

Cookies and Shopping

Very Preliminary

Bo Bian*, Michaela Pagel†, Huan Tang‡, and Emily Williams§

Abstract

This study examines the impact of enhanced data privacy standards on online shopping. Specifically, we analyze the staggered adoption of cookie permission and compliance systems by US retailers in response to the European Union’s data protection standards and the California Privacy Act. We combine information on when specific retailers implemented a cookie compliance system with individual-level bank and credit card transactions data from a US data aggregation and analytics provider. We find that online shopping at certain retailers, relative to offline spending, decreases significantly after those retailers introduce cookie compliance systems. To address potential selection into who and when individuals shop with enhanced privacy, we also use exposure to cookie compliance systems, based on pre-policy shopping baskets, in a reduced form IV specification. Our IV specification results confirm the initial findings with respect to spending and show that individuals incur less overdraft fees and roll over less credit card debt, when they shop with enhanced privacy. We discuss targeted advertising and third-degree price discrimination as the main explanations behind these results. Our findings provide insights into the relationship between data privacy regulations and consumer actions, informing policy considerations at the state and federal levels.

Keywords: Data security, privacy regulation, cookies, online shopping

JEL Codes: G5, G28, L86

*University of British Columbia, Sauder School of Business. E-mail: bo.bian@sauder.ubc.ca

†Columbia Graduate School of Business, NBER, and CEPR. E-mail: mpagel@columbia.edu

‡London School of Economics & CEPR. E-mail: huan.ht.tang@gmail.com

§Harvard Business School & CEPR. E-mail: ewilliams@hbs.edu

We thank Hunt Allcott, Simona Abis, Tania Babina, Markus Mobius, David Rothschild, Steffen Meyer, Charline Uhr, and Matt Backus for valuable comments as well as seminar participants at Barnard College and Aarhus University. Anton Tarasenko provided outstanding research assistance.

1 Introduction

Over the past few decades, there has been a significant acceleration in electronic commerce and retail sales, which was further amplified during the pandemic. With the rise of online shopping and digital activities, companies have the ability to constantly surveil consumers, collecting and analyzing their private information. How can companies profit from having access to private information about their customers? Primarily, they can leverage this information for targeted advertisements and price discrimination. The former can lead to overspending by consumers, while the latter may result in a redistribution of surplus from consumers to producers.

In this study, we examine the impact of data privacy on online shopping. By analyzing the effects of data privacy regulations such as the European Union’s strengthened data protection standards (GDPR) implemented in 2018, and the California Privacy Act (CAPRA) enacted in 2020, we can provide valuable insights into the relationship between data privacy and consumer behavior.

Our study holds direct policy relevance, particularly at the federal level in the United States, where regulatory bodies such as the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) are currently considering the implementation of new rules to safeguard people’s privacy and enhance data security.

Our objective is to evaluate and quantify the impact of strengthened data security standards on online shopping. Specifically, we aim to investigate how regulatory-led initiatives aimed at curbing the collection and sharing of personal data affect online shopping behavior. The findings from our study provide valuable insights into whether implementing new regulations, rules, or alternative regulatory measures regarding the collection, aggregation, protection, usage, analysis, retention, transfer, sharing, and monetization of consumer data is necessary.

To examine the variations in data collection and tracking practices among online retailers, we leverage the staggered introduction of cookie permission banners

and pop-ups in response to the GDPR and CAPRA. We specifically explore how the introduction of a cookie permission banner or pop-up window impacts online shopping at those retailers (treated) compared to offline shopping (control) at the retailer-date level. To obtain information on cookies, we scrape the websites of approximately 1600 companies on a daily basis from 1996 to 2022. Our aim is to create a retailer-date-level dataset that identifies when each retailer introduced a cookie banner, for example, Abercrombie and Fitch implemented this on January 6, 2020. The cookie permission banners are a shock that enhances data privacy because some consumers decline cookies, which hinders online retailers' ability to gather information and track customers. According to survey data conducted by NordVPN, around 50% of customers do not consistently accept cookie permission requests. Additionally, it is likely that a cookie compliance framework implemented by the firm came along with changes to their data collection practices that enhances data security.

Next, we combine this information with data on online and offline shopping obtained from a transactions dataset provided by a prominent US data aggregation and analytics provider. This platform utilizes advanced data analytics to clean and categorize transactions data, which is then offered as a product to institutional investors and investment managers in aggregated and disaggregated forms. Access to this dataset is facilitated through agreements between the platform and its partners, such as financial institutions and FinTech firms, rather than obtained directly from consumers. We have been granted access to the de-identified transactions dataset, which includes bank and credit card transactions, as well as demographics data (income and geographical location) for an unbalanced panel of approximately 10 million active consumers spanning from January 2010 to August 2023.

