



Platform Retraction? Discourses of Entanglement and Disentanglement in News Media's Platform Engagement

Ragnhild Kristine Olsen & Helle Sjøvaag

To cite this article: Ragnhild Kristine Olsen & Helle Sjøvaag (10 Oct 2025): Platform Retraction? Discourses of Entanglement and Disentanglement in News Media's Platform Engagement, Digital Journalism, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2025.2570497](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2025.2570497)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2025.2570497>



© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



[View supplementary material](#)



Published online: 10 Oct 2025.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 771



[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

Platform Retraction? Discourses of Entanglement and Disentanglement in News Media's Platform Engagement

Ragnhild Kristine Olsen^a  and Helle Sjøvaag^b 

^aDepartment of Journalism and Media Studies, Oslo Metropolitan University, Oslo, Norway; ^bDepartment of Media and Social Sciences, University of Stavanger, Stavanger, Norway

ABSTRACT


Amid concerns about legacy news media's dependency on third-party platforms, recent research calls for a more nuanced understanding of the platform–publisher relationship. This study explores how news organizations can strategically counter platform power, including retracting from platforms to regain control over audiences, data, and revenues. Using a discursive institutionalism lens, we examine how public service media (PSM) and commercial news media in Norway have articulated and implemented social media platform strategies. Based on discourse analysis of annual reports and interviews with 20 media professionals from public service, commercial media, and industry associations, we propose a novel framework for understanding platform (dis)entanglement. The framework reveals isomorphic patterns—both between platforms and legacy media, and between public service and commercial media. Drawing on the concept of reverse isomorphism, the study shows how PSM organization NRK can absorb platform disengagement risks, unlike commercial outlets facing prohibitive costs. The commercial actors find themselves in a double bind, experiencing isomorphism in two distinct ways: first, in relation to platforms, which they cannot abandon due to their business models; and second, in relation to PSM, which they perceive as upholding journalistic values they aspire to but are unable to replicate.


KEYWORDS

Social media platforms; discursive institutionalism; isomorphism; reverse isomorphism; disentanglement; platform configuration; platform counterbalancing

Introduction

In May 2022, the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK publicly announced that they were terminating their NRK News account on Facebook. Audience dialogue, the broadcaster explained, was too important to leave to algorithms in Palo Alto (Medier24, 2022). Two years later, NRK had significantly reduced their presence across social media—from more than 500 to approximately 20 active accounts (Medier24, 2024)—suggesting a radical policy shift towards non-proprietary platforms. When public

CONTACT Ragnhild Kristine Olsen  ragols@oslomet.no

 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed online at <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2025.2570497>.

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

service media (PSM) take steps to reduce their reliance on social media platforms in this way, it raises important questions about the considerations behind these decisions and the possibilities available to other news organizations in determining how they produce, distribute, and monetize content both on and off non-proprietary platforms. As noted by Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy (2023) different types of news organizations have different opportunities or spaces of negotiation available to them vis-à-vis platforms. While PSM operating with significant public funding are less dependent on advertising, subscription sales, and other monetization opportunities on social media platforms, private sector news organizations acquire both traffic and digital subscribers on these platforms (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2024). PSM may thus be better positioned to *disentangle* from social media platforms, while commercial news media remain entangled in a platform relationship they find difficult to escape. In this context, we define platform disentanglement as news media's retraction from social media platforms. Contrasting the notion of how news media have "become entangled" (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2022, 200) or reliant on and intertwined with platforms across distribution, advertising, analytics, sales, and more (Nielsen and Ganter 2022, 186) we understand disentanglement as a deliberate retraction process by news media to reduce their reliance on individual non-proprietary platforms and adopt novel practices to regain control over their journalism and reinforce their institutional identity.

Previous research has documented the complex interplay of opportunities and threats in legacy news media's relationship with social media platforms (e.g., Ihlebæk and Sundet 2023; Nielsen and Ganter 2022; Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2024) and examined how media organizations engage in platform counterbalancing (Chua and Westlund 2019) and platform configuration (Chua and Westlund 2022) to reduce dependency and optimize platform use. However, a gap remains in the research literature regarding how different types of media organizations relate to platforms given their position in the overall industry ecology in which they operate. This underscores the need for "more precise insights into the autonomy and room for decision-making of specific news organizations in a constantly evolving platform environment" (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2023, 1404). Of particular interest is the tripartite relationship between PSM, commercial news media, and platforms—specifically how patterns of isomorphism, defined as the constraining process through which organizations begin to resemble others facing similar environmental conditions (DiMaggio and Powell 1983)—influence this relationship. Examining the discourses employed by commercially and non-commercially oriented news media to address the challenges and opportunities of platform entanglement and disentanglement provides insights into the evolving institutional dynamics between news media and platforms and their impact on media organizations' institutional identities.

Against this background, the present study applies discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2008, 2010) and the concept of organizational isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) to analyze how Norway's PSM organization, NRK, and a purposive sample of commercial news organizations navigate divergent platform discourses and articulate their institutional identities in this process. Using qualitative data from PSM annual reports and in-depth interviews with 20 media managers and executives, we demonstrate how conflicting and overlapping discourses on platform entanglement and disentanglement are associated with distinct patterns of isomorphism among news media. We do so by

introducing a novel analytical framework unpacking isomorphism along two dimensions of homogeneity and heterogeneity in news media's platform strategies—one capturing platform-publisher dynamics and one capturing public service-commercial news media dynamics. Notably, we mobilize the concept of “reverse isomorphism” to capture how PSM organizations are uniquely positioned to resist coercive isomorphism, progressively disengaging from platforms by leveraging their institutional autonomy and public service mandate to assert strategic independence. In contrast, commercial news media remain entrenched in platform entanglement, structurally constrained in their ability to extricate themselves. Moreover, commercial news media experience normative isomorphism in relation to PSM, which they view as “doing the right thing” in upholding journalistic values, though they find themselves unable to emulate it. These findings indicate a weakening of mimetic isomorphism between public service and commercial news media in their platform strategies, highlighting the distinct institutional conditions that either enable or inhibit disentanglement.

Literature Review

The growing power of platforms in the information ecosystem has raised concerns in media research, including risks related to privacy and surveillance, threats to freedom of expression, and technological and infrastructural dependence (Nechushtai 2018; Zuboff 2019). The term “platform” is used variably in this literature, referring to corporations like Meta, ByteDance, and Google, their subsidiaries (e.g., Facebook, TikTok, YouTube), and platform applications like WhatsApp and Instagram (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2022, 61). Here, we understand platforms as (re-)programmable digital infrastructures that facilitate and shape personalized interactions among end-users and complementors based on the collection, algorithmic processing, monetization, and circulation of data (Poell, Nieborg, and van Dijck 2019, 3). Our focus is on PSM and commercial news media as platform complementors (Poell, Nieborg, and van Dijck 2019) and their relationship with platforms commonly referred to as social media or social network sites. Two key strands of research inform our study: the platformization of the digital news environment and the strategic responses of legacy news media.

