

Working Paper

MAPPING BILATERAL RETURN AGREEMENTS: TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE INVENTORY

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1. Introduction

Return policies are at the top of the EU and national agenda. On 14 October 2024, the European Commission President von der Leyen sent a letter to EU leaders ahead of a two-day summit in Brussels highlighting key objectives and actions of the next EU migration and asylum political programme. The President called for establishing a common approach to return policies across Member States and a better harmonisation of these policies across Europe. To this end, a crucial goal of the EU is to improve cooperation on readmission with partner countries and continue to build comprehensive partnerships with key third countries on migration.

This working paper provides an analysis of migration cooperation agreements, specifically readmission agreements, signed by EU/EFTA countries and the European Union with third countries from 2008 to 2023. The analysis focuses on the number of agreements signed, their enforceability and legal bindingness, geographical distribution, issue linkages with other policy areas, implementation and monitoring. The data is sourced from a detailed inventory of Intergovernmental Return Frameworks (IRFs) including various EU/EFTA countries and the European Union, which has been gathered by the country experts of the Finding Agreements in Return (FAIR) consortium under the coordination of the Migration Policy Group (MPG). This paper looks only at the agreements formally signed after 2008 and does not include the IRFs that have been signed before this year and entered into force later on.

One of the main objectives and ambitions of this inventory is to contribute improving the quality and clarity of existing data on return and readmission. The current main sources of information on bi- and multilateral cooperation regarding return and readmission are the inventory compiled by Cassarino (2022) and the data collection by the European Migration Network (2022). These resources provide essential insights into the agreements shaping return policies and cooperation between European states, but they are mostly limited to taking quantitative stock of IRFs.

This FAIR inventory on IRFs goes beyond these current data collections and will provide more detailed information on the content of IRFs to date. It will do so by providing systematic and comparative information on the scope of IRFs, their implementation mechanisms, or issue-linkages. To build this dataset, FAIR national experts conducted a detailed analysis of the agreements themselves. Unlike other inventories, which primarily catalogued return frameworks, our approach required country experts to systematically

read, identify, and code specific elements within the agreements. The dataset includes intergovernmental return frameworks (IRFs) from 11 countries and European Union's return agreements with third countries. While we used Cassarino's and EMN's inventories as a starting point, national experts expanded the research by looking at additional agreements through national repositories.

1.1 Limitations of the study

National experts contributed to the selection and coding of agreements included in the dataset. However, the FAIR inventory includes only publicly accessible agreements, resulting in a smaller number compared to the inventories of Cassarino (2022) and EMN (2022). Therefore, the quantitative trends presented in the analysis should be interpreted with caution, as the number of agreements does not represent the total number signed between 2008 and 2023. The availability of verifiable and public information represented a key factor for the inclusion of the agreements in the database. Nevertheless, the FAIR inventory will constitute a rich data source allowing academics and practitioners to explore and compare different approaches in return and readmission between EU+ states.

2. Methodology

To enrich the existing database established by Cassarino (2022) and the European Migration Network (2022), MPG, in collaboration with the members of the FAIR project,¹ has identified several key elements that are absent from existing inventories. These attributes required further data collection to provide a more comprehensive understanding of bilateral and EU-wide cooperation in return and readmission policies. MPG created a dataset that includes the following elements of a bilateral return agreement:

- **scope**
- **enforceability**
- **policy areas linkage**
- **enforceability**
- **implementation**

¹ Universität für Weiterbildung Krems (UWK), Università degli Studi di Milano (UMIL), Foundation for Access to Rights (FAR), Samuel Hall East Africa Limited (SH), International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Koç University (KU), Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), Université de Genève (UNIGE).

- **evaluation**

The dataset includes relevant information on EU readmission agreements (EURAs) and intergovernmental return frameworks (IRFs) in 11 countries: **Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK.**

MPG initially developed a structured dataset template in a spreadsheet, which served as the primary tool for national experts to collect data. This process was supported by a detailed codebook designed to ensure consistency and accuracy in data entry. The experts involved in the project were carefully selected based on their recognised academic expertise on migration policies, return frameworks, and intergovernmental agreements in their respective countries.²

Following the initial data collection phase, MPG systematically reviewed all the different national datasets to verify the quality of the coding performed by the country experts and ensure comparability across the different national contexts and country dyads (i.e., bilateral agreements on migration return policies). MPG carried out consistency checks with each FAIR country expert to review the coded data and address any discrepancies, gaps, or variations due to differences in interpretation, reporting, or national contexts. MPG ensured that all agreements were interpreted and coded in a uniform manner according to the predefined methodology. In some cases, MPG requested the country expert additional details where information was missing or unclear, such as whether agreements applied to all third-country nationals or only to citizens.

This interactive process culminated in the finalisation of the country-specific datasets and the creation of a comparative dataset, which combined all the individual country files and will serve as a robust source for further analysis and research. The current version of the database contains data related to 108 agreements signed by EU/EFTA states, and 11 agreements signed by the European Union. The core of the analysis, spanning Chapters 3 to 7, will focus on agreements signed by EU/EFTA states, while Chapter 8 will be dedicated to agreements involving the European Union.

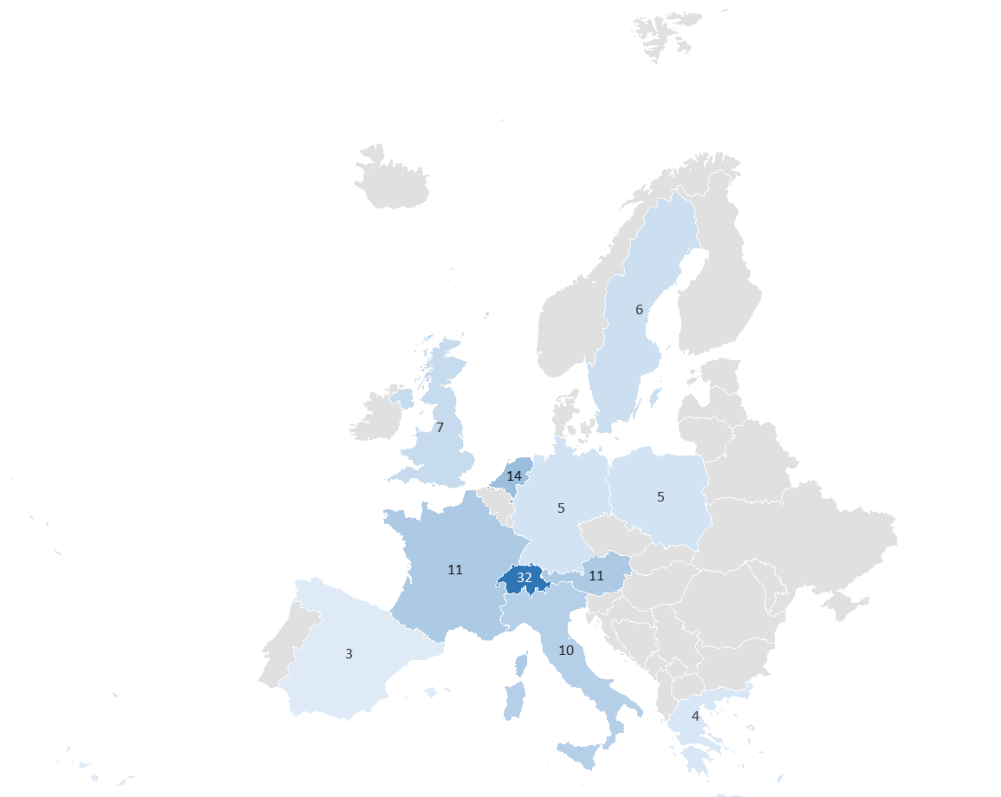
² The experts who carried out the data collection for the national and EU level are: (EU) Jiancheng Gu, (AT) Lydia Roessler, (FR) Maud Jambou, (DE) Christiane Fröhlich, (GR) Vasso Karzis, (IT) Gül Ince Beqo, (NL) Ana Maria Torres Chedraui, (ES) Francesco Pasetti, (SE) Nahikari Irastorza, (CH) Frowin Rausis, (UK) Gerasimos Tsourapas, (PL) Monika Szulecka.

