# Adequacy club: legal pathways for cooperation amid trade tensions

Bank of Italy, Roundtable on The Digital Economy Amid Rising International Tensions, October 2025

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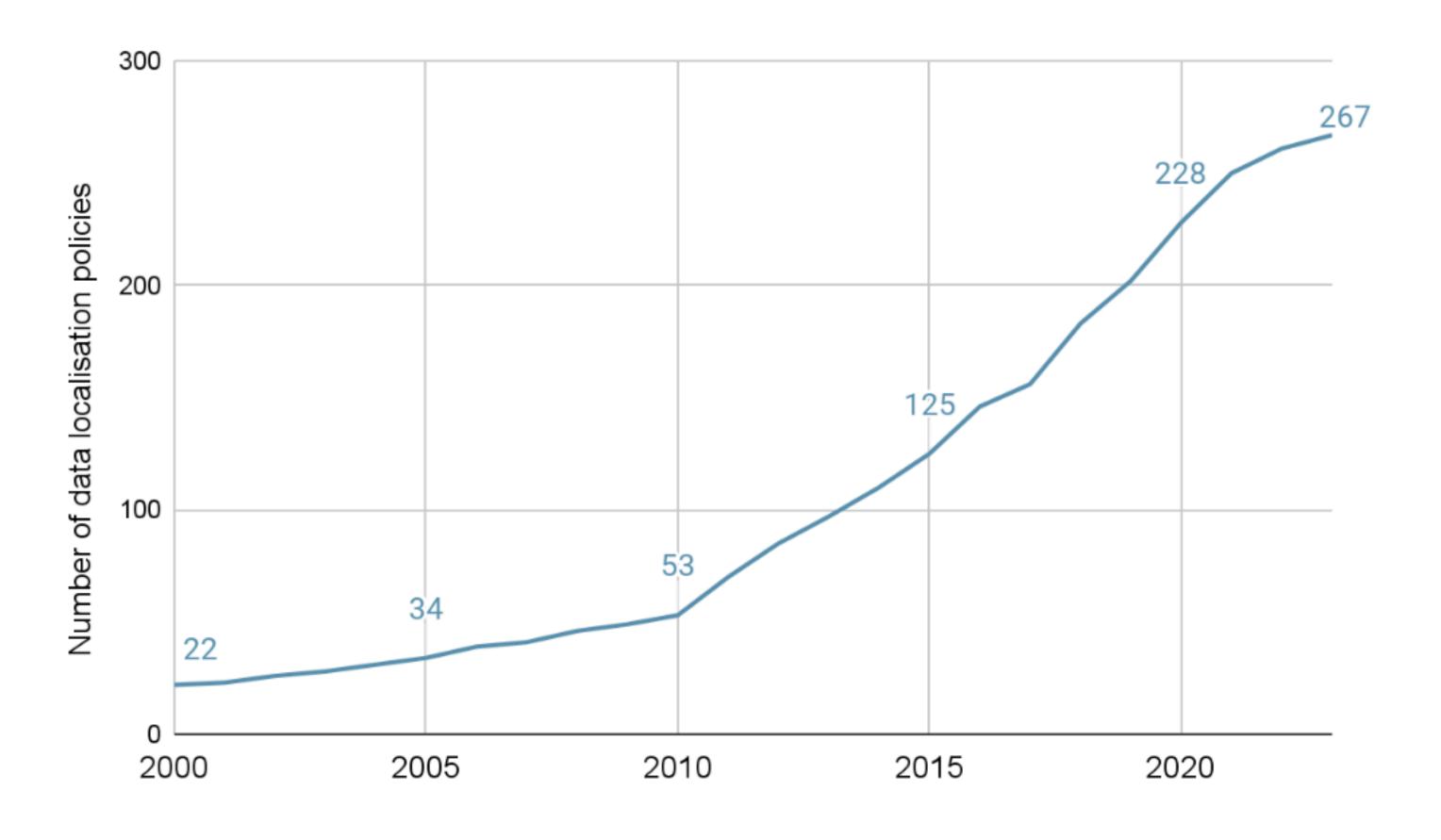
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# Data flows restrictions keep raising

