

# Expanding, Complementing, or Substituting Multilateralism? EU Preferential Trade Agreements in the Migration Regime Complex

## Online Appendix

### Data selection and coverage

The MITA database is the most comprehensive datasets that measure migration provisions in preferential trade agreements. The data covers all international trade agreements that were signed between 1960 and 2020 and whose texts are publicly available. The trade agreements can be bilateral, plurilateral or regional. Most importantly, the dataset distinguishes between mobility provisions (200 variables), migrant control provisions (10 variables) and migrant right provisions (10 variables). The full dataset and codebook are available at DOI 10.5281/zenodo.7699054

### Details on operationalization:

#### Variable list (0=absence, 1= presence)

- MOBOBJ: Does the agreement mention the objective of facilitating migration?
- MOBCHP: Does the agreement text contain a dedicated part on the mobility of natural persons?
- MOBLAB: Does the agreement allow access to the labour market for natural persons?
- MOBSER: Does the agreement allow access to the service market for natural persons?
- MOBMRA: Does the agreement contain a commitment on the mutual recognition of qualifications?
- MOBDSM: Does the agreement contain a dispute settlement mechanism for mobility provisions?
- MOBPER: Does the agreement mention limitations of mobility commitments regarding permanent settlement and citizenship?
- MOBREG: Does the agreement contain a commitment on regulatory cooperation regarding the mobility of natural persons?
- MOBMFN: Does the agreement contain a most-favoured-nation (MFN) clause for the included mobility provisions?
- MOBNTR: Does the agreement contain a national treatment clause for the included mobility provisions?
- MOBFEE: Does the agreement contain a commitment on the limitation of application fees?
- MOBINF: Does the agreement contain commitments on the provision of publicly available information regarding the mobility of natural persons?
- MOBSEC: Does the agreement contain a limitation of mobility commitments based on security interests?
- MOBTEC: Does the agreement contain technology transfer requirements?
- MOBRES: Does the agreement contain within-country mobility restrictions?
- MOBVIS: Does the agreement contain a commitment on visa facilitation?
- MOBPRC: Does the agreement contain a commitment on the facilitation of the application process?
- MOBGTS: Does the agreement require compliance with the 'General Agreement on Trade in Services' (1995)?
- MOBCOM: Does the agreement require compliance with an international agreement that facilitates the mobility of natural persons?
- MOBIP: Does the agreement allow the movement of independent professionals?
- MOBBV: Does the agreement allow the movement of business visitors?
- MOBICT: Does the agreement allow the movement of intra-corporate transferees?
- MOBCSS: Does the agreement allow the movement of contractual service suppliers?
- MOBTR: Does the agreement allow the movement of (graduate) trainees?
- MOBINS: Does the agreement allow the movement of installers?
- MOBINV: Does the agreement allow the movement of investors?
- MOBEXE: Does the agreement allow the movement of executives?
- MOBMAN: Does the agreement allow the movement of managers?
- MOBSPC: Does the agreement allow the movement of specialists?

MOBBS: Does the agreement allow the movement of business (service) sellers?

MOBCUL: Does the agreement allow the movement of artists, sportsmen or fashion models?

MOBOBP: Does the agreement allow the movement of other business people?

MOBTRS: Does the agreement allow the movement of tourists?

MOBEDU: Does the agreement allow the movement of students and/or researchers?

MOBENT1: Does the agreement contain an ENT reservation?

MOBENT2: Does the agreement contain an ENT exemption or limitation?

MOBQUO1 : Does the agreement allow for the imposition of quotas?

MOBQUO2 : Does the agreement prohibit the imposition of quotas?

MOBDRN: Does the agreement define maximum length of stay for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBEMP: Does the agreement contain employment restrictions for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBEXT: Does the agreement contain a mechanism for the extension of stay for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBEXP: Does the agreement contain a requirement of prior professional experience for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBSKL: Does the agreement contain a skill-level limitation for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBSCT1: Does the agreement contain a sector limitation for service mobility?

MOBSCT2: Does the agreement contain a sector expansion beyond services?

MOBSPS: Does the agreement contain a provision for the rights of spouses and dependents?

MOBPRE: Does the agreement contain a pre-employment requirement for the mobility of natural persons?