3. Number and geographical distribution of IRFs

The FAIR dyadic inventory shows that the number of (new) IRFs signed each year fluctuates, reaching a peak in 2010 (13 agreements) and a significant drop in 2020 (0 agreements). The overall trend indicates variability with no consistent increase or decrease. The years between 2008 and 2012 registered a higher number of available IRFs, while 2020 marked a low point, likely due to the COVID-19 pandemic and other political priorities.³

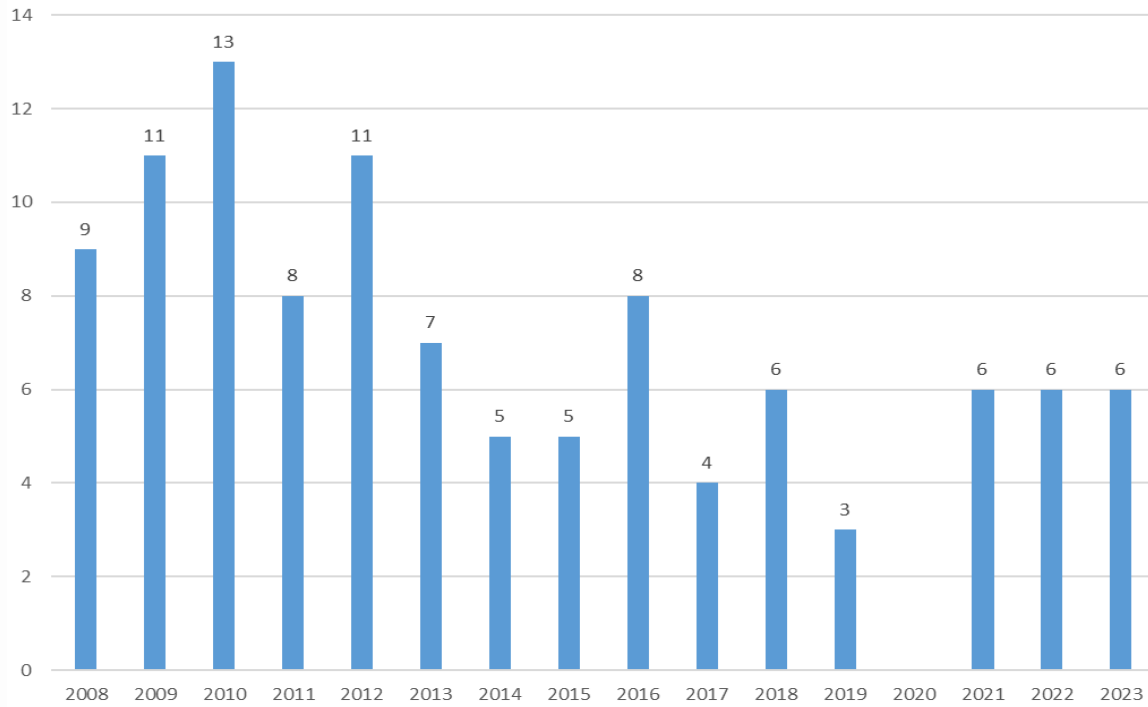
Among the countries analysed, Switzerland has the highest number of publicly available IRFs (32) signed in the years between 2008 and 2023 with non-EU countries.

Figure 1. Geographical distribution of IRFs



³ Please note that the data presented in the analysis refer to agreements accessible by the national experts, and do not represent the total number of agreements signed in the timeframe 2008-2023.

Figure 2. N of IRFs signed each year



4. Enforceability Gaps in Return Agreements: Commitments Without Consequences?

IRFs are typically categorised as binding vs non-binding or standard vs non-standard agreements (see e.g., Cassarino 2007; Stutz and Trauner 2022). The dimension of legal bindingness aims to capture the presence of legal obligations within the commitments of an arrangement (Abbott et al. 2000) and the extent to which these commitments are legally enforceable.

The analysis of the FAIR inventory on IRFs indicates that more than half (56.5%) of the available IRFs are legally binding, while non-binding agreements are less common (12%). The data also highlights some cases where the legal nature of the agreement is unspecified (31.5%), reflecting a degree of opacity in these agreements. Notably, countries such as Italy, The Netherlands, UK, Switzerland and Sweden exhibit critical data gaps, with several agreements failing to specify their legal bindingness.

France, Germany, Spain, and Poland have exclusively signed agreements that are legally binding. Austria (91%), Greece (75%), and Switzerland (69%) also demonstrate high proportions of legally binding IRFs. Notably, there are no formalised sanctions or consequences for non-compliance with the IRF specified in most of the agreements in this study. The Netherlands is the only country to include consequences in some of their IRFs in case of non-compliance.⁴ The lack of sanctions or consequences observed in most of the agreements can be a significant weakness in ensuring enforceability, as it removes deterrent tools for securing compliance.

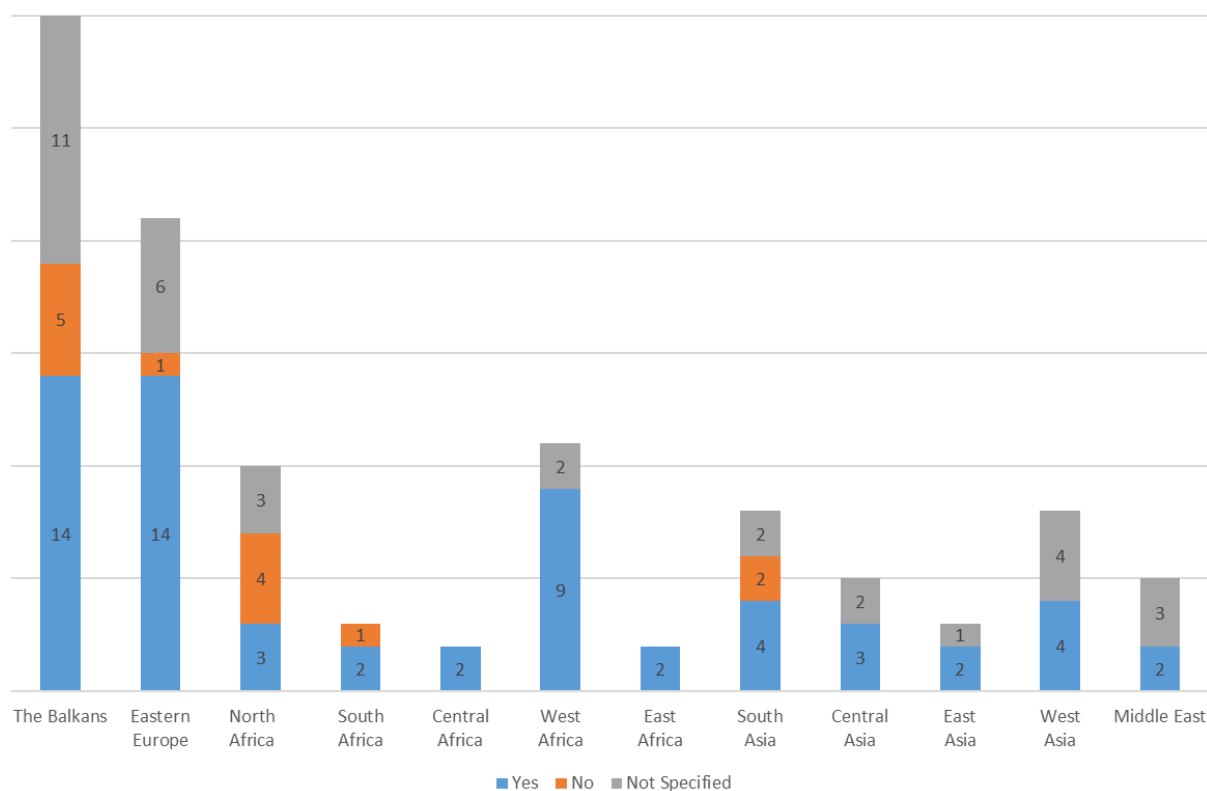
In terms of the third countries with which bilateral return agreements are signed, the Balkans and Eastern Europe have the highest number of legally binding agreements. This pattern underscores the strategic importance placed by our selected EU member states, Switzerland, and the UK on advancing and formalising migration cooperation in these regions.

