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From Newsroom to classroom: Exploring the transition from journalism practitioner to journalism educator

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Abstract

For some years journalism has been in a state of transition and there has been much discussion around the causes of and solutions to the so-called 'crisis'. This paper examines the key thematic debates of the crisis and suggests that the industry's ongoing state of flux has given rise to a parallel uncertainty - even disagreement - among scholars about journalism and journalism education's

purpose and future. What becomes apparent is a gap in research around journalism academics themselves, many of whom are former practitioners; hitherto the focus has largely been on the journalism industry, the profession, education and the curriculum. We suggest that greater attention to the transition that takes place between being a journalism practitioner and becoming an educator would provoke a deeper understanding of the role, value and views of the journalism academic in the context of an emerging industry and education landscape.

Introduction

Since the late 20ᵗʰ century, journalism has been in a state of transition - many would argue crisis - and there is a great deal of discussion in journalism and journalism education literature about the effects and broader consequences of this on-going state of flux.

There is much debate about 'old' versus 'new' in the context of technology; news content and how it is generated, delivered and consumed; media companies' evolving business models; the higher education environment; and, not least, the role of the journalist. So intertwined are elements of the old versus new dichotomy that it is almost impossible to discuss one without alluding to another.

This paper examines literature around a number of themes relating to the current journalism landscape and how this landscape is shaping the teaching of journalism studies within higher education (HE). Pivotal to this is the journalist-turned-educator who may have learned, lived and practiced as a journalist through recent decades of rapid change in the sector: both witness to, and participant in, an emerging new world. The transition of journalists from practice to education is, arguably, under researched and - as discussed in this paper - the tensions immanent in the transition are such that the move from practitioner to educator must provoke a shift in identity if the educator is to fully grasp the nuances of teaching journalism as practice and journalism as an academic discipline. In an era when the HE landscape itself has undergone significant transformation in recent years, with the introduction of student tuition fees, the Research Excellence Framework and Teaching Excellence Framework all combining to put pressures on academic staff and students, together with increased financial pressures that have undoubtedly had an impact on the curriculum and pedagogy, it is timely to explore the challenges faced by former journalists as they endeavor to assimilate into a new professional culture and terrain.

This paper explores studies on the 'crisis' in journalism and the industry's future outlook; on the professionalism of journalists; on the evolution of journalism education; and on professional identities in transition. It suggests areas where future research on the critical shift from practitioner to educator might help further inform the nature of educating a new generation of journalists destined to become part of a profession whose metamorphosis is still unfolding.

The journalism landscape

There can be no disputing the fact that journalism has experienced a period of rapid change since the latter part of the 20ᵗʰ century. Terms such as 'turbulence', 'turmoil', 'transformation', 'chaos' and 'crisis' are common terminology in an industry that has seen itself challenged by a raft of new technologies, changing

business practices, transformed models of news generation and consumption, fragmented audiences and fundamental questions about the very meaning of being a professional journalist in a free-for-all digital publishing world (Franklin 2010 and 2014; Pickard 2017; Van der Haak et al. 2012; Wahl-Jorgensen et al. 2016). Franklin (2014, p481) notes: "…this is undoubtedly a significant time in the history of journalism when almost every aspect of the production, reporting and reception of news is changing". Scholars have attributed the crisis to a range of mainly structural issues - technological, economic and social; distinct yet interrelated factors that have combined to form a perfect storm to rain down on journalism, foregrounding fundamental debates about the principles of what journalism is and should be (Blumler 2010; Jukes 2013; McChesney and Pickard 2011; Siles and Boczkowski 2012). It is, perhaps, the decline of the newspaper market and its associated business model that have been cited as most symptomatic of the crisis in journalism, not only in the UK but also in other western democracies (Blumler 2010; Deuze 2008; Downie and Schudson 2009; Pickard 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen 2017). National daily newspaper titles in the UK decreased in circulation from 9.2 million in 2010 to six million in 2016, according to Ofcom (2016). UK local newspaper titles – regarded as the "lifeblood" of local community and local democracy (Jackson et al, 2017) - have declined from around 1,700 to little over a thousand in the space of four decades (Ramsay and Moore, 2015, p26) and latest figures show that the majority of the UK (57.9%) is no longer served by a local daily newspaper (Jackson et al. 2017). An accompanying fall in circulation and advertising, together with the loss of at least half of the 13,000 UK regional journalism jobs since 2006 (Ponsford 2016), have caused many to question the survival of the newspaper and journalism itself (Deuze 2008; Freedman 2010; McChesney and Pickard 2011; Pickard 2014; Wahl-Jorgensen 2017). As Pickard argues, the crisis "pertains not solely to newspapers, but also to news rooms and newsgathering writ large" (2011, p76), while Wahl-Jorgensen alludes to a "postmodern turn" in journalism following the "catastrophic collapse" in the business model of journalism. (2017, p96).

