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Mandate, money and media technology

Norwegian public service media companies as providers of educational content

Audun Toft & Dag Øivind Østereng

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Abstract: The chapter explores how NRK and TV 2, Norway's two Public Service Media companies, came to be major providers of digital educational material. Both educational initiatives emerged as a reaction to wider societal changes brought about by advancements in digital technology. We argue that these initiatives, called NRK School and The Pupil Channel, developed through a complex interplay of technological changes, economic considerations, governmental regulation and policy, and individual initiatives. The empirical material consists of a series of interviews with current and former employees involved in the start-up and further development of NRK School and The Pupil Channel. The article aims to contribute to a broader understanding of the digitalisation of the Norwegian school system, seeing digitalisation as a complex process of societal transformation and agency, rather than an isolated phenomenon within the domain of education.

Keywords: Digitalisation, school, educational material, TV 2, NRK, convergence, public service media

Introduction

In 2009, only two days apart from each other, the Norwegian Public Service Media (PSM) companies NRK and TV 2 launched their educational initiatives NRK School and TV 2 School (later The Pupil Channel). Now, 17 years later, both are major producers and providers of educational material developed for, and aimed at, the Norwegian school system. Despite starting out from similar models, they have evolved in distinctly different directions, with major differences in profile, organisation, platform, and the types of educational content provided. The chapter explores how NRK and TV 2, as distinct media actors, have navigated the intersection of journalistic and pedagogical logics to balance market expansion with their societal responsibilities as PSMs. Their diverging institutional trajectories—from a commercial news-reuse model to a specialised digital school publisher in the case of The Pupil Channel, and from an analogue broadcaster to a state-funded video archive in the case of NRK School—reveal contrasting interpretations of formative responsibility.

Drawing on the theoretical framework of embedded digitalisation, we explore the negotiation of values and practices that occurs when media giants enter the educational market. We specifically investigate the "pedagogisation" of content within The Pupil Channel as a form of market-adaptive responsibility, contrasted with NRK's mandate-driven and journalistic restraint, which prioritises public access and institutional trust over direct pedagogical competition. By examining these developments, we aim to shed light on the media-saturated classroom, where the virtue of societal responsibility serves as a guiding principle in the contribution of these agents to pupils' digital formation. Furthermore, as Terje Skjerdal points out in chapter 9, this also reflects a development he describes as "the media welfare state", a model where authorities rely on a well-functioning media sector to achieve broader societal and welfare objectives.

The digitalisation of Norwegian schools: governance and market

In Norway, the digitalisation of schools is progressing rapidly. New digital technology, devices, platforms and content are increasingly becoming part of everyday educational practice in Norwegian classrooms (Fjørtoft, Thun, & Buvik, 2019; Udir, 2022). Most Norwegian schools have implemented so-called one-to-one solutions, providing pupils with individual digital devices for use at school and at home (Munthe et al., 2022, pp. 44–53). Alongside this, the use of digital learning materials has steadily increased (Vennerød-Diesen & Pedersen, 2023, pp. 13–14), moving from an almost total reliance on physical textbooks in the early 2000s (Skjelbred, 2003, p. 64) to extensive use of digital materials that in some cases replace textbooks altogether (Vennerød-Diesen & Pedersen, 2023, p. 41).

This strong reliance on digital educational materials is largely the result of political governance. Since the early 2000s, Norwegian authorities have pursued a comprehensive digitalisation policy linking technology, infrastructure, digital resources, research, curriculum development, and digital competence among teachers and pupils (Munthe et al., 2022, p. 38). Although the development of digital learning materials has formally been left to the market (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017, p. 19), the Norwegian government has actively sought to "stimulate" the quality of both supply and demand (Utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 2004, p. 25; Meld. St. 28 (2015–2016), p. 76). This includes public funding for learning materials in low-profit subjects, with explicit priority given to digital resources (Rambøll, 2015, pp. 73–4; Deloitte, 2024, p. 46), subject to strict pedagogical, curricular, and universal design requirements (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2020; Rambøll, 2015; Udir, 2023). At the same time, market actors have reinforced this trend, as major Norwegian publishers increasingly prioritise digital materials over physical textbooks in response to demand (Vennerød-Diesen & Pedersen, 2023, p. 8).

