Moving for What?
International Mobility Strategies of Women in ICT Careers

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ABSTRACT

A consideration of the role that international mobility plays in the careers of highly skilled women in ICT is becoming essential. Firstly, international mobility has an effect on the training phase and the subsequent development of women's careers. Secondly, since globalisation shapes the international labour market, this poses new challenges for highly skilled personnel. In fact, the general dynamism of the ICT sector is characterised by a strong internationalisation.

Feminist research has explored the gender dimension of professional mobility. According to this research, the requirement for mobility could be a serious obstacle to the promotion of women if they lack family support. On the other hand, migration research shows that women are taking an increasingly active role in mobility strategies and that they increasingly lead mobility decisions even when the whole family is involved.

In this paper, we focus on women working in the ICT sector with experiences of job related mobility. Using a life course approach, we discuss different aspects of women's mobility strategies. We highlight specific features of women's motivation to move abroad, as well as the consequences of this mobility. We argue that this evidence suggests that it is necessary to review policy agendas related to mobility support for women and their families.

KEYWORDS

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INTRODUCTION

The internationalisation of the science and technology labour market has increased the flows of highly skilled personnel, but as some authors (Castells, 1996; Held et al., 1999; Brown et al., 2001) have pointed out, because of social inequalities the global labour market does not seem to operate as an entirely free market. Despite the skills of some workers, other personal characteristics, such as their nationality, can give them advantages or disadvantages in the international labour market. In this paper, we want to explore the issue of whether such obstacles hinder the entry of women into the international ICT labour market.

The ICT sector is one of the most important engines of the contemporary economy, and it is a global activity in terms of products and services, as well as in terms of innovation and human resources (Iredale, 2005; Sami et al., 2007; D'Mello and Sahay, 2007). Moreover, professional careers in the ICT sector are closely linked to international job mobility in two ways: firstly, the globalisation of the labour market has increased the flows of highly skilled personnel; and secondly, specialist professional careers often involve training periods abroad as well as collaboration with foreign colleagues on funding proposals. Therefore, international mobility is a necessary process by which highly skilled people and organisations (including research centres and companies) accomplish some of their functions and also derive mutual benefits.

This paper is divided into five main sections. Firstly, we present the theoretical framework and review previous research on gender and international mobility. Secondly, we present our research methodology. Our research took a life course perspective and our methodology was based on structured interviews with women ICT professionals who had migrated between Spain and other countries in the course of their careers. Thirdly, we present our main findings concerning the mobility strategies developed by these research participants. Their mobility strategies were developed in response to a combination of their personal, professional and family circumstances. Fourthly, we reverse the focus, and address the effects of living abroad on the career progression and private lives of these women. Finally, we present our main conclusions.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Women who are educated to second or third university degree level have higher migration rates than men with the same level of education. Docquier et al. (2009) find a strong correlation between the migration rates of men and women and their educational achievements. Their data suggest that there are no gender differences in levels of migration among populations educated only to first degree level, but when they hold second or third degrees, women tend to emigrate more than their male counterparts. This suggests that, overall, women are more likely to emigrate than their male counterparts. This tendency might be the result of women being more negatively affected than men by inequalities

of access within their local labour markets. If this is the case, the dynamism of the ICT sector and its reliance on global labour markets might be expected to benefit women with high-level qualifications.

Drawing on her studies of science researchers, however, Ackers (2004, 2005, 2008) argues that international mobility does not necessarily help the promotion prospects of female researchers, because it is complicated by their primary responsibility for domestic labour and family care. Ackers' studies were focused on researchers working within the Marie Curie Programme, a European Union programme for mobility of researchers between countries and institutions. According to Ackers, women's professional careers are often tied to the careers of their partners (this idea supports the arguments made in a previous study by Mincer, 1978). In a traditional male breadwinner household, the man's professional development often involves a decision to move the whole family. The woman's career remains geared to her family responsibilities, and her professional aspirations are considered as secondary. This issue is also highlighted by Shauman (2010), who drew on relevant data from a pre-existing longitudinal study of a representative sample of US individuals and families (Panel Study of Income Dynamics and occupational level data from 1980 – 2000 Decennial Censuses) to test the relative explanatory value of different hypotheses regarding the factors that influence career-related family and long-distance migration.