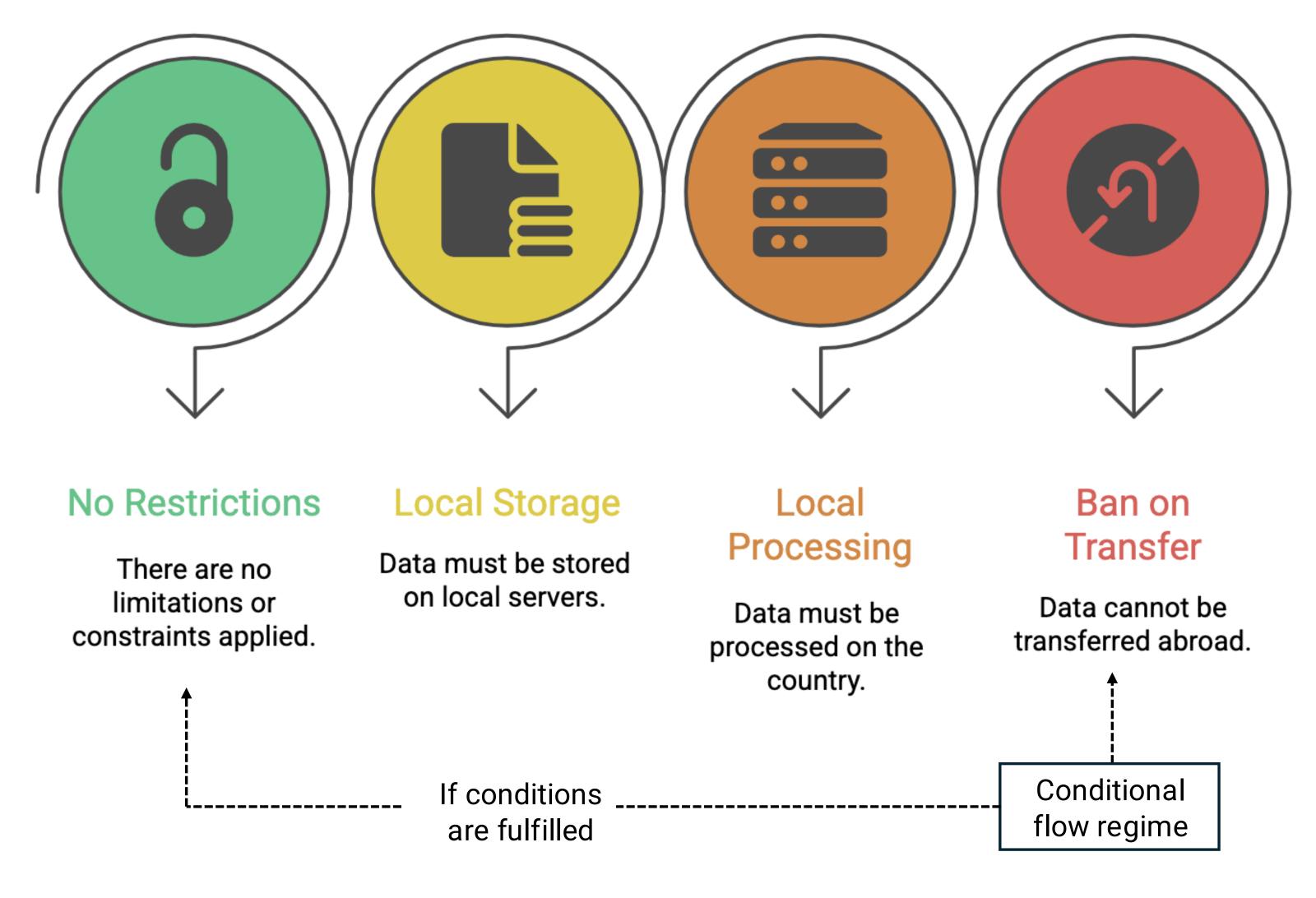
- There are at least 267 data localisation measures implemented across 150 countries.
- 20 of the countries in our sample do not regulate the cross-border transfer of data.

