

Your browsing behavior for a Big Mac: Economics of Personal Information Online

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ABSTRACT

Most online services (Google, Facebook etc.) operate by providing a service to users for free, and in return they collect and monetize personal information (PI) of the users. This operational model is inherently economic, as the “good” being traded and monetized is PI. This model is coming under increased scrutiny as online services are moving to capture more PI of users, raising serious privacy concerns. However, little is known on how users value different types of PI while being online, as well as the perceptions of users with regards to exploitation of their PI by online service providers.

In this paper, we study how users value different types of PI while being online, while capturing the context by relying on Experience Sampling. We were able to extract the monetary value that 168 participants put on different pieces of PI. We find that users value their PI related to their offline identities more (3 times) than their browsing behavior. Users also value information pertaining to financial transactions and social network interactions more than activities like search and shopping. We also found that while users are overwhelmingly in favor of exchanging their PI in return for improved online services, they are uncomfortable if these same providers monetize their PI.

Author Keywords

Auction, browser plugin, economics, Experience Sampling, Personal information, Privacy

INTRODUCTION

A large part of the Internet economy operates by monetizing personal information (PI) of end-users, primarily via online advertisements. Online service providers like Google, Facebook etc. offer services for free, and in return, collect, aggregate and monetize PI. However, this monetization comes at the cost of erosion of privacy of end-users. Entities like Google etc. are aggressively collecting *more* PI about the end-users, often outside the scope of their application (Google

via Doubleclick cookies, Facebook via their ‘Like’ button etc.) and have been vocal about their dim view of online privacy [7, 4]. At the same time, users are becoming more aware of various privacy breaches [3, 6, 46, 1], attracting the attention of regulatory bodies as well [5].

The ecosystem of service providers on one end and users on the other can be viewed as a two sided market [41], where the ‘good’ being traded is PI of users. In such a system, it is easy for service providers to attach a value on each users’ PI, based on the revenues they can extract. However, for users to perform cost-benefit type analysis, where the cost is loss of privacy, and the benefit is the service they obtain in return, it is important that they first know the value of *their* PI they are trading away. In this paper, we focus on understanding this value that users attach to their own PI¹, specifically while web-browsing that has been shown to have serious privacy implications [35, 36].

It is challenging to extract the value that users’ put on their own PI. First of all, the valuation could change based on *context*. For instance, the value that a user puts on the fact that she is searching for a restaurant can be different than when she is searching for cancer drugs. Indeed, it can even change between the type of interactions; social interactions can have a different valuation from a financial transaction conducted online. Second of all, valuations may depend on personal demographics; one’s education levels, socio-economic status, age and gender. Past work done in this domain has included valuating personal information like weight, age etc. [28] as well as location information [19], however they all rely on surveys and fail to capture the context.

The main research question we deal with is “what value do users associate with their PI”, more specifically their web browsing behavior. In order to capture context we rely on Experience Sampling (rESM) [15] and develop and deploy a browser plugin (Sec: Methodology) to ‘sample’ what users are experiencing and obtain their responses in context. We sample users on the different types of content/services they

¹We focus on monetary value assigned by the user to their information, although one can imagine other notions of value and utility like satisfaction, happiness etc. We consider money as we are interested in the overall ecosystem of online services that hinges on monetizing PI. Secondly, money is a tangible concept and easier to express as opposed to user happiness. We will consider other notions of value in future work.

access (Social, Search, Finance etc.). We recruited 168 participants spanning a diverse range of demographics and used a reverse second price auction to obtain an honest valuation for different types of PI. Our main findings include that users value PI related to their offline identity – age, gender, address and economic status at € 25 (median) and this value does not change across different services. This value is higher than what users associate with their browsing history, which is € 7 (median). In terms of valuating service specific PI (photos uploaded to your social network, search keywords, online purchases etc.), users had different valuations, with interactions on Social and Finance web-sites getting high valuations (€ 12, 15.5). Interestingly, we see no difference between the valuations users put on one piece of PI as opposed to multiple pieces of the same PI.

The second research question we address is to understand users' perceptions on the economic usage of their PI by online service providers. Once again, we use the same methodology, and record the responses in context. Our main result is that while most users have knowledge about their PI being monetized, and while they are comfortable with this PI being used to improve services, they are overwhelmingly negative about their PI being monetized. This contrast can have important implications for design of new services, as well as for future research.

RELATED WORK

There has been a considerable amount of work done on how users value personal information and privacy while considering psychological, social, economic and technical factors. We review work related to our research question 1 (RQ1) and the question 2 (RQ2).

RQ1: What monetary value do users attach on different types of PI while being online?

