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ABSTRACT

A central issue in privacy governance is understanding how users balance their privacy preferences and data sharing to satisfy service demands. We combine survey and behavioral data of a sample of Alipay users to examine how data privacy preferences affect their data sharing with third-party mini-programs on the Alipay platform. We find that there is no relationship between the respondents' self-stated privacy concerns and their number of data-sharing authorizations, confirming the puzzling data privacy paradox. Instead of attributing this paradox to the respondents' unreliable survey responses, resignation from active protection of their data privacy, or behavioral factors in making their data-sharing choices, we show that this phenomenon can be explained by a curious finding that users with stronger privacy concerns tend to benefit more from using mini-programs. This positive relationship between privacy concerns and digital demands further suggests that consumers may develop data privacy concerns as a by-product of the process of using digital applications, not because such concerns are innate.

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Sharing of personal data by consumers empowers the booming digital economy. However, there are growing concerns about data privacy protections across the world, as reflected by the enactments of the General Data Privacy Regulation (GDPR) by the European Union in 2018 and the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA) by the state of California in 2020. Despite the importance of data privacy and protections, there are many open questions regarding consumers' data privacy preferences and how their privacy preferences affect their data-sharing choices, as discussed by the Luohan Academy Report of Chen et al. (2021). This lack of knowledge is reflected by the "privacy paradox," a term used by policy makers and commentators to loosely describe a general disconnect between consumers' self-stated privacy preferences and their actual privacy-seeking behavior. As summarized by Acquisti, Brandimarte, and Loewenstein (2020), consumers in a wide range of survey and experimental studies often say they care about privacy but at same time choose to share their personal data either freely or for small rewards.

The presence of this disconnect is often used as evidence to argue either that consumers' privacy concerns are not credible or that privacy is no longer achievable in the age of data economy, motivating a systematic examination of consumers' privacy preferences and data-sharing choices. Does the privacy paradox exist in realistic settings when consumers are faced with choices to share personal data with digital service providers? If so, what causes consumers to ignore their privacy concerns in data sharing? Unless we can understand how consumers trade off their privacy preferences with data-sharing needs to satisfy their service demands, privacy governance will not have a solid foundation.

We aim to address these issues in this study by conducting a survey of Alipay users about their data privacy preferences and then matching their survey responses with rich administrative data about their data-sharing choices on the Alipay platform to analyze how their data-sharing choices are related to their stated privacy preferences. Alipay is a highly popular payment and lifestyle platform with more than 900 million active users in China. In addition to its widely used payment system, it also hosts over two million third-party mini-programs, which are lightweight apps that run inside Alipay to offer a variety of digital services to Alipay users. To use a mini-program, a user must first authorize sharing of certain personal data with the mini-program. The requested data sharing varies across mini-programs from innocuous information, such as nickname, to highly sensitive information, such as the national ID number and credit score.

In policy discussions, a widely-held view is that the privacy paradox exists because users simply cannot afford not to use popular digital applications. Because the mini-programs on Alipay vary substantially in the importance of the provided services and the sensitivity of the requested information, this setting provides an ideal opportunity to study how different users, when given the options, balance their privacy preferences with their demand for digital services. Our rich administrative data allow us to examine each user's data-sharing choices along multiple dimensions (initial authorization and later cancellation) and connect these choices to the user's demand for each specific mini-program.

In July 2020, we worked with Alipay to conduct a survey of Alipay users, which included 12 questions about their preferences and concerns regarding data sharing with Alipay's mini-programs. We received survey responses from 14,250 Alipay users. In response to a question that explicitly asked whether they are concerned about their data privacy when sharing personal data with mini-programs, 46% said they are very concerned, 39% are concerned, and only 15% are not concerned. During the one-year period from July 2019 to July 2020, the "unconcerned" users on average initially visited 14.3 mini-programs and authorized data sharing with 11.2 of them, the "concerned" users initially visited 15.5 mini-programs and authorized 11.5, and the "very concerned" users initially visited 16.3 mini-programs and authorized 11.3. To the extent that the last group has rejected nearly 25% of data-sharing requests, these "very concerned" users did not resign from active protection of their data privacy by blindly authorizing all requests.

Even though one would expect users with stronger privacy concerns to be more reluctant to share personal data, these three groups of users with different levels of privacy concerns, on average, authorize data sharing with almost the same number of mini-programs, even after controlling for user characteristics such as digital experience, age, gender, and city, as well as mini-program fixed effects. This lack of difference in data-sharing authorizations is puzzling and confirms the data privacy paradox in a setting that is highly relevant to the digital economy. Our study is immune from the critique of Solove (2021) that the behavior involved in privacy paradox studies involves people making decisions about risk in very specific contexts while their self-reported privacy concerns are much more general in nature. Our survey questions specifically target the respondents' concerns about data sharing with Alipay's mini-programs, and are nicely

matched by our administrative data, which specifically measure their data-sharing choices with Alipay's mini-programs.

It is tempting to attribute the data privacy paradox to noisiness and unreliability of survey responses. While survey responses are indeed noisy at the individual level, we find that at the group level, the privacy concerns stated in survey responses are positively associated with the respondents' propensity to take two privacy-seeking actions in Alipay: one is canceling previously authorized data sharing with mini-programs, and the other is changing Alipay's default privacy settings, which tend to make a user's information visible to other Alipay users. These findings thus validate the survey-based measure of privacy concerns.

What causes privacy-concerned Alipay users to ignore their privacy concerns in authorizing data sharing? The privacy literature has suggested a number of psychological and behavioral factors to explain the privacy paradox, including consumers' ignorance about the consequences of data sharing (Pew, 2019), present bias which causes consumers to overweight immediate convenience from using digital applications and underweight future cost of sharing personal data (Acquisti, 2004), and illusion of control which causes consumers to feel more in control when making data-sharing choices (Brandimarte, Acquisti and Loewenstein, 2013). In contrast to the focus of this literature, our analysis uncovers a curious, *positive* correlation between Alipay users' data privacy concerns and digital demands—that is, users with stronger privacy concerns also tend to use their authorized mini-programs more frequently and more extensively. As the greater demands of privacy-concerned users for digital services offset their privacy concerns about sharing personal data with the mini-programs, this correlation helps to explain the data privacy paradox.

The positive correlation between privacy concerns and digital demands is a new finding to the literature and connects privacy preferences directly to demands for digital services, albeit in an unexpected way. If privacy concerns are an innate preference like risk aversion, they would deter users from extensively using digital services that usually require sharing of personal data, leading to a negative correlation between privacy concerns and digital demands. Instead, our finding suggests that privacy concerns are possibly a preference developed through the process of using digital services. That is, as some users gradually develop enjoyment from using the powerful and convenient services offered by mini-programs, they may also develop more concerns about the potential risks from their extensive data sharing with those programs. Under this notion of privacy

as a developed preference, it is reasonable to conjecture that privacy concerns grow with the personal data accumulated with mini-programs.

To further explore this notion, we examine a hypothesis that more-active users of mini-programs are more likely to cancel their data-sharing authorizations with mini-programs. While this hypothesis is a direct implication of privacy concerns increasing with digital demands, it counters our usual intuition that more-active users incur greater costs from canceling a mini-program. To our surprise, by using two different measures of user activeness and after controlling for various user characteristics and mini-program fixed effects, we find that more-active users of mini-programs in our sample are more likely to cancel their data-sharing authorizations with mini-programs. It is again difficult to explain this pattern without recognizing that privacy concerns are positively correlated with user activeness.

As more-active Alipay users were more likely to complete the survey, our sample of the survey respondents is biased toward more-active users. To ensure that our findings are robust beyond this particular survey sample, we have also examined a representative sample of Alipay users randomly drawn from the full set of active Alipay users. By using an alternative, behavior-based measure of privacy concerns through users' changes of their Alipay default privacy settings, we find results that are fully consistent with those found from using the survey sample and the survey-based privacy measure.

Our paper adds to the literature on the data privacy paradox, including, Gross and Acquisti (2005), Goldfarb and Tucker (2012), and Athey, Catalini and Tucker (2017). These studies have designed creative surveys and experiments to measure individuals' privacy preferences. See Acquisti, Brandimarte, and Loewenstein (2020) for a recent review of this literature. By combining survey data with extremely extensive administrative data, our study not only confirms the paradox in a highly relevant setting but also uses the paradox as an entry to analyze the nature of data privacy concerns. We uncover data privacy concerns as a preference developed through the use of digital applications, which, to our knowledge, is a new dimension not previously explored by the literature. A question closely related to the data privacy paradox is how much a consumer values her data privacy, as addressed by Acquisti, John and Lowenstein (2013) and Tang (2020). Our analysis of data-sharing choices faced by consumers on a highly popular digital platform shows

that the value of data privacy crucially depends on the two sides of data sharing, and, interestingly, is likely to increase over time with the deepening of the data economy.

This finding also adds to the literature on privacy preferences. See Acquisti, Taylor and Wagman (2016) for an extensive review. This literature has pointed to several sources of consumers' privacy concerns. For example, while data sharing allows sellers to better match consumers with their preferred products, it may also expose consumers to potential price discrimination by sellers, e.g., Taylor (2004) and Acquisti and Varian (2005). Data sharing also exposes consumers to greater risk that their personal data might be hacked or leaked (Fainmesser, Galeotti and Momot, 2019). Data sharing may also expose consumers with weak self-control to seductive advertising by temptation goods sellers (Liu, Sockin and Xiong, 2020). Our survey also shows supportive evidence for these arguments. More importantly, our paper shows that regardless of the sources of privacy concerns, they are likely to grow with the use of digital applications and the accumulation of personal data shared with digital service providers.

The emerging literature on the data economy has emphasized two important features of data sharing—nonrivalry and increasing returns to scale, e.g., Jones and Tonetti (2020), Farboodi and Veldkamp (2020), and Cong, Xie and Zhang (2020). Considering the implication of our analysis that consumers' privacy concerns may grow with their data accumulated with digital service providers, consumers may become more restrictive with their data sharing over time, preventing the economy from realizing the full promise of data sharing and thus making privacy protection even more important. This importance has motivated a growing body of literature to empirically examine the impact of data privacy regulations, e.g., Goldberg, Johnson and Shriver (2019) and Aridor, Che and Salz (2020). It has also motivated innovative designs of decentralized digital platforms that are based on cryptographic technologies to prevent digital platforms' potential abuse of their control of extensive consumer data, as argued by Sockin and Xiong (2020).

The paper is organized as follows. Section I provides some institutional background about the data-sharing arrangement between users and mini-programs in Alipay. Section II describes the survey of Alipay users and reports some summary statistics of the data used in our analysis. We analyze the data privacy paradox in Section III and further examine the relationship between Alipay users' privacy concerns and demands for the digital services provided by the mini-programs in Section IV. We conclude in Section V.

I. Institutional Background

As this paper studies data sharing of Alipay users with third-party mini-programs on the Alipay platform, this section provides some background information about the Alipay platform and the data-sharing arrangement between users and mini-programs in Alipay.

Alipay is a mobile application, owned by Ant Group, which has grown from offering online payment services into the world's largest payment and lifestyle platform. Alipay has more than 900 million active users in China, which is more than 70% of the population. In addition to providing a wide range of financial services, such as digital payments, micro-loans, credit cards, insurance, and wealth management, Alipay is also an ecosystem that enables third parties to offer mini-programs inside Alipay. These mini-programs are “subapplications” within the Alipay application that provide users with advanced and extensive digital services, such as bike-sharing, on-demand logistics, and food ordering, without requiring users to download or install separate applications. By June 2020, over two million mini-programs had emerged on Alipay. The number of mini-program users has increased from 21% of Alipay users in 2015Q4 to 49% in 2019Q2 (Chen et al., 2021).