⁴ The consequences for non-compliance, though not framed as sanctions, mostly include automatic approvals or actions after specific time limits are exceeded. For example, in the agreement with Armenia, failure to provide a requested travel document within the set time results in deemed consent to use the EU standard travel document for expulsion. Similarly, in the agreement with Kazakhstan, if a readmission request is not answered within 21 days, it is assumed that the request is approved, and the person must be readmitted within a month, unless an extension is requested due to legal impediments.

West Africa also shows significant engagement through legally binding agreements with our selected countries, suggesting the existence of targeted political efforts to manage migration flows from this area.

Overall, these findings reflect an increasing strategic goal for EU member states, Switzerland, and the UK to prioritise agreements with neighbouring countries and enhance cooperation with crucial origin countries of migrants.⁵

Figure 3. Is the IRFs legally binding?
Second party (regions)



⁵ According to Frontex (2023), the Central Mediterranean route was the most active migratory path into the EU, accounting for 41% of irregular crossings in 2023, with the primary countries of origin being Guinea, Tunisia, and Côte d'Ivoire. This was followed by the Western Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean routes, which together accounted for 42% of arrivals, with Syria, Turkey, and Afghanistan being the main countries of origin.

Source : https://www.frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/significant-rise-in-irregular-border-crossings-in-2023-highest-since-2016-C0gGpm?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

5. Shifting priorities or expanding scope? Examining policy area linkages

The presence of issue linkages within IRFs refers to the extent to which these frameworks focus on a specific set of policy commitments or encompass a broader range of issues which go beyond return and migration. Issue linkages in migration governance typically involve reciprocal arrangements, wherein non-EU countries are offered various forms of support, such as capacity-building initiatives, development assistance, or legal migration pathways, in exchange for their cooperation on return and readmission policies. This mutual exchange of benefits leads to a strategic approach that seeks to balance the interests of both the EU and partner countries, while addressing broader migration-related challenges. Many scholars have emphasised the importance of issue-linkages in intergovernmental agreements (e.g., Haas 1980; Poast 2012), particularly highlighting the crucial role played in the negotiation and implementation of migration-related agreements (e.g., Lavenex et al. 2023; Leerkes et al. 2022).

5.1 Mapping policy areas

Our dataset points out that a significant portion of IRFs (62 out of 108) do not include any linkages to other cooperation areas, focusing solely on migration return policies, while there are some cases of issue linkages established with other migration policies, such as legal visa, legal pathways and reintegration (10 agreements).

Nevertheless, 24 agreements reflect attempts to embed migration within ‘broader policy frameworks’ by including policy areas that are not strictly related to migration policies, such as prevention of crimes related to drug trafficking and human trafficking (Figure 4). This approach could shift attention away from migration-specific challenges, raising concerns that migration might be treated as a tool to advance other political and economic interests. It can be argued that agreements incorporating political commitments to assist non-EU states in combating drug trafficking and human smuggling, in exchange for cooperation on return policies, disproportionately prioritise border security and law enforcement. Consequently, the primary beneficiaries of such arrangements appear to be EU member states, with limited direct benefits for the non-EU countries involved. An additional 12 agreements allow for future issue linkages within and beyond migration policies).

Moreover, most agreements fail to refer to the protection of human rights, while no issue linkages are found in relation to the right to freedom from exploitation in any of the agreements (Figure 5). Only one agreement between Germany and Guinea includes collaboration on trade.

5.2 Mapping trends in countries and regions

France, Sweden, and Switzerland often include broader policy linkages in their migration agreements, aiming for a more ‘integrated’ governance approach, which requires reciprocal arrangements, exchange of benefits and support in different policy areas between the parties involved. In contrast, countries like Austria, Germany, Greece, and the Netherlands tend to focus exclusively on migration management in their agreements, opting for a more ‘targeted’ strategy that has the primary goal of controlling irregular migration and enhancing readmission processes (Figure 4). The narrow perspective on migration cooperation and lack of established issue linkages seems to fall short of the standards included under the recent international frameworks, such as Global Compact on Migration as well as Global Compact on Refugees.

Considering the agreements in our database, an in-depth look at third countries reveals that in regions such as the Balkans, Eastern Europe and West Asia, the percentage of IRFs without issue linkages is notably high, exceeding 70%.⁶ Furthermore, the majority of agreements that include issue linkages related to crime prevention are found in Africa (North and West) and South Asia, suggesting a specific interest on this issue in these regions. However, no distinct patterns emerge for other types of issue linkages.

⁶For a detailed list of partner countries included in the mentioned macro-regions see Table 1 in the Appendix.

Figure 4. Issue linkages included in the IRFs for each EU/EFTA country

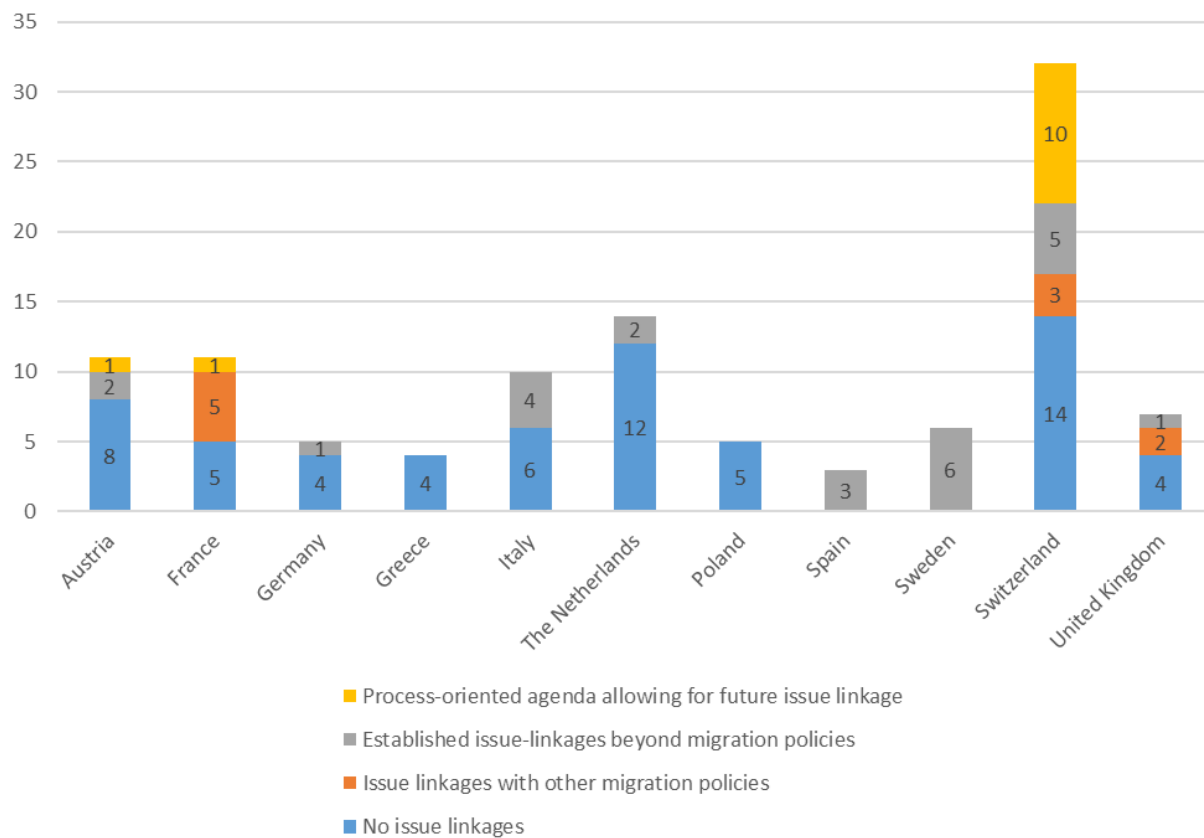
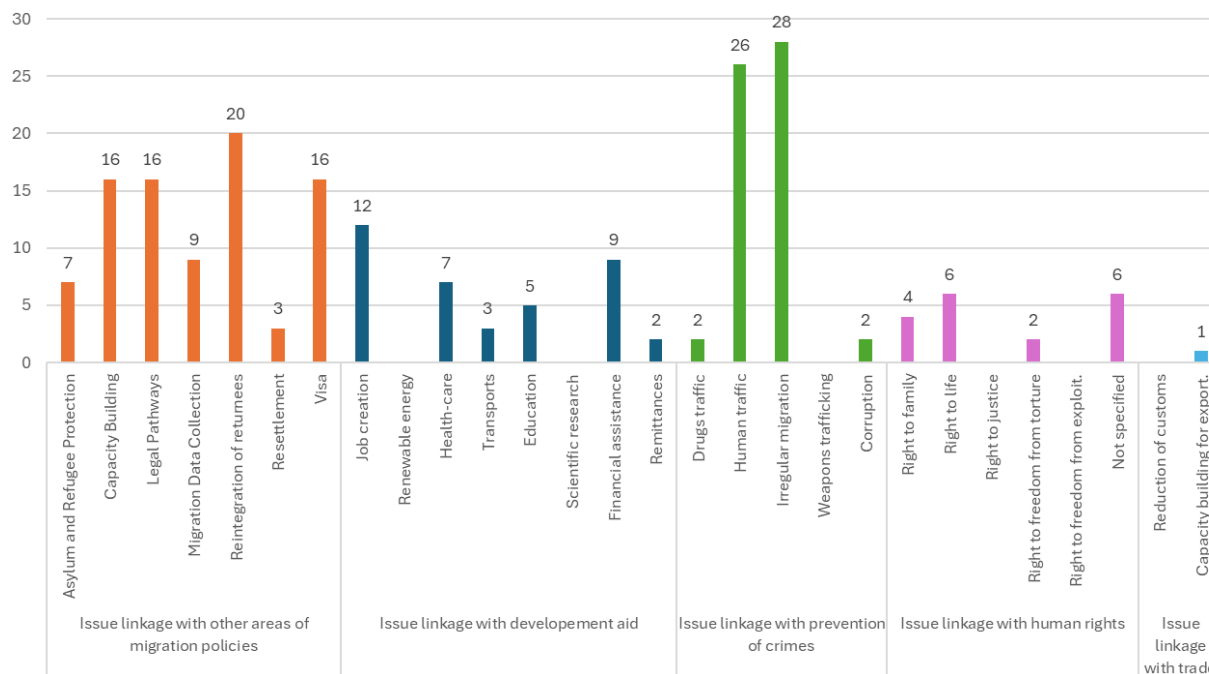