However, other authors (Green, 1997; Hardill, 2004) argue that in dual career households, men may not necessarily be the ones whose careers dictate the mobility strategy; rather, this is set by the partner with the highest income or the greatest expectation of professional advancement. This situation is more likely to occur in dual career households where both members have professional goals and ambitions, and have similar career pathways. When both partners have the same profession, there is some potential for balancing their personal and professional aspirations, which in turn can facilitate the professional advancement of both partners (Ackers, 2005; Monosson, 2008).

Despite this, research on the development of scientific and technical careers shows that women's career progression is slow, non-linear and interrupted (Haines and Saba, 1999; Hardill, 2004; Lyon and Woodward 2004; Valenduc et al., 2004). Men's career trajectories are more likely to be linear and faster moving than women's career trajectories, because promotion systems tend to be based exclusively on the career achievements of candidates and do not take into consideration the social environment and obstacles that women have to overcome. What can appear to be neutral rules of promotion in science and in the most competitive labour markets are, in reality, norms governed by a male model of progression (Bagilhole and Goode, 2001; Lyon and Woodward 2004).

We also want to draw attention to another way in which gender is important for an understanding of mobility and its implications. It has been argued that studying the mobility of women, as opposed to simply men, provides particularly important insights into the environments within which mobility takes place (Hanson 2010). Hanson points to the broader social, cultural and territorial changes that are bound up with female mobility, and she explores "to what extent mobility can be an agent of change for gender and to what extent gender can be an agent of change in creating a more sustainable mobility" (2010: 18).

Hanson's research attempts to discover the role mobility strategies can play in women's professional careers and also in their personal lives, and society more broadly.

Feminist literature discusses the benefits and disadvantages of women's participation in science, and its transformative effects on science. On the one hand, some fields of science have been reoriented as a consequence of the increasingly active role of women. For instance, from the mid-20th century, the content and methodologies of certain scientific disciplines, such as primatology and archaeology, have been modified because of women's entry and participation in them (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1998; Schiebinger, 1999; Wacjman, 2007). On the other hand, despite the growing numbers of women in certain scientific fields, their institutions have barely been transformed in terms of their functioning, organisation and values (Schiebinger, 2010; Hafkin and Huyer, 2006).

In science and technology, women encounter a 'glass ceiling' and often drop out during the course of their professional careers, especially when there is a work-life conflict, or where they feel undermined by their managers and/or other colleagues (Hewlett et al., 2008). The most competitive careers are characterised by a heavy workload and a demand for 'total availability' that can form a barrier to women's career advancement (Valenduc et al., 2004).

Likewise, migration researchers (Kofman, 1999, 2000; Raghuram, 2008) have shown that women are becoming more active in family decisions to move country. They may be compelled to move because of a lack of employment opportunities in their home country and this can be the impetus for whole-family mobility, with the clear purpose of improving all their lives.

Broadly speaking, people move country when they hope to improve their living conditions in a new place. The decision to move may be governed by several things, such as the economic situation, employment rates and living standards in the destination country. Likewise, individual and family circumstances influence people's decisions to move. For example, personal characteristics, such as attitudes towards risk, and family circumstances, such as marital status, number of children and professions of their partners, play a key role in decision-making. In addition, other social and relational issues are important in the process of making family decisions, such as, for example, the degree of collaboration from the partner (Solimano, 2008; Kley, 2010; Kley and Mulder, 2010). In our study and in this paper, we argue that women in the ICT sector have greater incentives and greater expectations of going abroad in the course of their careers than women working in other sectors.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of our research was to explore trends in the international mobility of women working in the ICT sector, taking into account their professional progression through their life course. Our research question addressed women's choices related to mobility strategies, emphasising their motivations and institutional constraints. We also explored the influence of personal and family objectives in the decision to move country.

