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William R. Torbert's Legacy in Transforming Doctoral Education through Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry

An Intergenerational tribute

Carol Gorelick, Danny van Montfort, Freek Sanders, Tobias Fehr-Bosshard, Lone Hersted and David Coghlan

Abstract: This article honors the legacy of William R. Torbert (1944–2025) through an examination of his final collaborative project: a three-year initiative to reimagine doctoral education through Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry (CDAI). Torbert's final message, delivered three months before his death, serves as the point of departure for a reflexive exploration of an intergenerational research community of European doctoral students and faculty engaged in non-traditional action research dissertations. We show how Torbert's concepts of first-, second-, and third-person inquiry/practice, timely action, and developmental friendship shaped our collective work and enabled a more relational, reflexive, and practice-based approach to doctoral development. By reflecting on this emergent inquiry community, we illustrate how CDAI can deepen individual research processes while also supporting institutional shifts toward more participatory and developmental forms of doctoral education. The article concludes with implications and perspectives for universities seeking to cultivate action-research-oriented doctoral cultures.

Keywords: Bill Torbert, action research, collaborative learning, doctoral education, intergenerational learning

El legado de William R. Torbert en la transformación de la formación doctoral mediante la investigación-acción colaborativa para el desarrollo: un homenaje intergeneracional

Resumen: Este artículo rinde homenaje al legado de William R. Torbert (1944–2025) mediante el análisis de su proyecto colaborativo final: una iniciativa trienal para reimaginar la formación doctoral mediante la Investigación-Acción Colaborativa para el Desarrollo (IADC). El mensaje final de Torbert, pronunciado tres meses antes de su fallecimiento, sirve como punto de partida para una exploración reflexiva de una comunidad de investigación intergeneracional de estudiantes de doctorado y profesorado europeos que participan en tesis doctorales de investigación-acción no tradicionales. Mostramos cómo los conceptos de Torbert de indagación/práctica en primera, segunda y tercera persona, acción oportuna y amistad para el desarrollo moldearon nuestro trabajo colectivo y propiciaron un enfoque más relacional, reflexivo y práctico para el desarrollo doctoral. Al reflexionar sobre esta comunidad de indagación emergente, ilustramos cómo la IADC puede profundizar los procesos de investigación individuales, a la vez que apoya cambios institucionales hacia formas de formación

doctoral más participativas y orientadas al desarrollo. El artículo concluye con implicaciones y perspectivas para las universidades que buscan cultivar culturas doctorales orientadas a la investigación-acción.

Palabras clave: Bill Torbert, investigación-acción, aprendizaje colaborativo, formación doctoral, aprendizaje intergeneracional.

Bill's Final Message

In July 2025, William R. Torbert—hereafter Bill—was unable to travel to Copenhagen for what would have been his final Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management (AOM). Yet his presence was profoundly felt through a message he prepared for the Professional Development Workshop (PDW) entitled *Advancing Action Research for Doctoral Students and Early Career Faculty*. At the opening of the PDW, Carol Gorelick read the message aloud:

Action research is not merely a method; it is a way of life. It asks of you a first-person willingness to inquire into your own experience, a second-person commitment to mutual inquiry with peers and colleagues, and a third-person capacity to generate insight that may be of service more broadly. This is not an orthodox discipline. Its vitality lies in its ambiguity, in its invitation to learn from both alignment and error. Institutions may not always support this work, yet it is possible—and powerful—to pursue it nonetheless. You are called to cultivate a “super-commitment” to your own development, to your relationships, and to timely, transformative action. You will not get it “right”—and that’s precisely the point. May you engage this path not just for knowledge, but for wisdom-in-action.

The most important research question in our lives is the future—and yet most conventional research neglects it entirely. Action research invites you to live into this future now, by embracing the complexity of the present moment and the subtle lines of influence streaming in from both past and future. This is not simply about data collection. It is about becoming increasingly capable of timely action—of responding with awareness, presence, and care. Mistakes are not to be avoided but integrated; our methodology must include them. Inquire into your relationships, your legacy, your own death—not morbidly, but generatively. Begin repairing what is unfinished. Begin composing your life, not as a perfect product, but as a practice of ongoing inquiry. That, too, is action research.