While shifting demographics play a part in the decline of print news (Wadbring et al. 2015), there is broad agreement that technological developments – the rise of the internet offering (largely) free-to-view news content and the growth of social media – have been a principal cause not only of the decline in circulations, revenues and jobs, but also in the transformation of traditional newsroom practices and access to and consumption of news (Compton and Benedetti 2010; Conboy and Eldridge 2014; Downie and Schudson 2009;). However, there is a body of thought that proposes it is inaccurate to associate the crisis in newspapers with a demise of journalism (McNair 2009; Pickard 2014; Van der Haak et al. 2012); rather, it is argued, print is simply a means of delivering journalistic content at a particular stage of technology and at a particular time in history, and journalism - while doubtless bound up with newspapers for the moment - is nevertheless independent of them (Picard 2014). Newspapers are being replaced by digital means that will allow journalism to "adapt and evolve" (McNair 2009, p134) and journalism is "in a transition not a demise" contends Picard. (2014, p507; italics in original). While the focus of this paper is on the UK landscape, it is worth noting that the crisis is not entirely global - in Asia print circulation increased by 7.8% in 2015, and by 38.6% over five years, according to Marketing Charts (2016) – further evidence, perhaps, of the historical context of the newspaper industry's collapse in Western economies.

In fact, the greater challenge to journalism comes from the shift in the production of news and in its consumption (Deuze 2005; Fenton 2010; Mancini 2013; Picard 2014). Certainly there has been a sea change in this regard: the rise of the internet, convergence (of print, broadcast and online) and social media have led to the demise of traditional modes of journalism news practices in favour of multimedia production, online news in its various forms (news sites and apps, social media) accessed through a variety of computers and mobile devices, news on the move/on demand, data journalism and audience metrics (Franklin 2014; McNair 2009; O'Sullivan and Heinonen 2008; Nielsen and Schroder 2014; Lee and Tandoc 2017; Tandoc 2014;). Consumption patterns have changed; research points to nearly half of all adults now using the internet for news (Ofcom 2016) with a third of adults using a mobile device for news and almost half of those using social media to access news (Ofcom 2016). Add to this the proliferation of citizen journalists, issues of trust and controversies around fake news, together with concerns about how emerging journalism risks undermining the democratic process, and it paints a complex and, for some, worrying picture of journalism's tricky negotiations with its publics in the age of digital media (Blumler 2010; Curran 2010; Downie and Schudson 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen et al. 2016).

Yet others strike a more optimistic note about the future of journalism. Some scholars allude to opportunities for new forms of journalism presented by online platforms, novel business models and funding sources, the growth of hyperlocal news sites, and fresh and diverse audiences with evolving consumption patterns, all of which may counter the decline of newspapers (Conboy and Eldridge 2014; Neveu 2014; Nielsen and Schroder 2014; Picard 2014; Zelizer 2015). Zelizer questions the usefulness of the word 'crisis' as a lexical

choice to describe journalism's current situation because it creates problems "that obscure our understanding of the circumstances it seeks to describe" (2015, p904), while Conboy and Eldridge propose a "reconsideration" (2014, p569) of journalism's potential, adding: "Despite the appearance of rupture, journalism is in an era of good fortune". (2014, p567). In truth, argue Peters and Broersma, scholars are still "grappling" with what is changing in journalism and whether it implies updating previous concepts – or introducing completely new approaches to journalism (2017, p4).