Previous research has shown that valuation can depend on the type of information release, for instance Huberman et al [28] have reported that valuation of certain bits of PI like weight and age depends on the desirability of those bits of information in a social context. Users attached low values to their PI if their respective values were between typical values or if the users came out as 'positive'; (e.g low weight) in a social context. Likewise, valuation of location information has been found to depend on factors like the distance traveled by the user and to a lesser extent who the users communicate with [19]. The authors of [19] used a reverse auction mechanism to estimate minimum monetary value that participants (undergraduate students in Cambridge, UK) would accept to disclose constant location information towards a scientific experiment or for commercial use. They report a median of 10 pounds, with a highly skewed distribution. Interestingly, the possibility of commercial use of the data increased the median by 10 pounds. A similar, and larger study (spread over 5 European countries) reaffirmed the median value of 10 pounds, and also established that users *factor* in diminishing returns of more information, and hence started asking for less [18].

In a survey that was part of a larger study [24], users expressed different concerns for different types of information – sharing financial information as well as purchasing activity of goods like condoms were of high concern, while general interests were rated low. Some demographic factors appear to influence valuation as well, for instance there seems to be some correlation between privacy attitudes (hence valuation) and income levels; people with low salaries seem less concerned about privacy [9]. Our work differs in multiple regards – we focus on web browsing information of users that is of economic interest to entities like Google etc. and such information raises privacy concerns [36, 34]. A related work looked into Americans' attitudes towards behavioral advertising [38] – which is one primary method of monetizing PI, and relied on surveys. Second, we study the effects of demographic information like age, gender, education levels and socio-economic factors on valuation of one's PI. And lastly, while the above papers used extensive surveys to figure out different valuations, we use a methodology based on experience sampling to capture the context and obtain valuations in-situ.

Another body of work that is related to monetary valuation of PI has to do with studying the dichotomy that exists between willingness to pay (WTP) to buy privacy protection and willingness to accept (WTA) to reveal PI. A difference between WTA and WTP can be indicative of an *endowment* effect [43]: people can place a higher value on an object that they own, in this case PI. The authors of [26] report that while people are generally willing to accept small amounts for some types of personal data (weight), there is wide gap between WTP/WPA for private data (e.g. revealing number of sexual partners). An updated study [11] used traceable gift cards given to users to reveal that people who started with a position of greater privacy protection were also likely to forego money to reveal PI. The difference between WTA/WTP seems to suggest that the way privacy choices are framed may affect decisions people make with regards to their PI. This topic was dealt with in [14], where they asked the same set of questions to three groups of participants. The privacy awareness in the language used for the different groups was progressively increased. They found a relationship between users' answers and the wording of privacy-related questions. As the use of privacy-related language increases, participants tend to give more importance to private content, along with a decrease in the willingness to share personal content (e.g. purchase history). In our paper we do not deal with WTP vs WTA explicitly, instead we focus on extracting WTA for web-browsing, while capturing as much context as possible. We also consider the results of [14], and design our experiments with neutral language, so as not to bias the user one-way or another.

RQ2: What are the perceptions of users vis-a-vis their PI being monetized, improving existing services and for personalized advertisements?

A majority of the work done on understanding the awareness levels of users in terms of how their PI is exploited and related privacy concerns has focused on how the actual behavior of people deviates from what they state. This deviation has been noted by [32] who also found that there is a dif-

ference between reported knowledge and reality; in general people do not seem to know as much about privacy protection measures as they state. They also report that surveys as a method should not be taken as indicative of users' actual behavior. The authors of [13] divide society into privacy fundamentalists, marginally concerned, and classified the rest between those who are identity concerned (PI about email, address etc.) and those who are profile concerned (PI about hobbies, interest etc.). Acquisti studies the reasons that affect people's behavior vis-a-vis privacy and reports bounded rationality as well as the practice of hyperbolic discounting [8]; assigning a higher value to actions involving immediate gratification than those actions leading to long-term protection. In this work, we focus on understanding people's knowledge and perception of how their PI is exploited from an economic view-point, and use experience sampling to capture the behavior and context.

Another form of gauging awareness levels is to understand if users read online privacy policies and if they understand them. Jensen et al [31] conducted an analysis of 64 privacy policies of high traffic and health-care websites, focusing on the use of policies, their readability (using the Flesch Reading Ease Score), the equivalence between their legibility and education levels required for reading it and the way the websites handle changes to the policies. It was found that policies were very hard to parse and understand, pointing to simpler methods to convey the same information.

METHODOLOGY

To answer our research questions we employed a refined version of the *Experience Sampling Method* (i.e., rESM). Experience Sampling Method involves asking participants to report on their experiences at specific points throughout the day. The method was originally developed in the psychology domain [12] and recently adapted successfully in many studies of Human-Computer Interaction [30, 17, 29, 21]. As Cherubini et al highlighted in a previous paper [15], the main advantage of ESM is its ability to preserve the ecological validity of the measurements, defined by Hormuth [27] as: "the occurrence and distribution of stimulus variables in the natural or customary habitat of an individual". This method compares with recall-based self-reporting techniques –although recall delay is kept minimal– by "beeping" the participant in close temporal proximity to when a relevant event was produced. One of the drawbacks of the method is that often participants are sampled at random times or with little knowledge of their whereabouts and therefore the beeping might be invasive for many participants. This is why in recent years some researchers have proposed to *refine* the method by modeling the participants' context [22, 15, 45]. Refined –or contextual– experience sampling methods attempt to go one step further by only signaling users at appropriate times or in the right context.