The room fell into profound silence. Here was the voice of a scholar-practitioner who had devoted his life to action research, speaking about death near the end of his life—not as an abstraction, but as something he was actively composing through ongoing inquiry. His call to “begin repairing what is unfinished” and “begin composing your life” carried the weight of lived wisdom. This was Bill, engaging in first-person inquiry/practice throughout the final stretch of his life.

Just shy of three months later, on October 21, 2025, Bill passed away at his home in Boston at age 81, just as he had predicted he would.

Bill's Core Contributions to Action Research

Bill dedicated his career to developing and practicing action research as a way of simultaneously changing and understanding organizations. His work was, in the truest sense, heretical—challenging orthodox approaches to research, education, and organizational change and development while offering generative alternatives grounded in decades of lived practice.

Richard Ennals: An Itinerant Scholar Who Found His Home in Action Research

Hans Christian Garmann Johnsen¹

Abstract: This article traces the intellectual journey of Richard Ennals, situating his wide-ranging work within a coherent, action-oriented framework. Although describing himself as an academic “tourist,” Ennals’ contributions reveal a consistent commitment to dialogue, social engagement, and learning across differences. Drawing on influences from Ludwig Wittgenstein, Stephen Toulmin, and Scandinavian workplace research, he developed an approach that integrates language, practice, and organisational development. His early work on socially useful artificial intelligence evolved into a focus on both tacit knowledge and language games. Through extensive collaboration in Sweden and Norway, he helped advance dialogue conferences, development coalitions, and participatory organisational change. Ennals’ later writings highlight the role of silence, denial, and performance in understanding work-life practices. The article argues that his legacy offers a powerful conceptual and methodological toolbox for contemporary action research, grounded in humanistic values, practical engagement, and a commitment to democratic dialogue.

Keywords: Social engagement; artificial intelligence (AI); learning from differences; language games; democratic dialogue

Richard Ennals: Un erudito itinerante que encontró su hogar en la investigación-acción

Resumen: Este artículo traza la trayectoria intelectual de Richard Ennals, situando su extensa obra dentro de un marco coherente y orientado a la acción. Aunque se describe a sí mismo como un académico „turista“, las contribuciones de Ennals revelan un compromiso constante con el diálogo, la participación social y el aprendizaje basado en la diversidad. Inspirándose en Ludwig Wittgenstein, Stephen Toulmin y la investigación escandinava sobre el entorno laboral, desarrolló un enfoque que integra el lenguaje, la práctica y el desarrollo organizacional. Su trabajo inicial sobre inteligencia artificial socialmente útil evolucionó hacia un enfoque en el conocimiento tácito y los juegos de lenguaje. Mediante una amplia colaboración en Suecia y Noruega, contribuyó al avance de conferencias de diálogo, coaliciones para el desarrollo y el cambio organizacional participativo. Los escritos posteriores de Ennals destacan el papel del silencio, la negación y el desempeño en la comprensión de las prácticas de conciliación entre la vida laboral y personal. El artículo sostiene que su legado ofrece un valioso conjunto de herramientas conceptuales y metodológicas para la investigación-acción contemporánea, fundamentada en valores humanísticos, la participación práctica y el compromiso con el diálogo democrático.

Palabras clave: Participación social; inteligencia artificial (IA); aprendizaje basado en la diversidad; juegos de lenguaje; diálogo democrático

1 I am thankful for useful input and comments from Peter Totterdill, Kenneth Abrahamson, Karamjit S. Gill, and David Hutchins.

1. Introduction

I worked with Richard Ennals² for over twenty years. He was a generous individual of wide intellectual curiosity. Peter Totterdill's (2025) obituary offers a tribute to Richard with which I fully concur. He was particularly supportive when I was working on my PhD in the late 1990s, *Involvement at Work: A Study of Communicative Processes and Individual Involvement in Organizational Development* (2001). In the mid-2000s, we were both faculty members in the NTNU PhD programme EDWOR (Enterprise Development and Work Life Research). Over the years, we edited several books together: *Creating Collaborative Advantage: Innovation and Knowledge Creation in Regional Economies* (2012), *Higher Education in a Sustainable Society: A Case for Mutual Competence* (2015), *Applied Social Science Research in a Regional Knowledge System: Balancing Validity, Meaning and Convenience* (2016), and *Coping with the Future: Rethinking Assumptions for Society, Business and Work* (2018). The cited titles serve to demonstrate the breadth of our convergent intellectual interests. Together, we also initiated the *European Journal of Workplace Innovation*, where Richard served as Editor-in-Chief until the very end.