The digitalisation of Norwegian television

A major finding from our material is that, at the outset, NRK School and The Pupil Channel were first and foremost the results of altered institutional conditions within the media industry, rather than initiatives originating within the educational domain. To fully understand why the two PSM broadcasters went into education, it is essential to understand the massive changes in digital communication in the early 2000s and the effects these had on broadcasting media. The digitalisation of news media has not been a uniform process: different media were digitalised at different times and under different conditions (Krumsvik & Sundet, 2011). However, in the field of television and video-based media, where NRK and TV 2 are major agents, the first decade of the new millennium brought radical changes (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018). At this time, Internet technology and digital distribution had reached a level where it became viable to digitalise the distribution of video content.

The opening of the Digital Ground Net (DGN) in Norway in the autumn of 2007 fundamentally altered the conditions for television broadcasting. The former analogue ground network had very limited capacity, allowing only NRK and TV 2 to operate, both subject to government-imposed public service requirements linked to their frequency privileges. Despite the growing importance of cable and satellite distribution, the ground network remained the only platform with full national coverage, and NRK and TV 2 together held nearly 70% of the broadcasting market in 2006 (Storsul, 2008, p. 41). As Storsul argues, the analogue ground network functioned as a key regulatory mechanism by controlling access to the public. Digitalisation, with its increased bandwidth and capacity for more agents, created a need for new regulatory policies (Storsul, 2008, p. 41). For both NRK and TV 2, the transition generated expectations of heightened competition, prompting early and proactive strategic positioning in relation to new technological, market, and regulatory conditions (Storsul, 2008, p. 38; Krumsvik & Sundet, 2011; cf. Rørvik & Nesheim, 2010).

The new digital conditions also made an already contested question even more acute. NRK, being state-funded and hence enjoying special privileges in the Norwegian media landscape, competed actively with commercial media outlets (including TV 2) and was frequently accused of having an unfair competitive advantage (Lund et al., 2009, pp. 68–9; Moe, 2008, p. 225). At

the start of the millennium, NRK had branched out into new areas, partly commercialising some of its enterprises outside radio and TV, in particular Internet-based initiatives (Ytreberg, 2007, pp. 73–4; Lund et al., 2009, p. 92). The inquiry into the societal role that the public broadcaster NRK could undertake was therefore reinvigorated, leading to stricter – though still somewhat ambiguous – restrictions on NRK's commercial and competitive enterprises.

For TV 2, the opening of the DGN meant the loss of a privileged position, with fiercer competition, in a market that already saw reduced revenues from advertisement (Lerbrekk, 2009, p. 44). Having recently launched Nyhetskanalen, a 24-hour news channel, TV 2 organised its news production around joint production and reuse of content across programmes, channels and platforms, including Internet (Waldahl, Andersen & Rønning, 2009, p. 10). A central idea at the time was the so-called "multi-journalist", able to carry out all steps of production independently, including interviewing, filming and editing (Skaalmo & Eckblad, 2012, p. 262). Making news production profitable was an explicit goal, as TV 2 struggled to find new markets and a viable commercial strategy.

Digitalisation, convergence and overlapping institutional logics

Across and within different research fields, the term digitalisation has been used in a number of different ways (see e.g. Reis et al., 2020). A central question when using this term to approach technology-induced changes is how it is operationalised in relation to other relevant processes. Although digitalisation can, and has been, seen as an important disruptive trigger imposing organisational and societal change (cf. Christensen, 2006), many warn against isolating technological changes from other ongoing historical, institutional and societal processes that will potentially influence the transformations in part triggered by advances in digital technology (e.g. Mansell, 2012, p. 10). Although often conflated, it can be useful to distinguish between digitisation on the one hand, and digitalisation on the other (Colbjørnsen, 2014, pp. 3–4). While digitisation denotes the transformation of something physical into a