In this paper, we present the data collected through nineteen structured in-depth interviews carried out with women working in the ICT sector and addressing their mobility choices. Each interview lasted for around an hour and covered different topics: reasons for migration; institutional and informal support; the effects on their professional achievements; and, changes in their personal lives as a result of their mobility strategy.

We selected highly skilled women for interview: these were professionals with university degrees and/or specialist professionals in science and technology (OECD, 2002). The women were found through diverse non-random methods (convenience, judgmental and snowball selection), and selected according to the following key features: their nationality (or country of origin); family circumstances (marital status and children or other dependents); whether they were employed in the public or private sector, and their occupation (all of these women are ICT professionals); their professional category and level of seniority, particularly whether they were at very early (immediately post-PhD) or very advanced stages of their careers; and the length of time since they had moved country.

Drawing on the work of King et al. (1994) we considered the variables outlined above as primary criteria for selecting these women. In Table 1 we present some of the main characteristics for the women interviewed.

Our population was restricted to Spain, meaning that all the women we interviewed were either Spanish and emigrated for their careers, or came to Spain from other countries and developed a significant part of their careers in Spain. Around half of the women in our study were Spanish, and the other half came from other countries, specifically Latin American and Eastern European countries. The reason for including women from these countries was that, firstly, there are strong economic and social links between Spain and Latin America and, secondly, there has been considerable economic hardship which has driven highly skilled workers from Eastern European countries to immigrate to Spain. According to the National Immigration Survey, most of the immigrants in Spain come from developing countries, particularly from Latin America (52.9%) and Eastern Europe (26.3%) (SanRomá et al., 2009).

Eleven of these women worked in the public sector, particularly research institutions and universities. The eight women interviewed in the private sector were either entrepreneurs or were employed in medium-to-large companies. This distribution of women across sectors is consistent with data on women's employment patterns in science from the European Commission (2006, 2009).

We interviewed women at junior points in their careers and women in the last phases of their careers. The youngest interviewees were starting out on their careers, for example, finishing their PhDs, whilst the oldest ones were in the final phases of their careers. Two-thirds of the women were married or living with a partner; one-third of them had one or more dependent children.
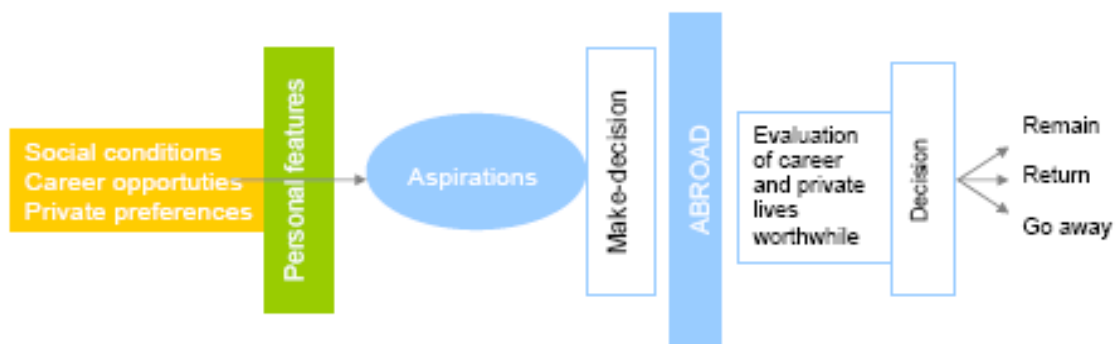
Table 1: Selected key characteristics of interviewees