To use a mini-program in Alipay, users must authorize sharing of certain personal data with the mini-program. When a user first visits the mini-program, the mini-program will ask the user to authorize sharing of certain information necessary for its service, including but not limited to nickname, gender, phone number, national ID number, and credit score. The requested information varies across mini-programs. Some information is innocuous, such as a nickname, while other information is more sensitive, such as one's national ID number and credit score. A user has two possible choices, either agree to or reject the data-sharing request. Only after the user authorizes the request, is she allowed to use the service offered by the mini-program. This setting makes the data-sharing authorization an explicit exchange of the user's data for the mini-program's service. This data-sharing authorization lasts for a certain time period; at the expiration of that time, the mini-program will ask the user to authorize the data sharing again at her next entry to the mini-program. After a user authorizes data sharing with a mini-program, the user also has the option to cancel the data-sharing authorization at any time before the end of the authorization period. We will examine both the authorization and cancellation decisions through a sample of Alipay users in our study.

For example, Hellobike is a widely used mini-program that offers a bike-sharing service. Users can access Hellobike through either the separate Hellobike application or the Hellobike mini-program inside the Alipay application. There were over 230 million registered users of Hellobike in mid-2019 from the Hellobike application and from mini-programs inside other applications. The Hellobike mini-program in Alipay requests three types of information at a user's initial visit: 1) basic information, such as nickname, profile picture, gender, and location; 2) credit score, which helps to evaluate trustworthiness of the user and determine whether to require a deposit; and 3) identification information, such as real name, phone number, and national ID number. After the user authorizes the sharing of the requested information, the user can use Hellobike's shared bikes.¹

Also relevant to our study are Alipay's default settings for each user's data sharing with other users; these settings allow users to take advantage of Alipay's social media functions. Alipay allows each user to choose from a variety of privacy settings, such as whether to show one's real name to friends in Alipay, whether to make ten recent posts visible to strangers, whether to allow connection without permission, and whether to be searchable by phone number. These settings enable users to personalize privacy preferences. The default privacy settings tend to make users visible and easy to connect with. Some users have chosen to change the default settings, which is an action that reveals privacy concerns about revealing their information to other Alipay users. In our analysis, we use changing the default privacy settings as a behavior-based measure of a user's privacy concerns as an alternative to our main survey-based measure.

II. Survey and Administrative Data

We conducted a survey of Alipay users about their privacy preferences and then combined the survey responses with the respondents' administrative data inside the Alipay application to study how their stated privacy preferences are related to actual data-sharing choices. In this section, we first describe the survey and then report summary statistics of data-sharing authorizations and other administrative data of the survey respondents as well as a representative sample of Alipay users

¹ Figure A1 in the Online Appendix provides three additional examples to illustrate the variety of data-sharing requests by mini-programs in Alipay. The first one is a mini-program that searches for part-time jobs. It requests the user to share a mobile number. The second one relates to social connections and requires users to share their nickname, profile, gender, and location. The third one provides legal consulting services and requires sharing of the user's location.

for comparison.

A. The Survey

In July 2020, we worked with Alipay to conduct a survey of Alipay users. The survey consisted of 12 questions about Alipay users' preferences regarding data sharing with third-party mini-programs in Alipay. The survey was distributed through the message box at the center of the front page of the Alipay application, a highly visible channel,² to a random sample of 2.5 million active Alipay users. In total, 27,597 users opened the survey link and 14,250 completed the survey. In the middle of the survey, there is a question: "*Have you ever used mini-programs in Alipay?*" Only those respondents who answered *yes* to this question would advance to see the rest of the survey questions specifically related to privacy concerns about data sharing with mini-programs. In the collected survey responses, 10,875 respondents indicated that they had used mini-programs in Alipay, accounting for 76% of all respondents.³ These 10,875 respondents are the main sample for our analysis.

Due to the natural tendency that more-active users are more likely to pay attention to the message box in the Alipay application and thus to open the survey link, this sample of survey respondents is representative of more-active Alipay users rather than the whole population of Alipay users. To focus on the data privacy paradox, a phenomenon that is revealed by survey studies, we use this sample of survey respondents as the main sample of our analysis. For robustness and comparison, we have also examined a representative sample of 100,000 Alipay users, who were randomly drawn from the whole population of Alipay users.

The survey was in Chinese; we provide an English translation of the survey questions in the Appendix. Table 1 summarizes the responses to seven of the questions in the survey. In response to a general question "*Are you concerned about privacy issues while using digital services?*" 93% of the respondents were very concerned, 6% were concerned, and only 1% were not concerned.

² See Figure A2 in the Online Appendix for a picture of the Alipay front page, which highlights the distribution channel for the survey.

³ Figures A3–A6 in the Online Appendix provide some characteristics of the survey respondents. It took most respondents more than sixty seconds to complete the survey, indicating that they answered the questions in a serious way (Figure A3). The geographical distribution of the respondents across the provinces in China lines up well with the distribution of the population (see Figure A5), except that the share of respondents from the most populated Guangdong province is about 17%, substantially higher than its population share of about 8.2%.

The very high percentage of respondents either very concerned or concerned with data privacy is consistent with other surveys regarding general privacy attitudes, which also find strong concerns about data privacy.⁴

In response to a question specific to data sharing with mini-programs in Alipay, “*Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared with mini-programs in Alipay?*” 46% of the respondents were very concerned, 39% were concerned, and 15% were not concerned. Relative to the earlier question about general concerns about data privacy, the respondents were less concerned by data sharing with mini-programs in Alipay. The large difference between the responses to these two questions confirms a concern raised by Solove (2021) about the importance of closely matching consumers’ privacy concerns with their data-sharing choices in analyzing the data privacy paradox. As this latter question is directly related to our analysis of data sharing with mini-programs, we will use the respondents’ answers to this question as a key measure of their privacy concerns in our later analysis. Specifically, we will compare the data-sharing authorizations among respondents with different levels of privacy concerns about data sharing with mini-programs.

We also asked the respondents this specific question: “*What privacy issues are you concerned about when using mini-programs in Alipay?*” This question allowed each respondent to select more than one option from a list of four, including: 1) data leakage and security, 2) price discrimination by merchants, 3) seductive advertising and temptation consumption, and 4) others. The first choice represents potential concerns about insufficient protections provided by mini-programs to secure user data and prevent hacking and other data leakage, as modeled by Fainmesser, Galeotti and Momot (2019). The second choice represents a concern that extensive data sharing by consumers may allow merchants to infer consumers’ reservation prices and thus employ price discrimination. There is a large body of economics literature analyzing this concern in the digital economy, as reviewed by Acquisti, Taylor and Wagman (2016), Bergemann and Morris (2019), and Goldfarb and Tucker (2019). The third choice represents a new concern that in the booming digital economy, extensive data sharing by consumers may expose consumers’ personal weaknesses, such as a lack

⁴ See Special Eurobarometer 431 (2015), available at https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_431_en.pdf; Pew Research (2015), available at <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2015/05/20/americans-attitudes-about-privacy-securityand-surveillance/>; The Chinese Consumer Association (2018); Global Privacy Enforcement Network (2018).

of self-control, to online advertisers and sellers, as recently emphasized by Liu, Sockin and Xiong (2020). Interestingly, 86% of the respondents selected data leakage and security, 49% selected seductive advertising and temptation consumption, and 21% selected price discrimination by merchants. To the extent that only 5% of the respondents selected “others,” the first three concerns well captured the main privacy concerns of the respondents.

In response to two related questions “*Do you know how to change privacy settings in Alipay?*” and “*Have you ever changed your privacy settings in Alipay?*” 60% of the respondents indicated they knew how to change privacy settings, and 39% of the respondents say they had changed their privacy settings. We will use changing Alipay’s default privacy settings as a behavior-based measure of privacy concerns for users in our representative random sample.

B. Administrative Data

The key strength of our study is that we are able to link the survey responses with the respondents’ extensive administrative data inside the Alipay application, which allow us to examine how respondents’ privacy preferences are related to their actual data-sharing choices and use of the authorized mini-programs. For each Alipay user in our sample, we have access to three sets of administrative data in Alipay: general information, information related to data-sharing authorizations and cancellations with mini-programs, and the use of mini-programs. Table 2 reports summary statistics of these three sets of variables for the survey sample and the random sample, both of which are used in our analysis.

The Survey Sample

Table 2, Panel A provides the summary statistics of the key variables for our survey sample. For the general information, also known as user profile, we have access to information on the gender, age, and city of each user. We also include their digital experience, which is measured by the number of months since a user first registered on Alipay. The average user age is 32.82 years and the average digital experience is 74.97 months. We also construct dummy variables to measure a respondent’s privacy concerns based on the answer to the following survey question: “*Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared with mini-programs in Alipay?*” The possible responses were “*not concerned,*” “*concerned,*” or “*very concerned.*” We define the

Concerned Dummy variable as 1 if the answer was “*concerned*,” and 0 otherwise; we define the *Very Concerned Dummy* variable as 1 if the answer was “*very concerned*”, and 0 otherwise.

The information on data sharing with mini-programs consists of four variables at the user level. The first two variables measure how users share their data with mini-programs over the July 2019 to July 2020 period, which is the one-year period before the survey. First, we count the number of initial visits by a user to mini-programs; this is when a data-sharing request pops up. Second, we count how many times the user authorizes the data-sharing requests. The other two variables measure a user’s cancellations of previously authorized data sharing with mini-programs. As we mentioned earlier, an Alipay user can actively terminate personal data sharing with a mini-program at any time. We define a dummy variable, *has canceled*, which takes a value of 1 if the user has ever canceled data sharing with at least one mini-program during the measurement period of January 2013 to July 2020 (a seven-year period before the survey), and 0 otherwise. The measure *# Cancellations* is defined as the number of active mini-programs that a user canceled between July 2019 and July 2020. We count a mini-program as active if the user has used it at least once, which implies an outstanding data-sharing authorization by the user, during the July 2019 to July 2020 period (a one-year period before the survey). The *Cancellation Rate* is the number of canceled authorizations from July 2019 to July 2020 divided by the total number of active mini-programs.

In our survey sample, a respondent, on average, initially visited 15.72 mini-programs with a standard deviation of 12.06 and a maximum of 275 from July 2019 to July 2020. The number of data-sharing authorizations has a mean of 11.37, a standard deviation of 7.63, and a maximum value of 93. From January 2013 to July 2020, 48% of the respondents canceled at least one data-sharing authorization. Despite that almost half of the respondents actively canceled data sharing, the cancellation rate during the one-year period before the survey has an average value of 0.04. This low cancellation rate shows that it is still relatively rare for Alipay users to cancel data-sharing authorizations even if they know how to do it.

The information on mini-program use includes monthly use of each pair of user and mini-program (user \times mini-program \times month level). It comprises four variables: 1) the number of active days; 2) the number of sessions; 3) the number of launches; and 4) the number of page visits. These variables are different from each other by construction. A user might use a mini-program for

several sessions in a day. In each session, she might launch the mini-program multiple times. In each launch, she might visit several pages inside the mini-program. We find that, on average, in each month, a user in our survey sample is active in a mini-program on 0.57 days, with 0.81 sessions, 2.29 launches, and 5.20 pageviews.

The Random Sample

For comparison, we have also constructed a random sample of 100,000 Alipay users, who we randomly selected from all active Alipay users. We report their summary statistics in Panel B of Table 2. The users in this random sample have an average age of 36.6 years and an average digital experience of 60.7 months, confirming that our main survey sample tends to be younger people with longer digital experience. During the period between July 2019 and July 2020, users in the random sample initially visited, on average, 4.56 mini-programs and authorized data sharing with 3.72 of them. Furthermore, in each month, a user in the random sample was active in a mini-program on 0.27 days, with 0.34 sessions, 1.10 launches, and 3.06 pageviews. As expected, the survey sample indeed covers more-active users than the random sample, as reflected by their greater number of data-sharing authorizations with mini-programs and more extensive use of these mini-programs. Despite the difference in these samples, as we will show, the main results of our analysis are robust across these samples.

