Variation in Relocation Strategies Among Coupled Mobile Academics: Moving together or staying apart in pursuit of combining academic career, mobility, and family life.

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Introduction
With mobility becoming a normalization of professional academic life, the scholarship on academic mobility has flourished (Åkerlind 2005; Cantwell 2009, 2011; Kim 2009, 2017; Başak and Van Mol 2017; Gimenez and Morgan 2017; Antoschyuk 2019; Nikunen and Lempiäinen 2020; Cañibano et al. 2020; Pustelnikovaite 2021). In the EU context, scholars examined the experience of mobile academics and the reasons for mobility, the opportunities, and challenges that such mobility entailed as well as its outcomes (Ackers 2004; Musselin 2004; Bennion and Locke 2010; Leemann 2018; Samarsky 2020, 2021). Various research projects focused explicitly on the mobility of coupled academics (Vohlídalová 2014, 2017; Giorgi and Raffini 2015; Schaeer, Dahinden, and Toader 2017; Schaeer 2021) and examined relocation strategies within the broad existing framework, namely moving together or engaging in long-distance relationship. This paper aims to add to the existing framework and to showcase variation in relocation strategies of coupled academics. By demonstrating several sub-categories, it seeks to enrich our understanding of the relocation decision, as well as the reasons behind selecting specific relocation strategies.

In the context of the EU, mobility of academics is facilitated on national and EU levels and is simplified through freedom of movement, which may ease the relocation of individuals as well as that of the entire households (Marimon, Lietaert, and Grigolo 2009; Ivancheva and Gourova 2011; Leemann 2018)². However, despite simplification of the legal and practical aspects of intra-EU mobility, empirical data show that coupled mobile academics do not always relocate together with their families and in some cases engage in long-distance relationships (Giorgi and Raffini 2015; Vohlídalová 2017; Murray-Close 2019).

Moving Together
Using the large body of literature on family migration (cf. Wills and Yeoh 2000; Eby 2001; Kofman 2004; Skrbiš 2008; Ryan et al. 2009; Tenn 2010; Melzer 2013; Ryan and Sales 2013; Kloc-Nowak 2015; Clerge et al. 2017; Toader and Dahinden 2018; Murray-Close 2019) contributes to our understanding of relocation strategies of couples. Among documented reasons

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²Please note that this research was conducted before the UK had left the EU.
for couples to relocate is a strong desire to recreate family life in the new location and to solidify their partnership (Eby 2001; Hiller and McCaig 2007; Cole 2012; Bernard 2014; Clerge et al. 2017). In their study, Clerge and colleagues (2017) found that solidifying a partnership was important for both male and female participants and have led some couples in academia, in the sample, to relocate together. Other scholarship suggests that couples may decide to relocate together in an attempt to avoid lowering the quality of their relationships and to reduce the likelihood of their mobile partners having an extramarital relationship while abroad (Eby 2001; Wills and Yeoh 2000; Ryan and Sales 2013).

Relocating together may also have practical reasons. Willis and Yeoh (2000) suggest that the success of relocation depends on the successful management of both the workplace and the home sphere. As such, accompanying partners contribute to the success of their mobile partners by organising the life of the entire household after the relocation. The discussion on accompanying partners has brought out the criticism on the concept of “trailing spouse” and demonstrated the active role that accompanying partners take in migration decisions, relocation, and integration processes (Kofman 1999; Eby 2001; Ackers 2004; Ryan and Sales 2013; Ryan and Mulholand 2014; Kofman and Raghuram 2015). While most of the projects examined female partners, more recent research on male accompanying partners in mobile households has shown similar results (cf. Cole 2012; Bernard 2014; Clerge et al. 2017).

**Long-Distance Relationship**

Data indicate a growing share of dual-career couples, including coupled academics, who choose long-distance relationships (henceforth, referred to as LDRs) as a strategy to deal with mobility (Elliott and Urry 2010; Reuschke 2010; Neustaedter and Grenberg 2012; Giorgi and Raffini 2015; Vohlídalová 2017; Murray-Close, 2019; Schaefer 2021). LDRs refer to living arrangements adopted by couples who reside in different geographic locations while maintaining some functionality as non-mobile couples. Analysis of the census data from the USA and Germany supports the data and shows that LDRs are more likely to occur for couples transitioning from graduate schools to professional employment (Reuschke 2010; McFall and Murray-Close, 2016).