digital format, digitalisation can be seen as a larger process of societal change. Colbjørnsen proposes the term embedded digitalisation as a way of "observing and analysing digitalisation as a process taking place within an institutional framework" (2014, p. 5). Applying the term within the framework of neo-institutionalism, Colbjørnsen warns against seeing digitalisation as something external and sudden that imposes change upon the involved institutions from the outside. Rather, he argues, digitalisation is most fruitfully seen as a multifaceted process embedded within an existing institutional framework. This process involves more than technology, and Colbjørnsen proposes a model in which technology is only one of five facets of digitalisation, the other four being industry structure, organisational structure, market and policy regulation (2014, p. 6).

Although Colbjørnsen's model is useful as a starting point for analysing the digitalisation process within specific institutions, we would also argue that the theoretical concept of convergence is useful for discussing how the digitalisation process(es) not only happens within institutions; it also facilitates a merging of previously separate institutional domains. Already in 1983, de Sola Pool predicted how media content to a large degree would be separated from its carrier media as electronic technology advanced. He called this the "convergence of modes" and argued that modes of communication that were previously separated by being tied up in different carrier media like telephones, cinema projectors, printing presses, etc., would, by conversion into electrical signals, potentially merge all modes of communication into one grand system (de Sola Pool, 1983, pp. 24–8). Media convergence has been established both as a theoretical term and as an accepted and anticipated phenomenon within the media industries. However, it is not a precise term, and it has been used in a wide range of meanings comprising a host of different forms (see Appelgren, 2004). Especially two forms of convergence are of interest to us in this article, namely content convergence and market convergence.

Content convergence refers to the process whereby it becomes possible to use the same content across different media. We find Daily, Demo and Spillman's (2005) Convergence Continuum Model useful for distinguishing between different forms of content convergence. Developed for use on news media, the model proposes five overlapping stages of convergence between news partners. They are a) cross-promotion, where partners' content is promoted across media, b) cloning, where content from one partner is published

unedited by another, c) coopetition, where partners share information but still compete and produce their own content, d) content-sharing, where partners share information and content but the content is repackaged for publication, and e) full convergence, where partners cooperate fully on gathering and disseminating content, by playing on each other's strengths (Daily et al., 2005, pp. 153–4).

Market convergence, on the other hand, refers to the processes whereby different forms of convergence make it possible for actors in the market to "move into adjacent areas, which had not previously been their primary areas of interest" (Appelgren, 2004, p. 239). Market convergence, which is central for the development of NRK's and TV 2's educational initiatives, also makes visible another important aspect of digitalisation. A merging of markets might, as we shall see, involve actors moving outside of their original institutional contexts, thus creating areas where formerly separated institutional domains overlap. Informed by new institutionalism (and partly by institutional mediatisation theory), we argue that this also involves an overlap of different institutional logics (see e.g. Lövheim & Hjarvard, 2019, pp. 210–3; cf. Thornton et al., 2012). We can define institutional logics as "socially constructed, historical pattern of material practice, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). When institutional domains overlap, the logics of the involved institutions might be challenged and negotiated, thus potentially resulting in a transformation of institutional practices.

Method

The main empirical material for this article comprises eight interviews, five from TV 2 and three from NRK. Initially, editors of The Pupil Channel and NRK School were interviewed by Østereng as part of a larger research project in 2021 (Østereng, 2022; Østereng, 2025). These were recruited purposely through a process of locating informants closest to the processes Østereng wished to study (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 224–5; Østereng, 2026). Toft

later supplemented the material with two interviews from NRK in 2023 as work with the current article progressed. The sampling was thus sequential (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, pp. 80, 82), in the sense that data were gathered in two separate phases, and contingent (Hood, 2007, pp. 156–157), in the sense that the latter informants were recruited as the research question evolved to require more information.