	Country of Origin	
	Outside Spain	Spain
Period of Mobile Career		
< 1 year away from home country	-	3
> 1 year away	3	7
Permanently away	6	-
Sector of Employment		
Private Sector	3	5
Public Sector	6	5
Career seniority		
Junior (early career phase)	4	3
Senior (advanced career phase)	6	6
Family circumstances		
Married/Partnership	4	9
Single	2	2
Divorced/Separated	1	1
With Children	2	4

Mobility strategies and career progression are affected by several issues that occur over time, so we believe that a life course approach (Castaño and Webster, 2011) can help to explain career changes, personal choices and the short- and long-term consequences derived from women's career decisions. This also provides a broader framework that takes into account the employment and environmental conditions in migrants' countries of origin, opportunities in the receiving country, and migrants' changing expectations in line with their life events.

According to Kley (2010) and Kley and Mulder (2010), stages of migration should be described from a life course perspective. Figure 1 represents the decision making process related to international migration. We applied this framework of analysis to our empirical data, emphasising the long-term processes and the different decisions and circumstances that shaped the international mobility strategies of the participants.

Figure 1: Decision making process related to international mobility

Source: Own elaboration

As the figure shows, individual and social considerations shape the aspirations and decisions of migrants about moving to another country. But their decision-making processes do not end there. Would-be migrants still have to assess the likely benefits for their careers and the lifestyle changes they will need to make in their destination country. Following their migration, they then need to make further decisions about whether to remain in their destination country (possibly permanently), whether to return to their home country, or even whether to migrate to a third country if they anticipate yet further new opportunities. Any decision to move country is always an uncertain one which is likely to evolve over the course of time.

In the following sections, we analyse the decisions of our interviewees in the context of their personal, family and professional lives. We also discuss the attitudes of the women involved in ICT careers towards their decisions to move internationally.

FINDINGS

Strategies of Mobility
Our data show that people who are strongly career-oriented associate their mobility with training, scientific networking and the establishment of collaborative relationships with international partners (see also Ackers (2008) and Adler (1984)). In this sense, mobility is primarily associated with the formal criteria for advancement in science careers. However, our participants also highlighted other personal benefits to mobility, for instance, living on one's own, learning foreign languages and making new friends.

However, personal or family issues were the primary reasons which people with families gave for their decisions to go abroad, where they were living in a constrained situation in their home country. For example, some interviewees from Latin America and Eastern Europe had established jobs and careers in their home countries, but these were precarious or low paid (involving, for instance, several jobs, extended working times, etc.). One woman explained that she was hardly ever able to see her children because of her long working hours and heavy workload. Therefore, such women perceived mobility as a way of improving their family lives as well as their professional prospects. In the context of a developing country, or of a family with a low income, mobility is seen as an opportunity to improve the situation of the whole family.

> In any case, I didn't spend time with my children because I had
> to do a lot of work to receive the same salary as before. And,
> well, I decided that my family had to accept that, because…. I
> tried to change something in our lives.
> (Eastern European woman, university academic, two children)

Economic problems tend to be the main issue driving people to move to another country, and highly skilled employees are no exception. In the case of the ICT sector, the significant international labour market encourages women to search for new job opportunities and better living conditions beyond their home countries.

Their decisions to move to another country were strongly related to the biographies of the women we interviewed. A Latin American woman explained that despite her strong professional position in her home country, she decided to go abroad because she was disappointed with the living conditions in her home country, and in particular the unequal distribution of power in society. These issues pushed her to take her whole family abroad.

Another personal motivation for moving was related to sexuality. A lesbian interviewee explained that she and her partner were searching for an environment that would be more friendly to them than their country of origin. They decided to move to Spain because of the recently passed sexual rights laws, and chose Barcelona as their final destination because of its image as a 'gay-friendly' city. Their desire for freedom to express their sexuality shaped their decision to move country.