Figure 5: Areas of issue linkages



6. From Theory to Action: operationalizing Return Agreements

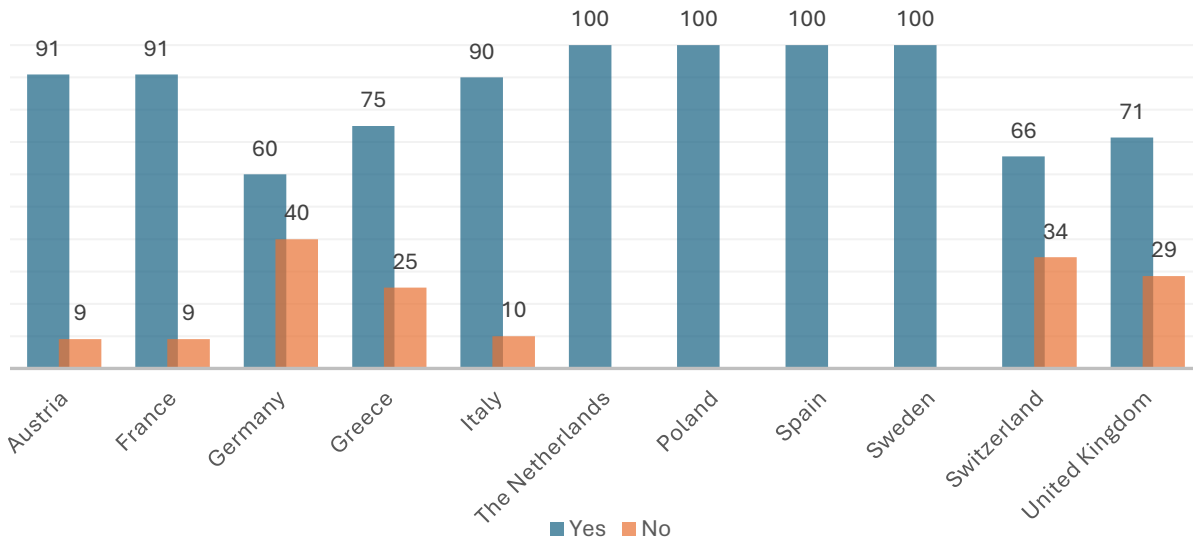
To enhance the practical and operational aspects of readmission, states can supplement return agreements with implementation protocols. Such protocols outline the necessary steps for execution, including the roles, responsibilities, and timelines for all involved parties (Cassarino, 2010). By doing so, they might reduce miscommunication between the parties and foster smoother collaboration in the implementation of the agreement. The following section analyses whether the IRFs under focus are accompanied by an implementation protocol or if specific provisions for implementing the agreements are included in their texts or annexes. It also provides insights on restrictions in types of accepted documents to prove the nationality of the migrant, as well as the link between the migrant and the readmitting country.

6.1 Implementation mechanisms

The data reveals varying approaches to the inclusion of implementation provisions and mechanisms in bilateral return agreements across the 11 countries. Poland, The Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden consistently adopt return agreements that include implementation provisions, signalling a commitment to ensuring the practical application of such agreements. Similarly, France, Austria and Italy incorporate implementation provisions in over 90% of their available agreements, indicating an interest in improving the operational aspects of return management in these countries.

In contrast, Greece, the UK, and Switzerland also prioritise implementation mechanisms in most of their agreements, yet a significant proportion - between 25% and 35% - still lack these crucial elements. This gap suggests inconsistency in the implementation of return agreements in these countries, that could potentially undermine their effectiveness. Notably, Germany stands out with the highest percentage (40%) of return agreements missing implementation provisions.

Figure 6. Percentage of IRFs with implementation provisions



An analysis of third countries' regions shows that states in North, West, and East Africa, as well as South and East Asia, have a percentage of agreements with implementation provisions below the average of 82%. In North Africa, for instance, only 57% of agreements include implementation measures.

6.2 Proving the link between the Readmitting Country and the Migrant

The establishment of a clear link between the readmitting state and the migrant is a crucial step in readmission processes. This connection is typically demonstrated through evidence such as travel documents, which provide formal proof of identity and nationality, or witness statements, which offer a more flexible means of establishing the link when formal documentation is unavailable. Most signatory countries, including Austria, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Poland, and Switzerland, accept a wide range of evidence to prove the link between the readmitting country and third-country nationals, including travel documents, witness statements, and other forms of proof. This wider evidentiary framework may facilitate return procedures by providing multiple sources for verification. Italy takes a more comprehensive approach as it not only accepts the common types of proof listed by other countries, but also considers interviews and identification by consulate officials as valid.

In contrast, the UK and Sweden adopt a more restrictive approach as they limit acceptable evidence strictly to travel documents. This model may hinder the return process in cases where travel documents are unavailable or difficult to obtain for migrants.

Germany stands in a middle position in terms of this requirement, allowing either travel documents or witness statements as proof. This approach seems to provide some flexibility while maintaining stringent requirements compared to other countries.

6.3 Proving nationality

In verifying national identity, states often accept a broad spectrum of documents as valid proof. While certain documents, such as passports or national identity cards, are universally recognised, the criteria for what constitutes sufficient proof can vary widely across jurisdictions. This section explores the range of documentation accepted by most states, as well as more specific or less common forms of evidence that are recognized by particular states or under certain agreements. In the FAIR inventory, the most commonly recognised documents include passports, national identity cards, copies of passports or identity cards, military ID cards, substitute travel documents (*laissez-passer*), seafarers' identity cards, national certificates, and driver's licenses.