All interviews are semi-structured, and the informants have consented to the interviews being used for research purposes and publication. Both rounds of interviews have been reported to and approved by the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (SIKT). Even though several of the informants consented to the use of their full names and positions, some have participated under the conditions of anonymity regarding the use of proper nouns. Thus, we have chosen to anonymise all of them through fictive names. Full anonymisation is still difficult, as the informants are, or have been, employed in named institutions.

Broadly speaking, our method can be characterised as a comparative case study, in the sense that we compare two cases in relation to multiple axes (across and within similar, yet distinct, PSM institutions, over an extended time-period, while including broader societal processes such as regulations and technological development in the analysis) (see Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The timeframe of the study is between 2005/2006 and 2021.

The process of analysis is probably easiest to describe as dynamic, as data-gathering and analysis went through several stages in order to disclose the complex factors that generated an explanation for the emergence and development of NRK School and The Pupil Channel. The theoretical frameworks used in this article emerged gradually through the different stages of analysis and interviews. Inspired by an abductive approach to theory (Tavory & Timmermanns, 2014, pp. 42–8), we ultimately found the concepts of digitalisation, convergence and overlapping institutional logics to be most fruitful for discussing and understanding our findings.

Although we supplement the interviews with existing studies of NRK and TV 2 where needed, it is important to note that we mainly have access to the informants' personal views on the topics and events discussed. Others may have different interpretations of the subject. Still, we find a high level of consistency between the different informants, as well as between informants' accounts and existing studies. This, at least to some degree, strengthens the

validity of our findings. The rather small number of informants is, however, a potential weakness of the study, as we have only been able to explore a limited part of the complex processes going on in NRK and TV 2 within the studied timeframe.

The Pupil Channel

It was created by the way we were funded (Interview with Thomas)

The Pupil Channel started as an explicit response to the challenges created by the digitalisation of TV in Norway. At that time, TV 2 was mainly focused on linear TV and entertainment, and this new digital landscape prompted a significant internal debate regarding the company's enterprise profile and its distribution of resources (Skaalmo & Eckblad, 2012). Thomas, a central innovator in TV 2's shift towards a stronger news focus, describes a persistent institutional schism between the marketing department, which favoured entertainment as "what the audience wants," and the news division, which was often viewed as too expensive. The inception of the Pupil Channel ensued from these economic tensions with the marketing department. It was motivated by "the commercial benefit of being able to reuse expensive news productions in TV 2 for educational purposes" (Østereng, 2022, p. 134). Thomas further explains that the emergence of Internet solutions created a "whole new situation" for extracting value from costly media assets. He expresses the elements in play like this:

> *It started almost exclusively [as] part of what we saw as the media development. There were major changes in the 2000s. There was increased digitalisation, the first earthbound net and everything that triggered many new TV channels and opportunities. And, of course, the emergence of Internet solutions. This created a whole new situation for us regarding how we could think about and use expensive content.*

Thomas played an important role in the establishment of the TV 2 News Channel (Nyhetskanalen) and explains that the idea of educational content emerged in parallel with this initiative. The primary driving force was economic. News production is expensive, and there was strong pressure from the company to maximise returns. Advances in media technology made education appear as a promising outlet, particularly through the reuse of news material and raw recordings that would never reach broadcast. As Thomas explains:

> *(…) to reuse raw recordings that aren't suited for tonight's broadcast. If we have been at a landslide or natural disaster (…) that might be natural science? So, with the increase in digital education, we might use this. We have already made the recordings; much of it is exclusive and much more up-to-date and modern in its form than you could find in any textbook.*

It is worth noting that education at this point primarily was a business idea within the framework of journalistic news production. This was, as Thomas says, "long before we started thinking pedagogically, and I would say, teaching didactically. At that time, we thought of it solely as a development of the media production." However, even journalistic ambitions were subordinated to commercial viability. Thomas recalls spending nearly a year persuading management that the initiative was economically sound, a process in which the prospect of attracting young viewers proved decisive.