The Platformization of the Digital News Environment

While convergence theory once predicted that media sectors would converge into one (Sjøvaag 2022), social media platforms have instead appeared to swallow other media including news publishing (Bell 2016; Küng 2017), shaping how news is distributed, accessed, displayed and monetized (Nielsen and Ganter 2022). In many countries, social media have become the main gateway to news, especially for younger audiences, who now have a weaker connection with news brands than in the past (Newman et al. 2024). Simultaneously, news consumption is diversifying across multiple social media platforms. As Facebook becomes less central for news, other channels like YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram are gaining importance (Newman et al. 2024).

This shift is part of a broader institutional change whereby the centralized systems, networks, and tools of platform companies have become communication infrastructures,

serving as a proprietary layer on top of the open internet (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2022). Labelled platformization, this process has turned platforms into the dominant infrastructural and economic model of the social web (Helmond 2015). Platforms can make or break connections between news media and audiences by changing social rules or technical protocols, often on short notice and with dramatic effect (Nielsen and Ganter 2022, 63). Over the years, Facebook has adjusted its algorithm to both prioritize and deprioritize news content (Meese and Hurcombe 2021) and has refocused its strategies to keep users on its platform rather than linking out to publishers, leading to a significant decline in referral traffic to news sites (Newman 2024).

The power of social media platforms vis-à-vis news publishers has been noted by many scholars, whether it refers to the role of platforms as gatekeepers (e.g. Hermida 2020; Russell 2019), the influence of platform algorithms on editorial decision making (Peterson-Salahuddin and Diakopoulos 2020; Røsok-Dahl and Olsen 2025), news publishers' dependence on platforms to reach audiences (Nielsen and Ganter 2018, 2022), the negative impact of platforms markets on news media's revenues and business model (Sjøvaag 2022), or the increasingly uneven playing field between global "big tech" and "small" incumbents in national media markets (Ihlebak and Sundet 2023). A common denominator in much of this research is a critical perspective on platform dominance, which sharply contrasts with the optimistic view that characterized early research on social media and the benefits they offer to journalism (Chua and Westlund 2022). However, platform power has been described as essentially relational (Nielsen and Ganter 2022) shaped not only by the platforms but also by news organizations' response and negotiation of their institutional position vis-à-vis platforms. We are therefore encouraged to move beyond one-sided, monolithic perspectives on platform dominance and instead recognize the variability in institutional relationships between platforms and news organizations (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2023), including the news media's decision to retract from these platforms, as observed in industry reports (Kahn 2023; Myllylahti 2023).

News Media's Complex Relationship with Platforms

According to Nielsen and Ganter (2022) we can only understand platform power if we understand both the reservations publishers have about platforms and the reasons "why publishers often embrace platforms nonetheless and continue to work with them" (p. 2). To leverage benefits such as enhanced reach, immediacy in newsgathering, news dissemination, and audience engagement (Chua and Westlund 2022), news organizations have invested considerably in building platform presence (Steensen and Westlund 2021), though they pursue varying strategies. These strategies exist on a continuum from on-site distributed discovery, directing audiences to publishers' platforms, to off-site engagement on third-party platforms (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2016). Previous research has demonstrated how different media have different platforms strategies, shaped by their editorial ambitions, organizational imperatives and historic legacies (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2024): While PSM's social media strategies involved both distributed discovery and distributed content approaches, private sector news organizations were almost exclusively focused on distributed discovery. For PSM, the main motivation was to enhance audience reach, consistent with their mission,

whereas for private sector media, the primary objective was monetizing social media reach (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2024). Other studies have highlighted the importance of reaching younger audiences to maintain PSM's popular support and legitimacy (Olsen et al. 2024; Sehl 2020) prompting them to use social media platforms to connect with online audiences (Van Es and Poell 2020) and get access to detailed audience data for more targeted content production (Røsok-Dahl and Olsen 2025).

Similarly, commercial news media are motivated by the desire to broaden and diversify their audiences, particularly by attracting younger demographics, dedicating significant resources to platform-specific strategies (Vázquez-Herrero, Negreira-Rey, and Sixto-García 2022). These shared ambitions create overlapping interests between PSM and commercial news outlets. However, for PSM—dedicated to providing high-quality content as a free public good and reliant on public funding—the growing dependence on third-party platforms to achieve universality presents significant risks, as these intermediaries may not align with PSM's objectives or values (Martin 2021). PSM's platform presence also faces criticism from commercial media due to concerns that PSM create unfair competition by sharing free content (Ihlebak and Sundet 2023), contributing to a more restrained platform publishing strategy among some PSM (Olsen et al. 2024). Moreover, the data provided by social media platforms have become a source of frustration for PSM (Van Es and Poell 2020) as well as commercial news publishers due to limited data access, lack of benchmarks, and problems of comparing various metrics across channels (Nielsen and Ganter 2018).

These problems, along with revenue losses and concerns over editorial control on platforms where algorithms, content guidelines, and community standards govern how and to whom journalism is distributed and displayed, have encouraged news media to reduce their dependence on individual platforms and engage in platform counterbalancing (Chua and Westlund 2019). This typically involves hesitance in building news businesses within platforms and increased emphasis on developing proprietary channels (Chua and Westlund 2022). The ongoing process by which news media adjust their editorial activities in relation to third-party platforms is known as platform configurations. This concept captures how media organizations continuously add, modify, or reduce activities on these platforms and how strategies may change over time, involving different approaches for different platforms and varying practices among media organizations (Chua and Westlund 2022).

The “frenemies” nature of platforms (Sehl and Cornia 2021; Ihlebak and Sundet 2023), which offers both short-term operational opportunities and long-term strategic concerns (Nielsen and Ganter 2018), presents news managers with high-risk decision-making dilemmas amid significant uncertainty (Sjøvaag 2022). With limited information about the future, platforms, data, and the potential success of costly innovations, they rely heavily on observing their competitors in the news industry. Moreover, they operate under bounded rationality, where decisions regarding platforms must align with the institution's core values (Sjøvaag and Owren 2023). Both PSM and commercial news managers must navigate two competing “logics of appropriateness” (Lowrey 2011) when configuring platform presence: one grounded in journalistic ethics and the social contract, which requires news media to serve democratic interests, and the other driven by the algorithmic logic of scalability and programmability, focused on popularity and commercialization (Lowrey 2011, 78).

Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

Considering the complex realities of the platform–publisher relationship, processes of platform entanglement and disentanglement in the news media are closely tied to institutional identity, influencing how it is challenged, defended, and renegotiated in a platformized news environment. As an institution, the news media comprise a structured set of shared norms and informal rules that are both constraining and enabling—a belief system that defines appropriate journalistic values and practices, normatively grounded in the idea that journalism should contribute to the functioning of democracy (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017). In the case of PSM organizations, this institutional identity is rooted in a longstanding public service mission, encompassing values such as democratic support, independence, trustworthiness, universal relevance, high journalistic standards, and the promotion of national culture (Lowe and Maijanen 2019; Martin 2021). News media’s institutional identity does not exist independently of human cognition and communication; rather, it consists of “structures of meaning that are discursively created, perpetuated, and contested” over time (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017, 120). This perspective aligns with discursive institutionalism, which seeks to explain “how, when, where, and why ideas and discourse matter” in the formation, reproduction, and transformation of institutions (Schmidt 2008, 305).