Only some IRFs in specific states accept a third-country nationals' statement as sufficient proof of nationality, such as Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland. Additionally, in some agreements, a witness statement is also considered adequate evidence (in Austria, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland).

Less common forms of proof include the language spoken (recognized in some of the agreements with Austria, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland), the outcome of an interview with competent authorities (Austria), a marriage certificate (Greece, the Netherlands, and Sweden), and an employee work card (Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands).

6.4 Facilitating readmission

Before the readmission occurs, effective communication and information exchange between the involved parties are crucial. This exchange ensures that both the sending and receiving states have the necessary details to facilitate a smooth and efficient process. The main information exchanged between the parties before readmission takes place are the identity information about the returnee, which is mentioned in 73% of the agreements, the airports, seaports and (train) stations used during the readmission (in 61% of the agreements) and the contact details from staff involved in readmission (in 47% of the agreements). All UK agreements lack information exchange on airports/seaports/stations, while all Greece agreements lack contact information for staff involved in readmissions.

6.5 Are Readmissions Timely? Deadlines for Requests and Responses

Effective readmission processes rely on the commitment of partners to readmit irregular migrants as well as on the timely execution of each step. Protracted processes may result in higher costs for the states and further harm the conditions of migrants (EU Commission, 2021).

After detecting an irregular status and issuing a return decision, the State must initiate the readmission process by submitting a readmission request to the partner country, which will then respond either positively or negatively. The majority of the agreements of EU/EFTA countries in the FAiR inventory either set no time limits for submitting readmission

requests after detecting irregular status (33%) or do not specify any timeframe at all (38%). Similarly, many agreements do not outline a specific response time for the readmitting state to answer the request. However, 44% of the agreements require a response within one week to one month, and 5.6% of the agreements set a deadline of one week or less. No agreement allows such a prolonged period of 3 to 6 months for the readmitting state to respond.

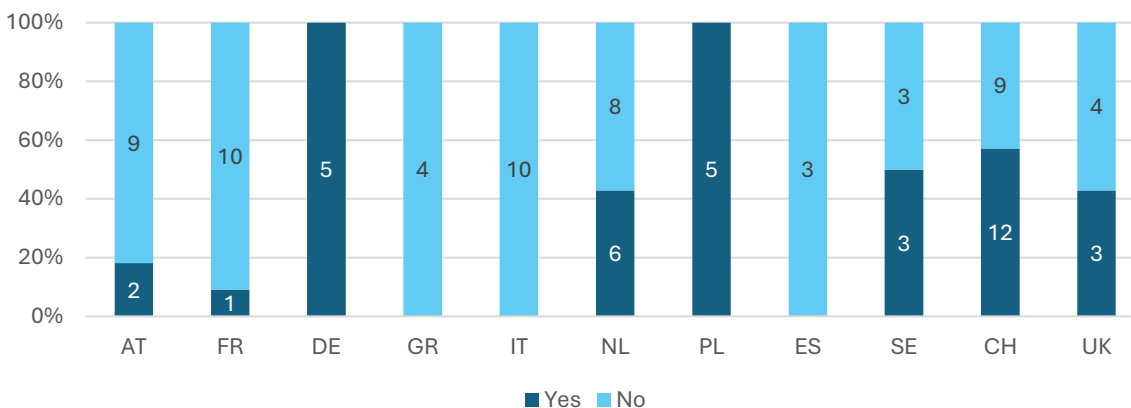
Greece presents a unique case, as it does not set any time limits for submitting readmission requests but requires a response within one week or less in 3 of its 4 agreements. This creates a clear imbalance, placing the primary responsibility for prompt compliance on the receiving country, which may face significant pressure to respond within the constrained time frame.

If a readmission request is denied, two thirds of the agreements for which this information is available, require the state refusing readmission to provide a justification for their decision. The requirement for justification introduces a level of accountability aiming to prevent arbitrary refusals and ensure better transparency in the readmission process.

In addition to establishing time limits for readmission requests and responses, IRFs may also impose deadlines for completing the actual readmission process once travel documents have been issued. The presence of time limits for readmissions is quite diverse across states. Interestingly, Greece, Italy, and Spain have all signed agreements that do not specify a time limit for carrying out readmissions. These countries embrace a more flexible approach, likely due to the specific challenges they encounter as the primary points of arrival for migrants in Europe.

Conversely, some countries such as Germany and Poland specify a time limit for readmissions in all their agreements, which aims to ensure more predictable procedures.

Figure 7. Is there a time limit specified in which readmission needs to take place?



Note: for 11 agreements of Switzerland this information was missing.

Examining the geographical patterns of agreements reveals that most agreements with African countries (84%) and South Asian countries (83%) do not set time limits for completing the readmission process, suggesting greater challenges in implementing timely readmissions in these areas. Only 23.5% of agreements with Central, East, and West Asian countries lack time limits, while in Eastern Europe and the Balkans this figure ranges between 61% and 64%.

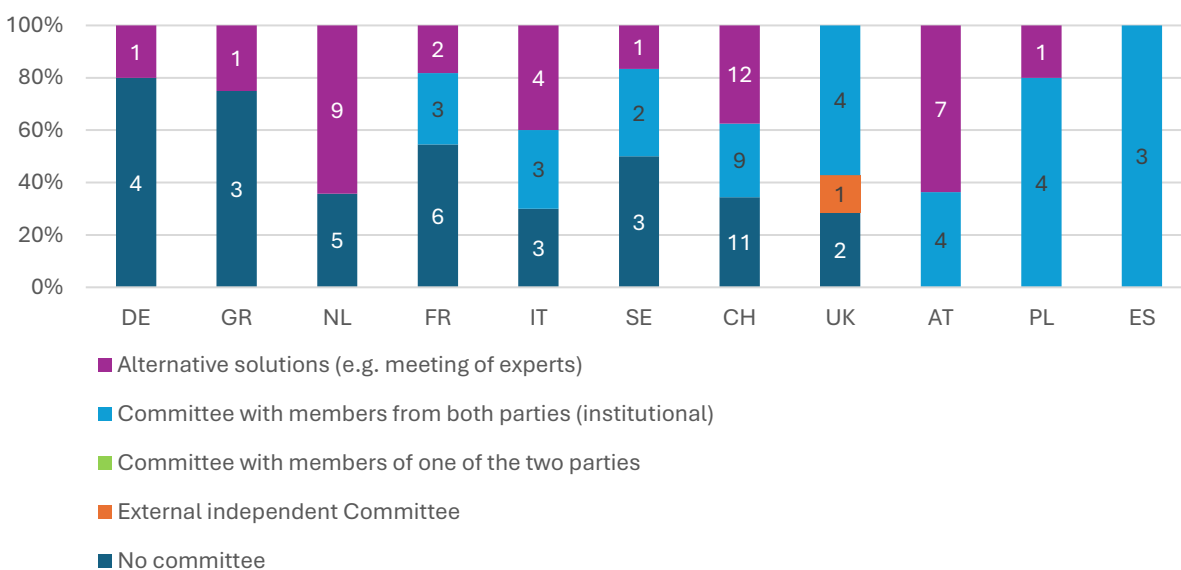
7. Limited oversight? Gaps in Evaluation, Monitoring and Collaboration

In the context of IRFs, the modalities of collaboration between state parties concerning monitoring and evaluation of the agreements are critical for ensuring accountability and transparency, allowing for better compliance with agreed-upon terms and conditions. Our database examined the presence of a committee to oversee the agreement, the nature of collaboration, and the involvement of external stakeholders, such as NGOs or international organizations. These committees have the purpose of overseeing compliance on a regular basis and solve disputes or disagreements between the parties. Involving external entities in the implementation process can significantly enhance cooperation and help ensure that human rights standards are consistently upheld. Their involvement could

also introduce some impartiality and provide a mediating capacity to resolve impasses between the contracting states. However, only three agreements (two of Switzerland and one of UK) provide for the involvement of external stakeholders in the implementation.