The research participants' motivations for moving abroad were as diverse as their profiles. We have therefore devised a classification of profiles according to the role played by these women in the decision to move abroad. In this classification, we distinguish between 'follower', 'leader' and 'dual tracker' roles.

Firstly, some women migrated because their partners' careers involved a move abroad. This 'follower role' has been traditionally linked to the subordination of women's careers to their partners' professional interests (Ackers, 2004, Adler, 1984). However, this is not always negative for women because the promotion of the partner can sometimes involve personal and professional advantages for the woman, especially when she is young, childless, has a high level of education, and does not yet have an established career of her own. An ideal-type follower profile was not clearly represented by any of the women we interviewed. The women included in our research had high-level educational qualifications and advanced skills which, given the requirements of the ICT sector, made it easier for them to find a job in the country they moved to. Thus, despite their apparent 'follower role', moving country was a positive experience which helped them to progress in their subsequent career.

This was the case for an interviewee who left her job in a private company and followed her husband for a short stay in London (of less than a year). She found a job there and enjoyed an uninterrupted professional career in ICT in the private sector. Moreover, during this time, she underwent additional training and gained new job experience in a very competitive company. As O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) have argued, some women might adopt a follower role for pragmatic reasons rather than subordinate ones, and this can be unexpectedly beneficial.

> As he went to London for a year, I thought, 'what am I doing here alone?' I was very glad to go because I worked in an international company, the best job experience that I've ever had.
> (Spanish woman, company employee, no children)

Secondly, as we have already commented, some women who are strongly career-oriented move country in order to undergo further training and skills development. This 'leader' group consists of different types of women movers:

young women who travel alone, teachers and researchers who go abroad for a temporary period, and senior private sector professionals who are sent abroad by their companies.

Women with families who play a 'leader role' in the mobility decisions of their families usually go abroad with their partners and/or children. They have professional motivations, but also personal ones. Some research participants explained that living abroad was a very positive experience for their children because they had the opportunity to learn other languages and new cultural values.

> Interviewer: Have you had any problem with your children?
> Interviewee: No problem, as they were little they learnt English very quickly and children never have problems with friends.
> (Spanish woman, company employee, two children)

Thirdly, we identify a 'dual tracker' role in which women in a dual career household move with their partners. In these cases, they make mobility decisions together because they share similar expectations regarding their respective careers. Decisions tend to be negotiated and both partners consider the advantages and disadvantages of the mobility. These decisions are generally easier if there are no children or family responsibilities, but when our interviewees had small children, they moved country with their children.

> We have always been able to travel together because we were in the same research group. We applied and got scholarships to go to the same place. And when our daughter was born, we took her abroad. She went to the nursery school or wherever… a baby sitter...
> (Spanish woman, university academic, two children)

Effects of the International Mobility Experience
This section presents some evidence about the effects of the international experience on the lives of our interviewees and their families. The analytical framework that we have presented in Figure 1 highlights how international experience affects both the careers and the personal, family lives of mobile science and technology professionals. Here we discuss those twin effects.

Our data show that the family effects of professional women's mobility are varied. For young women, there are few or no consequences involved in moving country. Their parents do not present obstacles to their living in another country, and without children it is relatively easy to become established abroad. Those who remain away from their country of origin on a longer-term basis and develop new social networks find that their ties to their home countries weaken. They become involved in new projects, and new personal relationships, and they ultimately establish families and friendships in their adopted countries.

The costs for older women with closely established family ties or family responsibilities are higher. Mobility is also associated in the literature with emotionally or physically separated couples (Kley, 2010), in which the rupture of the relationship is an initial motivation to go abroad. Some of our participants had also experienced family separations or divorce, although not all moved

country as a result of a broken family relationship. A family from Eastern Europe was separated for more than fifteen years because they could not secure jobs for both parents or legal status for all members of the family. One of our informant's sons grew up with his father in their home country whilst the other son grew up with his mother in a succession of receiving countries. In another story of separation, a Spanish woman (university academic, one child) had to leave her daughter in one country while she carried out her post-doctoral research in another:

> I was going to do an experiment in Grenoble at the same time I worked hard. And, I went from London to Madrid quite often, leaving my daughter with my mother. I was going to Grenoble, then, from Grenoble, I returned to Madrid and, then, from Madrid to London. This has been usual during all my years of post-doc, right?