> *What went on at TV 2 was the rhetoric that we would reach young viewers. Because, even though we didn't indoctrinate them, they got colours and logos and pictures and voices from the TV 2 universe. And the marketing division was really interested in recruiting along such a line, so it was easier to get it through. Even though the marketing division was sceptical about everything to do with news production (…) because they think it is too expensive and that we should be doing entertainment. That's what the audience wants.*

Initially operating under the name TV 2 School, the project was largely run by journalists. Two editorial strategies were pursued: producing news broad-

casts adapted for pupils and developing subject-specific educational content. Both approaches soon revealed tensions between journalistic production standards and educational requirements. Kim, who was employed a few years after launch, recounts how, early on, journalists with no experience of schools and no knowledge of the relevant school subjects were given responsibility for creating educational material. Kim and Anna, who started a little later, also emphasise how journalistic and pedagogical considerations differ. Both mention the journalistic news values that usually guide news production as an example. These are less relevant when content is made for pupils and school subjects. Format also differs between educational material and news content. As both Daniel and Thomas point out, news becomes old fast, and schools demand content with longer relevance cycles. Gradually, the project shifted away from its original emphasis on content reuse towards becoming a learning platform aimed directly at schools. This reorientation further reduced the centrality of journalists and increased the demand for pedagogical expertise, while also enabling access to public funding through the Norwegian Directorate of Education (UDIR). Thomas recalls that they "got a lot of money in a start-up phase', but this support came with specific curricular and age-group requirements that constrained content production. Much of the commissioned material was no longer "suited for the news archive of TV 2, which was the original idea to make it work', thereby undermining the initial strategy of value extraction from existing news assets. Consequently, pedagogues were increasingly hired, journalists were partly phased out, and Thomas eventually left the project in 2015.

The resulting transition from the original 2009 concept to what we might term the publisher turn was defined by two pivotal developments that shifted the unit's focus from news reuse to a dedicated pedagogical mission. The first development occurred when TV 2 School, previously situated physically and organisationally within the news division, was, in 2014, "secluded into our own" (Anna) as a subsidiary undertaking. This independence fostered a new institutional consciousness; as Anna articulates, the organisation evolved into a "wholly digital school publisher". The transition was accelerated by the recruitment of a new chief editor, Daniel, who brought a unique combination of technology and publishing experience. Daniel identified that while existing learning platforms often suffered from a "system ordeal" due to a lack

of substance, TV 2 could provide a synthesis between system and content, furnishing digital portals with high-quality media productions.

The second major development, the 2018 rebranding to The Pupil Channel, solidified its identity. By choosing a name that distanced the educational platform from the commercial and entertainment associations of the primary TV 2 brand, the organisation established itself as a serious, specialised digital publisher. A defining feature of the publisher turn was the prioritisation of universal design as a core societal responsibility. This was a direct response to UDIR, which provided the essential financial support while mandating strict adherence to universal design standards as a condition for that funding. Daniel emphasises that the significant public investment created a profound sense of duty in him, and he describes how the drive to ensure that "everyone shall be included", particularly pupils with impaired functioning or complex learning difficulties, has been a driving factor for The Pupil Channel. "It is my trauma", he states. "[w]hen I get so much money; I want to deliver properly". Furthermore, the pedagogical approach shifted from passive broadcasting to active learning. While news remains a powerful "trigger" for exploration, the focus is now on pupils being active participants, using digital tools to create their own understanding rather than merely watching "explainers". This shift enabled The Pupil Channel to navigate the intersection of commercial interests and societal responsibility, fulfilling its mandate by pedagogising media content for the digital classroom.

NRK School

> *We are a pure video database. We can't be, and shall not be, a publisher in a way. We shall not provide teaching material and text and a lot (…) we shall not compete with the publishers on their turf, because we have this advantage of being state-funded. (Interview with Ben)*

NRK School was launched on the 31st of August in 2009, two days after the launch of TV 2 School. The development of NRK School occurred within a

different institutional context. However, there are also striking similarities. Besides being part of larger media production companies, both were a) developed within the framework of new technology facilitated by the Internet and broadband technology, b) built on an idea of the reuse and repurposing of media content across divisions, and c) oriented towards a school system where digital technology was introduced and actively promoted by the government.