Around 29.6% of IRFs designate a committee with representatives from both parties to oversee the monitoring and implementation of the agreement, highlighting attempts to ensure balanced involvement. Despite these efforts, more than one third of IRFs available does not identify any body for this purpose, and only 1 agreement appoints an external and independent Committee. A great percentage of IRFs available (35.2%) adopts alternative solutions, such as meeting of experts from both parties or consultations between representatives of the national authorities. Overall, none of the agreements adopts such an unequal solution as a committee with members of only one party.

Figure 8. Presence of a Committee to implement and monitor the agreement?



This disparity in the establishment of oversight mechanisms raises critical concerns about their effectiveness, as the absence of robust and impartial monitoring structures can significantly weaken both the credibility of the states involved and the reliability of their externalization strategies. By failing to implement robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, these countries risk undermining their commitments to human rights and the rule of law.

The main modes of collaboration between State parties which are mentioned in the treaties include information sharing, regular meetings, and cooperation in response to formal requests for assistance. Most often, collaboration is established through formal assistance requests, as seen in 61 agreements, with this approach being particularly common in Austria, Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland and Germany. The second most common form of cooperation is information sharing, reflected in 32 agreements, and mostly used by IRFs of the Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Sweden, and the UK. The Netherlands stands out as the only country where all agreements provide for both formal assistance requests and information sharing simultaneously.

8. EU return agreements: a brief overview

The FAIR inventory includes bilateral agreements between individual states and partner countries, as well as the European Union's return agreements with third countries. This section focuses on analysing the latter from 2008 to 2023, including not only EURAs but also informal arrangements such as standard operating procedures and good practices. A total of 11 available agreements were registered in this timeframe, but no agreements were recorded in 2008, 2011, 2012 and 2019.

A significant pattern seems to emerge with agreements involving West Asian countries - Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan - which are concentrated between 2010 and 2014. This clustering suggests the EU's increasing strategic interest to promote cooperation with its Eastern neighbours during that period. In contrast, agreements with countries from other regions are more evenly spread across the last 15 years.

8.1 Enforceability and Scope

FAIR dataset indicates that all selected EU agreements are binding except for three non-binding agreements signed with Afghanistan (2016), Bangladesh (2017), and Gambia (2018). Although most IRFs are binding on paper, the only agreement that imposes sanctions or consequences for non-compliance is the EU-Kosovo agreement (2015). This agreement also explicitly includes the objective of enhancing legal pathways and promoting circular human mobility among its migration objectives. The other agreements

instead merely focus on cooperation for return and the prevention or combat of illegal migration.

8.2 Policy Area Issue linkages

The majority of EU IRFs (64%) have issue linkages with other migration policies, especially concerning visa and capacity building for migration authorities. Only three agreements (27%) - those with Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Kosovo - include issue linkages that extend beyond migration policies, such as development aid policies and prevention of crimes related to transnational criminal organisations. Finally, 1 agreement has no issue linkages at all (Gambia). The agreements with Pakistan and Turkey, while belonging to the category of EU Readmission Agreements, do not include any accompanying Visa Facilitation agreements.

Compared to the IRFs signed by the states individually (see Section 6), the EU has a higher share of agreements (73%) that include issue linkages on human rights, particularly in relation to family unity, right to life, right to security and justice, freedom from torture and exploitation. Crime prevention instead plays a less prominent role, with 3 agreements (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Kosovo) providing a linkage with the prevention of human trafficking and irregular migration. Development aid is also less relevant compared to member states' IRFs, with only two agreements (Bangladesh and Afghanistan) mentioning financial assistance and job creation. Lastly, there are no migration-trade linkages in any of the agreements.

8.3 Implementation, documents and time limits

All the EU agreements include specific provisions on the implementation of the IRF in the text or annexes. These provisions aim to facilitate the operationalisation of the agreements, ensuring that clear guidelines and mechanisms are established for monitoring and implementation.

In terms of documentation, travel documents or witness statements are in most cases sufficient to prove the link between the readmitting country and the migrant, except for the agreements with Afghanistan and Kosovo, where other documents are required. Generally, the following documents are sufficient to prove the nationality of the migrant: passport,

national identity cards, national certificates, copies of passports and national identity cards, driver's license, employee card of work, linguistic evidence (spoken language), statement of third country national themselves, military identity cards, seafarers' identity cards. The agreements with Gambia, Afghanistan and Bangladesh have a more limited set of options, which mainly includes passport, national id and substitute travel documents (laissez-passer).

When it comes to time limits, in 2 agreements (Pakistan and Cape Verde) the European Union has a time limit of 6 months to 1 year for submitting a readmission request to the receiving state after detecting an individual's irregular status. In 5 agreements this limit is within 6 months, and for the remaining agreements (4) there is no time limit (Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Kosovo and Gambia).

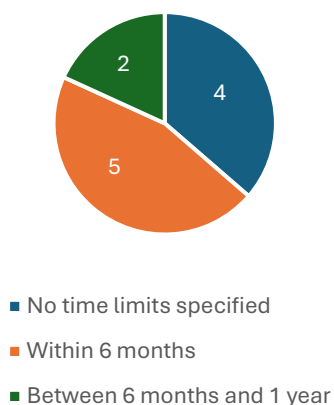
Most of the agreements establish a response time of one week to one month for the readmitting state to reply to a readmission request. The only exceptions are the agreement with Gambia, which sets the limit at one week, and the agreement with Pakistan, which allows for a response time of one to three months.

Clearly, overall time limits for answers are generally stricter than those for submitting requests, which works to the advantage of the EU rather than the partner country.

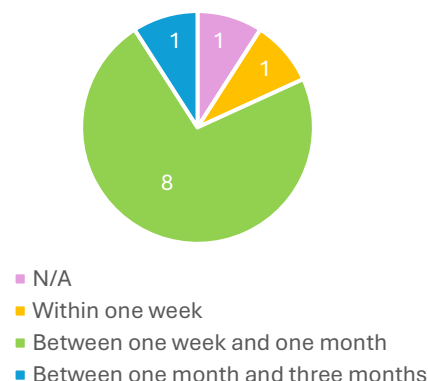
In addition, only four agreements, which are among the most recent EU IRFs - Gambia, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and Kosovo - do not specify a time limit for readmissions to take place from the moment travel documents are issued. Finally, the agreements with Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Kosovo are the only IRFs that do not require a justification for a negative response to a readmission request.

Figure 9. Time limits for requests and answers to readmissions

Time limits for requests



Time limits for answers to requests



8.4 Modalities of collaboration, exchange of information and evaluation

Collaboration in all EU treaties is initiated through a formal request for assistance. Most EU agreements require an exchange of information regarding the identity of the returnee and the airports, seaports, or train stations used during readmission. The agreement with Afghanistan additionally prescribes the exchange of contact details of the staff involved in the readmission process. On the contrary, the agreement with Gambia only requires the exchange of identity information about the returnee.

All the 11 EU agreements establish a joint committee with representatives from both parties to oversee the monitoring and implementation of the agreement, as well as to propose amendments. The consistent establishment of such an institutional committee highlights that all EU agreements include shared monitoring responsibilities, contrasting with IRFs where such responsibilities were found in only some agreements.

9. Concluding Remarks: The Value of a Bilateral Readmission Agreements Inventory and Future Research

Bilateral readmission agreements serve as technical tools designed to enhance the cooperation between the authorities of two countries involved in the process of returning to their country-of-origin individuals who do not fulfil the conditions to enter or remain on the territory of one of the two countries in question (EMN, 2022). In recent years, the EU has concluded some agreements with third countries on return and readmission, both binding and non-binding, while various EU/EFTA countries have also concluded their own bilateral agreements to this end (Niemann & Zaun, 2023). As outlined by the European Migration Network, cooperation with third countries on readmission and reintegration of returnees “was the most reported action on return” in several EU countries (EMN, 2023).

The success of the readmission process largely depends on the quality, speed and effectiveness of the assistance provided by countries for identification of irregular migrants, for the issuance of travel documents and for acceptance of returnees (European Commission, 2023). Despite the proposals from the Pact on Migration and Asylum in 2024, challenges are expected to persist in the future. Critical issues stem from both internal factors, due to difficulties states face in executing return procedures, and external factors, such as the lack of cooperation from third countries regarding readmission (EPRS, 2024).