As the users in this random sample did not participate in our survey, we cannot use their survey responses to measure their privacy concerns about data sharing with mini-programs. Instead, we use whether a user has changed Alipay's default privacy settings as a behavior-based measure of privacy concerns. Gross and Acquisti (2005) have used whether a Facebook user changes the default data-sharing settings in Facebook as a key indicator of the user's privacy concerns. Note that this measure is not directly comparable with the survey-based measure of privacy concerns because the behavior-based privacy concerns are specifically related to sharing personal data with other users in Alipay, while the survey-based privacy concerns are specifically related to sharing data with mini-programs.

Furthermore, as discussed by Liu et al. (2020) in a study of stock trading motives, behavior-based measures also face another complication in that they are often related to multiple factors, beyond the particular preference or bias that a behavior-based measure is intended to capture. In our context, as some users may not know how to change Alipay's privacy settings, the behavior-

based privacy concern measure is also affected by a user’s knowledge of and familiarity with the Alipay application. In the survey sample, 49% of respondents had changed their Alipay privacy settings, while only 9% of the random sample had done so. This contrast is likely because users in the random sample tend to be less active and most of them may not know how to change the privacy settings. Nevertheless, this alternative, behavior-based measure of privacy concerns allows us to examine how privacy concerns are related to the users’ data-sharing choices in the random sample, after controlling for the users’ digital experience and knowledge.

III. The Data Privacy Paradox

By combining the survey responses of Alipay users with their administrative data in Alipay, we can directly examine how their data-sharing choices are related to their privacy concerns. Specifically, we examine whether users with stronger privacy concerns are more reluctant to share personal data with mini-programs. In this section, we first describe a simple conceptual framework to anchor our analysis and then present some empirical results, which confirm the data privacy paradox. We also validate the survey-based measure of privacy concerns and discuss potential explanations of the data privacy paradox indicated by the respondents in the survey.

A. Conceptual Framework

To decide whether to share the requested personal data with a mini-program, an Alipay user needs to compare the benefits from using the mini-program with the privacy costs of sharing the requested data. Both the benefits and the costs may depend on both the user and the mini-program. For simplicity, we suppose that the cost for user i to share personal data with mini-program j , c_{ij} , can be linearly decomposed as

$$c_{ij} = c_i + c_j + \epsilon_{ij},$$

where c_i represents the user’s privacy concerns, c_j measures the sensitivity of the data requested by the mini-program and its privacy protection practice, and ϵ_{ij} is a noise component independent across the user and mini-program pair. Similarly, we assume that the benefit for the user to use the mini-program, b_{ij} , can be linearly decomposed as

$$b_{ij} = b_i + b_j + \varepsilon_{ij},$$

where b_i is the user component, b_j is the mini-program component, and ε_{ij} is a noise component, which is independent across the user and mini-program pair.

The user chooses to authorize the data sharing if the benefit is greater than the cost:

$$b_{ij} - c_{ij} = b_i - c_i + b_j - c_j + \varepsilon_{ij} - \varepsilon_{ij} > 0.$$

This condition is driven by the characteristics of the user and the mini-program. After controlling for the mini-program’s characteristics, the authorization choice is driven by the user’s characteristics through the term $b_i - c_i$.

If b_i and c_i are independent, a user with stronger privacy concerns (i.e., larger c_i) is less likely to authorize data sharing, while a user with a greater benefit b_i is more likely to authorize it. This implies a simple hypothesis that everything else being equal, privacy-concerned users are less likely to authorize data sharing with mini-programs. This hypothesis is appealing and is also consistent with the common wisdom reflected by the discussions of the data privacy paradox. We will use this hypothesis to anchor our empirical analysis.

Alternatively, the benefit b_i and the privacy concern c_i may be positively correlated across users. If so, the users’ data-sharing choices are not necessarily sensitive to their privacy concerns. We will also examine this possibility in our later analysis.

B. Privacy Concerns and Data Sharing

We now compare the number of data-sharing authorizations by Alipay users who have expressed different levels of concern about data sharing in their responses to the survey question “*Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared with mini-programs in Alipay?*” Figure 1 shows that during the July 2019 to July 2020 period, “unconcerned” users on average initially visited 14.3 mini-programs and authorized data sharing with 11.2 of them, users who indicated they were “concerned” initially visited 15.5 mini-programs and authorized data sharing with 11.5 of them, and users who indicated they were “very concerned” initially visited 16.3 mini-programs and authorized data sharing with 11.3 of them. There is an interesting pattern that “concerned” and “very concerned” users tend to open more new mini-programs than “unconcerned” users and eventually authorize data sharing with almost the same number of mini-

programs. It is surprising that there is almost no difference in the number of data-sharing authorizations among “very concerned,” “concerned,” and “unconcerned” users. This simple observation contradicts the aforementioned hypothesis that users with strong privacy concerns are more reluctant to authorize data sharing.

As users differ not only in their privacy concerns but also in other dimensions, we adopt a cross-sectional regression to control for other characteristics:

$$Y_i = a_1 \textit{Concerned}_i + a_2 \textit{Very Concerned}_i + a_3 \textit{Age}_i + a_4 \textit{Digital Experience}_i + \delta_i + \varepsilon_i, \quad (1)$$

where the dependent variable Y_i is a measure of certain behavior (either the number of data-sharing authorizations or initial visits to mini-programs) by user i ; the dummy variable $\textit{Concerned}_i$ is defined to be 1 if user i answers “concerned” to the question about sharing data with mini-programs in the survey, and 0 otherwise; the dummy variable $\textit{Very Concerned}_i$ is defined to be 1 if user i answers “very concerned” in the corresponding question, and zero otherwise; \textit{Age}_i and $\textit{Digital Experience}_i$ are two control variables; and δ_i represents fixed effects related to user characteristics, including gender and city. Without including the controls, the sample size is 10,875. As the characteristics of some users are missing, including the control variables slightly reduces the sample size to 10,858.

Panel A of Table 3 reports the user-level regression results. Columns (1) and (2) show that the estimates of a_1 and a_2 are both insignificant, with or without the controls, confirming that “concerned” and “very concerned” users do not authorize data sharing with fewer mini-programs than “unconcerned” users. Column (2) also shows that users with more digital experience tend to authorize more data sharing, but older users tend to authorize less. Furthermore, columns (3) and (4) show that the level of privacy concerns is positively correlated with the number of initially visited mini-programs, even though it is uncorrelated with the number of data-sharing authorizations. Specifically, privacy-concerned users, on average, initially visit 1.24 more mini-programs, and “very concerned” users, on average, have 1.97 more initial visits; the coefficients are both highly significant.

As highlighted by our conceptual framework, a user’s data-sharing authorization with a mini-program may also depend on the services offered and the information requested by the mini-program. To control for mini-program characteristics, we further expand our regression analysis to the user-mini-program level for all possible pairs of users and mini-programs in our sample:

$$Y_{ij} = a_1 \textit{Concerned}_i + a_2 \textit{Very Concerned}_i + a_3 \textit{Age}_i + a_4 \textit{Digital Experience}_i + \delta_i + \gamma_j + \varepsilon_{ij}. \quad (2)$$

For every possible pair of user i and mini-program j , the dependent variable Y_{ij} equals 1 if the user authorizes data sharing with or initially visits the mini-program, and 0 otherwise. Like the user-level regression specified in Equation (1), \textit{Age}_i , $\textit{Digital Experience}_i$, and δ_i represent controls for user characteristics. We also add γ_j as mini-program fixed effects, which control for the possible heterogeneity in the services offered and information requested by mini-programs. The sample includes 25,414,875 user-mini-program pairs without any controls and 25,364,288 pairs with controls.

Panel B of Table 3 reports the user-mini-program level analysis. Even after controlling for mini-program fixed effects, the results are very similar to that from the user-level analysis. Columns (1) and (2) show that without and with the controls for user and mini-program characteristics, there is no significant difference in the number of data-sharing authorizations across “concerned,” “very concerned,” and “unconcerned” users, even though the level of privacy concerns is positively correlated with the propensity to have an initial visit to a mini-program.

Overall, Table 3 confirms the data privacy paradox—that there is no relationship between the level of privacy concerns and the number of data-sharing authorizations. This finding contradicts the aforementioned common wisdom that users with stronger privacy concerns should be more reluctant to share personal data.

C. Validating Survey-Based Privacy Concerns

It is tempting to argue that the data privacy paradox may simply reflect unreliability of survey responses. That is, the survey responses may not truthfully or reliably reflect the respondents’ privacy preferences. This is a common concern about survey-based measures (see, e.g., Bertrand

and Mullainathan 2001). This argument also reflects a widely held suspicion that consumers may not truly be concerned about their data privacy despite the commonly documented privacy concerns in surveys of individuals across the world.

To validate the survey-based measure of privacy concerns, we take advantage of our extensive administrative data about the survey respondents to examine whether the survey-based measure of privacy concerns is positively correlated with actions taken by users to protect their data privacy other than the initial authorization of data sharing with mini-programs. We can observe two such actions: canceling previously authorized data sharing with mini-programs and changing Alipay's default privacy settings. Conceptually, we expect a more privacy-concerned user to be more likely to cancel data sharing and change the default privacy settings.

We again organize our analysis at both the use level and user-mini-program level. For the user-level analysis, we adopt the regression specified in Equation (1) but replace the dependent variable by a dummy variable that indicates whether a user has ever canceled any data-sharing authorization in the period of January 2013 to July 2020 or whether the user ever changed Alipay's default privacy settings between May 2017 and April 2020. Note that both actions require the user to not only have privacy concerns but to have the knowledge necessary to cancel a data-sharing authorization or to change Alipay's default privacy settings. As shown by Table 1, only 60% of the respondents in our survey sample indicated that they knew how to change the default privacy settings in Alipay. We include in the regression extensive controls, including the user's digital experience and age, as well as city and gender fixed effects. These variables serve to control for the user's digital knowledge.

Panel A of Table 4 reports the results from the user-level regressions. In columns (1)–(2), the dependent variable is the *Has Canceled* dummy. All else being equal, the respondents who indicated they are “very concerned” or “concerned” about data sharing with mini-programs have a significantly higher probability of having canceled data sharing with at least one mini-program than “unconcerned” respondents under different regression specifications, with or without including digital experience and age as control variables and including gender and city fixed effects. Furthermore, the probability of having canceled data sharing is also higher in the “very concerned” group than in the “concerned” group.

In columns (3)–(4), the dependent variable is the dummy for *Privacy Setting Changed*. Without including the controls, the respondents who indicate they are “very concerned” or “concerned” about data sharing with mini-programs have a higher probability of having changed their Alipay default privacy settings than “unconcerned” respondents. Interestingly, column (4) shows that this higher probability remains highly significant among “very concerned” respondents, albeit not among “concerned” respondents after including the extensive controls.

Furthermore, across both cancellation of data sharing in column (2) and change of default privacy settings in column (4), the probability of taking these protective actions significantly increases with digital experience and decreases with age, consistent with a knowledge effect that more-experienced users and younger users are more likely to have the knowledge necessary to take these actions to protect their data privacy. These results thus confirm that digital experience and age are useful controls for digital knowledge in these user-level regressions.

In Panel B of Table 4, we further expand the analysis to the user-mini-program level for cancellation of data sharing. The advantage of the user-mini-program level analysis is that we can control for mini-program fixed effects, which allow us to compare the propensity to cancel data sharing with the same mini-program by users with different privacy concerns. We adopt the regression specification in Equation (2) for the sample of all existing data-sharing authorizations between any pair of user and mini-program during the July 2019 to July 2020 period. The sample size is 481,143. The dependent variable is a dummy that equals 1 if the user ever canceled the data-sharing authorization, and 0 otherwise. The coefficients of *Concerned* and *Very Concerned* measure the greater propensity of “concerned” and “very concerned” respondents, respectively, to cancel an existing data authorization. We find that the coefficient is especially large and significant for “very concerned” users. Thus, Panel B again confirms that users who are “very concerned” about data privacy are more likely to cancel data sharing with a given mini-program than “unconcerned” users.