According to Schmidt (2010), institutions are structures and constructs of meaning internal to agents whose “background ideational abilities” enable them to create and maintain institutions while their “foreground discursive abilities” enable them to communicate critically about them, to change or maintain them (p. 1). Discourse in the context of institutions is the site of identity formation and identity transformation, with important strategic functions such as coercion, resistance, legitimation and de-legitimation of varying interests and logics (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017). As creators of realities, discourses influence “what can be thought about and said, when and where” (Ganter and Löblich 2021, 2289). The “institutionalism” in Schmidt’s discursive institutionalism approach not only considers the substantive content of ideas but also includes the interactive processes within institutional contexts that generate these ideas and communicate them to the public (Ali and Puppis 2018).

Schmidt’s discursive institutionalism has been applied to topics such as journalism roles and discursive authority (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017), journalist motivation and labor (Perreault and Bélair-Gagnon 2024), new journalism practices (Vos and Thomas 2024), and power and media policy-making (Ali and Puppis 2018), and has inspired conceptual modifications to better grasp the dynamics of media institutions and media policy (Ganter and Löblich 2021). It should be noted that the discursive institutionalism promoted by Schmidt offers a “modest” rather than an all-encompassing understanding of discourse (Lauber and Schenner 2011). Following this “modest” discourse analysis path, we aim to explore how media organizations express and reinforce their institutional identity through their ideas about third-party platforms, and how this identity diverges or remains consistent between PSM and commercial news media.

When looking for similarities between different media organizations’ ideas about platforms, we draw on the concept of isomorphism from institutional theory, i.e., the notion that “highly structured organizational fields provide a context in which individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the

aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture, and output” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 147). Such isomorphism could be coercive, mimetic, and normative. Coercive isomorphism involves pressures from structures on which the organization depends. Mimetic isomorphism reflects how organizations model themselves on other organizations to cope with uncertainty, while normative isomorphism reflects professionalization, such as the development of collective unity and professional norms among actors in a field (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

The growing research literature on platforms, news media, and isomorphism has revealed how platform pressures influence mimetic and normative isomorphism in the practices and discourses of a PSM organization (Laaksonen, Koivula, and Villi 2024) and how isomorphism is used by PSM as a strategy to cope with uncertainty in the platform environment by mimicking perceived best practice at peer organizations (Sehl and Cornia 2021). Others have demonstrated how platform algorithms and data-driven technologies induce isomorphism across the media industry as media organizations adapt to the algorithmic systems of the platform society (Caplan and Boyd 2018), a tendency that appears to be fortifying across media organizations with the rapid development and deployment of AI by platforms (Simon 2024).

These observations of isomorphism contrast with research highlighting diverging platform configurations and strategies among media organizations (Chua and Westlund 2022; Meese and Hurcombe 2021; Sehl and Cornia 2021). Such intraindustry heterogeneity suggests tendencies of “reverse isomorphism”—a situation where isomorphic pressures decline, granting greater managerial discretion and resulting in increased heterogeneity rather than increased homogeneity between organizations (Hambrick et al. 2004).

Isomorphism and reverse isomorphism provide a valuable lens for examining both homogeneity and heterogeneity in how news media engage with platforms, as well as their strategic flexibility in platform management and the institutional identity they shape through their evolving platform strategies. Against this background, we turn to the Norwegian case and formulate the following research questions:

RQ1: What discourses of entanglement and disentanglement do PSM and commercial news media articulate regarding platforms?

RQ2: How do negotiations of these discourses reflect and reshape institutional isomorphism in the news industry?

Methods

The Norwegian Context and Case Companies

The Norwegian media system in Hallin and Mancini (2004) typology is classified as a democratic corporatist media system model, also referred to as a Media Welfare State (Syvertsen et al. 2014). This welfare model emphasizes equal access to public broadcasting as well as freedom from editorial interference by politicians, a cultural policy that extends to the media, and cooperation between main stakeholders such as media representatives and politicians. State owned and publicly funded NRK (Norsk Rikskringkasting) holds a central position in this system, reaching 91% of the

population daily (NRK 2023). Through its PSM remit NRK is obligated to facilitate public discourse and provide essential information for democratic engagement (Sjøvaag, Pedersen, and Owren 2019). Complementing NRK and commercially operated broadcasters like TV2, a large number of newspapers contribute to a vibrant and diverse media landscape (Ihlebak, Figenschou, and Olsen 2024). In 2022, there were 25 national and 219 local or regional newspapers in Norway (Norwegian Media Authority 2023) serving a population of 5.5 million.

The newspaper industry established online editions early on and in 2023, the industry's digital revenues reached the same level as print (Norwegian Media Authority 2024). The sector is characterized by a longstanding tradition of household subscriptions and a loyal readership, which have played a key role in the comparatively successful implementation of paywalls. The largest newspaper groups are Schibsted, Amedia, and Polaris, NHST and Aller Media (The Norwegian Media Authority 2023). Norway has close to 100% internet penetration and has served as a strategic test market for many global platform players (Ihlebak, Figenschou, and Olsen 2024). The media industry faced and responded to digital innovation challenges early on and seems in a comparatively good position to tackle future structural and technological challenges, not least due to direct and indirect press subsidies from the state (Ihlebak, Figenschou, and Olsen 2024). However, platform dependency remains an unsolved dilemma for both PSM and commercial media, as they seek to leverage new platform technologies while maintaining editorial control, protecting revenues, and retaining audience trust (Ihlebak and Sundet 2023).

Data Material and Analysis

The many different conceptualizations of discourse in the research literature have encouraged a wide variety of discourse analytic approaches, and there is no “cookbook style recipe” for this method (Gill 2000, 177). This study explores how ideas about social media platforms are articulated in NRK's annual reports and formal interviews with media managers and executives. The annual reports outline activities and strategic considerations related to the public service remit. They offer valuable insight into how NRK presents itself as an institution and enable analysis of continuity and change in its platform-related ideation. These statutory documents cover 11 years, from 2013, when Facebook, the world's leading social media platform, changed its algorithm to encourage news publishers to prioritize Facebook-focused strategies for digital traffic (Meese and Hurcombe 2021), to 2023, when Facebook's deprioritization of news and political content could be observed through sharp declines in traffic for many news publishers (Newman et al. 2024, 10).

Thematic interviews included newsroom managers and executives from commercial news media outlets owned by leading media corporations: Schibsted ($n=2$), Amedia ($n=6$), Polaris ($n=3$), NHST ($n=1$), Aller Media ($n=1$), and TV2 ($n=1$), plus managers from NRK's News, Regional, and Children & Youth divisions ($n=4$). Additionally, representatives from the Association of Norwegian Editors ($n=1$) and the Norwegian Media Businesses' Association ($n=1$) participated (see [Supplementary Appendix A](#)). The informants were primarily editors or newsroom managers working with news publishing and social media in their organization, purposely selected to reflect the

breadth and diversity of the country's leading news media companies as well as local and corporate perspectives. The semi-structured interviews covered a wide range of questions encouraging the participants to reflect on platform risks and opportunities and describe the formation and status of their social media strategy and activities. One interview was conducted with both authors present, while the rest were conducted by the lead author. All interviews took place from December 2023 to June 2024, following approval by SIKT (the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research), and were transcribed by a research assistant.