To identify transactions, we rely on merchant identifications provided by the data aggregator. The transaction descriptions are processed using proprietary analytics and machine learning models, allowing us to extract information about the targeted merchant. Additionally, we can determine whether the transaction was conducted through an online payment system or an in-person point-of-sale system.

By examining the introduction of cookie permission policies at the retailer-day level and comparing online shopping with offline shopping as the control, we can

analyze the effects of these policies on consumer behavior. With our large sample size and the substantial number of online retailers that implemented cookie permission policies at different times, we possess the capability to detect effects even when only a subset of customers decline cookies. It is important to note that the exact date of cookie-permission introduction is considered exogenous to the online versus offline shopping behaviors of the individuals in our sample.

We find that cookie permission banners reduce online spending at that retailer. To address the concern that certain types of people shop with enhanced data privacy at certain times, and that this selection drives our results, we perform a reduced form IV analysis. Our IV instrument is the exposure of each individual at each point in time to cookie compliance policies based on their pre-policy basket shares of any given retailer. We confirm our initial results and also estimate a positive effect on financial health, as measured by overdraft fees, checking account balances, and credit card interest payments, from exposure to enhanced cookie compliance.

2 Conceptual Framework and Related Literature

This study investigates the impact of data privacy, specifically the use of cookies for tracking users across the internet, on online shopping behavior. Potential channels are targeted advertising, facilitated by the collection and analysis of user data, and price discrimination. The analysis considers the broader implications of data privacy regulations, such as the GDPR and state-level privacy acts, as well as potential federal regulations for enhancing data security.

In the digital age, websites use cookies to track users' browsing activities, enabling the collection of valuable data on consumer behavior. These cookies, particularly third-party cookies, allow websites to target users with personalized ads based on their interests, preferences, and past online activities. Consumer privacy may affect spending through targeted advertising or price discrimination.

Targeted advertising, also known as personalized advertising or interest-based advertising, is a marketing strategy that aims to deliver relevant and tailored advertisements to specific groups of individuals or individual consumers. This approach

uses data and information about a user's interests, behaviors, demographics, and online activities to serve them with ads that are more likely to be of interest to them. Targeted advertising relies on data collection and tracking, which can raise privacy concerns. Many websites and platforms ask for user consent to use cookies and similar tracking technologies for ad targeting, in compliance with data protection regulations such as the GDPR or the CCPA. Users typically have the option to opt-out of targeted advertising or manage their ad preferences through browser settings or privacy preference centers.

Third-degree price discrimination is referred to as charging different prices to different groups of customers based on various factors like age, location, or income, is generally not illegal. In many jurisdictions, it is considered a common business practice and not explicitly prohibited by law. However, some forms of price discrimination may be subject to regulations and laws in certain contexts. For example:

- **Antitrust Laws:** If a company engages in price discrimination with the intent to create a monopoly or to restrict competition, it may be in violation of antitrust laws. Antitrust laws aim to promote fair competition and prevent practices that harm consumers or stifle market competition.
- **Discrimination Laws:** Price discrimination based on certain protected characteristics, such as race, gender, religion, or nationality, could be considered discriminatory and may be illegal under civil rights or anti-discrimination laws in some jurisdictions.
- **Consumer Protection Laws:** Some countries have consumer protection laws that govern pricing practices to ensure transparency and fairness for consumers. Price discrimination that involves deceptive practices or unfair treatment of consumers may be subject to legal scrutiny.
- **Price Gouging Laws:** During certain emergency situations, such as natural disasters or public health crises, some jurisdictions may have laws against price gouging, which is an extreme form of price discrimination that takes advantage of consumers in vulnerable situations.

Overall, the legality of third-degree price discrimination depends on the specific context and the laws of the country or region in which the business operates.

Johnson (2013) shows that online retailers are willing to pay 52% more for ads with third-party cookies which is the same estimate as one provided by a google blog (Bindra, 2019) in 2019. Wernerfelt et al. (2022) study the extent to which advertisers benefit from data that are shared across applications. They focus on one of the most common ways advertisers use offsite data and run a large-scale study with hundreds of thousands of advertisers on Meta. Within campaigns, we experimentally estimate both the effectiveness of advertising under business as usual, which uses offsite data, as well as how that would change under a loss of offsite data. They find a median cost per incremental customer using business as usual targeting techniques of \$43.88 that under the median loss in effectiveness would rise to \$60.19, a 37% increase. Todri (2022) show that ad-blockers have a significant effect on online purchasing behavior: online consumer spending decreases due to ad-blockers by approximately \$14.2 billion per year in total. Aridor et al. (2021) show that the GDPR resulted in a 12.5% drop in the online-travel-intermediary-observed consumers, whereas the remaining consumers were trackable over a longer time. The average value of the remaining consumers to advertisers increased which offset the losses from the consumer opt-outs. Zhao et al. (2021) investigates the impact of the GDPR on consumers' online browsing and search behavior using consumer panels from four countries, finding evidence consistent with higher frictions in online search. Berman and Israeli (2021) show that the adoption of data analytics impact retailers' performance. The authors exploit the staggered adoption of a retail analytics service by more than 1,000 e-commerce websites and find an average increase of 8-29% in monthly revenues post adoption.