Figure 1: Global data localisation measures growth (2000-2023)



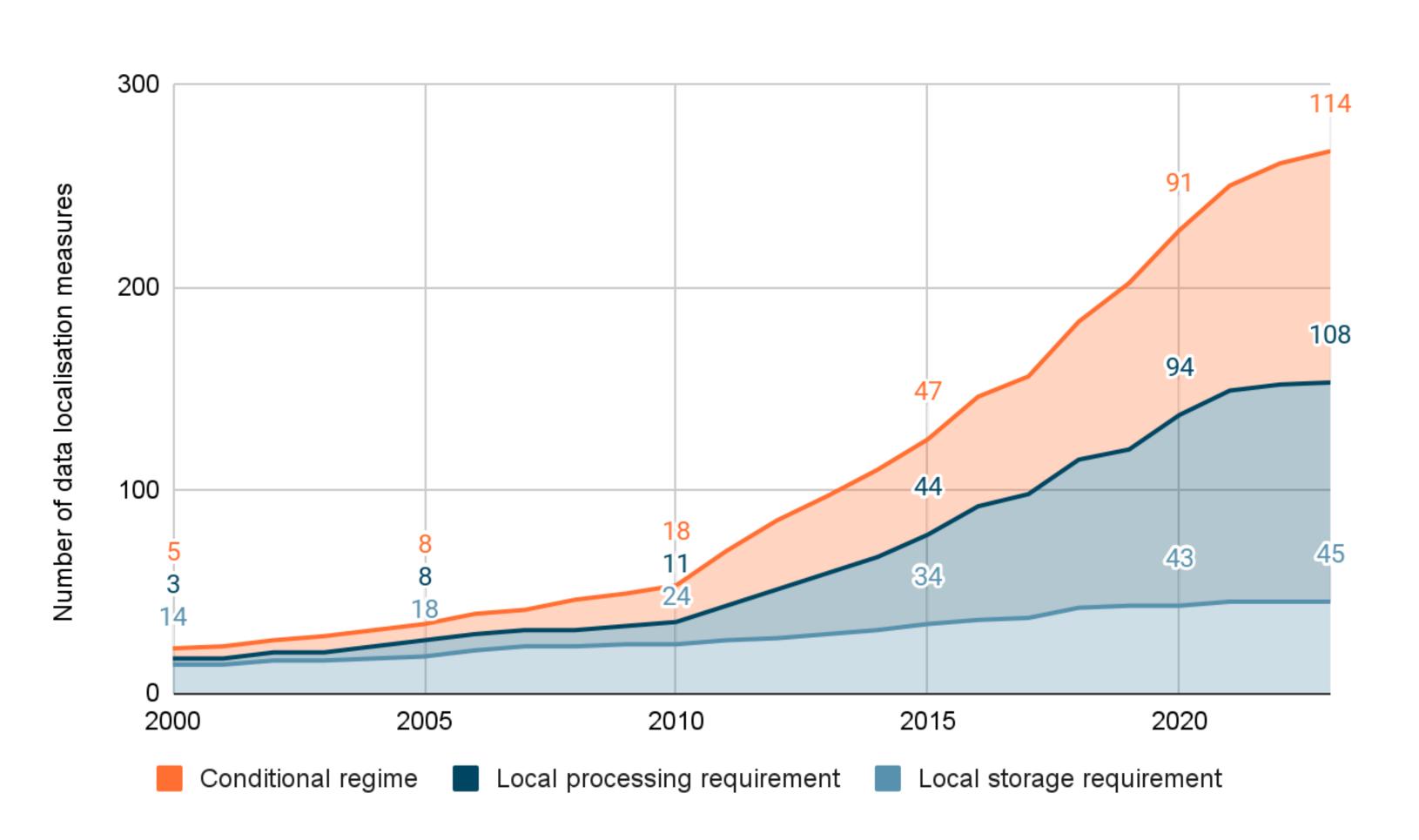
Source: DTI database.

### Types of restrictions to cross-border data flows



Source: Ferracane (2017).

# Conditional regimes are the most common but also an increasing number of local processing requirements



- Local storage requirements: a copy of data to be retained in the country
- Local processing: data
   processing to take place in the country (very diverse types of restrictions)
- Conditional regime: conditions to be fulfilled (including ex-post)

Source: DTI database.

### Conditional regimes often take inspiration from the GDPR

- A phenomenon referred to as 'unilateral regulatory globalisation' but actually it is often rather a process of learning and selective incorporation (Ferracane et al., 2025; Gasser et al., 2025; Schwartz, 2019).
- Art. 44: Any transfer of personal data which are undergoing processing or are intended for processing after transfer to a third country or to an international organisation shall take place only if (...) the conditions laid down in this Chapter are complied with by the controller and processor, (...).
- Arts 45-50:
  - Adequacy of the recipient country;
  - Appropriate safeguards: mainly binding corporate rules and standard contract clauses;
  - Specific derogations (mainly explicit consent).