Overall, while survey responses are noisy at the individual level, Table 4 reports regression results at both the user level and user-mini-program level to confirm that the survey-based measure of privacy concerns is positively related to actions taken by Alipay users to protect their own data privacy, thus validating the survey-based measure of privacy concerns at the group level. This finding also confirms the recent studies of Liu et al. (2020) and Giglio et al. (2020), which show

that survey responses about trading motives and expectations are consistent with stock investment behaviors.

D. What Determines Data Sharing Authorizations?

In the survey, we asked the respondents whether they agreed with each of the following five statements, which were motivated by public and policy discussions of consumers' data sharing:

1. *I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs since it is safe in Alipay.*
2. *I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs since my information has already been shared in many platforms.*
3. *I have to share my personal data in exchange for digital services even though I am concerned by my data privacy.*
4. *I only authorize data sharing with a mini-program only when the requested information is not important.*
5. *I tend to authorize data sharing with mini-programs that are used by my friends.*

The first statement considers that users' trust of Alipay's privacy protection might dominate their decisions about privacy concerns. Interestingly, as shown earlier in Table 1, 48% of the respondents in our survey sample regarded Alipay's privacy protection as "very good." The second statement is motivated by the concern that users' extensive data sharing with many digital platforms might substantially reduce the marginal concern of sharing data with another mini-program. This statement is particularly relevant for heavy users of digital applications, who need to share their personal data with many digital service providers. To some extent, this statement reflects a general argument that privacy might be impossible under the attack of increasingly powerful digital technologies in the age of data economy.

The third statement represents a key consideration for our analysis that the decision to authorizing data sharing with a mini-program involves a trade-off between the benefits from using the services and the privacy costs of sharing the requested personal data. The fourth statement addresses the concern that users might be ignorant about the consequences of sharing the requested personal data with mini-programs and such ignorance might influence their data-sharing authorizations. Finally, the fifth statement considered whether social influence, an important

mechanism in the digital economy, might induce herding behavior among privacy-concerned users and lead them to authorize data sharing, e.g., Acquisti, Brandimarte, and Loewenstein (2020).

Each of these statements present a potential mechanism that helps Alipay users overcome their privacy concerns when asked to authorize data sharing with mini-programs. For a statement to explain the lack of any difference in the observed data-sharing authorizations between privacy-concerned and unconcerned users, we expect the statement to be more agreeable for “concerned” users than for “unconcerned” users.

Table 5 summarizes the responses to these statements. We split the respondents into two groups, one with “concerned” and “very concerned” respondents and the other with “unconcerned” respondents. Panel A reports the percentage of the respondents in each group that agree and disagree with each of the five statements. In response to the first statement, 80% of “unconcerned” respondents agree, while only 42% of “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents agree. That is, “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents are less likely to agree with Alipay being safe than “unconcerned” respondents. As such, one cannot attribute the similar number of data-sharing authorizations by these two groups to the greater confidence of “concerned” and “very concerned” respondents in Alipay’s privacy protection.

The panel also shows that only 12% of “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents and 30% of “unconcerned” respondents agree with the second statement that they choose to authorize data sharing with mini-programs because their information has already been shared in many platforms. These low fractions of endorsement indicate that these respondents are not yet frustrated with the challenges in protecting their data privacy. The lower fraction of endorsement by “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents than “unconcerned” respondents also invalidates this statement as a possible explanation for the data privacy paradox.

Similarly, neither ignorance about the consequences of data sharing nor social influence is an likely explanation. Panel A of Table 5 shows that only 20% of “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents and 30% of “unconcerned” respondents agree with the fourth statement that they choose to authorize data sharing with mini-programs when the requested data are unimportant. Furthermore, 44% of “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents and 58% of “unconcerned” respondents agree with the fifth statement that they choose to authorize data sharing with mini-programs that are used by their friends.

The only exception is statement 3: *“I have to share my personal data in exchange for digital services even though I am concerned by my data privacy.”* About 64% of “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents agree with this statement, higher than the 55% of “unconcerned” respondents. This difference indicates that the data privacy paradox might be driven by a trade-off between the costs and benefits of data sharing.

Panel B of Table 5 further examines the relationship between the respondents’ agreement with each of these statements and their privacy concerns in a regression with digital experience and age as control variables, along with gender and city fixed effects. The regression results further confirm the summary statistics in Panel A. In particular, even after including the control variables and the user-characteristics fixed effects, “concerned” or “very concerned” respondents are 8.9% more likely than unconcerned respondents to agree with statement 3, and this difference is highly significant.

Taken together, the responses from the survey point to a trade-off between the costs and benefits of data sharing as a possible explanation for the puzzling data privacy paradox.

IV. Digital Demands

According to the conceptual framework presented in Section III.A, it is possible to use the trade-off between costs and benefits to explain the data privacy paradox if the privacy concerns of sharing personal data with a mini-program are positively correlated with the benefits from using it.⁵ In this section, we examine how privacy concerns are related to digital demands.

A. Privacy Concerns and Digital Demands

We first analyze the relationship between the respondents’ privacy concerns and demands for digital services provided by the mini-programs. As it is difficult to directly measure digital demands, we use the respondents’ actual use of the mini-programs they authorize in Alipay as a

⁵ While our analysis focuses on the relationship between digital demands and privacy concerns, another possible explanation to the observed data privacy paradox is present bias. As suggested by Acquisti (2004), present bias causes consumers to overweight the benefit in the present and underweight the privacy cost in the future. Such present bias may provide an orthogonal mechanism to operate in parallel to the mechanism highlighted by our analysis.

proxy, motivated by an intuitive argument that a user with greater demand for digital services is likely to more extensively use their authorized mini-programs.

Specifically, we examine whether privacy-concerned respondents use more or less of the mini-programs they have authorized in Alipay by using the following regression specification:

$$Y_{ijt} = a_1 \text{Concerned}_i + a_2 \text{Very Concerned}_i + a_3 \text{Age}_{it} + a_4 \text{Digital Experience}_{it} + \delta_i + \mu_j + \theta_t + \varepsilon_{ijt}, \quad (3)$$

where Y_{ijt} is a measure of user i 's use of mini-program j in month t ; the dummy variables Concerned_i and Very Concerned_i are defined as before; Age_{it} and $\text{Digital Experience}_{it}$ are two control variables; and δ_i , μ_j , and θ_t represent fixed effects related to user characteristics, mini-program, and time, respectively. This regression allows us to compare the use of the same mini-program in the same month by respondents with different levels of privacy concerns.

Table 6 reports regression results from using four different measures of a respondent's use of a mini-program in a month: the number of active days, the number of sessions, the number of launches, and the number of visited pages. Column (1) shows that without including the controls, a user "unconcerned" about privacy, on average, uses a mini-program on 0.468 days in a month, while a user "concerned" about privacy uses it on 0.102 more days per month than "unconcerned" users, and a "very concerned" user uses it on 0.126 more days per month than an "unconcerned" user, which represents a gap of 27% between "very concerned" and "unconcerned" users. After including the controls in column (2), the difference between "concerned" and "unconcerned" users remain positive and significant, and "very concerned" users also use the applications more than "concerned" users. The results from the other three measures show the same monotonic pattern—users with strong privacy concerns tend to use their authorized mini-program more frequently and more extensively. Taken together, the regression results show a positive and robust relationship between digital demands and privacy concerns.

How can privacy-concerned users have greater demands for digital services? This question appears puzzling because we tend to think of privacy concerns as an innate preference that is independent of an individual's consumption and demand. If privacy concerns are like risk aversion, it is difficult to perceive that individuals with strong privacy concerns will become intensive users of digital services, similar to the logic that investors with greater risk aversion cannot have more

risky investments. However, as the digital economy is new and still undergoing rapid developments, many consumers are still in the process of learning about their own demands for digital services and concerns about data privacy. It is possible that during this learning process, consumers gradually develop greater demands for digital services and stronger concerns about data privacy at the same time.

This learning process is likely to accompany a user's digital experience. It is easy to believe that as users gain more digital experience, they develop more demand for digital services, even though it may be less clear whether they also develop more concerns about data privacy. Figure 2 illustrates how privacy concerns vary across respondents in our survey sample with different digital experience. Specifically, it sorts all respondents into 12 groups, with the length of digital experience varying from one to 12 years. We measure the privacy concerns of each group by the fraction of the respondents who indicate they are "concerned" or "very concerned" about data sharing with mini-programs. The figure shows that privacy concerns indeed increase with digital experience. Also note that digital experience is unlikely the only factor that drives the users' process of learning about their digital demands and privacy concerns. To the extent that our regression analysis reported in Table 6 has controlled for digital experience, the positive relationship between digital demands and privacy concerns has to arise from learning beyond digital experience.

Another possibility is that privacy concerns grow with the accumulation of the data shared by a user with digital service providers. The accumulation of the shared data exposes the user to greater privacy risks. For example, the data might be hacked by or leaked to unauthorized parties; the data allow digital service providers to infer the user's reservation utility for different products and thus implement more-effective price-discrimination strategies; and the data allow firms to analyze the user's behavioral weakness such as lack of self-control to certain temptation goods and thus more effectively target their advertisements to the user. Regardless of the specific forms of privacy concerns, the user's privacy concerns are likely to grow with the accumulation of the shared data.

B. Activeness and Cancellation

To firmly establish the notion that privacy concerns grow with digital demands, we examine a further implication of this relationship. If individuals with greater digital demands are also more concerned by data privacy, we would expect more-active users of mini-programs to have a greater propensity to cancel previously authorized data sharing with mini-programs. One cannot take this prediction for granted as it counters our usual intuition that active users should be less likely to cancel data-sharing authorizations, which would require removing themselves from those mini-programs.

To test this hypothesis, we use two measures of a user's overall activeness in mini-programs. The first is the *Active-Month Ratio*, which is defined as the weighted average fraction of months that the user uses each of the authorized mini-programs, where the weight for a mini-program is the number of months the user has authorized data sharing with the mini-program. The second measure is $\log(1 + \# \text{ Avg. Monthly Active Sessions})$, which is the user-level average of the number of active sessions in a mini-program in each month. *Cancellation Rate* is the number of canceled active authorizations from July 2019 to July 2020 (a one-year period before the survey) divided by the total number of outstanding authorized mini-programs during the period.

Panel A of Table 7 reports the user-level regression results. Due to missing data of some of the survey respondents, the sample size is 9,860. Column (1) shows that when *Active-Month Ratio* increases by 1%, the cancellation rate increases by 0.04%. Column (2) shows that when $\log(1 + \# \text{ Avg. Monthly Active Sessions})$ increases by 1, the cancellation rate increases by 0.5%. These two regressions both confirm that more-active users are more likely to cancel previously authorized data sharing with mini-programs.

One might argue that cancellation of data sharing requires knowledge of how to cancel a data-sharing authorization and as a result, the positive relationship between cancellation and activeness may reflect active users' being more knowledgeable about cancellation rather than their privacy concerns. To address this argument, we restrict our sample to the respondents with at least one cancellation between January 2013 and June 2019, which is right before our main sample period started in July 2019. To the extent that these respondents all know how to cancel, the differential cancellation rate among them reflects the difference in privacy concerns rather than knowledge. In columns (3) and (4), we focus on this subsample of respondents with at least one cancellation before the sample period. The sample size drops from 9,860 to 3,916. Despite the smaller sample,

the coefficients of the two activeness measures remain highly significant, with a 1% increases in *Active-Month Ratio* leading to a 0.08% increases in the cancellation rate, and an increase of 1 in $\log(1 + \# \text{ Avg. Monthly Active Sessions})$ leading to a 1.2% increase in the cancellation rate.