Dubé and Misra (2023) study third-degree price discrimination implemented with machine learning for a large, digital firm. Their results reveal unexercised market power that allows the firm to raise its price optimally, generating a 55% increase in profits. Personalized pricing improves the firm's expected posterior profits by an additional 19%, relative to the optimized uniform price, and by 86%, relative to the firm's unoptimized status quo price. Turning to welfare effects on the demand side,

total consumer surplus declines 23% under personalized pricing relative to uniform pricing, and 47% relative to the firm’s unoptimized status quo price.

We also situate our work within the context of recent research on the effects of data privacy regulations. In a related paper, Bian et al. (2023) raise concerns about consumer privacy and the potential for financial fraud due to data breaches.

Our paper adds to recent work that examine the effects of data privacy regulation. Lukic et al. (2023) determine whether GDPR’s enforcement increased consumers’ on-line privacy by decreasing the amount of online tracking. Other existing research has linked GDPR to European web traffic (Goldberg et al., 2019), the entry and exit of apps (Janssen et al., 2021), VC financing (Jia et al., 2021), and the ability of firms to collect and monetize consumer data (Aridor et al., 2020; Bessen et al., 2020; Peukert et al., 2021). Babina et al. (2022) show that open banking policies spur investments into FinTech startups. A couple of recent studies focus on Apple’s privacy initiatives, including the privacy label policy and the App Tracking Transparency (ATT) policy. Bian et al. (2021) show that Apple’s privacy labels lead to a 14% weekly download reduction and a 15% decline in revenue from user subscriptions and in-app purchases for iPhone users (using Android users as the control group). In addition, the ATT policy leads to an immediate negative stock market reaction for public firms with apps. Kesler (2022) show that the ATT framework implemented by Apple leads more apps to become paid apps and turn to in-app purchases as an alternative revenue source.

3 Empirical Analysis

3.1 Privacy Policy Changes

Companies implement privacy policies and cookie permissions to comply with changing regulations and to address evolving privacy concerns. In turn, companies typically partner with a cookie compliance system provider, such as OneTrust, to help them set up the cookie compliance infrastructure. We obtained our data on cookie permission systems using data from the company BuiltWith. BuiltWith is a web

technology profiler company. It provides a web service that helps businesses and individuals discover the technology stack used by various websites, such as the content management system (CMS), web hosting provider, analytics tools, advertising platforms, e-commerce platforms, and more. BuiltWith uses automated data analysis and crawling techniques to gather information about websites and their underlying technologies. We collected the dates that BuiltWith first detected the most common cookie compliance system providers: OneTrust, Global First, Osano, USP, and Cookie Bot. These companies provide solutions related to data privacy and compliance, particularly concerning cookies and online tracking.

Additionally, we personally scraped the websites of approximately 1600 companies on a daily basis from 1996 to 2022 looking for words such as cookie, permission, or permit. We then use the first date that either a cookie compliance system was detected by BuiltWith or flagged in our web-scraping procedure.

As an example, McDonald partners with OneTrust since August 9, 2019 and has a privacy policy in place that outlines how they collect, use, and protect user data. The specific details of the cookie permissions they asked for may vary based on the user's location and the local data protection laws applicable at that time. Typically, when a user visits the McDonald's website, they would ask for your consent to use cookies and similar tracking technologies. The specific cookie permissions include:

- Necessary Cookies: These are essential for the website to function correctly, and they do not require explicit consent.
- Analytics Cookies: These cookies collect anonymous data about how users interact with the website, helping McDonald's improve its site's performance and user experience.
- Targeting Cookies: These cookies track users' browsing habits to provide personalized ads, promotions, and offers based on their interests and behavior.

Users are typically presented with a cookie banner or pop-up when they first visit the website, and they can manage their cookie preferences by accepting or declining specific cookie categories. Figure 1 provides screenshots of McDonald's privacy

center.