When Richard passed away just before Christmas 2024, following a prolonged period of declining health, I immediately felt the desire to pay him a tribute. During the year since, I have reflected on whether it might be possible to capture the essence of his thinking in a single sentence or concept. This has proven difficult, as Richard was a person of remarkably wide interests. Should I emphasise his concept of learning from differences, his engagement with socially useful AI, his activism, or his strong international outlook? None of these, on their own, seemed sufficient to capture the core of his thinking. However, there still is such a core.

In addition to the intellectual core that I will argue below, I believe that what bound his diverse engagements together was a deep humanistic conviction—a belief that informed his scholarship, his activism, his moving from one disciplinary field to another, and his social engagement and relationships with others. The itinerant nature of Ennals' scholarly trajectory resonates strongly with the core commitments of action research that emphasizes situated inquiry, the integration of theory and practice, and knowledge generation through collaborative engagement within specific contexts. For a scholar working across multiple institutional and disciplinary settings, action research provides a consistent methodological framework—one that enables continuity of purpose while remaining responsive to local conditions and practices. To this I think Richard's oeuvre is a consistent and relevant contribution, as I will seek to outline in this article.

2. Background and engagement

2.1 Family and education

Richard Ennals was born on September 16, 1951, in Bath, Somerset, England, to David Hedley Ennals (1922–1995) and Eleanor Maud (Caddick) Ennals. Richard was the eldest of four children. Richard's father, David Ennals, was a prominent British Labour Party politician who served as Secretary of State for Social Services from 1976 to 1979, in addition to holding

2 Richard Ennals (September 16, 1951 – December 10, 2024)

Strengthening Communication and Participation among Women Smallholder Farmers: A Participatory Research Project in Yumbel, Chile

Amparo González Jara

Abstract: This article examines the need to improve communication between women smallholder farmers and local authorities in Chile, a problem stemming from ineffective communication channels that restrict access to essential programs and development resources. In this article, “women smallholder farmers” refers to producers engaged in family-based smallholder agriculture, characterised by limited land size, local-scale production, and partial dependence on state support programmes provided by INDAP. The study also highlights their limited participation in local institutional decision-making spaces related to agricultural policies that directly affect their lives. Using a participatory research methodology, the women became co-creators of knowledge, actively engaging in problem identification and solution building.

The process not only strengthened communication with institutions but also promoted women’s involvement in concrete decision-making spaces, such as local community councils and development committees, and fostered the emergence of community leadership roles linked to territorial representation. The findings show how participatory methodologies can contribute to more inclusive agricultural policies while addressing epistemic injustices that have historically silenced rural women. This article contributes to the international literature on participatory research by demonstrating how this approach can enhance rural women’s agency in local policy-making processes related to agricultural development. The case of Yumbel, Chile, provides insights that may inform similar initiatives in other rural contexts of the Global South.

Keywords: Participatory Research, Women Farmers, Communication, Decision-Making, Rural Development

Fortalecimiento de la comunicación y la participación entre mujeres agricultoras de pequeña escala: un proyecto de investigación participativa en Yumbel, Chile

Resumen: Este artículo analiza la necesidad de mejorar la comunicación entre las mujeres pequeñas agricultoras y las autoridades locales en Chile, un problema derivado por canales de comunicación ineficaces que restringen su acceso a programas y recursos esenciales para su desarrollo. En este artículo, „mujeres pequeñas agricultoras“ se refiere a productoras que practican la agricultura familiar a pequeña escala, caracterizada por una superficie de tierra limitada, producción de alcance local y dependencia parcial de programas de apoyo estatal impartidos por el INDAP. El estudio también evidencia su baja participación en los espacios institucionales locales de toma de decisiones relacionados con políticas agrícolas que afectan directamente sus vidas. Mediante una metodología de investigación participativa, las agricultoras se transformaron en cocreadoras del conocimiento, participando activamente en la