The increasing numbers of LDRs may be attributed to the rising share of women’s participation in the labour market and changing gender roles (Smits, Mulder, and Hooimeijer 2003; Tenn 2010), as well as limitations associated with employment and labour market, financial constraints, and legal barriers (Kofman 2004; Reuschke 2010; Beauchemin et al. 2015; McFall and Murray-Close 2016). Indeed, in the non-EU context legal aspects are mentioned as one of the reasons for LDRs (Beauchemin et al. 2015). A large body of literature attributes the growing number of dual-earning or dual-career couples engaging in LDRs to the lack of employment for each partner in a household and the temporary nature of employment contracts (Levin 2004; Reuschke 2010; Giorgi and Raffini 2015; Vohlídalová 2017; Murray-Close 2019). In her empirical research, Reuschke (2010) showed that three out of five respondents identified employment-related aspects as the main reason for engaging in LDRs. By choosing to engage in LDRs, these couples seek to reconcile career demands and family life. Indeed, in their empirical research on couples who earned doctoral degrees, McFall and Murray-Close (2016) have found that LDR arrangements were the preferred strategy compared to the option to break up or reject the job due to a location conflict.
Finally, the literature suggests that circumstances surrounding academic mobility, partners’ employment opportunities and career aspirations, financial resources, and legal aspects, as well as children, may all impact relocation practice. Indeed, in her empirical research Vohlídalová (2017) showed that female researchers who take on a prestigious fellowship abroad are more likely to relocate together with family, while those with less prestigious fellowships are more likely to relocate alone and engage in long-distance relationships. Similarly, scholars document how having children impacts academic mobility and living arrangements. In their empirical research on early career academics in the UK and Switzerland, Schaer and colleagues (2017) observed that after having a child, all participants who were in long-distance relationships decided to reunite and live in the same location.

While the literature has some examples of mobility of academics, our understanding of the variation in relocation strategies beyond the two mentioned earlier, as well as reasons behind selecting each, is still limited. Examining the specific case of German academics in Britain, I suggest that the current framework (Moving Together vs LDRs) is too narrow and that adding sub-categories will contribute to a better understanding of relocation practices. In order to do so, I first introduce my study sample and its key aspects in methodology and data. I then proceed to present empirical data in four empirical sections. Each section is devoted to a specific relocation strategy, such as moving together immediately, moving together in stages after one partner found employment, moving together after both partners found employment, and, finally, engaging in long-distance relationship. The final section presents the contribution to the wider literature.

Study: Data and Methods
The case study of German academics in the UK is particularly intriguing. First, mobility of German scientists and academics to the UK has a rich history (Steinert and Weber-Newth 2008; Duxbury-Neumann 2017). Indeed, the UK was one of the main destination countries for German’s students and academics for decades (Remhof 2008; Ette and Sauer 2010; BMF 2015, 2019) which resulted in a large number of German academics in the local academic labour market (ONS 2016, 2017). Furthermore, both countries were members of the EU until 2021 (before the UK left the EU) which contributed to facilitation of mobility of academics as well as simplified the relocation of individuals and their entire households.

To examine the relocation strategies, I use qualitative data from in-depth interviews with German academics in Britain and some of their partners. The term “academic” refers to a wider range of occupations including researchers, post-doctoral researchers, and teaching staff employed by British higher education institutions. The term “German” refers to a German national who obtained their highest degree in Germany or elsewhere outside the UK. To ensure anonymity and confidentially, pseudonyms were used. The specific age of participants was substituted by a reference to an age-group category. Finally, while I omitted the names of the universities, I used location references, such as London and Oxbridge. Note “Oxbridge” is a term used as a portmanteau of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

My sample comprises 35 participants. Out of the 35 participants, 26 (six female and 20 male participants) were core participants, namely German academics who were in relationship at the time of their relocation and moved to the UK following a contract at one of the UK’s higher education institutions. Out of 26 core participants, 17 were married and nine were in a
relationship, and 13 participants had at least one child at the time of the relocation. The sample of 26 participants varied in terms of relocation practices: 14 participants moved together with their partners immediately after one has secured employment in the UK, two moved together only after both have partners have secured employment in the UK, five moved in stages, namely, one relocated after obtaining employment in the UK and the other followed within the next few weeks/months. Finally, five participants engaged in long-distance relationship. At the time of relocation, the average age of core participants was mid-30s. (See Appendix A for a profile of participants).