Two divorced women explained that their divorce was a consequence of their mobility. Contrary to the idea that the rupture prompts the move to another country (Kley, 2010), these divorces took place while the women were working abroad and not before they moved there. For example, a Latin American woman (university academic, one child) whom we interviewed had moved permanently away from her country of origin to Spain with her whole family, including her husband and child. She explained that her ex-husband did not feel comfortable in Spain.

> He returned and I stayed here. He, I think, he never felt comfortable here…. with the society, friends…. When he looked for a job, they said "we don't want Latin-American people…"

The second case was that of a Spanish woman (university academic, no children) who went twice to the US without her husband:

> Now I see it [the divorce] as a natural consequence… I mean, I went abroad for a year and when I returned I was crazier to leave again than to stay.

So there can be huge personal costs associated with international mobility for professional women, especially where these women and their families adopt new lifestyles after moving abroad. In addition, these experiences show that women can be penalised if their partners do not share their aspirations and attitudes to their mobility.

Although all these women played an active or leading role in the family decision to move abroad and their decisions were strongly shaped by their professional aspirations, they always took into account the views and wellbeing issues of the rest of the family. Negotiations around mobility were generally easier for dual tracker women when their partners shared the same professional objectives. Additionally, they explained that the decision making was shared between both partners and often with their children, if they were old enough.

On the other hand, women adopting a leader role can be criticised for this. Some of our research participants told us about the opinions of their extended family

with regards to their moving plans. In one case, the participant's mother in law was against the decision to move because of the likely loss of contact with her grandson, for which the women professional was held responsible: "The family of my ex-husband…. with our son… the [mobility] idea was not taken very well" (Latin American woman, university academic, one child).

Although some managers in ICT companies point out[1] that a major issue with regards to women's promotion is their opposition to moving abroad when they have partners and children (Adler, 1984), the biographies of the women we interviewed contradicts this claim. Women with children moved abroad with them regardless of whether the move was permanent, long term (one year or more) or short term (less than a year).

The ease of securing childcare varies depending on the family size and structure, the age of children and other factors. The participants who had children were professionals in top positions, some of them in dual career households, all factors that clearly helped them to be able to afford childcare. Although they struggled with achieving work-life balance, they were able to do so to a certain extent because they had sufficient economic resources to support their dual roles. Whilst abroad, they used the childcare support facilities of their adopted countries, modifying their routines to the requirements of their new homes. In some cases, our women had to change their domestic arrangements due to the lack of provision of childcare services. For instance, one Spanish woman (company employee, two children) explained that it was impossible to find a nanny in the US and so she and her partner had to manage childcare:

> You know?…. The most difficult was the childcare… because in the US full-time nannies are very unusual. We needed to take care of our children and balance it with our work schedules

Are Women Changing Labour and Family Structures?
The life course approach helps us to highlight the specific situation of ICT women with respect to international mobility: they make decisions through the course of their lives, choosing new situations and new opportunities for themselves and their families. Their decisions and the implications of these decisions depend strongly on their stage of life, and on the economic and social context – the arrangements of both country of origin and country of destination. However, it is still not clear if these women are changing their work and family structures and practices, or merely adjusting their traditional roles to the strong masculine culture of ICT workplaces.

As far as their decisions to move country are concerned, our research participants had significant agency, and appeared to be prime movers in mobility decisions, rather than simple followers. However, these women also spent considerable time explaining their decisions, possibly because they felt the need to justify the decision more closely. It seems that they had to reaffirm these decisions that involved other family members. Thus, these women still see family relationships and welfare as a major priority.