As a means to perform rESM, we instrumented the web browser of participants with a plugin that was able to log the website the participant was browsing and classify the website according to 8 categories.

We chose 8 categories (EMAIL, ENTERTAINMENT, FINANCE,

Figure 1. The auction popup. Each auction game was identified by a sequential number and a date. The participant had the option to either enter a bid or to not take part in the auction.

NEWS, SEARCH, SHOPPING, SOCIAL, HEALTH) to closely correspond to the 8 popular categories that online ad-networks like Doubleclick² use, as we are interested in the monetary aspect of PI.

The plugin was able to sense when the user was changing context and use this information to trigger specific questions to the users about their perception of privacy and valuation of their private information as explained in the following subsections.

Participants

Participants were recruited using a survey published via a major Web portal in Spain. From an initial pool of 279 subjects, 168 (93 male, 55%) installed the Firefox³ browser plugin and completed all requirements of the study. All participants were users of the Firefox browser and hence had it installed on their computer. Participants' age ranged between 18 and 58 years old ($\bar{x} = 31.83$, $s = 8.15$). With respect to their educational level, 1% had no level, 8% finished primary school, 14% did secondary school, 75% had a university graduate degree, and 2% a post-graduate degree. Socioeconomical status was also diverse: 28% of the sample informed their annual gross salary to be lower than € 10K, 25% said it was between € 10K and 20K, for 22% it was in the range of € 20K and 30K, 11% between € 30K and 40K, and 10% reported earning more than € 40K per year (4% preferred not answering this question). All participants lived in Spain and the vast majority were of Spanish nationality (94%).

Procedure

The study ran for a period of 2 months from mid-July to mid-September, 2011. Selected participants were invited to take part in the study via email. The message contained a generic explanation of the experiment where we mentioned we were interested in studying their privacy preferences when browsing and a detailed explanation of install instructions of the

²Doubleclick has more than 8 major categories, and more than 600 subcategories, but we chose 8 as a good trade-off between obtaining detailed information without annoying the user

³See <http://mozilla.org/firefox>.

browser plugin. We explained to participants that the study consisted of three phases: (1) an initial week where the pop-ups were inactive, (2) the actual study that lasted 4 weeks where popups were active, and then (3) the final questionnaire.

- During the initial week the plugin was silently recording the browsing behavior of participants. We explained to the participants that we were waiting for all the invitees to install the plugin before starting the experiment. The information that was captured during this phase was used to record the baseline browsing behavior to make sure that our popups were not interfering with the way participants normally browsed the internet. In order to evaluate this, we extracted for every user the frequency distribution across the visited sites – we refer to this as the user’s *fingerprint*. Each participant’s fingerprint for the first week was therefore compared against the second week’s fingerprint ($L2$ distance), when the pop-ups were activated.
- During the experiment, the plugin displayed popups when the participants were browsing the internet. The popups contained two kind of questions: questions about their perceptions and knowledge regarding monetization of PI (for RQ2) when browsing the particular website they were visiting, and an auction (by way of a question) on the minimum value they would accept to sell a particular piece of PI to us to use. We refer to the latter as the auction game (described in detail in the next subsection). We were deliberately vague about *how* we were going to use their PI for two reasons: (i) to realistically reflect the conditions that exist today, where outside of large PI collectors like Google or Facebook, there is little knowledge of how one’s PI is being used, (ii) not to bias the user by providing a specific use case of their PI; for instance using PI for behavioral targeting can be construed positively or negatively. However, in reality their information was never used for any non-research purpose and it was discarded right after the study. To avoid the popups being too invasive the plugin was going to display at most one pop-up per category per day. Also there was a *minimum* delay of 10 minutes between any two pop-ups.
- At the end of the experiment, we asked the participants to fill in a post-study questionnaire in which we asked more detailed questions on their knowledge of privacy threats, and who they would trust with their PI. The analysis of these results is not going to be part of this paper.

In terms of incentives, each user was given a gift card voucher worth € 10 (~ 14 USD). Also, we informed participants that we were going to increase the value of their gift card with the value of all the auctions they would have won during the time of the experiment. Additionally, we specified in multiple occasions that the maximum amount they could win during the experiment was € 3000 because we had a limited budget for the experiment.

Auction game

In order to extract a concrete value that a user puts on her PI, we developed a simple game based on the reverse second

price auction. The reverse second price auction operates as follows: given a set of k bids, pick the lowest bidder as the winner, and pay that person the amount equivalent to the second lowest bid. This is the opposite of what is used in online auctions like that of eBay. We chose this auction mechanism for the following reasons: (i) this mechanism has the strong property of being truth telling; the best strategy for participants in the auction is to be honest about their valuation [33], (ii) this mechanism has been used before for valuating location information [19], (iii) this mechanism is extremely simple and is a relatively easy mechanism to explain to users of our study.