In addition, I have also conducted interviews with nine partners of core participants of whom seven were female and two were male. The subsample of partners includes four participants from couples who moved in stages, two participants from couples who moved immediately after one partner has secured employment, one participant from a couple who moved together after both found employment in the UK, and two participants from couples who engaged in LDRs.

I conducted the interviews in 2015-2016 in East England. When couples were interviewed, separate interviewing techniques were used. For those in long-distance relationships the interview took place over Skype. Interviewing partners separately allowed each partner to express their opinions and explain their actions and thoughts (Hertz 1995; Valentine 1999; Taylor and de Vocht 2011; Bjørnholt and Farstad 2014). However, conducting interviews with both partners raised methodological and ethical questions and required sensitivity to reports of conflicting data as well as caution to avoid revealing what was described by the other partner during their interview.

I coded and analysed all the transcribed interviews and used NVivo to simplify data organization. A preliminary coding scheme was developed around two relocation practices: “Moving Together” and “LDRs.” The first reading was based on a preliminary coding scheme while themes that did not fit were coded separately. During the second and third readings, preliminary codes were subdivided into more specific codes. This was the case for the “Moving Together” category, which was re-examined and subdivided into three categories: “Moving Right Away,” “Moving in Stages,” and “Moving after Both Found Employment.” Deconstructing the data helped to document variation in relocation practices as well as the reasons behind it.

**First Strategy: Moving Together After One Partner Secured Employment in Britain**

Family members of fourteen participants moved to the UK immediately or within a few weeks. This strategy was adopted by participants both in single- and dual-earner households. In fact, seven partners of mobile academics in the sample have resigned before they relocated, two could work remotely, and others were economically inactive.

For those 14 participants, moving immediately together with family members was the only way of accepting mobility. As a result, they had to ensure that the partner would be willing to move as well. This was the case for Sebastian a researcher in mid-30s who relocated together with his wife, and a small child, following a post-doctoral position. Sebastian has always prioritized relocating together and had declined mobility if moving together was impossible. Indeed, a few years before the family relocated to Britain, he was offered a post-doctoral position in the
Netherlands. While he was keen on a post doc abroad, he decided to decline the offer as his, now, wife would be unable to join him. He did not want to jeopardize the relationship. As a result, he declined the offer and stayed in Germany for a few years until a new opportunity emerged. He said,

One of the first post-doctoral offers was from the Netherlands, which was remarkably interesting. But at that time my now wife then girlfriend had just started a new job in Germany, and we were beginning to settle down and it was just a bad time to move. And so, it didn’t happen (Sebastian).

A similar account is provided by Clemens, a language tutor in his early-30s. Clemens together with his wife and two children has moved to Britain after securing a four-year position at Oxbridge University. For Clemens, the opportunity to travel to and to live in different countries was one of the main reasons for teaching German as a second language at universities. As a single breadwinner and a father, he was keen on relocating together with the whole family. In his interview, he not only spoke about the practical aspects of relocation but explained the role of his wife in the migration decision. He said,

She knew I wanted to go somewhere else. I always asked her what do you think about Brazil? Or how about Spain? And when she said yes then I thought about applying for it. When she said ‘no - I don’t want to go there with my children’, or ‘I would not be able to learn the language’, or ‘that’s not the quality of life I need’ - then I didn’t even apply (Clemens).

This was not an isolated case. Analysis of the interview data showed a clear pattern and highlighted the role of partners in location choices of many mobile academics in the sample. Indeed, while much of the scholarship demonstrates the impact of partners on migration decisions and relocation practices (Ryan et al. 2009; Brandén 2014; Kloc-Nowak 2015), this study contributes to this body of literature by showing the influence of partners on the choice of destination country.