We conducted a content analysis of NRK's annual reports covering 2242 report pages (see [Supplementary Appendix B](#)). The analysis identified key narratives about platform presence (Steensen and Westlund 2021) and platform configurations (Chua and Westlund 2022) focusing on platform-related practices and reflexivity on platform benefits and risks. The analysis was extended to the interview transcripts covering 18h and 57min of interviews, each interview lasting an average of 57 min. Inspired by Greckhamer and Cilesiz (2014) application of Gee's (2011) discourse building blocks as tools to investigate "how a view of reality is constructed through discourse" (p. 429), we used these narratives to identify platform entanglement and disentanglement discourses among PSM and commercial news media in response to RQ1. Specifically, we investigated significance building (what is emphasized as important in the platform-publisher relationship), identities (the roles ascribed to platforms and news media), relationships (how interactions between platforms and news media are mediated), and politics (how the distribution of social goods, such as power and resources, is framed). Next, we examined how these discourses were negotiated, identifying patterns of homogenization and differentiation along two dimensions: between news media and platforms, and among news media in their approach to platform management. We categorized platform engagement as isomorphism (coercive, mimetic, and normative) when homogenization was observed, or reverse isomorphism when greater heterogeneity was evident. This analysis provided insights in response to RQ2. To maintain the anonymity of the interviewees while distinguishing between them in the presentation of findings, we assigned each participant a number and letter code. Participants labeled NRK 1-4 represent individuals from NRK, participants labeled CNM 1-14 represent individuals from commercial news media, and participants labeled TA 1-2 represent individuals from trade/professional organizations. The generative AI tool "SIKT KI-chat" was used for language improvement of the manuscript, in accordance with Taylor & Francis' guidelines.

Findings

Diverging Discourses regarding Platform (Dis)Entanglement

The analysis of the annual reports and interviews with media managers identified four overarching platform entanglement and disentanglement discourses: (1) Entanglement as Strategic Advantage, (2) Entanglement as Potential Hazard, (3) Disentanglement as Institutional Imperative and (4) Disentanglement as Privilege.

Entanglement as Strategic Advantage discourse emphasize the benefits of building and maintaining interconnectedness with third-party platforms for legacy news media.

Significance building involves recognizing social media platforms as essential opportunities for optimizing audience reach, engagement, and brand recognition—promoting the idea of “being where people are.” In the case of NRK, this narrative is tied to the PSM remit and NRK’s identity as universal service provider. As noted in the company’s 2014 annual report: “NRK must serve as a common good for the entire population. To achieve this, we must be present where the public expects to find us, offering world-class quality.” (NRK 2015, 3). This entails a normalization of third-party platforms as an extension of the PSM organization, contributing to the blurring of boundaries between social media and legacy media domains.

Among private sector news media, the Strategic Advantage discourse has a stronger marketing orientation, reinforcing their commercial identity as smart business players. Social media are described as a useful “marketing channel” (CNM1), as a key part of news media’s “visibility work” (CNM13), and a modern version of the old “newspaper stand” (CNM10) providing opportunities to reach customers with content that could entice them to subscribe. For both commercial and PSM, being present in the lives of young people on their preferred platforms plays a crucial role as expressed in this quote: “For (young) people to even know that we exist and to consider visiting us to see if something is happening, we need to do work ‘out there.’” (CNM7). Importantly, this discourse positions platforms as service providers, offering tools that help news organizations solve problems and accomplish tasks they would otherwise struggle to achieve. News media invest time and effort in leveraging these tools and maximizing their benefits, adapting their practices, and emphasizing the need to “learn what works”—and what doesn’t—on social media, positioning themselves as adept at capitalizing on platform affordances.

Conversely, the Entanglement as Potential Hazard discourse promotes a victim identity for news media. Here, significance building primarily concerns the lack of control over news distribution and presentation in an algorithmically filtered environment. In the NRK context, this is highlighted as a threat to public service values and responsibilities. As stated in NRK’s 2015 annual report: “Publishing on non-proprietary platforms poses significant challenges regarding editorial control and the context in which our content is presented.” (NRK 2016, 44). These concerns are particularly evident in relation to Facebook, where the PSM organization has experienced “censorship, a lack of transparency, breaches of privacy, and challenges related to influence and propaganda” (NRK1), resulting in increasing unease with NRK’s presence on the platform.

The Potential Hazard discourse casts platforms in the role of gatekeepers between news media and audiences, with social media portrayed as “over-editors” (CNM1) making “numerous editorial decisions without having editorial authority” (CNM3) and “taking down content” (TA1) that has been approved by the news media themselves based on professional standards, ethical guidelines, and legal considerations. This challenge news media’s integrity and identity as democratic institutions. Additional concerns relate to platforms’ negative impact on public discourse, evident in the portrayal of the comment sections on social media platforms, particularly Facebook. This is described as a “very negative environment” (CNM4), which often becomes “pretty ugly” even when news media invest substantially in comment moderation (CNM14), resulting in a more restrictive publishing strategy for certain types of content on social media (CNM6). In summary, this discourse portrays social media as a

“frenemy” or, as succinctly described by one media executive, a “necessary evil” (CNM3) that legacy news media are compelled to use despite significant concerns.

Contrasting this dependency narrative, the Disentanglement as Institutional Imperative discourse captures legacy media’s attempts to “break up” with social media platforms, most evident in the case of NRK. Significance building revolves around the prioritization of proprietary channels over third-party platforms, with a shift from “being where the audience is” to “bringing the audience home,” (NRK2). This reorientation is portrayed as an institutional imperative essential for bolstering NRK’s legitimacy. Dependency on third-party platforms is described as a threat to NRK’s identity as a public service institution with high standards of integrity, prompting the organization to take steps to secure its autonomy. Furthermore, social media are cast in an explicitly antagonistic role. Instead of “frenemies” they are adversaries, compromising editorial independence, highlighted in the following quote: “On several occasions, NRK content has been edited or censored on third-party platforms. By strengthening our own publishing platforms, we can reduce our dependence on others” (NRK 2022, 16).

While traces of similar narratives appear elsewhere—for example, in descriptions of how Norway’s leading online newspaper VG has prioritized becoming “a news destination rather than a news distributor” (CNM1)—this discourse fosters a pioneer identity for NRK by highlighting the PSM organization’s responsibility to “lead the way” and “enhance traditional news media’s position” vis-à-vis third-party platforms (NRK 2024, 39). This perspective is echoed by commercial news media, who frame NRK’s reduction of its social media presence as “doing the right thing” as a major national media player (CNM7), “setting an example for others” (CNM11), and potentially “making it easier” for commercial news media to follow suit (CNM1). The central idea of reclaiming control over distribution and data while prioritizing direct traffic to proprietary platforms emphasizes NRK’s preparedness to go its own way and accept the cost of reducing its social media presence, despite acknowledging that “it hurts” (NRK2) and involves “difficult decisions” particularly in relation to reaching young audiences (NRK4).