We allowed positive amounts (*including 0*) with as much as two decimals (for cents) as valid bids. We also gave the user a choice to not participate in the auctions at all – this was necessary to cover cases where users felt overwhelmed with participation and more importantly, also the cases where users did not even want to disclose the fact that their PI is worth a very high amount – note that this by itself releases one bit of information. In order to reinforce the notion that the user will indeed part with their PI if they win, we had a second pop-up after the user enters an amount that asks the user if they are sure that if they win that auction, they will part with the related PI.

For winners of the auction, we sent an email notifying them of their win, with following information: their winning bid, and time of bid. We reinforced the message that as they won, we will use their PI (exactly PI they bid on). Likewise, we sent a similar email to the losers, conveying that as they lost, their PI will *not* be used. For all our communication with users, we used neutral language with regards to privacy, so as to not prime them one way or another, following the findings in [14].

Apparatus

In order to capture the browsing context of the auctions as well as the questions for understanding users’ perception of PI exploitation, we developed a system consisting of two parts: a browser plugin and a web server that communicates with the plugin, sending configuration information to the plugin and receiving data from it.

Firefox Plugin: The plugin has three main tasks. First, it captures and stores all browsing activity of the user. This consists of the url, time of page access, and a unique ID we assigned to the browser. This data is stored on the local machine and sent to the server at regular intervals. We do not capture events like file uploads, text highlighting etc.

The second main task of the plugin was to categorize websites into one of the eight categories mentioned at the beginning of this section. In order to do this, we rely on a hard-coded list of 1184 popular sites from different categories for Spain, gleaned from `alexa.com`. Although some popular sites like Facebook can host content pertaining to health or entertainment, we hard-coded it to ‘Social’⁴. For sites

⁴Such a monolithic categorization does have limitations; large service providers like Facebook or blogspot host content belonging to multiple categories. However, we consistently pick the first category

Table 1. Questions asked during the different phases of the study.

Code ^a	Question	Type
r1	Are you concerned about protection of your private data in the Internet? [levels: 5- A lot, 4- Much, 3- Somewhat, 2- Little, 1- Never]	5 point
r2	Do you distrust of the way that the websites you visit use your data? [5- I distrust all, 4- Only some, 3- I do not care, 2- Only few, 1- I do not distrust]	5 point
r3	Do you read the privacy policies of the web sites that you visit? [5- Always, 4- Often, 3- Sometimes, 2- Rarely, 1- Never]	5 point
r4	How much do you know about current legislation about data protection? [5- A lot, 4- Much, 3- Something, 2- A little, 1- Nothing]	5 point
a1 ^b	What is the minimum amount of money you would accept for selling to a private company information about your age, gender, salary and address?	Numeric
a2 ^c	What is the minimum amount of money you would accept for selling to a private company details about the clicks you have done in this web page?	Numeric
a3 ^d	What is the minimum amount of money you would accept for selling [*] to a private company?	Numeric
a4	What is the minimum amount of money you would accept for selling 10 [*] to a private company?	Numeric
ap1	Are you aware that the web site you are currently visiting might generate revenues from the information [°]? [5- I was fully aware, 4- I did know, 3- I was not fully aware, 2- I figured but I was unsure, 1- I did not know]	5 point
ap2	How comfortable do you feel knowing that the web site you are visiting might generate revenues with the information you share? [5- Very comfortable, 4- Comfortable, 3- I do not care, 2- Uncomfortable, 1- Very uncomfortable]	5 point
ap3	If the company that uses this information does it in order to offer you a better service, how would you feel? [5- Much better, 4- Better, 3- The same, 2- Worse, 1- Much worse]	5 point
ap4	If the company that uses this information does it in order to present you with customized advertisements, how would you feel? [same levels as ap3]	5 point

^a These codes refer to the phase of the study where the questions were asked: “r” stands for recruitment questionnaire, “a” stands for auction game, while “ap” marks popup displayed by the plug-in.

^b This question is context independent as it is not related to the specific website the participants are visiting.

^c This question is context dependent because it refers to the click the user is doing on the particular website s/he is visiting.

^d The last auction question a4 presents the same text of a3 except it increases to 10 the quantity of the PI items.

[*] These questions have been customized for each of the categories: Mail “data about one of the contacts that you email more often”, Entertainment “that you have visited this web site”, Finance “details about your last financial transaction”, News “the last news or articles that you read”, Search “the words that you used in your last search”, Shopping “details about the last product or service that you bought online”, Social “one of the photos that you have uploaded to this web site”, and Health “details about the last time you were sick”.

[°] The first question of the popup was customized for each of the categories: Social “you share with your friends”, Entertainment “you share when you fill its forms”, Health “you are looking for here”, Search “your search history”, Finance “about your finance might be shared with other companies”, Email “the content of your email messages”, Shopping “your shopping behavior”, News “your news reading history”.

that are not on Alexa, we resolved them into categories by relying on a folksonomy approach implemented in another browser plugin called Adnostic [44]. The details are provided in Toubiana et al [44], but the basic idea is to perform a cosine similarity between the set of key-words present on the site the user visits and a corpus of words that are associated with different categories. The category with the highest similarity is used.