# (Main) EU adequacy decisions

| Country / Territory         | Year | Note                          |  |  |
|-----------------------------|------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Switzerland                 | 2000 |                               |  |  |
| US - Safe Harbor            | 2000 | Repealed in 2015              |  |  |
| Canada                      | 2002 | Only commercial organisations |  |  |
| Guernsey                    | 2003 |                               |  |  |
| Argentina                   | 2003 |                               |  |  |
| Isle of Man                 | 2004 |                               |  |  |
| Jersey                      | 2008 |                               |  |  |
| Andorra                     | 2010 |                               |  |  |
| Faroe Islands               | 2010 |                               |  |  |
| Israel                      | 2011 |                               |  |  |
| Uruguay                     | 2012 |                               |  |  |
| New Zealand                 | 2013 |                               |  |  |
| US - Privacy Shield         | 2016 | Repealed in 2020              |  |  |
| United Kingdom              | 2021 |                               |  |  |
| Japan                       | 2019 | Entities subject to APPI      |  |  |
| Republic of Korea           | 2021 | Entities subject to PIPA      |  |  |
| US - Data Privacy Framework | 2023 |                               |  |  |

- Usually apply to all transfers of personal data;
- For the US: adequacy of the mechanisms with a process of self-certification;
- Recently only apply to organisations subject to the general data protection framework;
- Recently also agreed with the European Patent Organization.

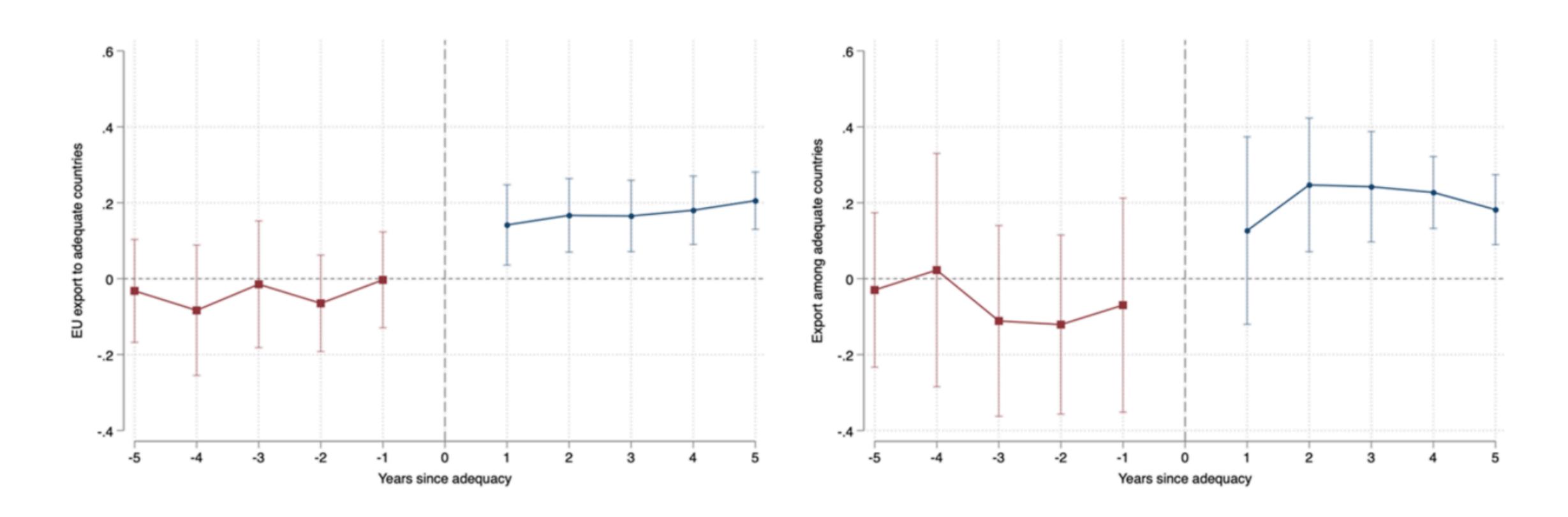
# Adequacy decisions are political in nature

- Usually, a country approaches the EC to request discussions to be opened.
- The process usually takes a few years.
- The process is not transparent, and deliberations are usually not made public (Kuner, 2020).
- Key criteria in the assessment (EC, 2017) include:
  - Commercial relations;
  - Extent of data from the EU;
  - Role in the field of privacy;
  - · Overall political relationship.