Finally, the Disentanglement as Privilege discourse emphasizes that withdrawing from third-party platforms is fundamentally about strength and resources—an option available only to a fortunate few. As one NRK interviewee noted: “We are in a privileged position, we reach a wide audience with our content on our platforms, including young people” (NRK1). For commercial players, however, such a move is portrayed as unfeasible. While platform entanglement comes with significant costs, disentanglement—i.e., withdrawing from social media—is described as even more costly. Commenting on NRK’s decision to terminate most of its social media accounts, commercial news media managers largely express support, yet stress that NRK is uniquely positioned to pursue this strategy. As one editor succinctly puts it: “It’s an easy move when you are fully financed. If you are NRK, you can do this, whereas we are dependent [on social media]. If we removed 150,000 readers every day [coming from social media], we would have to sack ten people” (CNM14).

This remark highlights the notion that disentanglement is a feasible strategy primarily for organizations that are not reliant on advertising or audience revenue. For these entities, social media is less important for generating traffic or enhancing brand

visibility. In contrast, for commercial news media, disentanglement is framed as an ideal but ultimately unrealistic strategy. These outlets continue to compete intensely for audience attention and advertising revenue. They promote their identity as strategic actors—fighting for every inch of space in the attention economy and leveraging whatever social media tools are available, without guarantees or privileges. The lack of flexibility to move away from social media, particularly Facebook, is sharply encapsulated by one interviewee as a “broken marriage” (CNM14)—a relationship in which news media are stuck with a platform that is difficult to understand, impossible to communicate with, and unwilling to cooperate.

(Dis)Entanglement Discourses and Evolving Patterns of Isomorphism

The four discourses promote distinct institutional identities and emphasize various power dynamics—both in the relationship between news media and platforms and between commercial media and public service media. Indeed, the reality of the platform relationship in itself—as something that necessitates strategy—also impacts how public and commercial media relate to each other—platforms working both within and between the media industries. By unpacking how these discourses are negotiated in different ways within the data analyzed here, patterns of isomorphism and reverse isomorphism emerge among institutional actors.

A key feature of the first two discourses is their depiction of shared platform experiences across PSM and commercial media, resulting in isomorphic patterns where news organizations adapt to platforms in largely similar ways. In the Entanglement as Strategic Advantage discourse, mimetic isomorphism emerges as news organizations respond to uncertainty about the effectiveness of “traditional publishing” prompting efforts to strengthen their platform presence to reach and interact with audiences (NRK 2015, 6). News organizations present themselves as innovative and “forward-leaning,” actively embracing the opportunities social media offers while continuously learning and adapting to evolving platform dynamics by allocating resources to social media content and strategies. For instance, NRK highlights the recruitment of a “social media advisor” to streamline and professionalize social media activities (NRK 2014, 9), while commercial outlets describe having social media reporters or teams in place (CNM1, CNM4, CNM7, CNM9, CNM10, CNM11) producing “social media content” (CNM10), cultivating expertise in “social media storytelling” (CNM4), and creating content “exclusively for social media platforms” (CNM12). Mimetic isomorphism in this discourse also involves modelling content for proprietary platforms on social media formats, like vertical videos inspired by Snapchat and TikTok (CNM1, CNM5, CNM7, CNM8).

While the Entanglement as Strategic Advantage discourse emphasizes voluntary adaptation, the Entanglement as Potential Hazard discourse is framed around coercion. Here, platform adaptation is portrayed as enforced conformity, with coercive isomorphism evident in narratives about how platform governance and algorithms override editorial autonomy. By invoking this discourse, news media position themselves as vulnerable and disadvantaged—particularly in relation to Facebook. They describe being compelled to tailor content to global “lowest common denominator” standards (TA2), leading to self-imposed content restrictions. As one editor remarked: “Just when

you think you've cracked the code, they change it" (CNM7). Informants emphasize their lack of recourse when content is blocked (CNM2), displayed in ways that conflict with journalistic ethics (CNM11), or deprioritized by algorithmic changes. "It's just something we have to live with and try to make the best of," as one editor puts it (CNM9). In tandem the two Entanglement discourses create a paradoxical portrayal of news organizations' identity: on the one hand, strong and independent news organizations that actively choose how to adapt to platforms; on the other hand, powerless news organizations that are forced to comply with platform demands.

When the two disentanglement discourses are mobilized, the focus shifts to the possibility of severing ties with platforms, and news media agency is framed in ways that reveal patterns of reverse isomorphism, resulting in greater heterogeneity between organizations. This applies not only to how news organizations relate to platforms, but also to how they position themselves in relation to one another. In particular, we observe growing differentiation between public service and commercial media in how they articulate their capacity to disengage from third-party platforms. NRK navigates identities from platform-adept to platform-victim and ultimately to platform-emancipated, while commercial media present themselves as having significantly less capacity to adopt the latter identity as independent from platforms. Instead, they describe a state of limbo—caught between opportunity and constraint—where their dependence on generating revenue through attention compels them to remain on platforms that have become the central infrastructure of the attention economy. As one editor expressed it: "We're more active on social media than before and more focused on "what's in it for me"—more refined, but also more frustrated. It's a bed-fellow you need but wish you didn't" (CNM7).

Although commercial news media managers differ in how they describe their reliance on social media—from being fully "dependent" (CNM14) or "chanceless" without third-party distribution (CNM10), to "not very dependent" (CNM4, CNM8)—all maintain a platform presence, underscoring that social media presence remains the dominating industry norm. In this context, NRK's retreat from the social media sphere marks a departure from normative isomorphism vis-à-vis platforms whereby NRK has "taken brave choices" (NRK2) and done something that is "not necessarily the right step for other media" (NRK1). While the public service broadcaster communicates a distinct approach compared to commercial outlets, both annual reports and interviews indicate that certain social media accounts—particularly those targeting younger audiences—have been retained. For example, NRK's 2022 annual report highlights how the broadcaster's youth-focused newsroom, UNG, has developed "competency, insight and experience" in reaching young audiences through NRK News' Snapchat account (NRK 2023, 15) and their 2023 annual report emphasizes how "NRK reaches the youth on SoMe" (NRK 2024, 43). Moreover, NRK continues to monitor and learn from social media "to improve our own products and bring this knowledge home to our own platforms" as noted by one editor (NRK2). This suggests that while NRK emphasizes its capacity, privilege, and responsibility to move in this direction, complete disentanglement from platforms remains neither entirely feasible nor desirable for the PSM organization.