For many participants who relocated together, a desire to recreate family life and ensure the survival of the relationship was one of the main reasons to adopt this strategy. Among others, it allowed maintaining physical closeness and reducing opportunities for extra-marital relations and deterioration of relationships. Demian’s interview is exemplary in this regard. Demian, a post-doctoral researcher in his early 30s, moved to Britain together with his wife after she received a tenure-track position. Since both were early-career academics searching for a permanent position, they decided that once one of them secures such a position, the other will follow and seek employment after the relocation. When taking about their relocation strategies, Demian was emotional and spoke about a strong desire to be together with his wife. He said,

I mean this is a very personal choice. It feels very awkward to me to be away from someone you want to be with. We are now in our mid-30s, we wanted to start a family. In fact, she is pregnant now. I want to see my child grow up.
I see people deal with mobility in diverse ways and engage in long-distance relationships for a while. And for some, it works very well. But some – divorce. I don’t know what they do, do they cheat on their partners, or they just leave their partner. To be very frank about this, I don’t understand people who will put their career over everything else in life (Demian).

A strong preference to move together immediately was also prominent for participants with small children. All participants who had children, except one, have moved together. The case of Maria, a research fellow in her late 30s, continues the topic. Maria, relocated to Britain following her husband’s appointment as a professor. She explained that although some years ago she and her husband engaged in an LDR due to her husband’s academic mobility, relocating together as a family and recreating family life became a priority since the birth of their child Maria said: “I think priorities change a bit. I could not imagine my husband being away from our son.”

This was not an isolated case. Such data fit in with earlier research and suggests that accounting for the presence of children might provide an additional explanation for choosing a specific relocation strategy among mobile couple academics.

**Second Strategy: Following the Partner at a Later Stage**

While most participants relocated together with their partners or were followed shortly afterwards, five participants decided to adopt a different strategy. In practical terms, they relocated ahead of their partners who followed them to the UK within the next six to twelve months.

For a few of those participants the decision rested on a desire to evaluate their new job and life in Britain before relocating the entire household. The interview with Christof, a senior lecturer in his early 40s, provides insight into this topic. He was one of those who relocated following a new position while his wife followed him almost six months later. When asked to elaborate on the decision, he explained that this was a “responsible” practice on his behalf; only after he felt confident in this new position, did he feel he could ask his wife to relocate. He said,

> I went over and then it was up to me to say, ‘I think this job is secure.’ And then she would start making other arrangements such as terminating her job, selling the flat or renting the flat which is what we did in the end (Christof).

For a few other participants, choosing this strategy provided the necessary time to organize the relocation of the entire household. Analysing these interviews shows a clear pattern. In these cases, the partner who stayed behind had to address the practical aspects of organizing the relocation of the household, such as selling or renting out the apartment, terminating his/her own employment contract, as well as various utility contracts. This was the case for Bernhard, a researcher in his early 30s, who relocated to Oxbridge six months ahead of his wife. He said,

> I think it was relatively clear from the point where I accepted the offer that she would join me, but it was also clear that it won’t be on the day that I moved. Because she had a job (Bernhard).
Similarly, in her interview, Ula, a lecturer in her late 20s, explained that she had to move within a few weeks of accepting the offer. Her partner had to stay in Germany to manage the relocation and organize the shipment of their belongings. Only after almost eight months the couple reunited in Oxbridge. She said,

> Because of the shortness of time. I wanted to start as early as possible because I really wanted to get a job right away, but at the same time, my partner wasn’t ready and we had a flat in Germany, and you have those practical issues. I wanted to have those things as planned to minimise costs (Ula).

While these couples intended to relocate together, their relocation practices also included some element of LDRs. By highlighting the spectrum of experiences and complexities within relocation strategies the paper adds to the existing framework and helps to better understand relocation decisions.

Furthermore, such data, although anecdotal, highlight the active role of partners in managing the relocation as well as practical nuances of mobility of coupled academics. By organizing and managing the practical issues in Germany, partners who followed at a later stage provided the necessary assistance and practical support for the mobile academic. Such a strategy minimised the financial costs and reduced the overall stress associated with relocation. Although the literature has ample examples of how partners contribute to the recreation and reorganisation of family life after relocation (Kofman 2004; Ryan and Sales 2013; Ryan and Mulholland 2014), my findings illustrate the role of partners before the relocation of the entire household. Such observations challenge the simple notion of a “trailing spouse” as a blind follower and highlight the active role of those partners in managing the relocation of the entire household.

**Third Strategy: Moving Together after Both Having Found a Job in Britain**

Two participants in the sample decided to relocate only after both partners in their household had secured employment in the same city. Although a rare strategy in my sample, the two cases are very informative. Not only does it showcase a variation in relocation strategies among mobile academics who relocate together, but it also provides insights into a strategy that goes beyond the traditional model of a leading migrant and a follower.

