>
- Rasmussen, P., Milana, M., Vatrella, S., & Larson, A. (2022). How public media and governments co-construct the adult skills agenda: The OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies in Italian and Danish newspapers. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 17(3), 353-371. [https://vbn.aau.dk/ws/files/499623344/PIAAC\\_media\\_Italy\\_Denmark\\_final.pdf](https://vbn.aau.dk/ws/files/499623344/PIAAC_media_Italy_Denmark_final.pdf)
- Regeringen og arbejdsmarkedets parter. (2017). *Trepartsaftale om styrket og mere fleksibel voksen-, efter- og videreuddannelse (2018-2021)* [Tripartite agreement on strengthened and more flexible adult and further education (2018-2021)]. Danish Government.

<https://regeringen.dk/aktuelt/nyheder/2017/trepartsaftale-2017/>

Regeringen og arbejdsmarkedets parter. (2023). *Trepartsaftale om langsigtede investeringer i voksen-, efter- og videreuddannelse* [Tripartite agreement on long-term investments in adult and further education]. Danish Government. <https://bm.dk/arbejdsmraader/politiske-aftaler/trepartsaftaler/2023/trepartsaftale-om-langsigtede-investeringer-i-voksen-efter-og-videreuddannelsesomraadet>

SFI - The Danish National Centre for Social Research. (2014). *Survey of adult skills - Denmark: Summary of Danish PIAAC results*. <https://uvm.dk/media/x0nnowji/140317-english-summary-of-danish-piaac-results.pdf>