To summarize our findings on (dis)entanglement discourses and emerging patterns of isomorphism and reverse isomorphism, we can map heterogeneity and

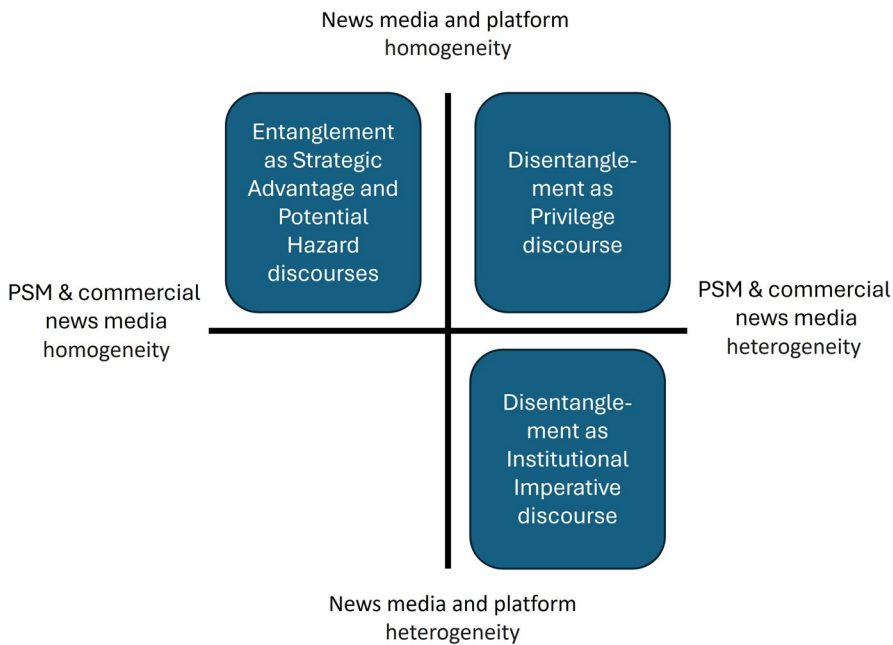


Figure 1. Platform discourses and patterns of isomorphism and reverse isomorphism.

homogeneity among institutional actors along two axes as visualized in [Figure 1](#) below: the horizontal axis represents news media and platform heterogeneity and homogeneity, while the vertical axis represents PSM and commercial news media heterogeneity and homogeneity. When commercial news media and NRK describe the advantages and disadvantages of entanglement, they reveal largely overlapping adaptations based on mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphism vis-à-vis the platforms. These discourses are positioned in the upper left quadrant of the model. In contrast, with disentanglement discourses, commercial media and NRK diverge, and the heterogeneity in institutional identity become more pronounced. The description of disentanglement as a privilege emphasizes the continued mimetic, coercive, and normative isomorphism of commercial news media in relation to the platforms, and NRK's emancipation from this adaptation. Thus, this discourse is positioned in the upper right quadrant of the model. The distinctions between commercial news media and NRK become even more pronounced within the Disentanglement as Institutional Imperative discourse, where NRK's unique responsibility to withdraw from social media takes center stage. Both commercial actors and NRK itself promote the idea that NRK is "doing the right thing" by disengaging from platforms. In this way, reverse isomorphism vis-à-vis platforms is linked to NRK's public service mandate.

Finally, our analysis reveals no discourse in the lower-left quadrant. The idea of news media collectively retreating from social media platforms—following each other's lead—is absent. While NRK's withdrawal is seen as potentially paving the way for others, as expressed in the commercial news media interviews, there is no clear evidence that this is actually happening.

Discussion and Conclusion

By examining how commercial and public service media in Norway construct and negotiate discourses about themselves and their relationship with social media platforms, this research uncovers patterns of isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and reverse isomorphism (Hambrick et al. 2004) in publisher-platform dynamics that have so far been overlooked in the research literature. Specifically, the analysis of commercial and public service news media's operating opportunities in a platformized media landscape reveals a highly uneven playing field, where PSM organizations appear uniquely positioned to achieve platform disentanglement and promote an institutional identity of autonomy and journalistic integrity vis-à-vis social media platforms.

Supplementing studies that highlight divergent platform configurations (Chua and Westlund 2022) and strategies (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2024) among news organizations and the varying degrees of power that news media hold in different aspects of the platform-publisher relationship (Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2023), this study provides a more nuanced picture by zooming in on two dimensions of homogeneity and heterogeneity in news media's platform strategies—one capturing platform-publisher dynamics and one capturing public service-commercial news media dynamics. By mobilizing this analytical framework, the study exposes complex dynamics of isomorphism between news media and platforms as well as *among* news media when it comes to maneuvering platform dependencies.

While previous research has identified isomorphic patterns in media organizations' adaptation to the institutionalization and infrastructuralization of platforms (Caplan and Boyd 2018; Laaksonen, Koivula, and Villi 2024) and shown how PSM strategies often align with broader industry trends (Sehl and Cornia 2021), this study highlights how PSM, specifically NRK, portrays its ability to “do differently” from the commercial sector. By positioning itself as capable of moving against platform-centric norms, NRK thus exemplifies patterns of reverse isomorphism. While both NRK and commercial news media express growing concerns about platform interference in editorial decision-making and its implications for their autonomy and integrity as news providers, only NRK possesses the institutional position and resources to absorb the costs of a social media “breakup.”

Through this process, the public broadcaster has become aware, or has been made aware, of their unique position in the national media landscape, and their responsibility and opportunity to lead the way in reaffirming journalism's institutional norms. By emphasizing that platform disengagement is motivated by the ideals that underpins journalism as an institution (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017), NRK arguably applies normative pressure on commercial media as well. Although NRK explicitly acknowledges that its approach may not be applicable to all and that it is privileged in its capacity to pursue this strategy, the PSM organization has nonetheless charted a course framed as a normatively desirable path, grounded in core journalistic ideals.

This creates a double bind for commercial news media, facing isomorphic pressures on two fronts: first, from platforms, whose infrastructural centrality to their business models renders disengagement largely unfeasible; and second, from public service media, which are perceived as “doing the right thing” by disentangling from

platforms—a course of action commercial actors are structurally and economically unable to follow. These dynamics are, to the best of our knowledge, unaccounted for in previous research. These normative isomorphic pressures between PSM and commercial media remain weaker than those exerted by platforms themselves: The forces binding commercial outlets to platforms are significantly stronger than any realistic prospect of following NRK's lead. NRK's disentanglement thus takes place within a broader institutional context where reverse isomorphism appears to manifest as an isolated case, rather than reflecting a wider industry trend.

While media managers in the commercial news organizations are eager to highlight how they had developed a more professionalized and targeted use of social media over time to benefit their operations, they also express a lack of viable alternatives to maintaining—or even expanding—their social media presence. Despite declining short-term gains from platform presence, especially on Facebook (Meese and Hurcombe 2021), the perceived advantages of being on social media still outweighed the considerable drawbacks. As a result, the commercial news media in our study continue to experience mimetic as well as coercive isomorphism in relation to these platforms.