Against this background, the FAIR inventory of bilateral readmission agreements provides a first insight on the characteristics and the structure of agreements between European countries and third countries from 2008 to 2023, as well as European Union agreements with third countries. This database is not only a critical resource for understanding existing frameworks, but is also open for further research. It can be expanded to encompass other countries interested in enhancing academic research, data collection and collaboration in this field. The FAIR inventory has emphasised some of the differences among states on the approach to returns and readmissions. Diverse practices regarding modalities of collaboration with third countries, coupled with inadequate evaluation and monitoring mechanisms and a general lack of enforceability, can significantly impact the effectiveness of return processes and compromise protection standards. To conclude, establishing a common and effective system for returns fully respecting human rights and

international law obligations is a shared responsibility that demands close operational coordination and cooperation among states and EU institutions.

APPENDIX 1

Table 1. Distribution of partner countries across macro-regions

| MACRO-REGIONS | PARTNER COUNTRIES |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Middle East | Syria |
| | Kuwait |
| | Iraq |
| Balkans | Macedonia |
| | Serbia |
| | Kosovo |
| | Bosnia Herzegovina |
| | Croatia |
| | Montenegro |
| | Albania |
| Eastern Europe | Moldova |
| | Ukraine |
| | Russia |
| North Africa | Morocco |
| | Tunisia |
| | Algeria |
| | Libia |
| Central Africa | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| | Angola |
| | Cameroon |
| East Africa | Ethiopia |
| | Rwanda |
| | Comoros |
| | Sudan |
| South Africa | Botswana |

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| West Africa | Cape Verde |
| | Burkina Faso |
| | Guinea |
| | Guinea Bissau |
| | Gambia |
| | Senegal |
| | Benin |
| | Niger |
| | Côte d'Ivoire |
| | Nigeria |
| Central Asia | Kazakhstan |
| East Asia | China |
| | Mongolia |
| | Vietnam |
| West Asia | Azerbaijan |
| | Georgia |
| | Armenia |
| South Asia | India |
| | Bangladesh |
| | Sri Lanka |
| | Pakistan |
| | Afghanistan |

APPENDIX 2.

List of agreements in the FAIR inventory (EU/EFTA countries and European Union).

AUSTRIA

1. Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Austria represented by the Federal Minister of the Interior and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on the implementation of the Agreement on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **Austria – Macedonia (2010).**
2. Protocol between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Serbia on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **Austria – Serbia (2010).**
3. Protocol on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Moldova on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **Austria – Moldova (2010).**
4. Agreement between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on the Admission and Transit of Persons. **Austria – Kosovo (2010).**
5. Implementing Protocol between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of the Russian Federation on the implementation of the Agreement between the Russian Federation and the European Community on readmission of May 25, 2006. **Austria – Russia (2010).**
6. Protocol between the Austrian Federal Government and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **Austria – Bosnia Herzegovina (2011).**
7. Agreement on Readmission between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **Austria-Nigeria (2012).**
8. Implementing Protocol between the Austrian Federal Government and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and Ukraine on the readmission of persons. **Austria – Ukraine (2012).**

9. Protocol between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of Georgia on the Implementation of the Agreement between the European Union and Georgia on the Readmission of Persons Residing Without Authorization. **Austria – Georgia (2023).**
10. Joint Declaration between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Republic of Austria. **Austria – Morocco (2023)**
11. Agreement between the Austrian Federal Government and the Government of the Republic of India on a Comprehensive Migration and Mobility Partnership. **Austria – India (2023).**

FRANCE

1. Franco-Tunisian Framework Agreement of 28 April 2008 on the Concerted Management of Migration and Solidarity development between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Tunisia. **France – Tunisia (2008).**
2. Agreement of 24 November 2008 between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Cape Verde on the concerted management of migratory flows and solidarity-based development. **France – Cape Verde (2008).**
3. Agreement of 10 January 2009 between the government of the French republic and the Government of Burkina Faso on the concerted management of migratory flows and solidarity-based development. **France – Burkina Faso (2009).**
4. Agreement between France and Cameroon on the concerted management of migratory flows and solidarity-based development. **France – Cameroon (2009).**
5. Protocol between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on the application of the Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Serbia on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **France – Serbia (2009).**

6. Agreement between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **France – Kosovo (2009).**
7. Protocol between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation concerning the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Russian Federation on readmission of persons of 25 May 2006. **France – Russia (2010).**
8. Protocol between the Government of the French Republic and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the implementation of the Agreement of 18 September 2007 between the European Community and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **France - Bosnia Herzegovina (2014).**
9. Protocol between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Armenia implementing the Agreement signed in Brussels on 19 April 2013 between the European Union and the Republic of Armenia on the readmission of persons in irregular situation. **France – Armenia (2016).**
10. Agreement of 10 March 2018 on partnership for migration and mobility between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of India. **France – India (2018).**
11. Towards a renewed partnership between the French Republic and the Union of the Comoros - Framework document. **France – Union of the Comoros (2019).**

GERMANY 

1. Agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic on the Repatriation of Persons Residing Illegally. **Germany – Syria (2008).**
2. Agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Readmission and Transit of Persons. **Germany – Kazakhstan (2009).**

3. Agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on the Readmission and Transit of Persons. **Germany – Kosovo (2010).**
4. Agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on the Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorization. **Germany – Croatia (2012).**
5. Agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on Cooperation in the Area of Legal and Illegal Migration. **Germany – Guinea (2018).**

GREECE 

1. Protocol Agreement between Greece and Russia for the application of the Readmission Agreement between the European Community and Russia of 25/05/2006. **Greece – Russia (2012).**
2. Protocol Agreement between Greece and Serbia for the application of the Readmission Agreement between the European Community and Serbia of 18/09/2007. **Greece – Serbia (2013).**
3. Protocol Agreement between Greece and Moldova for the application of the Readmission Agreement between the European Community and Moldova of 10/10/2007. **Greece – Moldova (2014).**
4. Protocol Agreement between Greece and Montenegro for the application of the Readmission Agreement between the European Community and Montenegro of 18/9/2007. **Greece – Montenegro (2019).**

ITALY 

1. Implementation Protocol concerning the modalities of implementation of the Readmission Agreement between the European Community and Russia. **Italy – Russia (2010).**
2. Memorandum of Understanding. **Italy – Tunisia (2011)**

3. Accordo sulla riammissione delle persone che soggiornano senza autorizzazione. **Italy – Kosovo (2014).**
4. Protocol for the implementation of the agreement between the European Community and Montenegro on the readmission of persons in irregular situation. **Italy – Montenegro (2014)**
5. Protocol for the implementation of the agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Moldova on the readmission of persons in irregular stay. **Italy – Moldova (2015).**
6. Implementing protocol of the agreement on the readmission of persons in irregular situation. **Italy – North Macedonia (2015)**
7. Memorandum of Understanding between the Public Security Department of the Italian Interior Ministry and the National Police of the Sudanese Interior Ministry for the fight against criminality, management of frontiers and migration flows, and about repatriation. **Italy - Sudan (2016).**
8. Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the field of development, combating illegal immigration, human trafficking, smuggling, and strengthening border security. **Italy - Libya (2017).**
9. Implementing protocol of the readmission agreement for persons in irregular situation between the European Community and Bosnia Herzegovina. **Italy – Bosnia Herzegovina (2017).**
10. Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Italian Republic and the Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire on Migration and Security. **Italy – Côte d'Ivoire (2023).**

THE NETHERLANDS

1. Agreement between the Benelux States and the Republic of Armenia on the readmission of persons residing unlawfully. **The Netherlands – Armenia (2009).**
2. Protocol implementing the Agreement between the Benelux States and the Republic of Armenia on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **The Netherlands – Armenia (2009).**
3. Agreement between Benelux and the Republic of Kosovo concerning the readmission of persons who have entered and/or are residing without authorization. **The Netherlands - Kosovo (2011).**