Panel B of Table 7 shows the relationship between the user’s activeness and the propensity to cancel a mini-program in the user-mini-program level. The activeness measures are still at the user level, and we control for mini-program fixed effects in all the regressions in addition to the previously used control variables. The strong positive relationship between user activeness and the propensity to cancel data-sharing authorization remains robust and highly significant, across the two measures of user activeness and across either the full sample of all survey respondents or the subsample of respondents who have previously canceled at least one data-sharing authorization.

Taken together, Table 7 shows that more-active users are more likely to cancel data-sharing authorizations, and this positive relationship is not driven simply by active users being more knowledgeable about how to cancel a data-sharing authorization. Instead, this positive relationship between user activeness and the propensity to cancel data sharing confirms the key notion that users with greater digital demands tend to be more concerned about data privacy.

V. Robustness

We acknowledge that our survey sample tends to include more-active users of Alipay, as they are more likely to complete the survey. This bias raises a natural concern that our findings may not hold in the general population of Alipay users. To address this concern, we also analyze a random sample of all Alipay users. This random sample contains 100,000 users that were drawn randomly from the whole population of all active Alipay users.

We already summarized the basic characteristics of this random sample in Panel B of Table 2. The random sample is indeed less active in using mini-programs than the survey sample. The numbers of visited and authorized mini-programs in the random sample are only about one-third of those in the survey sample. Of the users in the random sample, 12% canceled data sharing with at least one mini-program, in contrast to 48% in the survey sample. As to the use of mini-programs, the average values of the four measures in the random sample reduce to less than one-half of those in the survey sample. These differences motivate us to examine whether our key findings of the

data privacy paradox, the positive relationship between privacy concerns and use of mini-programs, and the positive relationship between user activeness and cancellation of data-sharing authorizations remain robust in the random sample.

Because users in the random sample did not take our survey, we cannot use their responses to the survey questions to measure their privacy concerns. Instead, we use *Privacy Setting Changed*, a dummy indicating whether a user has changed the Alipay's default privacy settings, as a behavior-based measure of the user's privacy concerns. Relative to the survey-based measure, this behavior-based measure is more objective as it is immune to noise in the survey, but it is also affected by the user's knowledge about how to change Alipay's default privacy settings. Despite this potential weakness, we can still use this behavior-based measure, after suitable control for user knowledge, to examine how privacy concerns are related to data-sharing authorization and cancellation.

In Table 8, we briefly report the results from using this behavior-based measure to re-examine the three key results in the random sample. Panel A shows the results from user-level regressions of the number of data-sharing authorizations or initial visits to mini-programs on users' privacy concerns, using similar specifications as Panel A of Table 3. Interestingly, the more concerned users, as measured by changing their default privacy settings, not only visit significantly more mini-programs but also authorize data sharing with significantly more mini-programs, even after controlling for users' digital experience and age (which are powerful controls for user knowledge) as well as user gender and user city fixed effects. The greater number of data-sharing authorizations makes the data privacy paradox even stronger in the random sample.

Panel B reports how the use of mini-programs is related to privacy concerns by using specifications similar to Panel A of Table 6, except that we use the privacy setting change dummy as the measure of privacy concerns. We again find that in the random sample, more-concerned users tend to use their authorized mini-programs more frequently and more extensively across the four use measures.

Panel C examines how the cancellation rate of data-sharing authorizations with mini-programs is related to user activeness, using specifications similar to Panel A of Table 7. We again observe that the cancellation rate is significantly and positively correlated with user activeness. Users with higher *Active-Month Ratio* and $\log(1 + \# \text{ Avg. Monthly Active Sessions})$ have a higher probability

of canceling their data-sharing authorizations. This relationship holds in both the full sample and the subsample of users who had previously canceled at least one mini-program before July 2019.

Taken together, Table 8 confirms that the three key results of our analysis are robust in the representative random sample of Alipay users.

VI. Conclusion

In this paper, we examine how data privacy preferences affect data sharing of Alipay users with third-party mini-programs in Alipay. Even though one would expect users with stronger privacy concerns to be more reluctant to share data, we find that there is no relationship between privacy concerns, measured by either survey responses or observed behaviors, and the number of data-sharing authorizations, confirming the puzzling data privacy paradox. We attribute this paradox to the trade-off faced by users between privacy costs and economic benefits of sharing personal data with mini-programs, along with a curious finding that users with stronger privacy concerns tend to benefit more from using mini-programs. This positive relationship between privacy concerns and digital demands further suggests that data privacy concerns may not be innate but instead, users may develop privacy concerns as a by-product of the process of using digital applications. To the extent that economic benefits overcome consumers' privacy concerns in their decisions to share their personal data with mini-programs in our sample, our analysis confirms that data sharing is beneficial to consumer welfare.

Figures

Figure 1. The Data Privacy Paradox

This figure presents graphical evidence for the digital privacy paradox by grouping the respondents into three groups based on their answers to the question “*Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?*” We show the average number of visited and authorized mini-programs in each of three groups.

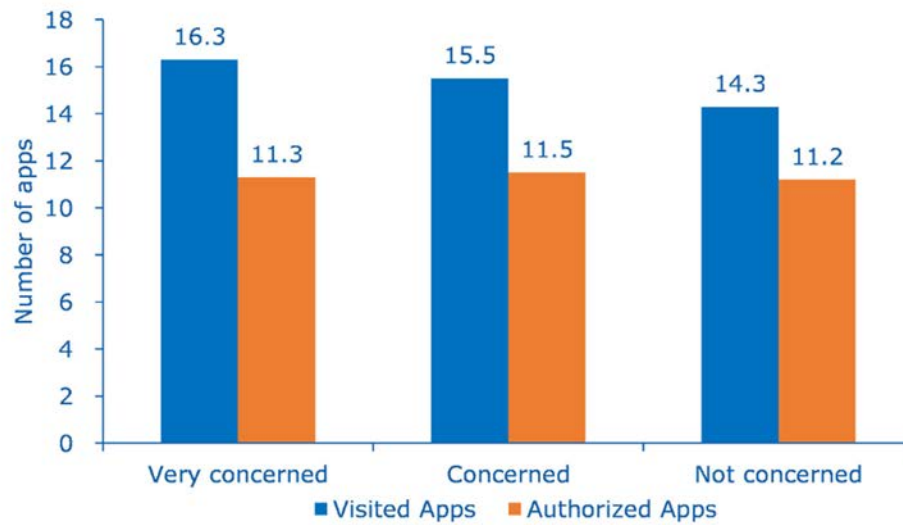
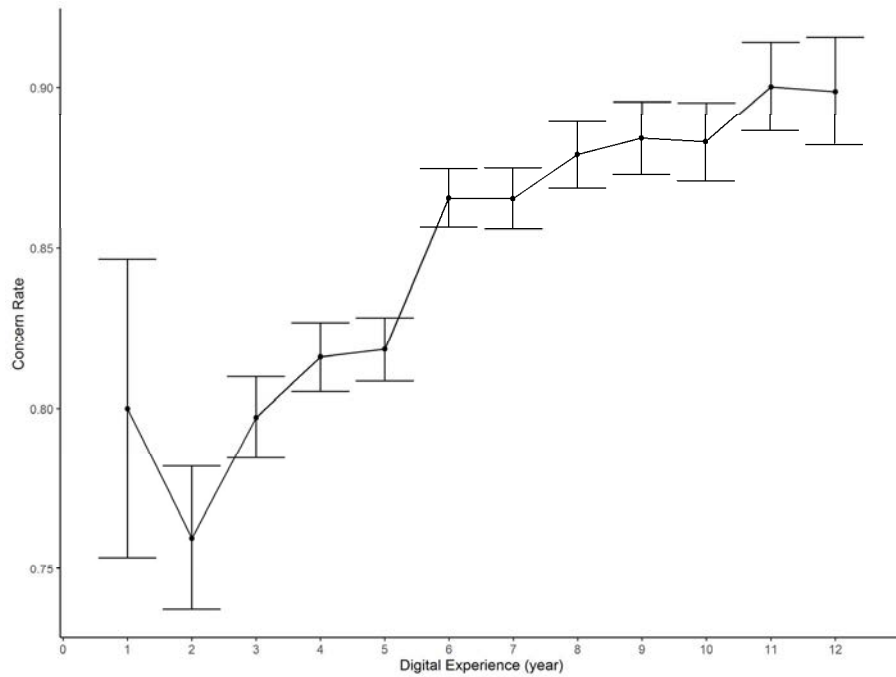


Figure 2. Digital Experience and Privacy Concerns

This figure depicts the fraction of users indicating that they are “concerned” or “very concerned” about negative impacts caused by information shared with mini-programs in Alipay, across groups with different digital experience, measured by the length of time since a user registered on Alipay. For each group, we also show the 68.3% confidence band of the mean estimate.



Tables

Table 1. Responses to Selected Survey Questions

This table summarizes responses to seven of the survey questions.

| | Count | Total | Share |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| <i>A. Are you concerned about privacy issues while using online services?</i> | | | |
| Very concerned | 13284 | 14250 | 93% |
| Concerned | 882 | 14250 | 6% |
| Not concerned | 84 | 14250 | 1% |
| <i>B. What do you think about privacy protection in Alipay?</i> | | | |
| Very good | 6789 | 14250 | 48% |
| Ordinary | 5600 | 14250 | 39% |
| Not good | 679 | 14250 | 5% |
| No idea | 1182 | 14250 | 8% |
| <i>C. Do you know how to change privacy settings in Alipay?</i> | | | |
| Yes | 8529 | 14250 | 60% |
| No | 5721 | 14250 | 40% |
| <i>D. Have you ever changed your privacy settings in Alipay?</i> | | | |
| Yes | 5557 | 14250 | 39% |
| No | 5025 | 14250 | 35% |
| No idea | 3668 | 14250 | 26% |
| <i>E. Have you ever used mini-programs in Alipay?</i> | | | |
| Yes | 10875 | 14250 | 76% |
| No | 3375 | 14250 | 24% |
| <i>F. Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?</i> | | | |
| Very concerned | 5005 | 10875 | 46% |
| Concerned | 4244 | 10875 | 39% |
| Not concerned | 1626 | 10875 | 15% |
| <i>G. What privacy issues are you concerned about when using mini-programs in Alipay? (multiple choices)</i> | | | |
| Data leakage and security | 9377 | 10875 | 86% |
| Price discrimination by merchants | 2314 | 10875 | 21% |
| Seductive advertising and temptation consumption | 5333 | 10875 | 49% |
| Others | 500 | 10875 | 5% |

Table 2. Summary Statistics

This table reports summary statistics of the two samples of Alipay users used in our analysis. Panel A covers the main sample of 10,875 users who finished the survey in July 2020 and indicated that they had used mini-programs in Alipay, while Panel B covers a representative random sample of 100,000 Alipay users. Each panel reports user information in three parts. First, Part I reports the general information. *Concerned Dummy* and *Very Concerned Dummy* in Panel A are dummy variables that equal 1 if the answer to the survey question “Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?” is “concerned” or “very concerned.” *Privacy Setting Changed*, a proxy measure for privacy concerns, is a dummy variable equal to 1 if a user changed their privacy setting at least once between May 2017 and April 2020, and 0 otherwise. *Digital Experience* is the number of months since the user firstly registered on Alipay, and *Age* is the user’s physical age in July 2020. Second, for data sharing with mini programs, Part II includes the number of authorized, entered, and canceled mini-programs over the period of July 2019 to July 2020; the *Cancellation Rate* of used mini-programs between July 2019 and July 2020; and the *Has Canceled* status over the period of January 2013 to July 2020. Third, Part III reports summary statistics of monthly use variables of Alipay users in each mini-program from July 2019 to July 2020, including number of active days, number of uses, number of launches, and number of visited pages. Use variables are winsorized at the 1% and 99% levels.