identificación de problemas y la construcción de soluciones. Este proceso no solo fortaleció la comunicación con las instituciones, sino que también promovió la participación de las mujeres en espacios concretos de toma de decisiones, como los consejos comunitarios locales y los comités de desarrollo, y favoreció la emergencia de liderazgos comunitarios vinculados a la representación territorial. Los resultados muestran cómo las metodologías participativas pueden contribuir a políticas agrícolas más inclusivas y, al mismo tiempo, afrontar las injusticias epistémicas que históricamente han silenciado a las mujeres rurales. Este artículo aporta a la literatura internacional sobre investigación participativa al mostrar cómo este enfoque puede potenciar la agencia de las mujeres rurales en los procesos de formulación de políticas agrícolas locales. El caso de Yumbel, Chile, ofrece aprendizajes que pueden orientar iniciativas similares en otros contextos rurales del Sur Global.

Palabras clave: Investigación Participativa, Mujeres Agricultoras, Comunicación, Toma de decisiones, Desarrollo Rural

1. Introduction

In Chile, women engaged in family-based smallholder agriculture play a crucial role in the development of agriculture, a key sector for the rural economy and the country's food security. Despite their fundamental contribution, these women continue to face significant barriers that limit their access to resources and their participation in decision-making. One of the main difficulties is the lack of effective communication between women smallholder farmers and local and central policymakers, which prevents their needs and priorities from being fully understood and addressed in agricultural policies.

Although quantitative data on women's agricultural participation in Chile remains fragmented and uneven across official sources, available statistics indicate clear gendered disparities in the sector. The agricultural sector employs approximately 5% of the national labour force, of which around 24% are women, many of whom are in informal or precarious positions (CropLife Latin America, 2024). Regional data also shows that women hold over 25% of agricultural holdings in countries such as Chile, Ecuador and Panama (Resilience.org, 2023). At the same time, previous census data from Chile highlights persistent structural barriers in access to employment and productive resources in rural areas (INE, 2008). These gaps and disparities justify the focus of this study on women farmers as a group whose marginalisation in agricultural policy is both understudied and insufficiently addressed.

Furthermore, the limited participation of women in decision-making spaces related to family-based smallholder agriculture contributes to public policies lacking an adequate gender perspective. Women farmers are marginalised in policy formulation, which perpetuates their invisibility and the structural inequalities they face. These two problems—lack of communication and exclusion from local decision-making—impede the development of women farmers, thereby undermining the progress of their communities. While men also participate in smallholder agriculture, women often carry responsibility for household food security, informal labour, and community organisation, yet remain underrepresented in leadership and institutional spaces. Their marginalisation, therefore, has a disproportionate impact on community development, making their inclusion critical to achieving structural change.

Rethinking Complexity and Facilitation in Action Research for Territorial Development: Insights from the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank in the Basque Country

Mikel Gaztañaga Cinto

Abstract: This paper addresses a core challenge in Action Research for Territorial Development (ARTD) processes: the growing difficulty of building shared understanding and co-generating knowledge among actors who operate from increasingly fragmented epistemic, ontological, and communicative frameworks. Drawing on a three-year action research process within the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank (Basque Country, Spain), it asks how can insights from the action research process in the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank contribute to refining ARTD's approach to complexity? The paper develops two contributions: an expanded notion of complexity that includes the epistemic fragmentation and a reconceptualization of facilitation as epistemic translation. These insights aim to strengthen ARTD's capacity to engage with fragmented territorial realities.

Keywords: Action Research for Territorial Development, territorial complexity, facilitation, epistemic translation, co-generation

Repensar la complejidad y la facilitación en la investigación-acción para el desarrollo territorial: perspectivas del grupo de reflexión Etorkizuna Eraikiz en el País Vasco

Resumen: Este artículo aborda un desafío central en los procesos de Investigación-Acción para el Desarrollo Territorial (IAT): la creciente dificultad de construir un entendimiento compartido y co-generar conocimiento entre actores que operan desde marcos epistémicos, ontológicos y comunicativos cada vez más fragmentados. A partir de un proceso de investigación-acción de tres años en el Centro de Pensamiento Etorkizuna Eraikiz (País Vasco, España), se pregunta cómo pueden las perspectivas del proceso de investigación-acción en el Centro de Pensamiento Etorkizuna Eraikiz contribuir a perfeccionar el enfoque de la IAT sobre la complejidad. El artículo desarrolla dos contribuciones: una noción ampliada de complejidad que incluye la fragmentación epistémica y una reconceptualización de la facilitación como traducción epistémica. Estas perspectivas buscan fortalecer la capacidad de la IAT para abordar realidades territoriales fragmentadas.