Third, the plugin has two independent pop-ups, as described earlier. The first plugin launched the auction mechanism and the other displayed questions related to privacy preferences. These are configured to be switched on or off from the server. From a UI perspective, the pop-up displayed the text of relevant auction question, with the type of PI in the auction in bold text, to highlight what is actually being traded in the auction. There was a small box below the text where the user could enter an amount, and there was a small radio button below the box where the user can select to not participate in the auction (for reasons mentioned earlier).

Server: We developed a simple, highly responsive webserver in Python that synced with the browser plugin at regular intervals. The server accepts data (bids, responses to the questions) from the plugin and stores it in a sqlite database. The main function of the server is to run auctions. For each category and for each type (there are 4 types per category), we set an auction to run once 20 bids are in. We pooled all these auctions and ran them once daily, in the morning. This was all automated. We sent out results to participants (winners and losers) via emails.

as put out by Alexa. This ensures that we do not have any false positives – Facebook will always be categorized as Social. We leave a detailed categorization mechanism to future work.

Measures

In terms of the measures that we used to answer our research questions, Table 1 describes the most important questions – coming from both the recruitment questionnaire and the Experience Sampling– that we presented the user during the study.

Questions r1-r4 are about gauging the knowledge of privacy related issues. Questions related to the auctions were a1-a4, where a1 is a question about PI related to off-line identity and is common across categories. Questions a2-a4 are context dependent, with a2 about browsing information/history and a3-a4 about category specific PI.

We chose to ask a2 as this is the information that most entities engaged in large scale tracking across the web (like Google’s DoubleClick or Facebook via their ‘Like’ button) have access to, and hence can monetize. These are often referred to as ‘third’ parties. Questions a3-a4 are category specific and in most cases, this PI is available only to the service provider actually providing that service (photos on social networks, financial transactions, purchase history on e-commerce sites etc.) These are referred to as publishers or ‘first’ parties.

Questions ap1-ap4 were designed to understand if users are aware of monetization of their PI by online entities. The first two questions (ap1,ap2) had to do with knowledge and comfort levels of monetization, while ap3 has to do with exchange of PI in return for enhanced services, for instance like recommendation systems. Question ap4 is about personalized advertisements.

Statistical Analysis

Nonparametric analysis was applied considering the ordinal nature of some observed variables and that continuous vari-

ables did not follow the normal distribution. Given that participants were not enforced to browse web pages from all categories mapped in our study, we opted for *not* using related sample analysis due to the presence of several missing values. Therefore, differences between median bid values (or Likert scale measures) across categories were tested using the Kruskal-Wallis test, being the Mann-Whitney test used for post-hoc analysis whenever necessary. Associations between ordinal/interval variables were assessed using the Spearman's Rho test. We considered widely accepted cutoff values proposed by Cohen [16] for determining the strength of the correlations. The level of significance was taken as $p < .05$.

AUCTION AND SURVEY RESULTS

We summarize the main results obtained with the user study towards addressing our two research questions.

Effect of pop-ups on browsing behavior

We found little deviation between participants' first week's fingerprints – baseline – and their fingerprints for the second week of the study – when pop-ups were turned on. Specifically, only three users (2% of the sample) presented higher browsing behavior deviation and reported being on vacation during the second week, thus explaining why they used their browser sparsely. These findings indicate that users *did not* deviate from their 'normal' browsing behavior when participating in the study.

Results for RQ1

Findings presented herein shed light on the value that users of web services attribute to the information they share online. First we briefly summarize results for the winning bids ($n = 40$), followed by more generic results comprising the whole sample ($N = 168$).

Winning bids and pay-outs. Considering the 40 subjects that won at least one auction, their median winning bid was of 5 cents of Euro ($min = 0, \bar{x} = 0.19, max = 2.29$). Even though we allowed a bid of 0 as a valid bid, only seven winners bid 0 on 11 occasions, out of 5000+ bids.

The other winners' bids were strictly positive. Finally, as we used the reverse second price auction, the median payout was actually 45 cents of Euro ($min = 0.01, \bar{x} = 0.65, max = 5.69$).

Representativeness of categories. Next we look into the bidding behavior of the whole sample ($N = 168$) while browsing websites as they map to each of the 8 categories and also in relation to the nature of the information being sold (see questions *a1-a4* in Table 1). Overall, participants visited websites from all of the eight categories, HEALTH being the least visited category (SEARCH=82%, ENTERTAINMENT=82%, SOCIAL=78%, NEWS=76%, FINANCE=75%, SHOPPING=75%, EMAIL=64%, HEALTH=2%). Given the lack of representativeness for the number of subjects visiting health related web pages, we therefore decided to consider only seven categories when comparing participants' bids and other relevant measures across categories.

Bids on context independent PI. With respect to selling their PI that is related to their offline identity (*i.e.*, age, gender, address and bank balance; see question *a1* in Table 1), we found no significant difference among participants' median bid values across categories ($p = .702$). Note that this result was somewhat expected as question *a1* was context independent – no mention was made to selling the participants' PI to an entity related to the website they were browsing. The overall median bid value across categories was € 25.