NRK School did not, however, grow purely out of a quest for new markets as it did in TV 2. Being a Public Service Broadcast Corporation, NRK is funded by the state and given an extensive societal mandate. A part of NRK's mandate is to "contribute to education and learning, including the offering of content adapted to the education system" (NRK, 2025, § 44). Although this was formulated first in 2008, education has been a part of NRK's mandate and programming for a long time (Diesen & Svoen, 2011).

William worked on content development and production for the programme bank, NRK's digitalisation project, from 2005 to 2008.

> *There I gained insight into what it would mean for NRK to get everything into file formats. And not least, how you then could combine the content in ways we hadn't thought about before. So, then the idea came to set up a clip-solution, which in time became NRK School. The thought was that we had loads of content in NRK, which of course both pupils and teachers would benefit from if we could only make it available in a good way. And the business model was that there was money in the Department of Education, or something, to contribute to set it up as a project alongside the ordinary production. Because this wasn't our core business. (Interview with William)*

William became a central figure in developing NRK School. The idea for developing NRK School formed as part of the process of converting NRK's extensive archive into digital file formats. As in TV 2, the funds offered by the Department of Education were part of the picture when considering new venues for the newly digitised content. However, even from the start, there was a tension between NRK's journalists and the more school-oriented people at the department. From the outset, it was important for NRK that those involved were journalists (Diesen & Svoen, 2011, p. 72). William tells us that

there were frequent meetings between NRK and governmental stakeholders, which presented professional journalists in NRK with certain challenges in the development of content. William elaborates:

> *William: Because for our journalists there has always been, not only a meter arm-length distance, but a kilometre. Traditionally.*
>
> *Interviewer: Can you expand on that?*
>
> *William: Well, in the sense that editorial influence is something of the worst you can imagine in NRK. So, from there to cooperating for joint learning wasn't all that easy […] A lot of new problems turned up.*

In addition to the resistance to editorial influence, NRK School faced heavy regulation from the EU as well. After TV 2 lodged a complaint against NRK's unfair advantage, a long process ensued (Medietilsynet, 2010, pp. 7–8). When NRK School was launched, they had heavy restrictions on what content they could offer. Ben, who is currently working in NRK School, tells us that in the first two years, they were not really allowed to distribute content made after 1992, which was the year TV 2 started. Thus, from the start, they were mainly forced to be a pure video database with old content. This is likely to have influenced the further development of NRK School.

When NRK School launched, they had a sizable staff, good funding, and could hire an external provider of up-to-date web solutions for distributing their content. This has, however, changed over time. Compared to The Pupil Channel, the textbook publishers, and their Nordic counterparts, NRK School is now a very small division, and Ben emphasises that funding, resources, and an outdated web solution are major concerns. They "can survive being a small staff because we are part of NRK and pick and use content from other divisions, content made by NRK". However, this also means that they lack resources to produce educational content on their own:

> *There are long shows too here, whole program series (…) new stuff, so it will be put on our pages. It is quickly done for us, it doesn't take too many resources, and it will be used, to some degree by*

> *the teachers. What will demand more resources is to take excerpts from these shows and put them in as short clips (…) then it will take resources for us. Time and skill to edit and adapt it (…) And of course, the most time-consuming is if you should make something completely from scratch, do research, have workshops with teachers, write a script. And that takes resources and time! (…) Much of the job is to pay attention to what exists, have some dialogue with the other divisions in NRK. (Interview with Ben)*

Despite being small in organisational terms, NRK School's material is used extensively in Norwegian schools (Oslo Economics, 2023, p. 11), and Ben tells us that teachers know and trust them as providers of relevant educational material. In the last few years, they have been cooperating more closely with NRK's children's channel (NRK Super) in producing content for schools.