# Yet, they have a significant effect on trade.

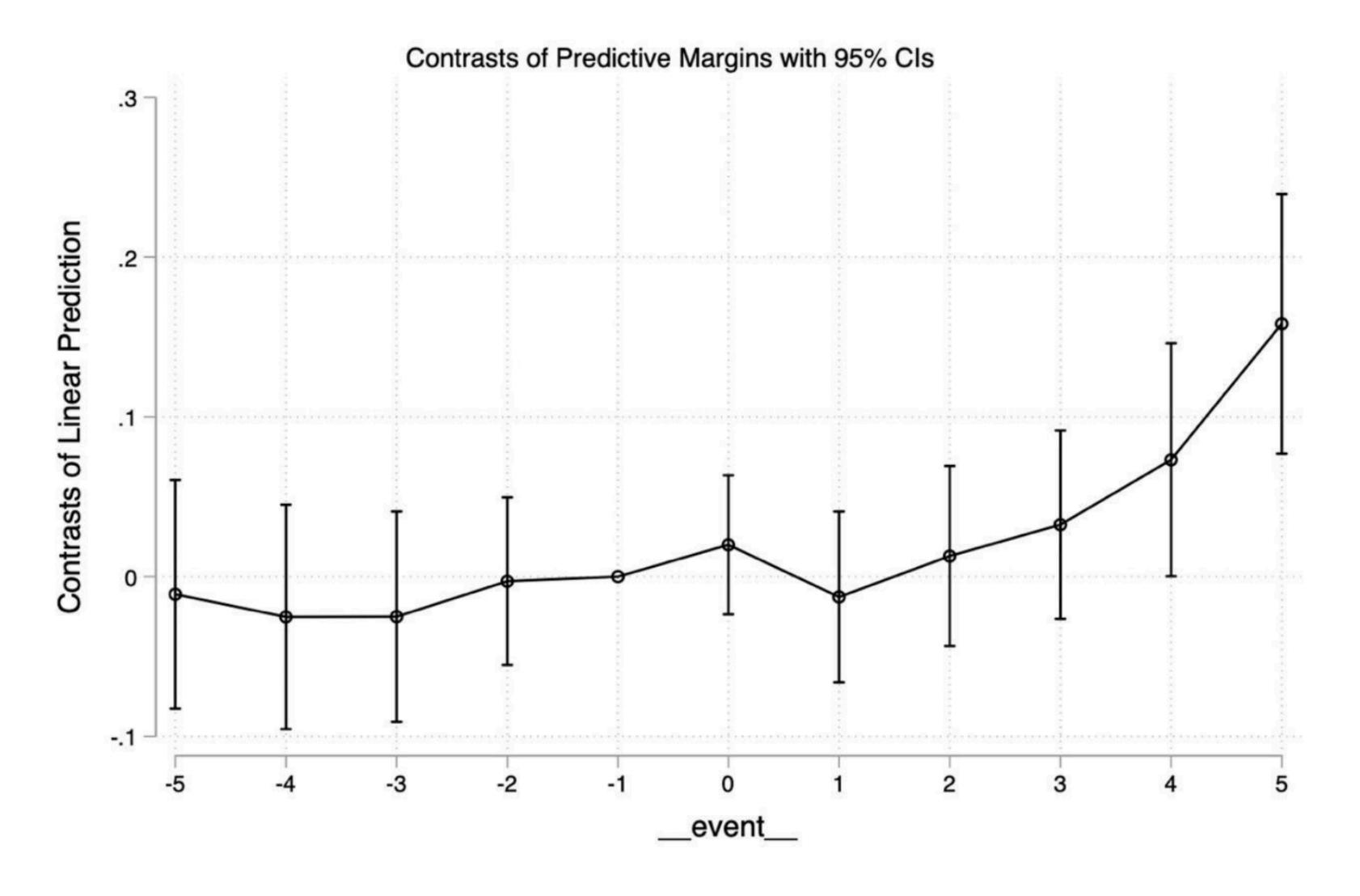
#### EU exports to countries with adequacy

#### Exports among countries with adequacy



Source: Ferracane, Hoekman, Santi and van der Marel (2025).

# The effect grows over time.



Source: Ferracane, Hoekman, Shepherd and Shingal (forthcoming).

#### There is clear evidence of a club effect.

- Adequacy is positively associated with digital trade across all specifications (8-9% average increase);
- Evidence of the effect of plurilateralization of adequacy (club effect).