MOBDOM: Does the agreement contain a provision that allow for employment in the receiving country?

MOBDIR1: Is the mobility provision asymmetric?

CONOBJ: Does the agreement mention the objective of migration control?

CONCHP: Does the agreement contain a dedicated chapter on migration control?

CONDIA: Does the agreement include a commitment on a dialogue on migration control?

CONREA: Does the agreement include a commitment to re-admit nationals?

CONRTN: Does the agreement include a commitment to support the reintegration / hosting of (returned) migrants and refugees?

CONIRR: Does the agreement include a commitment to prevent irregular migration?

CONDSM: Does the agreement contain a dispute settlement mechanism for migration control provisions?

CONREG: Does the agreement include a commitment on regulatory cooperation on migration control?

CONDEV: Does the agreement draw a link between migration control and the development of sending countries?

CONCOM: Does the agreement require compliance with an international agreement regulating migration control?

RIGOBJ: Does the agreement mention the objective of protecting migrant rights?

RIGCHP: Does the agreement contain a dedicated chapter on migrant rights?

RIGDIA: Does the agreement contain a commitment on dialogue on migrant rights?

RIGTRA: Does the agreement include a commitment on social insurance transfers?

RIGDIS: Does the agreement include a commitment on non-discrimination of migrant worker?

RIGSOC: Does the agreement include a commitment on equal access to social security?

RIGDSM: Does the agreement contain a dispute settlement mechanism for migrant rights provisions?

RIGREG: Does the agreement include a commitment on regulatory cooperation on migrant rights?

RIGREF: Does the agreement include a commitment to the protection of refugees?

RIGCOM: Does the agreement require compliance with an international agreement regulating the right of migrants?

**Frequency measurement: indices (for each type of migration provisions):**

Dichotomous frequency: Does at least one migration provision appear in an agreement (value 1) or not (value 0)?

Continuous frequency: The absolute number of migration provisions of a PTA. Calculated as the sum of all (dichotomous) variables of the same provision type.

**Trade data:**

The trade data is from the International Monetary Fund's Direction of Trade Statistics (DOTS) and the complementary dataset by [Gleditsch \(2002\)](#) to maximize coverage.

**Table A1: List of EU Trade agreements**

No	Partner Country	Year of Signature	Name
1	Greece	1961	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Greece
2	Turkey	1963	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey
3	Associated States	1963	Convention of Association between the European Economic Community and the African and Malagasy States associated with that Community (Yaoundé I)
4	Morocco	1969	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the Kingdom of Morocco
5	Tunisia	1969	Agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Tunisia and related documents
6	Kenya; Uganda; Tanzania	1969	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Uganda and the Republic of Kenya
7	Associated States	1969	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the African and Malagasy States associated with that Community (Yaoundé II)
8	Israel	1970	Agreement with Israel negotiated under article XXVIII paragraph 4 of the GATT
9	Malta	1970	Agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Community and Malta
10	Spain	1970	Agreement between the European Economic Community and Spain
11	Turkey	1970	ECC-Turkey Association
12	Cyprus	1972	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Community and the Republic of Cyprus
13	Egypt	1972	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Arab Republic of Egypt
14	Iceland	1972	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Iceland
15	Lebanon	1972	Agreement between the Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Lebanese Republic

16	Portugal	1972	Agreements between the European Communities and the Republic of Portugal - Information furnished by the parties to the agreements
17	Portugal	1972	Agreements between the European Communities and the Republic of Portugal
18	Sweden	1972	Agreements between the European Communities and Sweden
19	Switzerland	1972	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Swiss Confederation
20	Austria	1972	Agreements between the European Communities and Austria
21	Finland	1973	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Finland
22	Norway	1973	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Kingdom of Norway
23	Israel	1975	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the State of Israel
24	ACP States	1975	ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé
25	Algeria	1976	Agreement between the Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community and the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
26	Morocco	1976	Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and Morocco
27	Tunisia	1976	Agreement between the Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Republic of Tunisia
28	Egypt	1977	Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Arab Republic of Egypt
29	Jordan	1977	Interim Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
30	Lebanon	1977	Interim Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Lebanese Republic
31	Syria	1977	Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Syrian Arab Republic
32	ACP States	1979	Second ACP-EEC Convention signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979
33	Yugoslavia	1980	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the field of transport
34	ACP States	1984	Third ACP-EEC Convention signed at Lomé on 8 December 1984
35	China	1985	Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the People's Republic of China
36	Andorra	1989	Agreement in the form of an exchange of letters between the European Economic Community and the Principality of Andorra
37	ACP States	1989	Fourth ACP-EEC Convention signed at Lomé on 15 December 1989
38	Soviet Socialist Republics	1989	Agreement between the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on trade and commercial and economic cooperation
39	Czech Republic	1991	Interim Agreement on Trade and Trade-Related Matters between the European Economic Community and the European Coal and Steel Community, of the one Part, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, of the other Part
40	Faroe Islands	1991	Agreement between the European Economic Community of the one part and the Government of Denmark and the Home Government of the Faroe Islands of the other part
41	Hungary	1991	Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Hungary, of the other part