Bids on context dependent PI. When probed about selling clicks they performed on a given web page (see question *a2* in Table 1), which represents their browsing behavior, participants' median bids were not significantly different across categories ($p = .569$). In this case, the overall median bid value was € 7⁵.

Median bid values for highly category specific PI – as captured by questions *a3* and *a4* in Table 1 – revealed significant differences across categories ($p < .001$). The highest median bid values were from categories FINANCE ($\bar{x} = 15.5$), SOCIAL ($\bar{x} = 12$), and EMAIL ($\bar{x} = 6$), being FINANCE similar to the latter two categories ($p = .31$ and $p = .09$ respectively) and significantly different to the remaining categories (SHOPPING=5, NEWS=2, ENTERTAINMENT=2, SEARCH=2; $p < .001$).

Bulk PI effect. We verified no significant difference between the median bid value for all categories in question *a3* ($\bar{x}_{a3} = 5$) and in question *a4* ($\bar{x}_{a4} = 5, p = .59$). This finding indicates that the amount of information being sold was not a factor for participants when placing their bids, as they valued one piece of information (question *a3*) and 10 pieces of information (question *a4*) in a similar way.

Table 2 summarizes the most relevant descriptive statistics of median bid values per category.

Relationship between bids, demographics, and privacy. We further looked into significant associations between variables captured in the recruitment questionnaire and the participants' bids. Our findings reveal a medium negative correlation between participants' age and their median bid values for question Social-*a3* ($n = 64, \rho = -.276, p = .03$). Similarly, age is negatively correlated to the combination of questions Social-*a3* and Social-*a4* ($n = 69, \rho = -.287, p = .02$), thus providing evidence that the older people are, the lower they tend to bid on photos they share online. Furthermore, we found a medium positive association between gender and median bids for question Email-*a3* ($n = 45, \rho = .333, p = .03$). This result indicates that men might bid higher than women on information related to their email contacts. Correlations between income levels and bid values were not significant. Finally, we found medium negative correlations between participants' education level and their median bid values for question *a2* in most categories (ENTERTAINMENT: $\rho = -.277$, FINANCE: $\rho = -.282$, SEARCH: $\rho = -.235$, SHOPPING: $\rho = -.32$).

⁵This is approximately the value of a BigMac meal in [country omitted for review], circa 2011. Hence the title of this paper.

Table 2. Median bid values per category calculated from participants' median bids in each category (1st and 3rd quartiles shown between brackets). Similarity across categories indicated by p -values. See Table 1 for details on questions $a1$ - $a4$.

Questions	Email	Entertainment	Finance	News	Search	Shop	Social	All Categories	p -value
a1	24.5 [1.6, 97.4]	26.5 [3, 115]	20.2 [3.4, 100]	25 [4, 150]	20 [2.5, 150]	10 [2, 100.2]	15 [3.5, 60]	25 [5.5, 151]	.702
a2	5 [1, 25]	5 [0.9, 20]	3 [1, 20]	5 [1, 43.5]	4 [0.7, 20]	5.2 [1, 30]	7.1 [1, 25]	7 [1, 38]	.569
avg(a3, a4)	6 [2, 89]	2 [1, 14.3]	15.5 [3.8, 229.5]	2 [0, 13.5]	2 [1, 12.8]	5 [1, 20.5]	12 [2, 81.5]	5.5 [1, 39.3]	< .001

We also correlated bid values with responses provided to privacy-relevant questions in the recruitment questionnaire. Positive medium correlations were found between being worried about online data protection and higher bids on context independent PI (question $a1$, ENTERTAINMENT: $\rho = .252$, FINANCE: $\rho = .278$, SEARCH: $\rho = .23$).

Results for RQ2

Results presented in this subsection contribute to the understanding of how users' perceive the economic usage of their PI by online service providers. Note that we considered only the first answers that participants gave to questions $ap1$ - $ap4$ per category. This decision guaranteed that their initial opinion would be taken into account instead of a – potentially – biased opinion due to the effect of long exposure to the study.

Knowledge of PI-based monetization Participants were aware that PI shared in a particular web site could be used to generate revenue (question $ap1$, $\tilde{x} = 4$, $q1 = 2$, $q3 = 4$). Moreover, no significant difference was found between median ratings across categories ($p = .107$). This finding suggests that knowledge of PI-based monetization is related to Internet services in general and not to a particular set of services.

Comfort with PI-based monetization In question $ap2$, participants revealed how comfortable they were with web sites extracting revenue out of their PI. With a median rating of 2 ($q1 = 2$, $q3 = 3$), they reported being uncomfortable with it, and this feeling was shared across categories as no significant difference between participants' median ratings per category could be found ($p = .429$). From this finding, we conclude that the act of monetizing from users' PI is what generally makes people uncomfortable, and not the type of online service providers the revenue will go to (e.g., finance, search, etc.).

Improving services with PI Although not comfortable with their PI being monetized, participants pointed out that they would like online companies to improve their web services using their PI (question $ap3$, $\tilde{x} = 4$, $q1 = 3$, $q3 = 4$). No significant difference was found between participants' median ratings across categories ($p = .869$).