Discussion

As the previous sections show, the move towards education in both NRK and TV 2 rested on some striking similarities. William from NRK tells us that "it's unlikely that this was a coincidence because I think everybody was looking for places where our content could contribute". Both NRK and TV 2 saw the technological changes related to the digitisation of media production, storage and distribution as a catalyst for opportunities for *content* and *market convergence*. Both were certain they would be able to capitalise on their specialised experience and expertise as media producers to reuse and repurpose new and existing media content, thereby deriving added value from resource-heavy media production. However, as we have seen, these television-centred PSM broadcasters have turned out to be very different producers and providers of educational material, despite similar conditions. Colbjørnsen's (2014) model of *embedded digitalisation* is a useful lens for understanding how the interplay between different factors within the institutional domain of media production can account for the diverging development of NRK School and The Pupil Channel. These technological advances should not be

seen in isolation from organisational and industry structures, markets and policy regulations, and we argue that the interplay of these factors can be said to have exerted a substantial influence on the possible routes NRK and TV 2 could pursue in their educational initiatives.

The most significant difference lies in the way they are funded, which creates quite different dynamics in the interplay between market, organisation and policy regulations. NRK, being fully state-funded and thus thoroughly regulated, was mandated to produce and distribute educational material for use in schools. Prevented from actual competition with commercial actors, and initially facing severe restrictions on what content it could offer, the way for NRK to meet its societal mandate has been to let other divisions produce the material. NRK's organisational structure at the time is also likely to have contributed to this. Krumsvik points out that NRK struggled to adjust to the new online environment, and chose a strategy of efficiency with centralised production, mainly focusing on "utilising the distribution potential of the new platform" (2009, p. 118). NRK School thus developed a site primarily for redistribution of content, and as a video archive. As a result of this interplay, NRK School effectively remains a small division, without the necessary resources to produce much content on its own.

TV 2, conversely, did not have education as part of its PSM mandate. However, the lack of regulatory restrictions on its commercial activities made education a viable venue for income and content reuse. This not only meant that it could compete on equal footing with other producers of educational material, but also that it could apply for the generous funding UDIR made available for digital educational resources. This made The Pupil Channel a viable division in its own right within TV 2's organisational structure, opening up scope for a larger staff and more resources to produce comprehensive digital resources for use in schools. This did, however, also come with a different set of policy regulations, as TV 2 entered the role of a publisher of digital educational material.

Viewing digitalisation as a broader social process across different institutions, our findings show how the logics of the institutional domain of media production came to meet conflicting logics of education and educational policy. The diverging directions of NRK School and The Pupil Channel represent an interesting case of the complexities of such an overlap of institutional logics. As shown, both NRK and TV 2 approached education from a particular

set of ideals and practices, stemming from their roles as professional media producers and journalists. In the case of TV 2, the general idea was that journalists involved in the production of news content would be able to use both raw material and finished news content, and repurpose it for use in schools. In Daily, Demo and Spillman's (2005) terms, they envisioned a structure somewhere between content sharing and full convergence, where journalists would produce both news and educational material. As shown, this quickly proved problematic, as educational material and news content are fundamentally different. This posed a serious challenge to the idea of added value through content convergence. As both Thomas and Daniel point out, news content cannot be used unprocessed in schools, and reworking raw material into educational content proved challenging, as journalists lacked sufficient understanding of education to utilise the material in this way. In addition, as much of the funding came (and still comes) from UDIR, the material produced by The Pupil Channel must fulfil educational standards set by the Directorate. For TV 2, market convergence thus entailed an overlap of institutional logics in which educational logics must have priority. While institutional practices from news and entertainment media are not entirely absent, the dominant logics guiding production largely follow educational standards related to curriculum, school subjects and pedagogical ideals. The originally journalistic (and economic) initiative has therefore undergone a comprehensive process of "pedagogisation" in order for TV 2 to compete in the educational market.