42	Poland	1991	Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Poland, of the other part
43	San Marino	1991	Agreement on Cooperation and Customs Union between the European Economic Community and the Republic of San Marino
44	Estonia	1993	Agreement on Free Trade and Trade-related Matters between the European Community, the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Coal and Steel Community of the one Part and the Republic of Estonia of the other Part
45	Romania	1993	Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and Romania, of the other part
46	Slovakia	1993	Europe Agreement establishing an Association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Slovak Republic, of the other part
47	Slovenia	1993	Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Slovenia
48	Bulgaria	1993	Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Bulgaria, of the other part
49	Latvia	1994	Agreement on Free Trade and Trade-related Matters between the European Community, the European Atomic Energy and the European Coal and Steel Community and the Republic of Latvia
50	Lithuania	1994	Agreement on Free Trade and Trade-Related Matters between the European Community, the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Coal and Steel Community of the one Part and the Republic of Lithuania of the other Part
51	Russia	1994	Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation establishing a partnership between the European Communities and their Member States, of one part, and the Russian Federation, of the other part
52	Moldova	1994	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Moldova
53	Ukraine	1994	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part
54	Estonia	1995	Europe Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Estonia
55	Israel	1995	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Communities and their Member States and the State of Israel
56	Latvia	1995	Europe Agreement establishing the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Latvia
57	Lithuania	1995	Europe Agreement establishing the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Lithuania
58	Tunisia	1995	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Tunisia
59	Turkey	1995	EC Turkey Implementation of the final phase of the Customs Union
60	Kyrgyzstan	1995	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Kyrgyz Republic
61	Belarus	1995	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Belarus
62	Kazakhstan	1995	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Kazakhstan

63	Faroe Islands	1996	Agreement between the European Community, of the one part, and the Government of Denmark and the Home Government of the Faroe Islands, of the other part
64	Morocco	1996	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Kingdom of Morocco, of the other part
65	Slovenia	1996	Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, acting within the framework of the European Union, of the one part, and the Republic of Slovenia, of the other part
66	Uzbekistan	1996	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement establishing a Partnership between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Uzbekistan
67	Georgia	1996	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and Georgia
68	Armenia	1996	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Armenia
69	Jordan	1997	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, of the other part
70	Palestinian Authority	1997	Euro-Mediterranean Interim Association Agreement on trade and cooperation between the European Community, of the one part, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for the benefit of the Palestinian Authority of the West Bank and the Gaz
71	South Africa	1999	Agreement on Trade, Development and Cooperation between the European Community and its Member States and the Republic of South Africa
72	Switzerland	1999	Bilateral Agreements I
73	Azerbaijan	1999	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Azerbaijan
74	ACP States	2000	Partnership Agreement between African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States and the European Community and its Member States (Cotonou Agreement)
75	Mexico	2000	Economic Partnership, Political Coordination and Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and its Member States and the United Mexican States
76	Croatia	2001	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Croatia
77	Egypt	2001	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Communities and their Member States and the Arab Republic of Egypt
78	Macedonia	2001	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
79	Algeria	2002	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Community and its Member States and the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
80	Chile	2002	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Community and its Member States and the Republic of Chile
81	Lebanon	2002	Euro-Mediterranean Agreement establishing an Association between the European Community and its Member States and the Republic of Lebanon
82	Tajikistan	2004	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement establishing a partnership between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Tajikistan, of the other part
83	Albania	2006	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Albania