Palabras clave: Investigación-Acción para el Desarrollo Territorial, complejidad territorial, facilitación, traducción epistémica, cogeneración

1. Introduction

1.1 Framing Complexity within Action Research for Territorial Development

Action Research for Territorial Development (ARTD) is both an approach to knowledge generation and a strategy for territorial development, grounded in participation, dialogue, and co-generation (Larrea & Karlsen, 2014; Larrea, Estensoro & Sisti, 2019). Emerging from the intersection of action research and territorial development practices, ARTD has taken shape as a methodological response to the increasing complexity of territorial governance. In contrast to dominant approaches in the social sciences—often characterized by objectivist epistemologies, external observation, and a separation between researchers and social actors—ARTD actively engages territorial actors such as policymakers, business representatives, and civil society organizations through dialogical, participatory, reflexive, and co-generative processes (Karlsen & Larrea, 2014). Its primary aim is to address territorial challenges by integrating multiple perspectives, knowledge systems, and institutional logics into governance processes.

ARTD draws on three main intellectual traditions: the pragmatic stream of action research (Greenwood & Levin, 2007), the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, and the literature on territorial development, particularly Regional Innovation Systems (RIS) and industrial districts (Karlsen & Larrea, 2014). Over more than a decade, these foundations have supported the emergence of a dynamic community of researchers and practitioners. Recent collective contributions—such as *Roots and Wings* (Larrea, 2020) and *The Evolution of Action Research for Territorial Development* (Canto & Estensoro, 2025)—demonstrate the vitality of this field, which is now being reoriented to respond to a shifting landscape marked by climate crisis, rising authoritarianism, emerging voices, and evolving social demands and sensibilities.

Since its inception, complexity has been a foundational concern in ARTD. Early conceptualizations, particularly those of Karlsen (2010) and Karlsen & Larrea (2014), framed territorial complexity as a structural condition in which multiple actors with divergent interests and limited decision-making authority must collaborate to address shared challenges. This perspective aligns with broader governance approaches that emphasize multi-stakeholder coordination, adaptive decision-making, and co-generative learning as essential mechanisms for managing complexity in public policy (Head, 2022; Colander & Kupers, 2014; Weber & Khademanian, 2008).

1.2 Problem definition and Contribution

Karlsen and Larrea's (2014) conceptualization of complexity remains a cornerstone of Action Research for Territorial Development (ARTD), particularly in emphasizing interdependence, uncertainty, and the absence of hierarchical authority as defining features of territorial governance (Costamagna & Larrea, 2017; Karlsen, 2024). However, recent action research experiences—such as the Work of the Future process conducted within the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank in Gipuzkoa (Basque Country, Spain)—suggest that these dimensions, while still relevant, are no longer sufficient to capture the evolving nature of complexity in contemporary territorial contexts.

Participatory and Empowering Community Dialogue Spaces: Exploring Local Meanings of Life Quality in a Danish Community-Health Partnership

Nicolas Tristan Munk, Kristian Larsen, Tom Møller and Trine Schifter Larsen

Abstract: This article examines how Dialogue Conferences (DCs) within the community-health project Welfare and Relations (WeARe), a partnership between two hospital institutions and a social housing organisation, contributed to locally grounded understandings of quality of life among older residents. Drawing on four Dialogue Conferences, 18 months of field-work, and interviews, we show how life quality emerged as a relational, situated accomplishment shaped through dialogical interaction. Residents emphasised green surroundings, mobility, safety, and small social infrastructures, while DCs enabled shared reflection and micro-practices such as coordinating outings, watching over neighbours, and initiating activities. We argue that DCs function as participatory spaces that support relational forms of empowerment through locally resonant socio-material practices.