The nuances of journalism's transition - or crisis – tell us much about its current and emerging state, inevitably raising questions about the future direction of journalism and in turn about how a new generation of journalists should be educated in this uncertain world. Understanding the present landscape is also important in the exploration of the transition from journalism practitioner to educator and the associated change in professional identities, as will be discussed below. However, the changing world of journalism also raises questions about the profession itself, and it is to this issue that this paper now turns.

Professionalism in journalism

There has long been a debate around whether journalism can be regarded as a profession or, rather, should be perceived as a craft or trade. The broadly accepted criteria of the term 'profession' is based on, among other things, occupations associated with high status and high income, such as law and medicine, where specialist training, skills and practice, a body of theoretical knowledge, a high level of autonomy, an obligation to serve a societal need, and a strong work ideology linked with a professional body that oversees professional standards and imposes codes of practice (Crook 2008; Freidson 2001; Meyers 2010; Schudson and Anderson 2009). It has commonly been argued that journalism can be regarded as only partly fulfilling such criteria (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Tumber and Prentoulis 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009). On the one hand, like other professions, journalists can claim autonomy in their day-to-day work, a strong occupational ideology, together with the fulfillment of a societal need in terms of their perceived democratic role, and various codes of practice (IPSO, NUJ, CIoJ); on the other hand, there is not a requirement for the high level skills and training that engender an exclusive professional position: anyone can call themselves a journalist and journalists cannot exclude non-journalists from their line of work (Davis 2012; Deuze 2005; Hartley 2000; Pihl-Thingvad 2015). Autonomy too can be called into question if there are commercial imperatives that may supersede the journalist's self-determination (McManus 2009; Skovsgaard 2013;), further evidence to support the case for journalism as a "semi-profession" (Witschge and Nygren 2009). Yet most journalists feel professional, believe that journalism is a profession and endeavour to maintain professional standards in their work (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Davis 2012).

An exploration of what journalism is and its perceived role sheds further light on this notion of professionalism. While a universal theory for journalism proves slippery, due to cultural distinctions between countries (Hanitzsch 2007; Weaver and Wilhoit 1991), studies show that the fundamental tenets of a journalist's professional identity are defined by role perceptions and associated professional ideals – and that these perceptions and ideals are widely shared across borders, albeit interpreted differently. (Deuze 2005; Hanitzsch 2007; Pihl-Thingvad 2015). Deuze describes this as "a shared occupational ideology among newsworkers which functions to self-legitimise their position in society" (2005, p446), labeling it as "the social cement" that binds journalists together as a profession (2005, p455). Weaver and Wilhoit's 1991 study of American journalists laid the foundations for what is now broadly understood to be the perceived roles of news journalists: the disseminator role (facts); the interpretive role (explanation and analysis); and the adversarial (scepticism towards individuals, organisations and governments) (1991, p259). From these roles emanate professional ideals - or values - such as impartiality and objectivity, a sense of speed and accuracy, challenging knowledge and policies, and being critical of those in power (Couldry 2017; Deuze 2005; Hanitzsch 2007; Weaver et al. 2007). Truth, objectivity and accuracy remain the cornerstone of journalistic practice (Thurman et al. 2016) and the journalist's role as the watchdog of democracy, with its implied allegiance to the public interest, provides journalists with their legitimacy, argues Skovsgaard (2013, p344), allowing the public to make informed political decisions (Hanitzsch 2011; Weaver 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009; Zelizer 2012). But while there is broad agreement on such principles underpinning journalism as a profession, or semi-profession, there are questions about whether such ideals are realistic in the daily working practices of journalists in the digital era (Deuze 2005; McNair 2017; Skovsgaard 20013; Witschge 2012; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Pihl-Thingvad's empirical study (2015), for example, found strong evidence pointing to discrepancies between journalism's professional ideals relating to societal obligations, such as reliability, objectivity, high quality and autonomy, and journalists' daily practice. (2015, p404). Others argue