The two participants were in dual-career households, and both had small children at the time of the relocation. According to the analysis, the main reason to choose such a strategy was to ensure the relocation of the entire household while also guaranteeing the career development of each member. However, choosing to relocate together only after both have secured employment in the destination country required both spouses to actively seek and apply for positions at the same time and cooperate in their job search.

This is the case of Franziska, a post-doctoral researcher in her early-30s. She and her husband were searching for jobs as their contracts could not be extended. The desire to move together without compromising their careers guided their decisions and practices. They decided to apply separately for two positions at the same institution or the same city. During their first attempt, while her husband received an offer, Franziska did not. They decided to decline his offer and
continue the search. Soon enough they applied for two positions at Oxbridge University, and each was offered a position in a different department at the same university. She said,

[Before we came to Britain] my husband was offered a position in Hamburg. I sent [my CV to the same place] but I did not get an interview. I discovered two jobs in Oxbridge, we both were invited, and we both got jobs.

When asked to elaborate on why they declined her husbands’ offer and whether she considered following her husband to Hamburg and search for employment after the move, Franziska replied,

I didn’t like the idea to go and have no job. I hated it. The worst time was maternity leave. I need a job to feel like a person (Franziska).

Judith and Adam were the other couple in the sample who moved together after both having found employment. Both lecturers in their late-30s and parents to two small children, they decided to apply together for a “joint position.” In a practical manner, they applied for one position and asked for each to be employed part-time. Despite considering it to be unconventional with a high degree of uncertainty, Adams and Judith’s application was successful, and they were both were offered part-time contracts. This is how she explained it,

Since we work in the same area, one possibility would’ve been to apply to two positions which are very close. But when this position here came out, what we did instead – and that was really an experiment because we wanted to see how people react to that – we applied jointly to one position and said we are happy with half the position each of us. We were successful and it worked well (Judith).

Adopting this relocation strategy required not only similarities in their work portfolios but also willingness of the department to accept such arrangements and/or provide employment for the other partner. The question, therefore, remains as to how common such a scenario is among dual-career academic couples and to what extent universities are willing to accommodate it.

While relocating together after both having found employment was not a widespread strategy in my sample, some other participants acknowledged this would have been an ideal type of relocation. Indeed, in recent years some companies as well as universities have begun to offer positions for both partners of the mobile household. Despite being a relatively new and occasional practice, one might wonder whether this is an emerging trend corresponding to a new need in a mobile society of professionals.

Fourth Strategy: Long-Distance Relationship (LDR)

Although at the time of the interview only five participants were in LDRs, almost a third of participants acknowledged this would have been an ideal type of relocation. Indeed, in recent years some companies as well as universities have begun to offer positions for both partners of the mobile household. Despite being a relatively new and occasional practice, one might wonder whether this is an emerging trend corresponding to a new need in a mobile society of professionals.
To illustrate the topic, consider the case of Mona and Theo. When Theo, a professor in his mid-40s, got a permanent job offer in London they hoped that Mona, a researcher in her late 30s, would follow him at a later stage. On her end, she had to finish her commitments and terminate her contract at a research institution, which also gave her time to find employment in London. However, she was unable to secure employment in the city and eventually, secured a lucrative position as a team leader at Oxbridge University. During the interview with Theo, he spoke about their relocation strategy and the fact that although he was happy that Mona wanted to follow him, he also encouraged her to pursue her own career goals. Therefore, when she got an offer from Oxbridge University, he was supportive of her decision to accept it even though it meant not living together. Currently, they both rent apartments in their respective locations and have what they described as a “weekend relationship”. He said,

We were discussing options how we can find a place where we both can work at our career stage. The higher the career stage, the more difficult it gets to find a place for both. It is not an easy solution; we must be flexible and accept living apart for a while. For example, like it is now, we live in two different cities (Theo).