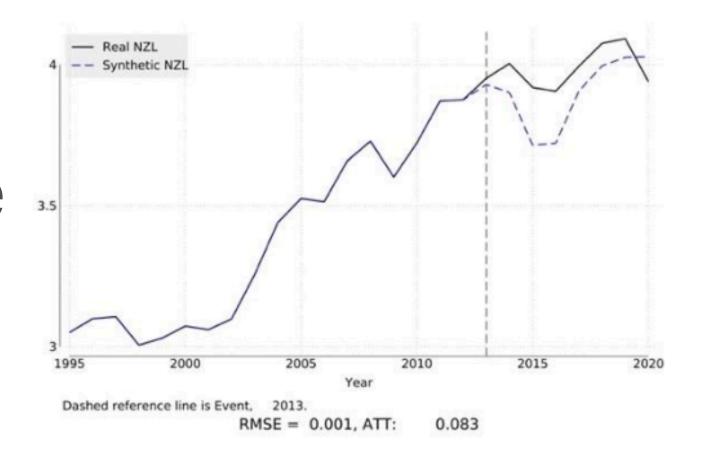
| Adequacy agreement                          | Year | EEA relevance | Note                         |
|---|------|---------------|------------------------------|
| EU - Switzerland                            | 2000 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - United States (Safe Harbor)            | 2000 | Yes           | Till 2014 (repealed in 2015) |
| EU - Canada                                 | 2002 | No            | 20 Dec 2001                  |
| EU - Argentina                              | 2003 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Guernsey                               | 2003 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Isle of Man                            | 2004 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Jersey                                 | 2008 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Andorra                                | 2010 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Faroe Islands                          | 2010 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Israel                                 | 2011 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - Uruguay                                | 2012 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - New Zealand                            | 2013 | Yes           | 19 Dec 2012                  |
| EU - United States (Privacy Shield)         | 2016 | Yes           | Till 2019 (repealed in 2020) |
| EU - Japan                                  | 2019 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - UK                                     | 2021 | Yes           |                              |
| EU - South Korea                            | 2021 | Yes           |                              |
| EU – United States (Data Privacy Framework) | 2023 | Yes           |                              |

Source: Ferracane et al. (2025).

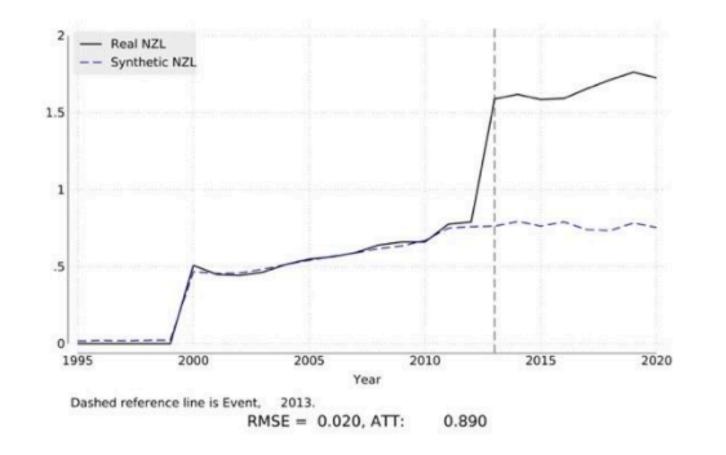
# The effect is heterogeneous across countries:

New Zealand

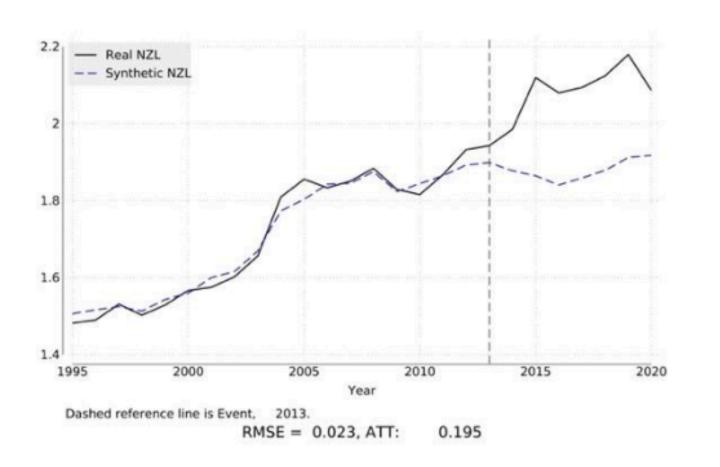
 For New Zealand, trade appears to grow with all adequate countries. A: Total digital trade