that a competitive ideal should be added to the spectrum in order to acknowledge the growing commercial function within journalism practice (Donsbach 2010; McManus, 2009; Skovsgaard 2013). Some academic studies espouse the view that journalism is experiencing a period of "de-professionalisation" in as much as technological, economic and social developments no longer allow for an unvarying, coherent occupation, particularly in the face of citizen journalism which lacks the boundaries set by the profession itself (Ornebring 2010; Wilk 2009; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Others ponder whether the core values of the profession, such as objectivity, are outdated in an era when views and opinions from the public can and are made freely available via the internet, with a transparency from the authors that is not mirrored in journalism (McNair 2017; Phillips 2011; Tandoc and Thomas 2017; Van der Haak, Parks and Castells 2012; Zelizer 2015). Wahl-Jorgensen points to the rise of "subjective journalism" (2015, p25) in which personal voices as opposed to objective reports are heard. This, she argues, "represents a direct challenge to the journalistic paradigm of objectivity so central to professional identity and appears to draw on an epistemological vocabulary which equates truth with authenticity, emotional integrity and immediacy". (2015, p26). If objectivity is no longer regarded by audiences as the cornerstone of good journalistic practice then the professionalism sought by journalists is undermined – which "has significant implications for theorizing how technological change is affecting professional practice" (2015, p25).

The issue of 'fake news' and its threat to journalism's watchdog role as the fourth estate - and as a consequence, democratic culture - is widely explored, often in the context of the US Presidential Election and the UK's Brexit referendum of 2016 (Albright 2017; Beckett 2017; Boczkowski 2015; Corner 2017; Lilleker 2017; Richardson 2017). While digital networks and social media have provided the technological means by which fake news has proliferated, its rise is symptomatic of a much broader public unease about the credibility of information, argues Beckett (2017), and of an audience "losing faith in what journalism does". (Richardson, 2017). However, with threats come opportunities – scholars point to the growth of fact-checking business models, calls for improved media literacy in education, core journalistic values that will reinvigorate the profession and counter false and misleading stories (Beckett 2017; Lilleker 2017; Richardson 2017).

Like the journalism landscape more broadly, the concept of professionalism as applied to journalists is both complex and emerging in the context of new media. While traditional notions of professional ideology may still underpin the practice of journalism, the changing journalism landscape raises questions around what this means for professional identity and the core values of the profession. This in turn has ramifications for journalism education, for if both the landscape and the profession are in a state of transition, then surely education - on which this paper now focuses - must take stock and give consideration to its role in producing journalists of the future.

Education

Journalism education has seen a dramatic change in the UK and beyond over the last 30 years. Direct entry into news publications and learning on-the-job, together with college-based qualifications overseen by industry bodies, began to decline as a training model in the late 1970s and early 1980s, moving instead towards a higher education landscape offering a wide range of university undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in journalism (Frost 2017; Hanna and Sanders 2007; Thurman et al. 2016). The first university undergraduate degree courses began in 1991 and today there are hundreds of journalism-related courses on offer at more than 60 HE institutions. (Frost; 2017, p205). Frost points to the wider curriculum opened up by degree courses to include not only practical journalism skills but also "topics such as media law, media history, communications, politics, journalism ethics, human rights, international relations, media regulation, and press freedom". (2017, p206).

Research by Thurman et al. (2016) shows that almost all (98%) of those journalists who began their careers in the UK between 2013 and 2015 had obtained an undergraduate bachelor's degree, though not necessarily in the subject of journalism, and over a third (36%) held a master's degree – leading the authors to conclude that journalism training had become "fully academised" (2016, p7). Yet there is much debate about what should be taught to journalism students, how it should be taught, and how HE should respond to the so-called crisis in journalism (Bloom and Davenport 2012; Deuze 2006; Evans 2014; Frith and Meech 2007; Gillmor 2016; Stephens 2006; Wall, 2015). Today's university courses offer a combination of vocational skills and theoretical modules, together with – very often – an industry body qualification such as those accredited by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ), the Broadcast Journalism Training