For a few other participants, LDR was chosen to mitigate the insecurities with short-term contracts offered at the foreign academic institutions. This was the case for Angelika and Carl. After finishing her studies, Angelika got a temporary position as a post-doctoral researcher at Oxbridge University while Carl stayed to finish his program and was consequently offered a post-doctoral position in the USA. According to Angelika, because of a three-year contract and the fact that she was unsure whether she will stay in Britain, asking Carl to relocate was counterproductive. By the time Carl would have finished his studies and secured employment in Britain, she might have had to move again to a new location. During the Skype interview with Carl, he explained that they always considered LDR as a strategy to maintain a relationship while also pursuing their academic careers. He noted,

We did our graduate programs together; I had another year when she already finished. We are currently living in different countries which is just basically part of how’s the job process goes. But basically, in three to five years down the road, if we can find permanent positions, then living together and starting a family would be top priority (Carl).

Carl and Angelika’s case is exemplary in showing the precarious situation of early-career mobile academics and the challenges of combining academic mobility, short-term contracts, and family life. Indeed, one wonders about the impact of the increasing trend of having short-term positions in academia on relocation strategies of coupled early-career academics. This data highlight the challenges in combining both career and family, which, among others, may lead to a large share of LDRs, dissolution of couples, postponing family formation, and/or childbearing.

In a similar manner to other participants who engaged in LDRs, Carl and Angelika planned to move together again in a few years when they decide to start a family. This data resemble other projects (cf. Schäer et al. 2017; Schäer 2021) by showing that – when children enter the picture – mobile academics who were previously in LDRs prefer to share dwelling even if it means one partner choosing a less lucrative or desired employment condition.
When LDRs were discussed, the supportive nature of partners as well as trust in the survival of the relationship were often mentioned. This type of reasoning was articulated by Rudolf, a research associate in his late 30s, who moved to Britain while his girlfriend stayed in Germany. In his interview, he explained that choosing LDR to deal with their career goals was not considered to be threatening for the relationship nor was it considered an unexpected decision. He said,

We both knew that a long-distance relationship it highly likely to happen if we both wanted academic jobs after the graduate program. You must be incredibly lucky to find two jobs in the same city. We expected it [LDR]; it was not a very big discussion. It was never a question of not doing it for the sake of the relationship. We were confident that the relationship could cope with it (Rudolf).

While most participants spoke about LDRs as a seemingly easy and expected choice, maintaining this type of relationship was not always an easy task. Indeed, participants who were in LDRs at the time of the interview and many of those who had engaged in LDRs previously acknowledged emotional difficulties and frustrations, uncertainty about when the situation will change. The pattern highlights the emotional costs and challenges which individuals who engage in LDRs must overcome and showcases the downside of the hypermobility of early career academics.

**Conclusion**

In this paper, I examined the variation in relocation practices of couples as well as underlying reasoning behind the strategy adopted by analyzing data from mobile academics who were in a relationship at the time of the relocation. Such examination extends the framework (Moving Together vs LDRs) and suggests that adding sub-categories contributes to better understanding of the relocation practices. Understanding the nuances of relocation strategies, as well as challenges associated with each relocation can be informative for academic hiring committees as well as mobile coupled academics.

Foremost, the data highlight variation in relocation strategies even among coupled academics who relocated together. Indeed, while some participants relocated together with their partners immediately after one found employment in Britain, others relocated in two stages, or relocated only after both partners had found employment in the same city. Disentangling the broad theme of “moving together” and observing such variation within the theme showcases complexity in relocation decisions and extends our knowledge of relocation practices.

Furthermore, the findings contribute to the emerging field of research on long-distance relationships of academics. Participants in LDRs described it as a voluntary and low risk option and were confident in the survival of their relationship over distance and time. However, such living arrangements were always associated with limitations in the labour market, such as fixed-term contracts or lack of proper employment for the accompanying partner. The growing number of temporary positions as well as expected high levels of mobility for early-career academics, raises questions about the extent to which LDRs will become more popular in the future, and how they will affect both the individuals involved and the society in general.
Finally, while the data highlight the role of partners on relocation practices for both dual- and single-earner households, in dual-earner households the employment perspective of partners had even larger impact on relocation practices. Following the data, it can be suggested that aiding in employment search and/or providing employment for the accompanying partner of mobile academics may facilitate relocation of such households at the macro level. At the individual level, such practices may ease the relocation itself and allow the individual to combine career goals and employment perspectives of each member of the household without compromising family life.

References


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## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Partner's characteristics</th>
<th>N. children</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<td>Gilbert</td>
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