4. Protocol implementing the Agreement between Benelux and the Republic of Kosovo concerning the readmission of persons who have entered and/or are residing without authorization. **The Netherlands - Kosovo (2011).**
5. Protocol between The Netherlands and Russia implementing the Agreement between the Russian Federation and the European Community on readmission of 25 May 2006. **The Netherlands -Russia (2011).**
6. Protocol between Benelux and Montenegro on the implementation of the agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Montenegro on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **The Netherlands – Montenegro (2012).**
7. Protocol between Benelux and the Republic of Moldova implementing the Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Moldova on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation of 10 October 2007. **The Netherlands – Moldova (2013).**
8. Protocol between Benelux and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Serbia on the readmission of persons residing without authorization of 18 September 2007. **The Netherlands – Serbia (2013).**
9. Protocol between Benelux and Georgia on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Union and Georgia on the readmission of persons residing without authorization of 22 November 2010. **The Netherlands – Georgia (2013).**
10. Protocol between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the States of the Benelux implementing the Agreement between between the European Community and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **The Netherlands – Bosnia Herzegovina (2013).**
11. Agreement between the States of the Benelux and the Republic of Kazakhstan on readmission. **The Netherlands – Kazakhstan (2015).**
12. Protocol implementing the agreement between the States of the Benelux and the Republic of Kazakhstan on readmission. **The Netherlands – Kazakhstan (2015).**
13. Protocol between the Republic of Armenia and the States of the Benelux implementing the Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Armenia on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation of 19 April 2013. **The Netherlands – Armenia (2018).**

14. Protocol between Benelux and Ukraine implementing the Agreement between the European Community and Ukraine on the Readmission of Persons of 18 June 2007. **The Netherlands – Ukraine (2018).**

POLAND 

1. Implementation protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Republic of Moldova to the Agreement between European Community and Republic of Moldova on readmission of illegally staying persons. **Poland – Moldova (2012).**
2. Implementation protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of Russian Federation on the method of performance of the Agreement between European Community and Russian Federation. **Poland – Russia (2012).**
3. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the readmission of illegally staying persons. **Poland – Kazakhstan (2016)**
4. Implementation protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine to the Agreement between European Community and Ukraine on readmission. **Poland – Ukraine (2017).**
5. Implementation protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Republic of Armenia to the Agreement between European Union and the Republic of Armenia on readmission of illegally staying persons. **Poland – Armenia (2021).**

SPAIN 

1. Framework Agreement on Cooperation in Immigration Matters between the Kingdom of Spain and the Republic of Niger. **Spain – Niger (2008).**
2. Agreement on Cooperation in Immigration Matters between the Kingdom of Spain and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. **Spain – Guinea Bissau (2008).**

3. Protocol between the Government of the Kingdom of Spain and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria on the Movement of Persons. **Spain – Algeria (2022).**

SWEDEN

1. Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Government of the Republic of Iraq. **Sweden – Iraq (2008).**
2. Agreement between the government of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on readmission of citizens. **Sweden – Vietnam (2008).**
3. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden on the Readmission of Persons Staying without Authorization. **Sweden -Armenia (2008)**
4. Agreement between The Government of the Kingdom of Sweden and The Government of the Republic of Kosovo on Readmission of persons. **Sweden – Kosovo (2011)**
5. Implementing Protocol with the Russian Federation on the implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Russian Federation on readmission of 25 May 2006. **Sweden – Russia (2012)**
6. Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of Sweden and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on cooperation in the field of migration. **Sweden – Afghanistan (2016).**

SWITZERLAND

1. Agreement between Switzerland and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Bosnia Herzegovina (2008).**
2. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the development of the Migration Partnership between Switzerland and Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Switzerland – Bosnia Herzegovina (2009).**

3. Agreement between the Swiss Confederation and the Republic of Serbia on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland - Serbia (2009).**
4. Agreement between the Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation and the Government of the Russian Federation on readmission. **Switzerland – Russia (2009).**
5. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on the Development of the Migration Partnership. **Switzerland - Serbia (2009).**
6. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Kosovo (2010).**
7. Memorandum of Understanding between the Federal Council and the Government of Kosovo on the Development of a Migration Partnership between the Swiss Confederation and the Government of Kosovo. **Switzerland – Kosovo (2010).**
8. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Kazakhstan (2010).**
9. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Moldova (2010).**
10. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Benin on the entry, stay, and return of persons. **Switzerland – Benin (2010).**
11. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the establishment of a Migration Partnership. **Switzerland – Nigeria (2011).**
12. Agreement between the Swiss Confederation and Montenegro on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Montenegro (2011).**
13. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – North Macedonia (2012).**
14. Agreement on Cooperation in migration matters between the Swiss Confederation and the Republic of Tunisia. **Switzerland – Tunisia (2012).**

15. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Tunisia on the establishment of a Migration Partnership. **Switzerland – Tunisia (2012).**
16. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Angola on Cooperation in the migration area. **Switzerland – Angola (2013).**
17. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Cameroon on Cooperation in the migration area. **Switzerland – Cameroon (2014).**
18. Arrangement between the State Secretariat for Migration of the Federal Department of Justice and Police of the Swiss Confederation and the Exit and Entry Administration of the Ministry of Public Security of the People’s Republic of China on the identification of alleged Chinese citizens with irregular stay in Switzerland. **Switzerland – China (2015).**
19. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the State of Kuwait on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Kuwait (2016).**
20. Migration Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. **Switzerland – Sri Lanka (2016).**
21. Technical Agreement between the Federal Department of Justice and Police of Switzerland and the Ministry of External Affairs of India on the identification and return of Indian and Swiss Nationals. **Switzerland – India (2016).**
22. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Azerbaijan (2016).**
23. Agreement between the Swiss Confederation and Ukraine on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Ukraine (2017).**
24. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of Mongolia on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Mongolia (2018).**
25. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka on the Establishment of a Migration Partnership. **Switzerland -Sri Lanka (2018).**
26. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Botswana on the readmission of persons with unauthorized stay. **Switzerland – Botswana (2019).**

27. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Gambia on cooperation in the migration area. **Switzerland – The Gambia (2021).**
28. Declaration of Intent on Cooperation between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire in migration matters. **Switzerland – Côte d'Ivoire (2021).**
29. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire on the procedures for the identification and readmission of Ivorian migrants in an irregular situation in Switzerland. **Switzerland – Côte d'Ivoire (2021).**
30. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of Georgia on the development of the Migration Partnership. **Switzerland – Georgia (2022).**
31. Memorandum of Understanding between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of North Macedonia on the development of a Migration Partnership. **Switzerland – North Macedonia (2022).**
32. Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on cooperation in the migration area. **Switzerland – Guinea Bissau (2023).**

UNITED KINGDOM

1. Memorandum of Understanding on the Migration and Mobility Partnership between India and the United Kingdom. **UK-India (2021).**
2. Agreement on the Readmission of Persons. **UK – Albania (2021).**
3. Agreement on the Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorization. **UK – Serbia (2022).**
4. Agreement on Returns and Readmissions. **UK – Pakistan (2022).**
5. Memorandum of Understanding with Nigeria to deter illegal migration. **UK – Nigeria (2022).**
6. Agreement on the Readmission of persons residing without authorization. **UK – Georgia (2023).**
7. Agreement between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Rwanda. **UK – Rwanda (2023).**

EUROPEAN UNION

1. Agreement between the European Community and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Pakistan (2009).**
2. Agreement between the European Union and Georgia on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Georgia (2010).**
3. Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Cape Verde on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Cape Verde (2013).**
4. Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Turkey on the readmission of persons residing without authorization. **EU-Turkey (2013).**
5. Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Armenia on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Armenia (2013).**
6. Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Azerbaijan on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Azerbaijan (2014).**
7. Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the one part, and Kosovo, of the other part. **EU-Kosovo (2015).**
8. Joint Way Forward on migration issues between Afghanistan and the EU. **EU-Afghanistan (2016).**
9. EU-Bangladesh Standard Operating Procedures for the Identification and Return of Persons without an Authorisation to Stay. **EU-Bangladesh (2017).**
10. EU-Gambia Good Practices Procedures on Identification and Return. **EU-Gambia (2018).**
11. Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Belarus on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation. **EU-Belarus (2020).**

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