Council (BJTC) and the Professional Publishers Association (PPA) (Josephi 2009; Terzis 2009; Willnat, Weaver and Choi 2013). It is the delineation between the practical and the scholarly activities that causes the greatest debate. The proliferation of university courses has not always been welcomed by those already in the profession, many of whom argue that academia does not sufficiently prepare students for the 'realities' of the profession (Frith and Meech 2007), and that in any case, journalists do not need any formal education in order to succeed (Glasser 2006). Indeed, argues Glasser, "an education in journalism begins with the actual practice of journalism" (2006, p148), alluding to the "intuitive" nature of the profession. Oxford-educated journalist Andrew Marr once argued that his degree contributed nothing to his journalistic career (Phillips 2005), while then-Sun Editor Kelvin Mackenzie said as recently as 2011 that all journalism courses should be closed down, describing journalism as a "knack" (Mackenzie 2011). Conversely, it is noted that in their practical offerings, university courses may perpetuate an idealised perception of journalism, centred on the traditional tenets of the journalistic practice of news gathering, writing and reporting. Multimedia and digital storytelling techniques such as photography and video-making are new media add-ons that do little to build on the core model, it is argued, and courses tend to be taught by former practitioners who may have spent many years in the industry, adhere to standard textbooks that have changed little, and work experience or internships are encouraged in order to reinforce and preserve this quintessential vision of what a journalist should be (Bloom and Davenport 2012; Evans 2014; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). But what sets university study apart from the former vocational training is its inclusion of theoretical scholarship, which is to be desired if we are to produce professional and ethical journalists who understand their public service role as defenders of the democratic process (Deuze 2006; Evans 2014; McNair 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Some scholars go further, arguing that it is the responsibility of HE to engender a strong professional identity in journalism students in order to reinforce a free press and democracy in the face of commercial imperatives, as well as emphasising journalism's epistemological role in meaning-making in society. This can only be achieved through a providing a more rounded curriculum that provides historical, cultural and political context to the study of journalism as well as nurturing critical and vocational skills (Clark 2013; Macdonald 2006; Shapiro 2015; Skinner et al. 2001).

Tensions remain between, on the one hand, accrediting bodies keen to ensure that students studying journalism in HE are introduced to and become fully aware of the practical, ethical and professional requirements of journalism as practice and, on the other, an academic perspective that deems journalism education to be less about the development of practical skills and more about critical understanding. One of the issues, argues Frost, is that "the journalism academy continues to be career-orientated. Jobs are still the main focus of students, their parents, the government, the industry, and the university faculty and staff" (2017, p211) – this, despite the fact that "in a recession-hit industry, the number of journalism jobs continue to decline". (2017, p211). Yet editors continue to believe that graduates from accredited courses serve the industry best, and undergraduate journalism courses continue to be in demand among students (2017, p207) meaning that there is little end in sight to the balancing act of teaching of practical skills as well as critical theory at UK universities. (2017, p213).

The subject of the future direction of journalism education is varied and contested, but there is consensus that its evolution must continue against the backdrop of an ever-changing journalism landscape in which new technologies, new audiences and new business models prevail (Deuze 2004; Frost 2017; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). Propositions for education's future orientation include a greater focus on critical theory, media literacy and intellectual skills (Donsbach 2010; Gillmor 2016; Picard 2015; Servaes 2009; Skinner et al. 2001; Stephens 2006); improved technological and digital skills (Du and Thornburg 2011; Gillmor 2016; Huang et al. 2006; Pierce and Miller 2007; Richardson 2017); a community and audience-centred – or networked journalism - approach (Mensing 2010; Robinson 2013; Wall 2015). Indeed, Mensing proposes that universities should distance themselves from the journalism industry and instead focus on the community in order to "reconnect journalism with its democratic roots and take advantage of new forms of news creation, production, editing and distribution". (2010, p512). This, would allow universities to create a "laboratory of inquiry" (2010, p512) in which research would go hand in hand with the freedom to experiment with journalism practice, ultimately leading to a reinvigorated environment and encouraging "more productive connections between the work of educators, scholars, and practitioners". (2010, p512). Some argue that more substantial reflective insight would engender professional identity (Deuze 2005; Fowler-Watt 2014) while Shapiro debates a fundamental paradigm shift in journalism education towards journalism as "an approach to knowledge, not just a job", contending that learning outcomes rather than career paths would be a more appropriate benchmark for success in journalism education (2015, p23). For some scholars, moves to coerce education to respond to difficulties faced by the journalism industry put an onus to resolve or arbitrate the perceived crisis on the profession, educators and even students rather than on organisations