Panel A: Sample of Survey Respondents

| | N | Mean | Std | Min | p25 | Median | p75 | Max |
|---|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| Part I. General information | | | | | | | | |
| Concerned Dummy | 10875 | 0.39 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Very Concerned Dummy | 10875 | 0.46 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Privacy Setting Changed | 10875 | 0.49 | 0.5 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Digital Experience (month) | 10871 | 74.97 | 35.07 | 4.00 | 48.00 | 70.00 | 97.00 | 190.00 |
| Age (year) | 10858 | 32.82 | 10.27 | 10.00 | 25.00 | 31.00 | 39.00 | 82.00 |
| Part II. Data sharing with mini-programs | | | | | | | | |
| # Authorized Mini-Programs | 10875 | 11.37 | 7.63 | 0.00 | 7.00 | 10.00 | 14.00 | 93.00 |
| # Entered Mini-Programs | 10875 | 15.72 | 12.06 | 1.00 | 10.00 | 13.00 | 19.00 | 275.00 |
| Has Canceled | 10857 | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| # Cancellations | 10612 | 0.26 | 0.98 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 23.00 |
| Cancellation Rate | 10612 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Part III. Use of mini-programs | | | | | | | | |
| Monthly Mini-Program Use | | | | | | | | |
| # Active Days | 1521645 | 0.57 | 2.92 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 31.00 |
| # Uses | 1521645 | 0.81 | 5.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 75.00 |
| # Launches | 1521645 | 2.29 | 15.07 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 230.00 |
| # Visited Pages | 1521645 | 5.20 | 33.67 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 503.00 |

Panel B: Random Sample of Alipay Users

| | N | Mean | Std | Min | p25 | Median | p75 | Max |
|---|---------|-------|-------|------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| Part I. General information | | | | | | | | |
| Privacy Setting Changed | 98679 | 0.09 | 0.28 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Digital Experience (month) | 99600 | 60.69 | 36.81 | 0.00 | 32.00 | 55.00 | 82.00 | 190.00 |
| Age (year) | 97876 | 36.61 | 12.89 | 1.00 | 27.00 | 34.00 | 46.00 | 120.00 |
| Part II. Data sharing with mini programs | | | | | | | | |
| # Authorized Mini-Programs | 100000 | 2.40 | 3.52 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 3.00 | 136.00 |
| # Entered Mini-Programs | 100000 | 3.02 | 4.59 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 2.00 | 4.00 | 248.00 |
| Has Canceled | 99995 | 0.12 | 0.32 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| # Cancellations | 57214 | 0.02 | 0.31 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 38.00 |
| Cancellation Rate | 57214 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Part III. Use of mini-programs | | | | | | | | |
| Monthly Mini-Program Use | | | | | | | | |
| # Active Days | 3036555 | 0.27 | 1.59 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 27.00 |
| # Uses | 3036555 | 0.34 | 2.21 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 40.00 |
| # Launches | 3036555 | 1.10 | 6.90 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 123.00 |
| # Visited Pages | 3036555 | 3.06 | 19.96 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 342.00 |

Table 3. The Data Privacy Paradox

This table presents empirical evidence for the data privacy paradox. *Concerned Dummy* and *Very Concerned Dummy* in Panel A are dummy variables that equal 1 if the answer to the survey question “Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?” is “concerned” or “very concerned.” Panel A reports the results of the user-level regressions. Columns (1)–(2) show results for the number of authorized mini-programs, and columns (3)–(4) for the number of initially visited mini-programs. Panel B reports the results of the user-mini-program level regressions, where we cluster the standard errors at the user level. Columns (1)–(2) show results for the authorization dummy, which equals 1 if the user has authorized data sharing with a mini-program, and 0 otherwise; and columns (3)–(4) show results for the initial visit dummy, which equals 1 if the user initially visited the mini-program, and 0 otherwise. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

| Panel A. User Level Analysis | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| | # Authorized Mini-programs | | # Visited Mini-programs | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Concerned Dummy | 0.334 (0.213) | 0.207 (0.214) | 1.262*** (0.322) | 1.243*** (0.320) |
| Very Concerned Dummy | 0.127 (0.209) | -0.007 (0.211) | 1.990*** (0.331) | 1.965*** (0.336) |
| Digital Experience | | 0.012*** (0.002) | | -0.002 (0.004) |
| Age | | -0.039*** (0.009) | | 0.204*** (0.015) |
| Constant | 11.177*** (0.178) | | 14.310*** (0.274) | |
| City FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 10875 | 10858 | 10875 | 10858 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.0001 | 0.021 | 0.003 | 0.045 |

Panel B. User-Mini-Program Level Analysis

| | Authorized Dummy (0/1) | | Visited Dummy (0/1) | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Concerned Dummy ($\times E-4$) | 0.862 (0.745) | 0.386 (0.735) | 2.897*** (0.848) | 2.552*** (0.836) |
| Very Concerned Dummy ($\times E-4$) | 0.028 (0.736) | -0.465 (0.728) | 3.755*** (0.846) | 3.340*** (0.840) |
| Digital Experience ($\times E-6$) | | 5.517*** (0.800) | | 3.806*** (0.960) |
| Age ($\times E-5$) | | -1.958*** (0.287) | | 2.405*** (0.367) |
| Constant | 0.004*** (0.0001) | | 0.005*** (0.0001) | |
| Mini-program FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| City FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 25414875 | 25364288 | 25414875 | 25364288 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.000 | 0.105 | 0.000 | 0.129 |

Table 4. Validating Survey-Based Privacy Concerns

This table reports the relationship between the survey-based measure of privacy concerns and actions taken to protect data privacy, including canceling data-sharing authorizations with mini-programs and changing Alipay’s default privacy settings. *Concerned Dummy* and *Very Concerned Dummy* in Panel A are dummy variables that equal 1 if the answer to the survey question “*Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?*” is “concerned” or “very concerned.” Panel A shows results for user-level regressions. In columns (1)–(2), the dependent variable is a dummy that indicates whether a user has canceled at least one data-sharing authorization in the period of January 2013 to July 2020. In columns (3)–(4), the dependent variable is a dummy that indicates whether a user has changed the Alipay’s default privacy settings the period of May 2017 to April 2020. Panel B shows results for user-mini-program level regressions, where we cluster the standard errors at the user level. In each pair of user-mini-program with existing data-sharing authorization, the dependent variable is a dummy that indicates whether the user canceled the authorization in the period of July 2019 to July 2020. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

Panel A. User Level Analysis

| | Has Canceled (0/1) | | Privacy Setting Changed (0/1) | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Concerned Dummy | 0.060*** (0.014) | 0.033*** (0.014) | 0.028* (0.015) | 0.012 (0.015) |
| Very Concerned Dummy | 0.082*** (0.014) | 0.051*** (0.014) | 0.060*** (0.014) | 0.041*** (0.015) |
| Digital Experience | | 0.004*** (0.0001) | | 0.001*** (0.0001) |
| Age | | -0.003*** (0.0005) | | -0.001*** (0.0005) |
| Constant | 0.420*** (0.012) | | 0.454*** (0.012) | |
| City FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 10,857 | 10,841 | 10,875 | 10,858 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.003 | 0.097 | 0.002 | 0.011 |

Panel B. User-Mini-Program Level Analysis

| | Canceled Dummy (0/1) | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) |
| Concerned Dummy | -0.001 (0.003) | 0.004 (0.003) |
| Very Concerned Dummy | 0.005 (0.003) | 0.011*** (0.003) |
| Digital Experience ($\times E-4$) | | 1.218*** (0.305) |
| Age ($\times E-4$) | | 2.547** (1.141) |
| Constant | 0.058*** (0.003) | |
| Mini-program FE | N | Y |
| City FE | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y |
| Observations | 481,143 | 480,542 |
| Adjusted R^2 | 0.0001 | 0.107 |

Table 5. Determinants of Data-Sharing Authorizations in Survey

Panel A summarizes the responses of the respondents to five statements. The respondents are split into two groups, one for those whose answers to the survey question “Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?” are “concerned” or “very concerned,” and the other group for those whose answers to this survey question are “not concerned.” Panel B shows the regression results. The dependent variable takes a value of 1 if a respondent agrees with a statement. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

Panel A. Summary of Responses to Survey Statements

| | Count | Share | Count | Share | Total |
|---|-------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| | Agree | | Disagree | | |
| <i>Q1: I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs because it is safe in Alipay.</i> | | | | | |
| Concerned or very concerned | 3918 | 42% | 5331 | 58% | 9249 |
| Not concerned | 1308 | 80% | 318 | 20% | 1626 |
| <i>Q2: I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs because my information has already been shared in many platforms.</i> | | | | | |
| Concerned or very concerned | 1083 | 12% | 8166 | 88% | 9249 |
| Not concerned | 493 | 30% | 1133 | 70% | 1626 |
| <i>Q3: I have to share my information in exchange for digital services even though I have concerns about my data privacy.</i> | | | | | |
| Concerned or very concerned | 6030 | 65% | 3219 | 35% | 9249 |
| Not concerned | 913 | 56% | 713 | 44% | 1626 |
| <i>Q4: I only authorize data sharing with mini-programs when the requested data are not important.</i> | | | | | |
| Concerned or very concerned | 1852 | 20% | 7397 | 80% | 9249 |
| Not concerned | 485 | 30% | 1141 | 70% | 1626 |
| <i>Q5: I tend to authorize data sharing with mini-programs that are used by my friends.</i> | | | | | |
| Concerned or very concerned | 4042 | 44% | 5207 | 56% | 9249 |
| Not concerned | 942 | 58% | 684 | 42% | 1626 |

Panel B. Regression Analysis

| Agree with | Q1 | Q2 | Q3 | Q4 | Q5 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Concerned or very concerned | -0.320*** (0.011) | -0.203*** (0.013) | 0.083*** (0.014) | -0.096*** (0.014) | -0.158*** (0.014) |
| Digital Experience | -0.001*** (0.0002) | -0.001*** (0.0001) | 0.0003** (0.0001) | -0.001*** (0.0001) | -0.00001 (0.0002) |
| Age | 0.002*** (0.001) | 0.001** (0.0004) | 0.0005 (0.0005) | 0.004*** (0.0005) | -0.001 (0.001) |
| City FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Gender FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 8,658 | 9,637 | 9,780 | 9,356 | 9,110 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.070 | 0.052 | 0.013 | 0.019 | 0.014 |

Table 6. Demand for Digital Services

This table examines the relationship between privacy concerns and demand for digital services. *Concerned Dummy* and *Very Concerned Dummy* in Panel A are dummy variables that equal 1 if the answer to the survey question “Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?” is “concerned” or “very concerned.” We use four user-app-month-level variables from July 2019 to July 2020 to capture demand for digital services, namely, number of active days, number of uses, number of launches, and number of visited pages. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We cluster the standard errors at the user level and report standard errors in parentheses.

| | # Active Days | | # App Uses | | # App Launches | | # Visited Pages | |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Concerned Dummy | 0.102*** (0.027) | 0.088*** (0.020) | 0.155*** (0.046) | 0.138*** (0.035) | 0.434*** (0.131) | 0.399*** (0.105) | 0.847*** (0.262) | 0.772*** (0.219) |
| Very Concerned Dummy | 0.126*** (0.028) | 0.102*** (0.021) | 0.206*** (0.048) | 0.172*** (0.037) | 0.568*** (0.135) | 0.490*** (0.110) | 1.144*** (0.269) | 0.996*** (0.230) |
| Digital Experience | | -0.0001 (0.000) | | -0.0003 (0.001) | | -0.001 (0.001) | | -0.001 (0.003) |
| Age | | 0.020*** (0.001) | | 0.033*** (0.002) | | 0.080*** (0.005) | | 0.128*** (0.011) |
| Constant | 0.468*** (0.023) | | 0.651*** (0.039) | | 1.864*** (0.112) | | 4.339*** (0.226) | |
| Mini-program FE | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Year-Month FE | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| City FE | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 1,521,645 | 1,519,020 | 1,521,645 | 1,519,020 | 1,521,645 | 1,519,020 | 1,521,645 | 1,519,020 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.0002 | 0.119 | 0.0002 | 0.096 | 0.0001 | 0.086 | 0.0001 | 0.078 |