NRK School has largely resisted a similar pedagogisation of its content. Although it can also be seen as part of the market convergence resulting from digitalisation, its access to this market is structured differently. It is allowed, and obliged, to produce and distribute educational material. However, as it is barred from direct competition with commercial actors and largely prevented from using the educational market to increase profit, there is little incentive to conform to the institutional logics of the pedagogical domain, or even of educational policy. A strong institutional resistance to editorial interference, combined with an established notion that NRK has always produced content relevant for schools, has shaped NRK School primarily as a video archive rather than as a division mandated or prioritised to develop new forms of educational content. Most of NRK School's content is therefore produced by other divisions within NRK, without educational use as an initial consideration. This does not mean that there is no overlap with institutional

logics from the educational domain. NRK School, for example, structures content according to curricular aims for school subjects, collaborates with teachers through reference groups and educational conferences, and actively seeks to generate some content based on perceived needs in school subjects. However, even when NRK School actively participates in content production, this mainly occurs within other NRK divisions, where journalistic standards of production and formatting take priority. Hansen and Toft's (2022) study of the collaboration between NRK Super, NRK School and Save the Children on producing content about religion for both TV and schools illustrates how journalistic standards in NRK Super prevailed throughout the project, at times in direct conflict with pedagogical considerations. In this respect, NRK School aligns more closely with the original idea of content convergence as reuse and repurposing across divisional borders, mainly through cloning (Daily et al., 2005, p. 153), to extend both the target group and the lifespan of content.

Norwegian classrooms are increasingly characterised by hybrid practices in which teachers actively combine, supplement and adapt analogue and digital educational material, resources and tools (Rasmussen & Lund, 2015; Gilje et al., 2020). Lied and Toft (2018) draw attention to the way what they call the media-saturated classroom changes the conditions for teaching and learning, as new forms of technology, platforms, content and discourses – partly shaped by practices in other institutional domains – become integrated parts of the educational practices of teachers and students. NRK School and The Pupil Channel are now major actors with a significant impact on teaching and learning across Norway. The Pupil Channel has a potential reach of approximately 80%, as this proportion of schools have access, although actual usage is not measured. NRK School, by contrast, has no subscribing customers, but documented use of its resources in Norwegian classrooms averaged 75.4% in 2021 (Dahle et al., 2021, p. 45). We will argue that this should not be seen as a "colonization" of schools by media institutions, purely driven by motives of profit. Rather, the development of NRK School and The Pupil Channel shows how digitalisation, through the overlap of institutional practices, facilitates the emergence of new and different actors, which nonetheless see their role as school publishers as a societal mandate. NRK, with its strict journalistic standards, still sees education as a core part of its activity, delivering highly trusted media material for use in schools. The public funding of The Pupil Channel served as a catalyst for a *publisher turn*, in which the commercial

logic of reuse was increasingly framed as a societal responsibility, with, among other things, a heavy commitment to universal design to ensure that no pupil is excluded due to impaired functioning. Both NRK and TV 2 emphasise that the digital classroom necessitates a departure from the frozen text of traditional textbooks, which they view as numbered and inherently static, offering their own multimedia-centred alternatives.

Conclusion

The digitalisation of the Norwegian school system and the digitalisation of the PSM broadcasters should not be seen in isolation from each other. Rather, the current analysis of NRK and TV 2 highlights how digitalisation should be seen as a broader process of societal change, in which institutional conditions are altered, opening up the convergence of what were earlier separate spheres. As new digital technology made new modes of production, distribution and even formats of educational resources possible, parallel digitalisation processes within the media institutions prompted NRK and TV 2 to branch into the educational sector.

Going further, digitalisation should also be seen as a global process that impacts national school contexts. The need to broaden research perspectives to include larger societal, regional and global processes is visible in recent studies of the digitalisation of the Norwegian school system. In their large meta-study, Munthe et al. point out a large gap in research when it comes to both "platformisation" and what they call digital eco-systems (2022, p. 115, p. 117). Research on the digital classroom thus needs to include the complexity of digitalisation in order to avoid an overly narrow approach. This article is a small contribution to this endeavour.

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