Keywords: Community-based, wellbeing, dialogue conference, relational ethics, action research

Espacios de diálogo comunitario participativos y empoderadores: Explorando los significados locales de la calidad de vida en una asociación danesa de salud comunitaria

Resumen: Este artículo examina cómo las Conferencias de Diálogo (CD) en el marco del proyecto de salud comunitaria Bienestar y Relaciones (WeARe), una colaboración entre dos instituciones hospitalarias y una organización de vivienda social, contribuyeron a una comprensión local de la calidad de vida entre los residentes mayores. A partir de cuatro Conferencias de Diálogo, 18 meses de trabajo de campo y entrevistas, mostramos cómo la calidad de vida emergió como un logro relacional y situado, moldeado a través de la interacción dialógica. Los residentes priorizaron los entornos verdes, la movilidad, la seguridad y las pequeñas infraestructuras sociales, mientras que las CD facilitaron la reflexión compartida y microprácticas como la coordinación de salidas, la atención a los vecinos y la iniciativa de actividades. Argumentamos que las CD funcionan como espacios participativos que promueven formas relacionales de empoderamiento mediante prácticas sociomateriales con resonancia local.

Palabras clave: Comunidad, bienestar, conferencia de diálogo, ética relacional, investigación-acción

1. Introduction: Dialogical Action Research in Magpie Hill

Participation and empowerment are central concepts in research on health promotion and welfare, with objectives focusing on equity and social justice (Fawcett et al., 1995; Oetzel et al., 2022; Wallerstein et al., 2017; World Health Organisation, 1986). Approaches range from evidence-oriented, outcome-driven interventions with emphasis on standardised tools (Evans et al., 2010; Jagosh et al., 2015; Cyril et al., 2016) to relational, dialogic processes where knowledge and action are not treated as standardizable but rather contextual and emergent through interaction (Cottam, 2018; Heimburg & Ness, 2021; Abma & Groot, 2023; Phillips, 2024). Kelly (2021) outlines a spectrum from transferable models to situated, processual practices, emphasising collective learning. This positions empowerment and participation as relational and negotiable concepts and approaches rather than fixed categories, which imply tensions not only between but also within approaches (Berry et al., 2014; Phillips, 2018; Phillips & Scheffmann-Petersen, 2019). However, multiple scholars have argued that such tensions can produce meaningful opportunities in relation to health promotion and social justice (Kesby, 2005; McNamee, 2019; Phillips, 2024; Wallerstein et al., 2018).

In this article, we explore how such tensions can become productive within community-health projects. We do so through the partnership project Welfare And Relations (WeARe), where we were encouraged by institutional stakeholders to examine potential developments in Quality of Life. While such metrics are commonly used to evaluate health interventions through fixed, external measures (e.g. SF-36 (Ware Jr, 2000)), we show how Quality of Life can instead be co-created across differing epistemic agendas. By tracing this process, our aim is to demonstrate how orientations often treated as divergent may be brought into productive relation within community-health partnership projects. As a part of the community health project Welfare And Relations our research takes place in Magpie Hill, a social housing organisation in southwestern Copenhagen. It is the home of approximately 400 people, about half over 65, many living with multimorbidity and social vulnerability (Kjeldtoft, 2017; Pedersen, 2021; Københavns Kommune, 2025). The community health partnership builds on CBPR principles of shared inquiry and responsiveness (Israel et al., 2012, s. 50–58).

Anchored in social constructionist and relational meaning-making (Hersted et al., 2019; Phillips, 2024), we applied and integrated Dialogue Conferences (Frimann & Bager, 2012), into weekly community Tuesday Cafés, to explore local perspectives on quality of life. The DCs were supplemented analytically in this article with over 200 hours of fieldwork over 18 months, including social community Tuesday cafés, individual interviews, and informal conversations. Facilitation of DCs aimed not at consensus but at coordinating multiple local perspectives on quality of life, balancing centripetal and centrifugal forces, in line with polyphonic ethics and relational dialogical action research (Bakhtin, 2013; Frimann et al., 2019; Hersted, 2019; Phillips & Scheffmann-Petersen, 2019). Each DC lasted 60–120 minutes, facilitated by action researchers NTM and TSL with support from healthcare professional co-researchers, and opened with:

“When you think of quality of life here in Magpie Hill, what comes to mind?”

This work unfolds within larger welfare-state dynamics: ageing populations, ongoing health inequalities, and reforms emphasising proximity and equity (Agerholm et al., 2024; Indenrigs- og Sundhedsministeriet, 2022, 2024). While reforms aim for accessibility, scepticism remains about their impact on equity (Bigum Lundberg, 2025; Gotlieb Hertz & Freil, 2025; Sodemann,