PI-based publicity/ads. Finally, subjects were indifferent with regards to online service providers making personalized publicity/ads by using their PI (question $ap4$, $\tilde{x} = 3$, $q1 = 3$, $q3 = 4$). Once again no significant difference could be identified between participants' median ratings across categories ($p = .686$). This finding suggests that personalized ads from web services belonging to different categories generally have neither a negative nor a positive impact on people.

DISCUSSION

Users value offline PI more and online PI less

If we consider the results for $a1$ (Sec:Results) users consistently bid high values for their offline PI like age, gender, address and financial status; pieces of PI that form their off-line identity, to trade with online entities. Likewise, users attach lower value (relatively) to $a2$, $a3$ and $a4$, PI that mostly has to do with their online behavior ($a2$ is exclusively about browsing history, the other two are about online transactions). Digging deeper, we also note that users tend to value category-specific PI ($a3$ and $a4$) on FINANCE and SOCIAL, categories that are more explicitly intertwined with one's off-line identity, more than SEARCH and NEWS.

This may seem contradictory to the conjecture put forth in [8], where the author claims users act "myopically when it comes to their off-line identity even when they might be acting strategically for what relates to their on-line identity." The author puts forward the need for immediate gratification and hyperbolic discounting of future risks of revealing PI pertaining to off-line identity as possible explanations.

First, we do not believe our result is contradictory – note that we are comparing *economic* value attached to off-line PI as opposed to PI created online, not disclosure strategies. Second, we conjecture that the difference in valuation exists because of lack of awareness. Off-line PI is easier to value as it is more explicit. It is harder to understand the implications of being continuously tracked and then the collected PI (browsing information) being data mined to produce a unique profile and be linked to an off-line identity [25, 47]. As a consequence, users value such PI less.

Users do not distinguish between quantity of PI, but type

We compared the median bid values for $a3$ and $a4$ across categories and found little or no difference. These two auction questions differ only in quantity of information being traded, with the type of PI and the context remaining the same. As reported above, there are significant differences between type (FINANCE and SOCIAL being higher than SEARCH, SHOPPING etc.)

We correlated the values with demographic information as well as the responses to the privacy related questions ($r1$ - $r4$). We found little correlation. A possible conjecture can be on the lines of what is reported in [18], that users factor in diminishing returns of more information in their valuation – although we have no evidence to support or refute this conjecture.

Older users less concerned about online PI

When we correlated bid values against demographics, a high (negative) correlation occurred between age and category specific PI on SOCIAL, ENTERTAINMENT and NEWS, and more so while valuating bulk information (a4). For SOCIAL, this can be linked to the fact most older users do not use online social networks, let alone upload photos to online social networks⁶.

This result is in contrast to previous work that stated that older users are generally more concerned about their privacy, while being online [40]. We believe our results underscore the point made by Acquisti et al [8], that there are often differences between stated privacy preferences and actual behavior.

Users do not like monetization of their PI

When we consider the results of our analysis on the responses to the questions we posed to users, the following trends stand out. First of all, users are overwhelmingly negative when it comes to their PI being used for monetization by entities (ap2), despite knowing that online entities collect and use their PI for monetization (ap1). In addition, they prefer their PI to be used for improving the services they are offered (ap3), across all categories. On the one hand, these results are expected – the former deals with monetization of a good (PI) that users probably perceive as theirs, while the users view the latter as a positive outcome of their PI being exploited.

The combined results possibly point to the fact that users are unaware of the functioning of the ecosystem in place – they do not perceive that the services they get for ‘free’ (storage in Gmail, Google search, Facebook etc.) actually are expensive (large datacenters, equipment and bandwidth costs) and while users are aware of their PI being monetized, they are possibly not aware that large parts of that monetization goes towards providing them with a ‘free’ service. It was reported in [10], where the authors claim that users are more sensitive about their privacy and PI when they feel that service providers are unfairly gaining from the use of PI. This unfairness feeling can be due to lack of awareness.

Second, users are indifferent when it comes to the use of the PI to send them personalized ads (ap4), again across categories. This is somewhat in contrast to results in [38] where the authors report that 64% of the survey respondents (all Americans) find behavioral targeting invasive. The differences between our results and theirs can be due to cultural differences (our sample consists mainly of people from [country omitted for review]) and/or methodological differences – we used experience sampling to capture the context, while the results reported in [38] were gathered via surveys.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DESIGN AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Our study has direct implications on the monetization of personal information (PI) online. As the focus of the study has been towards understanding the *economic* aspects of PI, we believe the findings can help in the following future research topics and new offerings. We propose three major implications.