The dependencies (Sjøvaag, Ferrer-Conill, and Olsen 2025) or forms of capture (Nechushtai 2018; Zuboff 2019) experienced by news media in relation to digital platforms reflect broader processes of platformization (Helmond 2015), which underscore the dominance and communicative power of social media in shaping audience access and engagement (Nielsen and Ganter 2022; Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2022). Concepts such as capture and dependency themselves raise the question of whether news organizations can meaningfully pursue “strategies” in their interactions with these platforms. While our findings indicate that public funding can strengthen a news organization's relational power vis-à-vis platforms, it is arguably neither realistic nor desirable to inject large-scale public subsidies into the commercial news sector as a means of “buying it out” of platform dependency. Such measures would, in any case, fail to address the deeper structural challenges that underpin this dependency—namely, the difficulties news organizations face in attracting, engaging, and monetizing audiences, particularly younger user segments, on their proprietary platforms. That said, the commercial news media sector in Norway does not seem as uncertain about their platform relationships as they once were. Their entanglement with platforms may be coercive as well as mimetic, but their knowledge horizons have also expanded to the extent that their logics of appropriateness (Lowrey 2011) are also reflected in their discursive identities as commercial enterprises whose reach, discoverability and monetization can benefit from the platforms. They are thus also willing and knowledgeable participants in the platform economy.

The ways in which news media editors and executives discuss their relationships with digital platforms clearly reflect the discursive construction and maintenance of institutional identities (Schmidt 2008, 2010), with commercial identities appearing more closely aligned with platform logics than those of public service media. Whether platform entanglement and disentanglement will remain defining forces in the institutional positioning of news media is contingent on both market pressures and public policy developments—making it a key area for future research. It is important to note that NRK's “breakup” with social media has been neither entirely clear-cut nor long-lasting. Future research should examine whether NRK upholds its disentanglement

strategy or eventually reintegrates and expands its presence on social media platforms. Additionally, longer-term studies are needed to determine whether commercial news organizations are able to pursue a similar trajectory, or whether NRK, as a public service media institution, will remain a solitary pioneer in this domain. The particularities of the Norwegian media landscape (Ihlebak, Figenschou, and Olsen 2024; Syvertsen et al. 2014) also underscore the need for comparative research in more diverse media markets. Such studies can further illuminate how institutional discourses are articulated through platform relationships across different contexts. To support such analysis, our analytical framework—which identifies both isomorphic and reverse isomorphic tendencies between platforms and news organizations, as well as between public service and commercial media—offers a valuable tool. It enables the examination of how these patterns evolve over time, across national settings, and among different types of media organizations in both small and large media systems.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors for their valuable feedback that helped to improve this article.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This research is funded by the Research Council of Norway under grant number 314257.

ORCID

Ragnhild Kristine Olsen  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3072-8046>

Helle Sjøvaag  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6737-8129>

References

- Ali, C., and M. Puppis. 2018. "When the Watchdog Neither Barks nor Bites: Communication as a Power Resource in Media Policy and Regulation." *Communication Theory* 28 (3): 270–291. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/ctx003>
- Bell, E. 2016. "Facebook is Eating the World." *Columbia Journalism Review* 7 (3).
- Caplan, R., and D. Boyd. 2018. "Isomorphism through Algorithms: Institutional Dependencies in the Case of Facebook." *Big Data & Society* 5 (1): 1–12 <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951718757253>
- Chua, S., and O. Westlund. 2019. "Audience-Centric Engagement, Collaboration Culture and Platform Counterbalancing: A Longitudinal Study of Ongoing Sensemaking of Emerging Technologies." *Media and Communication* 7 (1): 153–165. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i1.1760>
- Chua, S., and O. Westlund. 2022. "Platform Configuration: A Longitudinal Study and Conceptualization of a Legacy News Publisher's Platform-Related Innovation Practices." *Online Media and Global Communication* 1 (1): 60–89. <https://doi.org/10.1515/omgc-2022-0003>
- DiMaggio, P. J., and W. W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101>

- Ganter, S. A., and M. Löblich. 2021. "Discursive Media Institutionalism: Assessing Vivien A. Schmidt's Framework and Its Value for Media and Communication Studies." *International Journal of Communication* 15: 2281–2300. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800887206.00012>
- Gee, J. P. 2011. *How to Do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit*. London Routledge.
- Gill, R. 2000. "Discourse Analysis." *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*, 1, 172–190. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209731.n10>
- Greckhamer, T., and S. Cilesiz. 2014. "Rigor, Transparency, Evidence, and Representation in Discourse Analysis: Challenges and Recommendations." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 13 (1): 422–443. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691401300123>
- Hallin, D. C., and P. Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hambrick, D. C., S. Finkelstein, T. S. Cho, and E. M. Jackson. 2004. "Isomorphism in Reverse: Institutional Theory as an Explanation for Recent Increases in Intraindustry Heterogeneity and Managerial Discretion." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 26: 307–350. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0191-3085\(04\)26008-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0191-3085(04)26008-7)
- Hanitzsch, T., and T. P. Vos. 2017. "Journalistic Roles and the Struggle over Institutional Identity: The Discursive Constitution of Journalism." *Communication Theory* 27 (2): 115–135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12112>
- Helmond, A. 2015. "The Platformization of the Web: Making Web Data Platform Ready." *Social Media + Society* 1 (2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115603080>
- Hermida, A. 2020. "Post-Publication Gatekeeping: The Interplay of Publics, Platforms, Paraphernalia, and Practices in the Circulation of News." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 97 (2): 469–491. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020911882>
- Ihlebak, K. A., and V. S. Sundet. 2023. "Global Platforms and Asymmetrical Power: Industry Dynamics and Opportunities for Policy Change." *New Media & Society* 25 (8): 2183–2200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211029662>
- Ihlebak, K. A., T. U. Figenschou, and R. Kr Olsen. 2024. "The Norwegian Media Landscape." In *Media Compass: A Companion to International Media Landscapes*, edited by A. K Schapals, and C. Pentzold .Wiley.
- Kahn, G. 2023. "As Social Media Turns Away from the News, Publishers Meet Audiences on Other Channels." Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/news/social-media-turns-away-news-publishers-meet-audiences-other-channels>
- Küng, L. 2017. *Strategic Management in the Media: Theory to Practice*. 2nd ed. Sage.
- Laaksonen, S. M., M. Koivula, and M. Villi. 2024. "Mediated by the Giants: Tracing Practices, Discourses, and Mediators of Platform Isomorphism in a Media Organization." *New Media & Society* 26 (8): 4317–4335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221122220>
- Lauber, V., and E. Schenner. 2011. "The Struggle over Support Schemes for Renewable Electricity in the European Union: A Discursive-Institutionalist Analysis." *Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 508–527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2011.589578>
- Lowe, G. F., and P. Maijanen. 2019. "Making Sense of the Public Service Mission in Media: Youth Audiences, Competition, and Strategic Management." *Journal of Media Business Studies* 16 (1): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16522354.2018.1553279>
- Lowrey, W. 2011. "Institutionalism, News Organizations and Innovation." *Journalism Studies* 12 (1): 64–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2010.511954>
- Martin, E. N. 2021. "Can Public Service Broadcasting Survive Silicon Valley? Synthesizing Leadership Perspectives at the BBC, PBS, NPR, CPB and Local US Stations." *Technology in Society* 64: 101451. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2020.101451>
- Medier24. 2022. "NRK Nyheter Forlater Facebook [NRK News Leaves Facebook]." <https://www.m24.no/espen-olsen-langfeldt-facebook-nrk/nrk-nyheter-forlater-facebook/490342>
- Medier24. 2024. "Derfor er NRK Mindre på Sosiale Medier [This is Why NRKJ is Less on Social Media]." <https://www.m24.no/debatt-facebook-helje-solberg/derfor-er-nrk-mindre-pa-sosiale-medier/701079>
- Meese, J., and E. Hurcombe. 2021. "Facebook, News Media and Platform Dependency: The Institutional Impacts of News Distribution on Social Platforms." *New Media & Society* 23 (8): 2367–2384. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820926472>