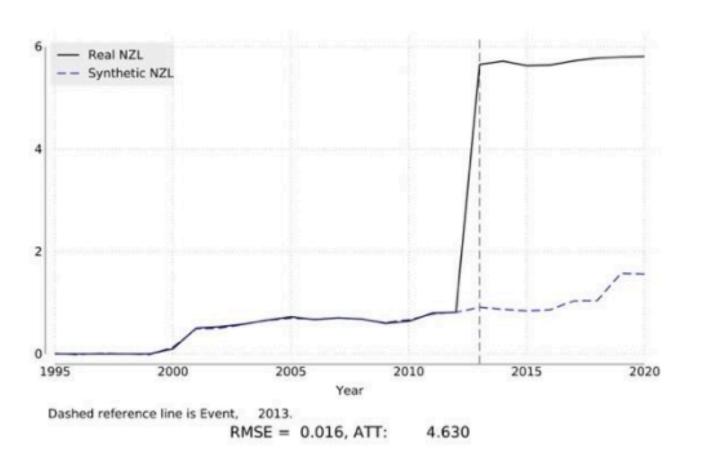
B: Digital trade with adequate countries



C: Digital trade with the US



D: Digital trade with adequate (excl. the US)



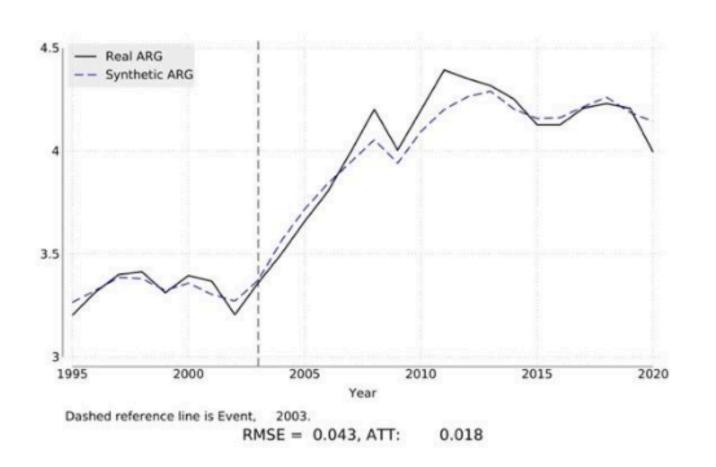
# The effect is heterogeneous across countries:

Argentina

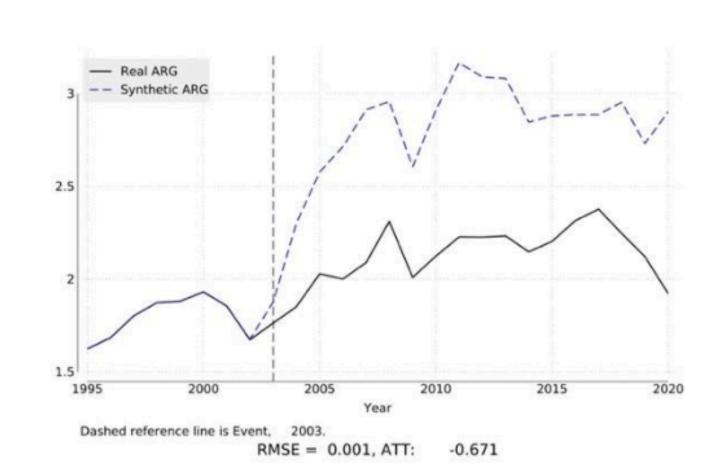
For Argentina, we
 estimated an increase
 in trade in services up
 to 28%.

 NB: Argentina did not grant adequacy to the US.