⁶<http://www.comscoredatamine.com/2010/09/visitor-demographics-to-facebook-com/>

Markets for PI

Recent years has seen rise of interest in online privacy concerns and collection and exploitation of PI from multiple quarters – mainstream press (WSJ’s ‘What they know’ series [6] etc.), research on how PI is used (behavioral targeting [38], price discrimination [39] etc.) and move towards regulatory actions [5]. Irrespective of the specific message, what all sources agree on is that data collection (online and mobile) is *increasing* and this increase is related to the rise of the ‘free’ model of providing online services. Hence, on one side you have entities like Google who have stated that they want to move up to the ‘creepy’ line [2] on accessing and using PI, while users are resorting to measures like Do-not-track⁷ etc. to prevent data collection, leading to an impasse.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the current economic system around online PI is a two-sided market, with sellers/providers of PI on one end, and buyers/exploiters of PI on the other, with the network (Internet) in the middle. Looking at the problem this way, one solution to the impasse above is to have a market for personal information, where users can decide to sell the PI of their choice, legally, to online service providers, who will in turn exploit the PI they have purchased. As users have a choice in deciding what PI about them gets traded, and receive monetary compensation, this will decrease privacy concerns. The general attitude of participants in taking part in the auctions and their willingness to sell their PI point to this implication. In addition, the fact that users are aware of their PI being monetized but are not happy with fact, can point to the notion that users feel they are not being adequately compensated in today’s ecosystem and an open market can help in addressing this issue. This idea has roots in Laudon [37] and has recently gained traction for online PI [23, 42].

The results in this paper provide the first empirical foundation for such a market by demonstrating how users value different types of PI in terms of different types of interactions they perform while online, as well as in context. The prices can be taken to be the reserve prices⁸ that users will be willing to accept to part with their PI. Likewise, we have seen that different types of interactions and PI have different valuations (photos in social networks vs. online purchase history). These differences can be used by service providers to strategically target different types of PI. That is, service providers can decide that it may not be economically viable to purchase offline PI about users, while using PI about SEARCH or ENTERTAINMENT might be more economically sound. This, in turn can also lead to a decrease in privacy violations. From a research perspective, the findings in our paper can be used as inputs to drive models to better understand the ecosystem.

A simple market can be built around selling one’s personal photos. Consider the scenario where the user has uploaded photos to a site. The user can select which photos can be ‘sold’; used for some commercial purpose by the site. The site compensates the user after adjusting for hosting costs. Moreover, the user can sell the same set of photos to multiple sites, as she sees fits.

⁷<http://donottrack.us/>

⁸http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reservation_price

Transparency on monetization of PI

From one of the findings reported in the Discussion section, while users have knowledge of their PI being collected, they are not comfortable about their PI being monetized. This lack of awareness also plays out in valuations—while offline PI and certain types of online PI like photos, financial transactions have high valuations, presence of the user on different sites are valued very low. This is interesting as a behavioral profile can be constructed just by tracking users across sites (via cookies etc) and this profile can be used to identify users and be monetized [20]. We believe that most privacy concerns that arise is due to lack of awareness of precisely this fact—that PI is being monetized (participants knew their PI could be monetized by entertainment and search related websites, but not for the other categories).

The findings reported in this paper indicate that if online service providers are explicit and up front about the fact that they provide a service (email, video streaming, a social network, etc) for free and in return collect and monetize PI, along with details on the specific types of PI they collect, the privacy concerns of most users will be tempered. Long privacy policies written in complicated legalese that are seldom effective [31], can be dispensed with. For example, we can think about agreements that could expose the amount of money required to run the service the user is signing up for and how the revenues generated by exploiting PI help cover those costs. Additionally, we can think about alternative business models where the user has the option to pay for the service that s/he is signing up for either with his/her PI or with real money.

Bulk data mechanism

A final implication for design is related to the indifference in valuation for bulk quantity of data. Specifically, participants assigned a similar value to a certain piece of PI as to 10 pieces of the same information. This has a direct consequence for the design of selling PI in the markets (described above). In fact, it does not make sense to implement mechanisms for the sale of a single piece of information. Rather, it makes more sense—according to these results—to design solutions that would allow interested users to sell a bulk amount of PI. For instance, such a mechanism could be presented during registration to a new service and extended for bulk amounts of PI that the user will be sharing throughout the use of the service. The effect of such a design could be two fold: on one hand it would minimize the user's effort and mental load, while on the other hand it would maximize the effectiveness of the service provider's budget expenditure.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our study focused on two questions. The first has to do with understanding the monetary value that users put on different types of PI in an online context. The second has to do with understanding general attitudes towards collection and exploitation of personal information, again in context.

Previous literature has shown that privacy valuation is a difficult problem, as it is affected by a number of technical, legal, social and psychological factors, amongst others, that lead to

inconsistencies between what people say and what they actually do. We consider that our approach, employing a refined Experience Sampling Method, paired with a truth-telling auction mechanism allowed us to overcome the existing gap between reported preferences and actual behavior regarding online privacy.

We found that users give more importance to PI related to their offline identities than to PI that is related to their online behavior. They mostly do not care about the amount of PI released but they do care about its type. Finally, even though people consider that the use of their personal information for improving service, they do not like their information to be used to generate revenues.

The need to be connected to the Internet seems to be constantly pushing privacy boundaries, and we should try to understand what it means both for users who are putting more of their lives online, and for entities interested in monetizing that fact. Though it is difficult to address all these factors in one single study, we believe our work will help in understanding the underlying mechanics at work, from an economic perspective.

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