- Myllylahti, M. 2023. "The (un)Conscious Uncoupling of Platforms and News Publishers is Happening Quickly." <https://www.inma.org/blogs/research/post.cfm/the-un-conscious-uncoupling-of-platforms-and-news-publishers-is-happening-quickly>
- Nechushtai, E. 2018. "Could Digital Platforms Capture the Media through Infrastructure?" *Journalism* 19 (8): 1043–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917725163>
- Newman, N. 2024. "Journalism, Media, and Technology Trends and Predictions 2024." *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*.
- Newman, N., R. Fletcher, C. T. Robertson, A. A. Ross Arguedas, and R. K. Nielsen. 2024. "Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2024." *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*.
- Nielsen, R. K., and S. A. Ganter. 2018. "Dealing with Digital Intermediaries: A Case Study of the Relations between Publishers and Platforms." *New Media & Society* 20 (4): 1600–1617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817701318>
- Nielsen, R. K., and S. A. Ganter. 2022. *The Power of Platforms: Shaping Media and Society*. Oxford University Press.
- Norwegian Media Authority. 2024. "Økonomien i Norske Aviser 2019–2023 [The Economy in Norwegian Newspapers 2019–2023]." https://www.medietilsynet.no/globalassets/publikasjoner/medieokonomi/240627_avisenes_ekonomi_2019-2023.pdf
- NRK (2022) NRK svarer NRKs årsrapport og årsregnskap 2021 [NRK responds NRK's Annual Report and Financial Statements 2021] https://info.nrk.no/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/nrk_2021_arsrapport.pdf
- Norwegian Media Authority. 2023. The Media Diversity Audit. *Mediemangfoldsregnskapet 2023*. https://www.medietilsynet.no/globalassets/mediemangfold/avsendermangfold-23/231212_avsendermangfoldsrapporten2023.pdf
- NRK. 2023. "Allmennkringkasterregnskapet 2022 [The Public Service Broadcasting Audit 2022]." https://info.nrk.no/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/nrk_2022_allmennkringkasterregnskap.pdf
- Olsen, R. K., O. Tenenboim, K. Hess, O. Westlund, C. G. Lindén, and M. Broersma. 2024. *Platform Paradoxes and Public Service Media Legitimacy: A Cross-National Study* (pp. 1–18). Information, Communication & Society. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2024.2353783>
- Perreault, G. P., and V. Bélair-Gagnon. 2024. "The Lifestyle of Lifestyle Journalism: How Reporters Discursively Manage Their Aspirations in Their Daily Work." *Journalism Practice* 18 (7): 1641–1659. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2111697>
- Peterson-Salahuddin, C., and N. Diakopoulos. 2020. "Negotiated Autonomy: The Role of Social Media Algorithms in Editorial Decision Making." *Media and Communication* 8 (3): 27–38. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i3.3001>
- Poell, T., D. B. Nieborg, and B. E. Duffy. 2022. *Platforms and Cultural Production*. Polity Press.
- Poell, T., D. B. Nieborg, and B. E. Duffy. 2023. "Spaces of Negotiation: Analyzing Platform Power in the News Industry." *Digital Journalism* 11 (8): 1391–1409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2022.2103011>
- Poell, T., D. Nieborg, and J. van Dijck. 2019. "Platformisation." *Internet Policy Review* 8 (4): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.14763/2019.4.1425>
- Røsok-Dahl, H., and R. K. Olsen. 2025. "Snapping the News: Dynamic Gatekeeping in a Public Service Media Newsroom Reaching Young People with News on Snapchat." *Journalism* 26 (9): 2000–2019. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849241255701>
- Russell, F. M. 2019. "The New Gatekeepers: An Institutional-Level View of Silicon Valley and the Disruption of Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 20 (5): 631–648. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1412806>
- Schmidt, V. A. 2008. "Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 303–326. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342>
- Schmidt, V. A. 2010. "Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth 'New Institutionalism.'" *European Political Science Review* 2 (1): 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S175577390999021X>
- Sehl, A. 2020. "Public Service Media in a Digital Media Environment: Performance from an Audience Perspective." *Media and Communication* 8 (3): 359–372. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i3.3141>

- Sehl, A., A. Cornia, and R. K. Nielsen. 2016. *Public Service News and Digital Media*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Sehl, A., A. Cornia, and R. K. Nielsen. 2024. "How Do Funding Models and Organizational Legacy Shape News Organizations' Social Media Strategies? A Comparison of Public Service and Private Sector News Media in Six Countries." *Digital Journalism* 12 (9): 1377–1396. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1968920>
- Sehl, A., and A. Cornia. 2021. "How Do Public Service Media Innovate? An Analysis of Product Development by European PSM." *Journalism Studies* 22 (11): 1469–1486. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1937675>
- Simon, F. M. 2024. "Escape Me If You Can: How AI Reshapes News Organisations' Dependency on Platform Companies." *Digital Journalism* 12 (2): 149–170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2023.2287464>
- Sjøvaag, H. 2022. *The Markets for News: Enduring Structures in the Age of Business Model Disruptions*. Routledge.
- Sjøvaag, H., and T. Owren. 2023. "Risk Perception in Newspaper Chains: Threats, Uncertainties and Corporate Boundary Work." *Journalism* 24 (4): 767–784. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211031363>
- Sjøvaag, H., R. Ferrer-Conill, and R. K. Olsen. 2025. "Capture Beyond the Platforms: The Material and Infrastructural Conditions for Digital Journalism." *Digital Journalism* 13 (7): 1331–1350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2024.2377078>
- Sjøvaag, H., T. A. Pedersen, and T. Owren. 2019. "Is Public Service Broadcasting a Threat to Commercial Media?" *Media, Culture & Society* 41 (6): 808–827. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718818354>
- Steensen, S., and O. Westlund. 2021. *What is Digital Journalism Studies?* Taylor & Francis.
- Syvrtsen, T., O. Mjøs, H. Moe, and G. Enli. 2014. *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Era*. University of Michigan Press.
- Van Es, K., and T. Poell. 2020. "Platform Imaginaries and Dutch Public Service Media." *Social Media + Society* 6 (2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120933289>
- Vázquez-Herrero, J., M. C. Negreira-Rey, and J. Sixto-García. 2022. "Mind the Gap! Journalism on Social Media and News Consumption among Young Audiences." *International Journal of Communication* 16: 21.
- Vos, T. P., and R. J. Thomas. 2024. "They're Making It More Democratic": The Normative Construction of Participatory Journalism." *Digital Journalism* 12 (6): 869–893. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2023.2174893>
- Zuboff, S. 2019. *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. PublicAffairs.