In spite of its well-documented gender inequalities, the ICT labour market provides significant global job opportunities that can enhance the personal and

professional trajectories of these women. Their experiences of international mobility seem to provide them with the personal resources, attitudes, and strength to face difficult career and personal situations. Even when international mobility created personally stressful situations, such as the separation from a partner, our women seemed substantially empowered by their experiences of travel and life in another country. None of them returned to their home countries after breaking up with their husbands; on the contrary, they continued to live abroad with their children. They continued to take on personal and professional challenges. It seems as if their experiences of international mobility improved their personal autonomy and self-confidence, in addition to their professional competences: "It [international career] shows that you can face new situations and learn so much..." (Spanish woman, company employee, no children).

In their professional careers, women in ICT are still, of course, disadvantaged by the culture of ICT work (Castaño and Palmén, 2010). Progression arrangements in organisations are still largely centred around 'masculine' career trajectories, without reference to the realities of women's lives and life courses. Although women do not generally have linear and uninterrupted careers, they often nevertheless overcome barriers to their progression.

Our research participants discussed difficulties that we would argue are due to discriminatory practices and structural disadvantages. The participants themselves did not identify discriminatory practices, but rather attributed their difficulties to external causes:

> When I returned, I was pregnant. So, I had to attend the competitive examination [to get a permanent position at the university] with my baby in my own arms, and a man got the position. I failed twice. Those men received their position before me. Bad luck!
> (Spanish woman, university academic, one child)

Research participants also usually rejected gender-based employment quotas because they thought that it could stigmatise their professional progression (González, 2010). They saw positive action, such as quotas, as a form of unfair promotion, due to being a woman rather than being a good professional, and they preferred to strive for seniority exclusively on their merits: "I think that quotas are not positive for women. I think that women have to reach higher positions by their own merits" (Spanish woman, university academic, one child).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Highly skilled women in ICT belong to a specific and privileged group in the economy, and, as such, their experiences during their international assignments can help when reviewing the policy agenda on mobility support for women and families. Despite the gender inequalities which are rife in this area of work, these women have more opportunities than those in many other areas to enter and progress in ICT because of the global reach and dynamism of the ICT sector. As such, professional women have more agency in their professional decisions on issues such as international mobility, and about their personal lives. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether their apparent agency in this respect is

fundamentally changing the structures and culture of ICT. These women are still working in male-dominated organisations and in masculine cultures.

Although professional motivations are uppermost, private or family issues are strongly influential in the decision to migrate. That our participants mostly decided to take their families or partners with them when they migrated shows that they have strong professional aspirations, but they also want to change their lives in much more comprehensive ways. Their motivations are related to improving their lives in both economic and social terms, wanting to provide better educational opportunities for their children, improve the wellbeing of their families or live with more freedom.

The study also provides some insights for the future development of mobility policies. The specific and unresolved needs of geographically mobile women suggest that institutional and social provisions for women movers and their families could be greatly improved. Mobility policies need to be more aware of the gender dimensions of mobility, supporting the management of individual and family issues abroad, in particular in relation to accommodation, language learning, employment support, childcare and educational provision.

Mobility programmes (such as company support policies and other institutional policies related to the attraction of talent) should also be much more sensitive to gender and family issues. The needs of movers and their family members alike should be taken into consideration in programming, policies and practical measures. Highly skilled workers usually travel with their families; if mobility policies of companies or public programmes were designed with this in mind, this might lead to higher take-up, lower turnover and lower social costs of mobility. The mobility of highly skilled people, in ICT professions particularly, will be increasingly important in the future knowledge-based economy.

ENDNOTE

[1]   Managers of companies were also interviewed in another part of this study, focused on the influence of international mobility in ICT Spanish companies, the difficulties associated with the management of foreign highly skilled workers and gender issues in these companies.

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