84	Montenegro	2007	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Montenegro
85	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2008	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and Bosnia and Herzegovina
86	CARIFORUM	2008	Economic Partnership Agreement between the CARIFORUM States and the European Community and its Member States
87	Cote d'Ivoire	2008	Stepping Stone Economic Partnership Agreement between Cote d'Ivoire and the European Community and its Member States
88	Serbia	2008	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Community and their Member States and the Republic of Serbia
89	ESA states	2009	Interim agreement establishing a framework for an Economic Partnership Agreement between the Eastern and Southern Africa States, on the one part, and the European Community and its Member States, on the other part
90	Papua New Guinea; Fiji	2009	Interim Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Pacific States
91	Korea	2010	Free Trade Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Korea, of the other part
92	Central America	2012	Agreement establishing an Association between the European Union and its Member States, on the one hand, and Central America on the other
93	Peru; Colombia; Ecuador	2012	Trade agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Colombia and Peru of the other part
94	Philippines	2012	Framework Agreement on partnership and cooperation between the European Union and its member states, of the one part, and the Republic of the Philippines, of the other part
95	Georgia	2014	Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and Georgia, of the other part
96	Moldova	2014	Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Moldova, of the other part
97	Ukraine	2014	Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part
98	ECOWAS; UEMOA; West African States	2014	Economic partnership agreement between the West African States, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) and the European Union and its Member States
99	Kosovo	2015	Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the one part, and Kosovo, of the other part
100	Kazakhstan	2015	Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Kazakhstan
101	Canada	2016	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the European Union
102	EAC	2016	Economic Partnership Agreement between the East African Community Partner States and the European Union
103	SADC	2016	Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and the SADC EPA States, of the other part
104	Ghana	2016	Stepping Stone Economic Partnership Agreement between Ghana, of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States, of the other part

105	Armenia	2017	Comprehensive and enhanced Partnership Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Armenia, of the other part
106	Japan	2018	Agreement between the European Union and Japan for an Economic Partnership
107	Singapore	2018	Free Trade Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Singapore
108	Vietnam	2019	Free Trade Agreement between the European Union and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam
109	United Kingdom	2020	Trade and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the one part, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the other part

## Regression models

Table A2: Regression models trade interdependence

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Dummy (1)	Continuous (2)
Trade interdependence	0.150** (0.055)	2.192 (1.489)
Constant	0.537*** (0.122)	8.684* (3.311)
Observations	51	51
R <sup>2</sup>	0.133	0.042
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.115	0.023
Residual Std. Error (df = 49)	0.345	9.404
F Statistic (df = 1; 49)	7.507**	2.168

*Note: The table presents the output of a linear regression model estimating the effect of bilateral trade interdependence on the inclusion of mobility provisions in EU PTAs. Level of statistical significance displayed as follows: \* < 0.05; \*\* < 0.01; \*\*\* < 0.001.*



Table A3: Regression models migration conventions

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Dummy (1)	Continuous (2)
Migration conventions	0.051 (0.034)	0.456** (0.156)
Constant	0.405** (0.119)	0.728 (0.552)
Observations	90	90
R <sup>2</sup>	0.025	0.088
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.014	0.078
Residual Std. Error (df = 88)	0.495	2.292
F Statistic (df = 1; 88)	2.269	8.522**

*Note: The table presents the output of a linear regression model estimating the effect of signing migration conventions by the partner country on the inclusion of migrant right provisions in EU PTAs. Level of statistical significance displayed as follows: \* < 0.05; \*\* < 0.01; \*\*\* < 0.001.*

Table A4: Regression models migration pressure

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Dummy (1)	Continuous (2)
Asylum applications	0.014 (0.022)	0.185* (0.104)
Constant	0.546**** (0.126)	1.669*** (0.606)
Observations	60	60
R <sup>2</sup>	0.007	0.052
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	-0.010	0.035
Residual Std. Error (df = 58)	0.493	2.373
F Statistic (df = 1; 58)	0.427	3.168*

*Note: The table presents the output of a linear regression model estimating the effect of asylum applications from a partner country on the inclusion of migration control provisions in EU PTAs. Level of statistical significance displayed as follows: \* < 0.1; \*\* < 0.05; \*\*\* < 0.01.*