themselves – even though the primary causes of news outlets' demise is known to be structural, economic and technological (Creech and Mendelson 2015; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). Educators too come under scrutiny, finding themselves variously seen as out of touch with the real world of journalism; hostile to the needs of the industry; too keen to place theory above practical skills on the curriculum; lacking in updated practical knowledge and techniques; and often derided for being long-in-the-tooth ex-hacks (Deuze 2006; Dickson and Brandon 2000; Greenberg 2007; Picard 2015; Wake and Farrer 2016). As Picard asks: "Why would anyone think that hiring someone from a decaying news organization, steeped in old ways of doing things, is an effective way to create the journalists and news organizations for the future?" (2015, p8). Rather, he suggests, it would be much better to hire "digital entrepreneurs in their late twenties who never completed college and think about information provision in completely different ways" (2015, p8). In light of this school of thought it would be easy to feel pessimistic about the role and future of journalism education and educators; yet in the broader context of the changing landscape of journalism it is only natural for such a debate to come to the fore. Certainly a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of journalism academics as they transition from practitioner to educator are worthy of debate and analysis in the context of journalism education.

Identity and transition

The growth of university courses in the UK offering journalism at degree level has been considerable over the past 20 years, giving rise to a large number of journalists leaving the profession in order to teach in HE (Greenberg 2007; Harcup 2011a). Yet this transition appears to have been met with hostility on all sides - both within the industry and in HE, from media organisations, fellow journalists and fellow academics (Bromley 2013; Deuze 2006; Dickson and Brandon 2000; Greenberg 2007; Mensing and Franklin 2011; Picard 2015; Wake and Farrer 2016). Within HE, ex-practitioners - or 'hackademics' - are regarded as lacking academic ambition and unwilling to undertake research activity, with journalism regarded as a nebulous subject for academic study (Greenberg 2007; Harcup 2011a) while beyond the academy there has been the view that journalists are born, not made (MacKenzie 2011), and scepticism about the need for journalists to have degree level qualifications. For example, Keeble (2006) argues that "the best way to learn about journalism is 'on the job'", and points to a wariness between journalism in practice and journalism in academia (2006, p260). Literature around the transitional stage between journalism practice and education is sparse: much of the recent and current literature focuses on the crisis of the journalism industry, the journalism profession, journalism education broadly, educator identity and student experience, or – if considering the new academic at all - on the lack of research engagement by transitioning journalism educators. Harcup's study (2011b), explores the transitional stage in relation to research, seeking to understand why only a minority of journalism practitioners-turned-educators are undertaking research into journalism and how they may be supported in this area. He alludes to the conflict between vocational journalism teaching versus the theoretical content of the curriculum, timetable constraints, a lack of research skills and limited desire to undertake research on the part of the academic, as well as a sense of unease felt by those "at the intersection of journalism, journalism education and journalism scholarship" (2011b, p168). He notes that many journalists move into HE relatively later than other academics, from an industry that appears to lack enthusiasm for scholarship (2011b, p172) and fears that this might simply serve to "reinforce the anti-intellectualism found in some parts of the journalism industry" (2011b, p173). He proposes that one solution might be to "wait for the current generation of hackademics to die off" (2011b, p173) which would allow for university-educated journalists to replace them. However, the success of the next generation of academics in terms of research inevitably hangs on their own experiences of reflection and critical enquiry (2011b, p173). Others point to similar difficulties faced by newly appointed journalism educators seeking to raise their research profile, arguing that research and publishing is crucial both for career progression and for the development of a balanced and wide-ranging curriculum that includes both theory and practice (Bromley 2013; Frost 2017; Errigo and Franklin 2004; Macdonald 2006; Wake 2015). The difficulties faced by new academics in undertaking research means that "journalism research in the United Kingdom is far more limited than it should be", says Frost, adding that "many become trapped in a system that prevents them from becoming active researchers." (2017, p209).