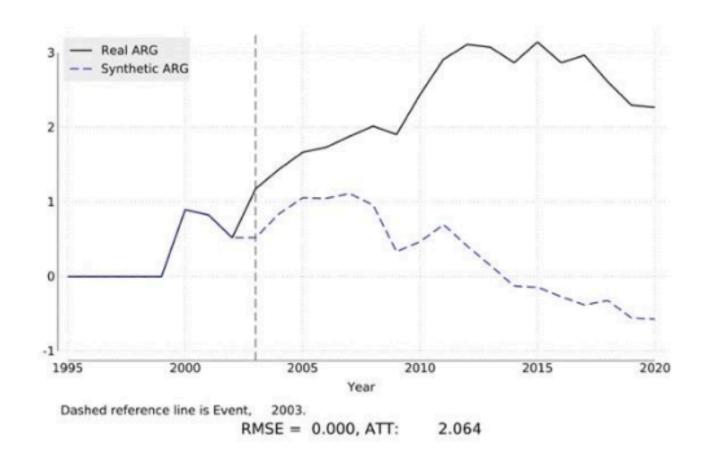
A: Total digital trade



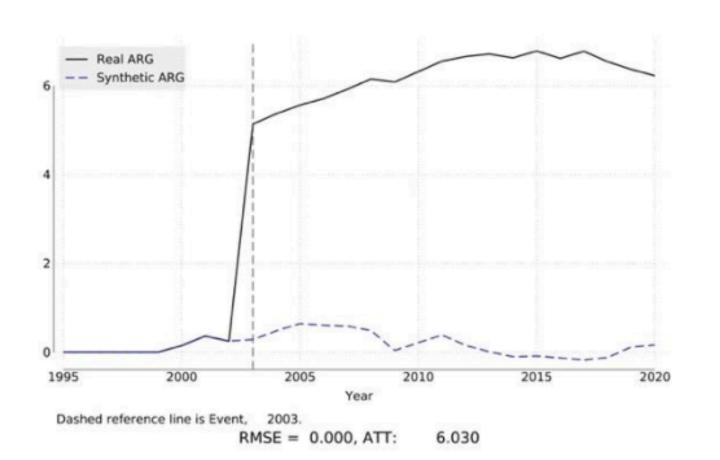
C: Digital trade with the US



B: Digital trade with adequate countries



D: Digital trade with adequate (excl. the US)



# Can adequacy decisions become a mechanisms for international cooperation?

- Recent decisions have been 'mutual' (the latest example is Brazil)
- These decisions have evolved into a **platform for sustained international cooperation** and regulatory alignment in the field of data protection through formal and informal cooperation (review process every 4 years, Council of Europe, seminars, EU-LAC digital alliance...) (Ferracane *et al*, 2025).
- Yet, the process remains deeply political and non-transparent.

## Open questions

- What are the political and economic implications of the **diffusion** of GDPR-like provisions across the globe?
- Can these provisions become a tool to **strengthen political relations**? If so, what are the implications?
- How can the process become more transparent, open, and less discriminatory?
- Is there scope for plurilateral agreements that provide for automaticity and reciprocity?
- How do adequacy decisions relate to commitments on data flows in FTAs and DEAs?

## To sum up

- Restrictions on data flows keep rising across the globe.
- Conditional regimes (similar to GDPR) are becoming very common while strict local processing policies are on the rise.
- Adequacy decisions are political in nature, but they have significant implications for trade.
- The mechanisms and effects of policy diffusion of adequacy remain understudied.
- Several open questions remain as to whether adequacy decisions can become a mechanism for international cooperation.

# Thank you.

#### Main references:

- Ferracane, M.F., B. Hoekman, F. Santi, & E. Van der Marel (2025), "Digital Trade, Data Protection and EU Adequacy Decisions", Economica, forthcoming.
- Ferracane, M.F., B. Hoekman, B. Shepherd, & A. Shingal (2025), "International Regulatory Cooperation and Services Trade: Argentina and Uruguay Adequacy Decisions on Data Protection", AIDB.

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### References

- Ferracane, M. F., Gonzalez Ugarte, S. & Rogaler, T. (Eds.), (2025), Digital Trade Integration Database, European University Institute et al.
- Ferracane, M.F. & Van der Marel, E. (2024), "Governing personal data and trade in digital services", Special Issue Paper, Review of International Economics, March 2024, https://doi.org/10.1111/roie.12735.
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- Ferracane, M. F., González Ugarte, S., & van der Marel, E. (2025), "The Brussels effect in Africa: is it beneficial for intra-regional trade in digital services?", Journal of International Economic Law, 28(1), 1-22.
- Gasser, U. et al (2025), Inverting the Brussels Effect: What the EU Can Learn from Latin America in Digital Governance, <a href="https://tumthinktank.de/en/output/inverting-the-brussels-effect-what-the-eucan-learn-from-latin-america-in-digital-governance/#about">https://tumthinktank.de/en/output/inverting-the-brussels-effect-what-the-eucan-learn-from-latin-america-in-digital-governance/#about</a>

### Digital Trade Integration Database