Table 7. Activeness and Cancellation

This table examines the relationship between user activeness and cancellation of previously authorized mini-programs. The sample covers user-mini-program pairs that had been active between July 2019 and July 2020. *Cancellation Rate* is the number of canceled mini-programs by a user from July 2019 to July 2020 divided by the total number of the user’s active mini-programs. We use two user-level measures of activeness. The first one is active-month ratio, which refers to the total number of months a user has been active as a percentage in the total number of months from the beginning to the end of authorizations in all mini-programs. The second one is the logarithm of the average monthly active uses. Panel A shows results for the user-level regression. We use the whole sample in columns (1) and (2) and a subsample with users who canceled at least one mini-program before July 2019 in columns (3) and (4). Panel B reports the results of the user-mini-program level regressions, where we cluster the standard errors at the user level. We use the whole sample in columns (1) and (2) and a subsample with users who canceled at least one mini-program before July 2019 in columns (3) and (4). We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

Panel A. User Level Regression

| | Cancellation Rate | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Active-Month Ratio | 0.042*** (0.008) | | 0.080*** (0.016) | |
| log(1+ # Avg. Monthly Active Sessions) | | 0.005*** (0.001) | | 0.012*** (0.003) |
| Digital Experience (× E-4) | -0.112 (0.194) | -0.203 (0.194) | -1.834*** (0.448) | -2.000*** (0.454) |
| Age (× E-4) | -1.250* (0.746) | -0.549 (0.689) | -1.666 (1.896) | -0.682 (1.823) |
| City FE | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Gender FE | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Sample | All | All | Has Canceled | Has Canceled |
| Observations | 9,860 | 9,860 | 3916 | 3916 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.012 | 0.005 | 0.027 | 0.014 |

Panel B. User-Mini-Program Level Regression

| | Canceled Dummy (0/1) | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Active-Month Ratio | 0.038*** (0.007) | | 0.072*** (0.013) | |
| log(1+ # Avg. Monthly Active Sessions) | | 0.003** (0.001) | | 0.007*** (0.002) |
| Digital Experience ($\times E-4$) | -0.143 (0.173) | -0.221 (0.175) | -1.530*** (0.396) | -1.659*** (0.402) |
| Age ($\times E-4$) | -0.922 (0.636) | -0.097 (0.601) | -0.726 (1.489) | 0.451 (1.437) |
| Mini-program FE | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| City FE | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Gender FE | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Sample | All | All | Has Canceled | Has Canceled |
| Observations | 64,611 | 64,611 | 28,034 | 28,034 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.009 | 0.028 | 0.024 |

Table 8. Robustness Tests

This table reports three sets of robustness tests from using the representative random sample of 100,000 Alipay users. Panel A presents the robustness test for the digital privacy paradox, where the regressions are at the user level. *Privacy Setting Changed* is a behavior-based measure for privacy concerns, defined as a dummy variable that equals 1 if a user changed the default privacy settings at least once between May 2017 and April 2020, and 0 otherwise. Columns (1) and (2) show results for the number of authorized mini-programs, and columns (3) and (4) show results for the number of initially visited mini-programs. In columns (2) and (4), we control for digital experience and age, along with gender and city fixed effects. Panel B tests the positive relationship between privacy concerns and demand for digital services, where the regressions are in the user-mini-program-month level, and the standard errors are clustered at the user level. We use four variables from July 2019 to July 2020 to capture demand for digital services, namely, number of active days, number of uses, number of launches, and number of visited pages. Columns (1), (3), (5), and (7) show regression results without any controls, while columns (2), (4), (6), and (8) control for digital experience and age, as well as user gender, user city, mini-program, and year-month fixed effects. Panel C examines the positive relationship between user activeness and cancellation of mini-programs, where the regressions are at the user-mini-program level, and the standard errors are clustered at the user level. The sample covers user-mini-program pairs that had been active between July 2019 and July 2020. We use two measures of user activeness. The first one is active-month ratio that refers to the total number of months the user is active as a percentage of the total number of months from the beginning to the end of authorizations in all mini-programs. The second one is the logarithm of the average monthly active uses. We use the whole sample in columns (1) and (2) and a subsample of users who canceled at least one mini-program before July 2019 in columns (3) and (4). In all the regressions, we control for digital experience and age, as well as gender and city fixed effects. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

Panel A. User Level Analysis of the Data Privacy Paradox

| | # Authorized Apps | | # Visited Apps | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Privacy Setting Changed | 2.851*** (0.083) | 2.443*** (0.082) | 3.599*** (0.117) | 3.158*** (0.116) |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 98,679 | 96,596 | 98,679 | 96,596 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.023 | 0.094 | 0.022 | 0.068 |

Panel B. User-Mini-Program-Month Level Analysis of Privacy Concerns and Digital Demand

| | # Active Days | | # Active Sessions | | # App Launches | | # Visited Pages | |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Privacy Setting Changed | 0.032*** | 0.043*** | 0.042*** | 0.059*** | 0.102*** | 0.173*** | 0.301*** | 0.521*** |
| | (0.009) | (0.007) | (0.012) | (0.010) | (0.034) | (0.031) | (0.086) | (0.081) |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Observations | 3,021,210 | 3,007,635 | 3,021,210 | 3,007,635 | 3,021,210 | 3,007,635 | 3,021,210 | 3,007,635 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.00005 | 0.061 | 0.00004 | 0.052 | 0.00003 | 0.046 | 0.00003 | 0.045 |

Panel C. User-Mini-Program Level Analysis of Activeness and Cancellation

| | Cancellation Rate | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Active-Month Ratio | 0.006*** | | 0.022*** | |
| | (0.001) | | (0.008) | |
| log(1+ # Avg. Monthly Active Sessions) | | 0.002*** | | 0.008*** |
| | | (0.0004) | | (0.003) |
| Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Sample | All | All | Has Canceled | Has Canceled |
| Observations | 57,146 | 57,146 | 8,057 | 8,057 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.042 | 0.041 |

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Appendix: The Survey Questionnaire

Q1. Are you concerned about privacy issues while using online services?

Q2. What do you think about privacy protection in Alipay?

Q3. Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?

Q4. Will you avoid visiting mini-programs in Alipay because of privacy concerns?

Q5. What privacy issues are you concerned about when using mini-programs in Alipay? (You may select multiple choices.)

- A. Data leakage and security;
- B. Price discrimination by merchants;
- C. Seductive advertising and temptation consumption;
- D. Others

Q6. How many times will you agree if making authorization decisions for ten mini-programs?

Q7. How often do you regret authorizing information to mini-programs in Alipay?

Q8. Do you agree with the arguments below?

- 1) I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs since it is safe in Alipay.
- 2) I agree to authorize data sharing with mini-programs since my information has already been shared in many platforms.
- 3) I have to share my personal data in exchange for digital services even though I am concerned about my data privacy.
- 4) I authorize data sharing with a mini-program only when the requested information is not important.
- 5) I tend to authorize data sharing with mini-programs that are used by my friends.

Q9. Do you know how to change privacy settings in Alipay?

Q10. Have you ever changed your privacy settings in Alipay?

Q11. Do you know how to opt out from mini-programs in Alipay?

Q12. Have you ever opted out from mini-programs in Alipay?

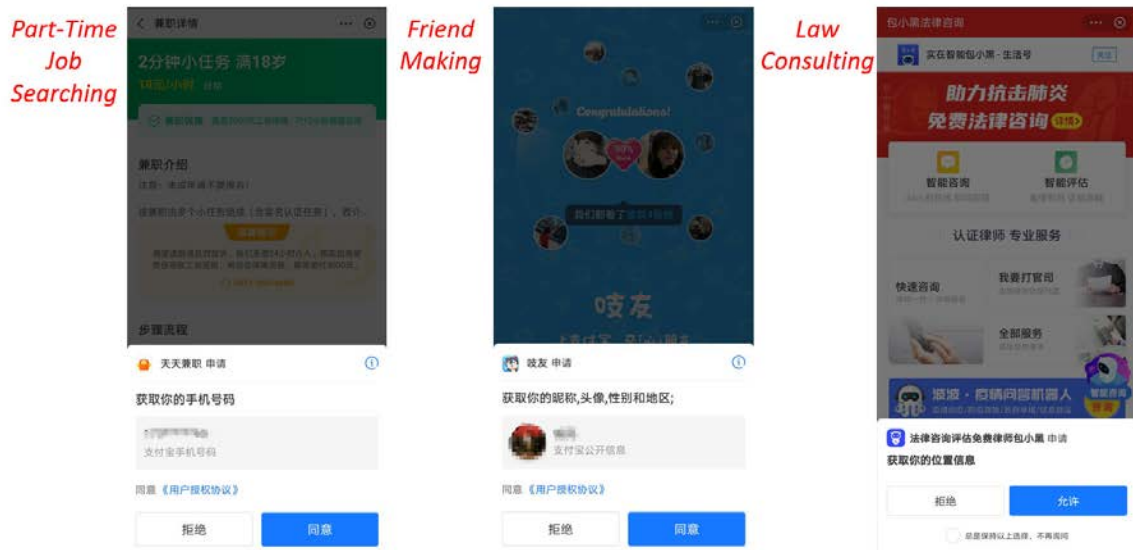
The Data Privacy Paradox and Digital Demand

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Online Appendix

Figure A1. Examples of the Authorization Page

This figure presents three examples of the authorization page with different information requirements. Users need to agree to share requested information before using mini-programs.



Information Required: *Mobile Number*

Information Required: *Nickname, Profile, Gender, Area*

Information Required: *Current Location*

Figure A2. The Alipay Platform and the Survey Channel

This figure shows the distribution channel of the survey conducted by Alipay in July 2020. The survey was distributed through the message box of Alipay that is located in the middle of the main interface and visible to all users.

Search Box for
Mini-Programs

Shortcuts to
Frequently Used
Mini-Programs

Message Box
(Survey Access)



Figure A3. Completion Time Distribution (Seconds)

This figure plots the completion time distribution (seconds) in the survey conducted in July 2020 by Alipay. The vertical axis refers to the percentage of responses.

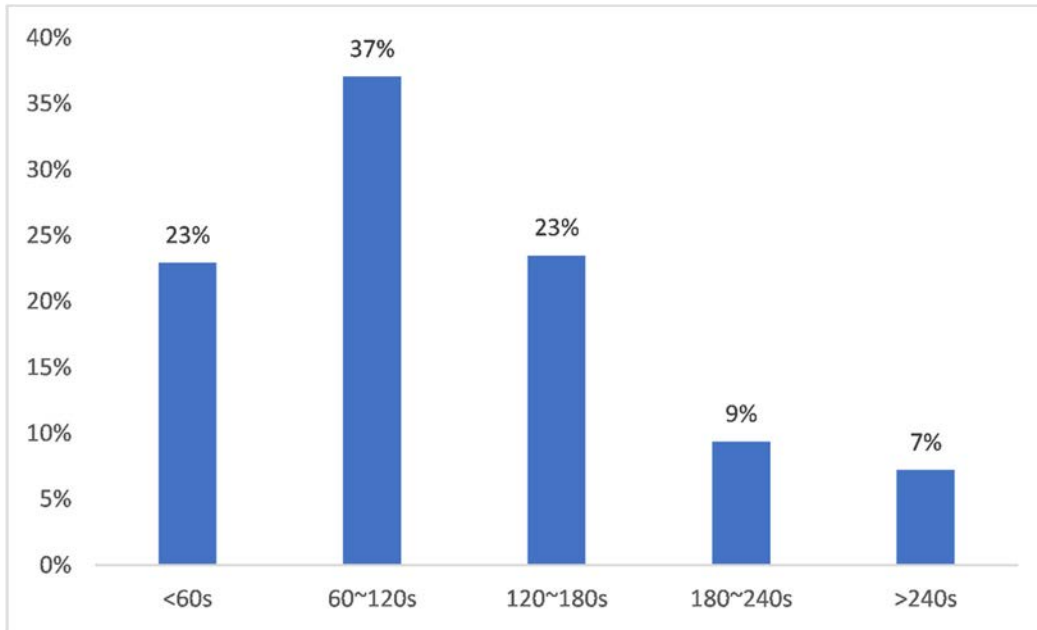


Figure A4. Age Distribution (Years)

This figure plots the age distribution of respondents from the survey conducted in July 2020 by Alipay. The vertical axis refers to the percentage of responses.