It is useful to have some insight into the tensions and frustrations that may be felt by journalism practitioners as they become journalism educators; however, their research profile alone doesn't define them as academics nor cast light on their transitioning professional identities. Much has been said about journalists' professional identity but little about whether and how they experience a transition in that professional

identity as they move into education. Indeed many argue that their journalism identity prevails beyond the newsroom. Calver perhaps espouses the views of many when he comments that many journalists-turned-academics "might still prefer to be identified as journalists who teach" (2013, p226). It is widely observed that journalism educators tend to be drawn from the journalism profession and enter academia relatively late in their careers; literature on mid-life career change points to altruism, a desire to give something back to society and a yearning to mentor young people who are at the start of their careers (Lachman 2004; Williams 2013). Research around mid-life career transition into academia often focuses on reasons for change and the subsequent challenges, morale and job satisfaction of a new role in education (Bruns and Larocco 2006; Evans 2001; Williams 2013) and professional identity and personal identity are also scrutinised by scholars in their exploration of career change (Beijaard et al. 2004; Meijers 1998; Teixeira and Gomes 2000; Williams 2013). The process of professional change and its repercussions on the individual is examined by Teixeira and Gomes (2000) who assert that professional and personal identity are both apposite when considering career change as they "attempt to translate a personal concept into occupational terms" (2000, p80). Meijers (1998) expresses the view that people acquire a career identity in which they link their own "motivation, interests and competencies with acceptable career roles". (1998, p191). Teacher identity, it is argued, is an ongoing and dynamic process (Beijaard et al. 2004; van Lankveld et al. 2017; Williams 2013); in other words, it is not just about identity at a particular moment in time but also about where one's identity will be in the future. For Williams (2013), a career change into teaching is "essentially about the construction of a new professional identity" (2013, p25). She argues that there is no such thing as one identity; rather, people have and develop multiple identities that are "influenced by a wide range of individual, social and cultural factors, past and present, and by imaginings of the future" (2013, p26). Alongside identity issues, the experiences of those transitioning into academic roles are also addressed, often highlighting the challenges faced by those entering from a professional background (Fitzmaurice 2013; Smith 2010). A study by Van Lankveld et al. (2017) found that those joining academia from any professional practice continued to identify with their former role for some time and, while they felt that their professional experience was valuable for their academic integrity, their first few years were plagued with self-doubt as they realised that "their professional expertise was not sufficient for their new role" (2017, p329).

While many of these various studies have looked broadly at teacher identity and transition into academia, the issues they raise are no less pertinent to journalism than to any other profession. Certainly it is valid to argue that at a time when the journalism landscape, the profession and education are undergoing a profound period of change there is good reason to believe that further study of the transitionary stage between journalism practitioner and educator would elicit useful findings in the study of journalism and journalism education. Preliminary findings from a study exploring the transition into academia (Russell, 2018) have shown that some participants appeared to struggle with the meaning of being an academic and found it difficult to shake off their role as a journalist – one commented that "I will never be 100% academic" while another said that "if you're a true journalist, if you're a journalist through and through, that never leaves you". Themes emerged around feeling fraudulent in the academic environment and being daunted by colleagues whom they felt were intellectually superior.

Conclusion

The paper has sought to explore the transition of journalists as they move from practice into education, set against the backdrop of an industry sector and higher education environment that are both experiencing periods of significant change. This transitionary period can only be better understood by examining the factors that have brought journalism and journalism education to their current positions and these issues have been explored through scrutinising the causes of journalism's turbulent state as well as relational issues such as professionalism in journalism, education and the educator. As has been identified, causes of and solutions to the so-called crisis are wide and contested with much pessimism - and great optimism – about journalism's future articulated by those on either side of the debate. What is clear is that journalism, for a variety of reasons, is changing – and must continue to meet the challenges it faces if it is to survive and flourish. Journalism education plays a key part in the profession's development and there is much deliberation about the curriculum and its content in terms of vocational skills and critical inquiry as well as the importance of academic research. However, it appears that the experiences of the journalism practitioner-turned-educator as he or she transitions into the HE environment are at best neglected or, at worst, forgotten in the debate on journalism's crisis and future. It can be argued that such individuals play a key part both in journalism's current state, having been practitioners, and in its future prospects, in terms of educating future generations

of journalists. While much analysis of the educator has focused on research capabilities and opportunities to nurture greater critical content in the journalism curriculum, little is known about the journalists' own stories in terms of their roles, views and values as they cross the divide from newsroom to classroom; how this move impacts on issues of professional identity, teacher and research qualities; and - ultimately - how this is manifested in the student experience. This, we argue, is a sphere that would benefit from further investigation if the challenges facing journalism and journalism education are to be more fully understood.

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