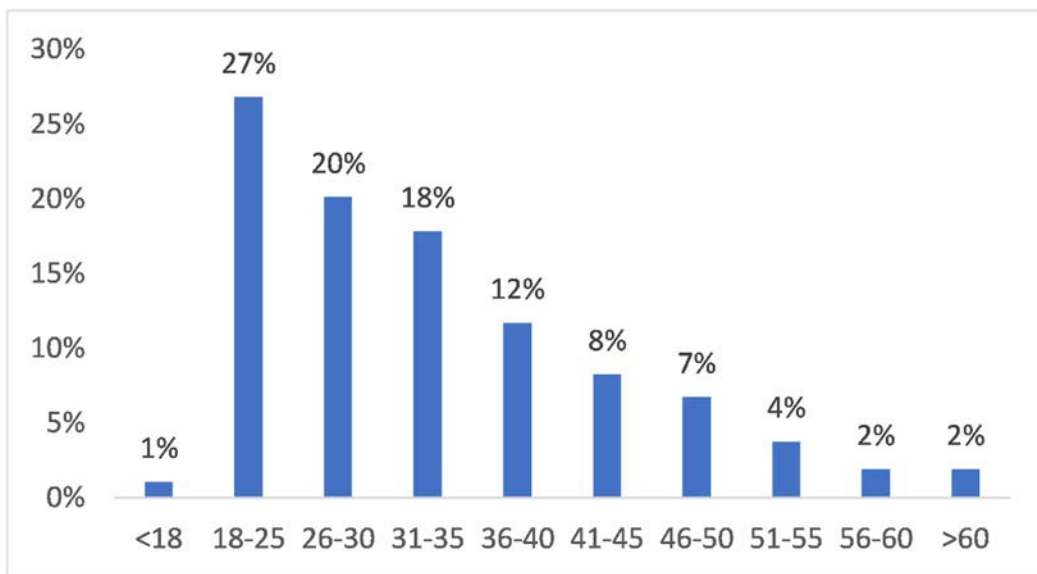


Figure A5. Distribution Across Provinces

This figure plots the linear correlation between distribution of respondents in the survey and distribution of the population across provinces. The vertical axis refers to the percentage of responses; the horizontal axis refers to the percentage of resident population (2019).

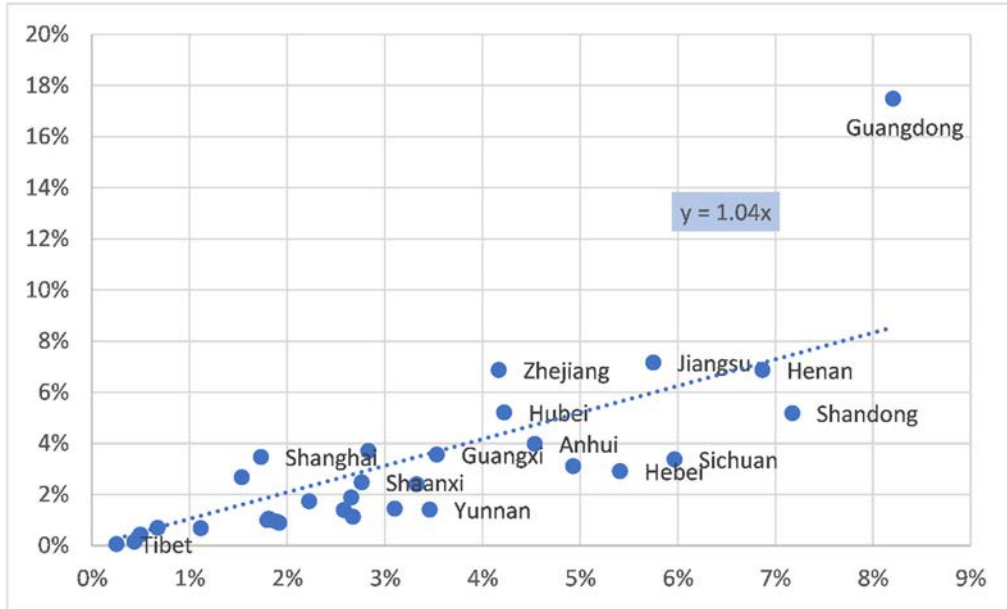


Figure A6. Digital Age Distribution (Years)

This figure plots the digital age distribution of respondents from the survey conducted in July 2020 by Alipay. The vertical axis refers to the percentage of responses; digital age is defined as the length of time since a user registered with Alipay.

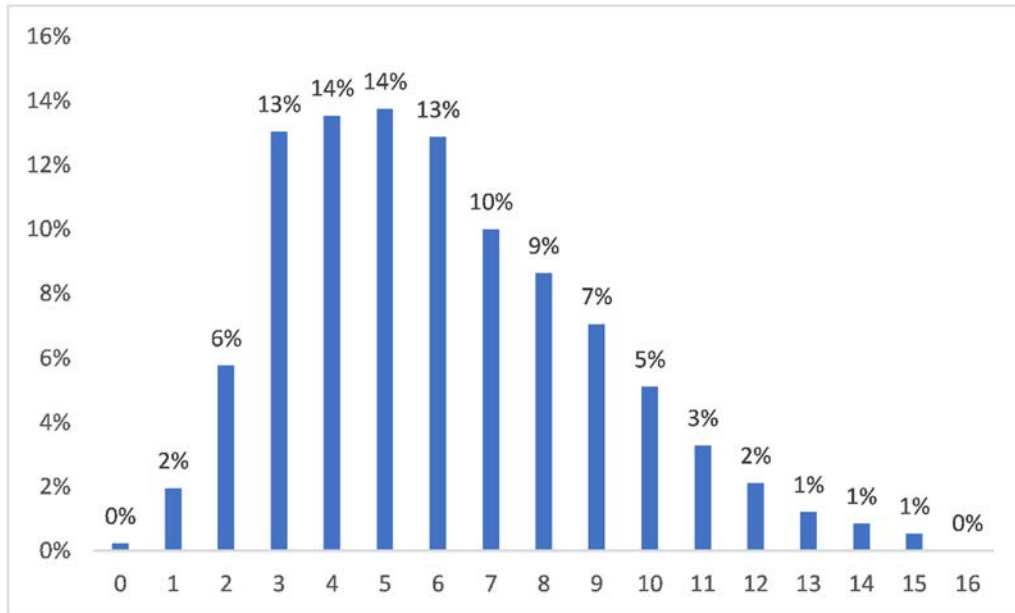
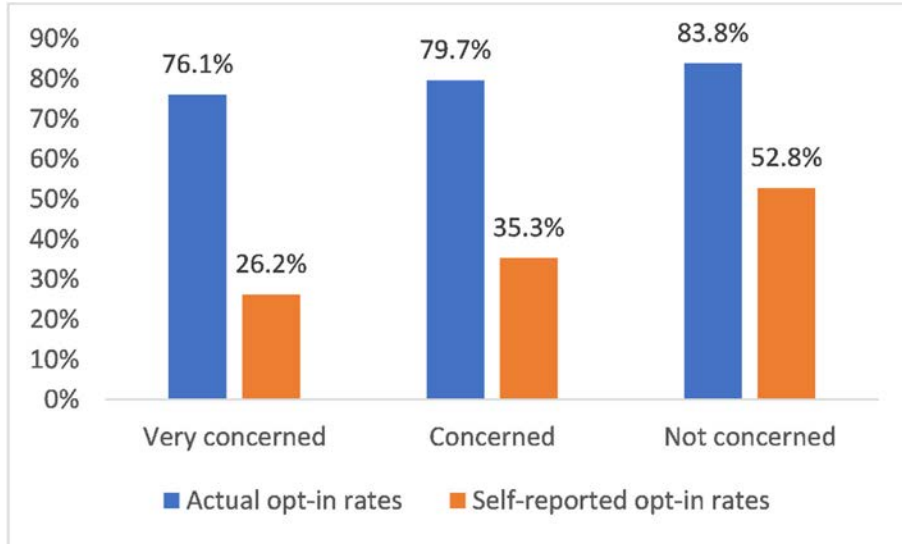


Figure A7. Dissonance in Surveyed and Actual Authorization Rates

This figure present dissonance between behavioral and self-reported authorization rates in the survey sample. In Panel A, the horizontal axis is grouped by answers to the question “Are you concerned about negative impacts caused by information shared to mini-programs in Alipay?” In Panel B, the horizontal axis is grouped by answers to the question “How many times would you agree in authorizing data sharing with ten mini-programs?”

Panel A



Panel B

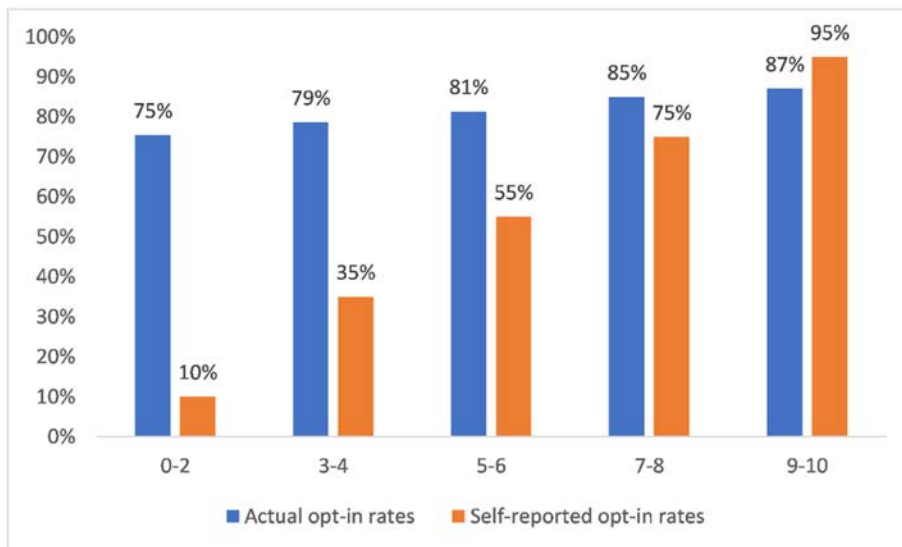


Table A1. Robustness: Concern and Cancellation

This table reports the relationship between privacy concerns and cancellation of mini programs in a random sample. Privacy setting changed, a proxy measure for privacy concerns, is a dummy variable equal to 1 if a user changed their privacy setting at least once between May 2017 and April 2020, and 0 otherwise. Columns (1)–(3) show results for canceled status, and columns (4)–(6) show cancellation rates. We denote ***, **, and * as the 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. We report standard errors in parentheses.

| | Has Canceled | | | Cancellation Rate | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Privacy Setting Changed | 0.218*** (0.005) | 0.199*** (0.005) | 0.197*** (0.005) | 0.017*** (0.001) | 0.017*** (0.001) | 0.017*** (0.001) |
| Digital Experience | | 0.002*** (0.00003) | 0.002*** (0.00003) | | -0.000 (0.00001) | -0.000 (0.00001) |
| Age | | -0.001*** (0.0001) | -0.001*** (0.0001) | | -0.0001*** (0.00002) | -0.0001*** (0.00002) |
| Constant | 0.098*** (0.001) | | | 0.003*** (0.0002) | | |
| City FE | N | N | Y | N | N | Y |
| Gender FE | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 98,674 | 96,591 | 96,591 | 57,214 | 56,866 | 56,866 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.036 | 0.072 | 0.075 | 0.010 | 0.010 | 0.010 |