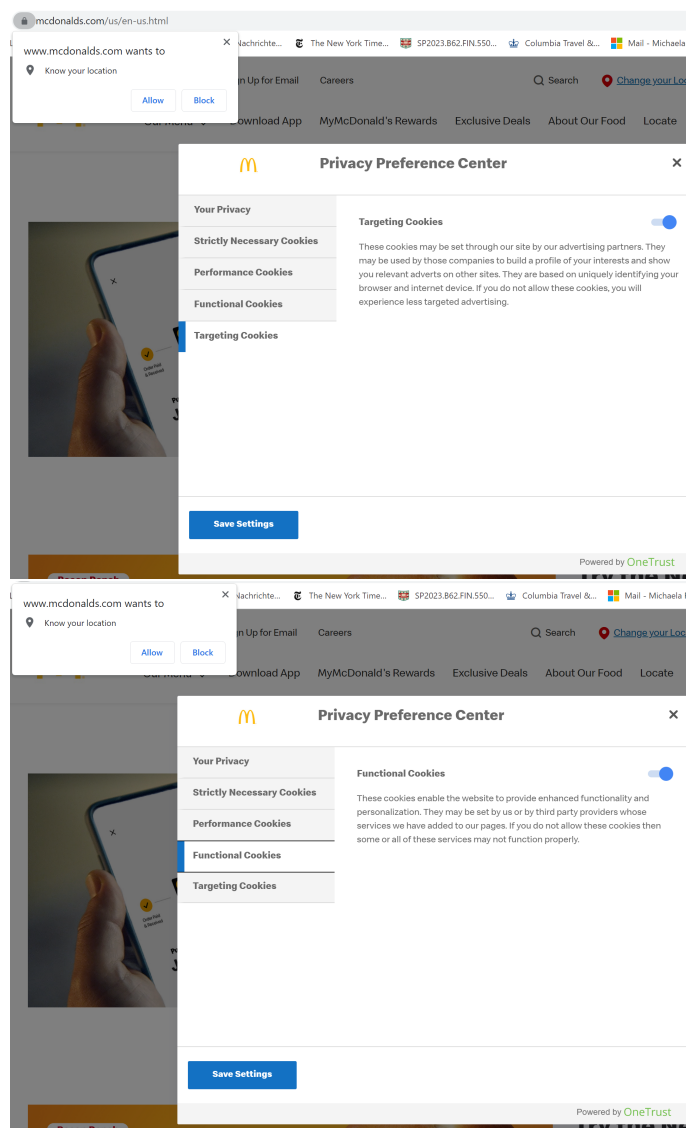


Figure 1: McDonald's privacy center.

Barnes & Noble has a very similar cookie policy, also sponsored by OneTrust, as McDonalds, as can be seen in Figure 2.

In comparison, Starbucks has a privacy policy in place since September 22, 2020 that outlines how they collect, use, and protect user data and asks for cookie per-

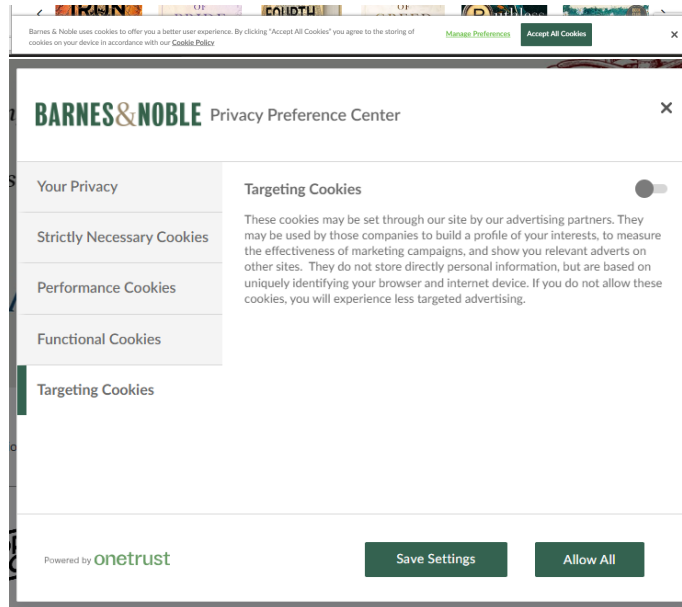


Figure 2: Barnes & Noble’s privacy center.

mission. Starbucks is asking for a more blanket permission and does not offer personalized choices. Figure 3 provides screenshots of Starbucks’ privacy center. The policy was first detected using the web scraping procedure.

3.2 Transaction-Level Bank Account Data

We combine our information on cookie compliance introduction dates at the retailer level with transaction-level data of individual bank and credit card accounts provided by a financial aggregation and analytics firm. The dataset contains all income and spending transactions from a number of bank and credit card accounts per individual, it also includes information on overdraft fees, savings income, as well as other measures of financial health.

3.3 Main Empirical Analyses

We use the date of the policy implementation as staggered treatments and online versus offline shopping as treatment intensity. Our main regression specification is:

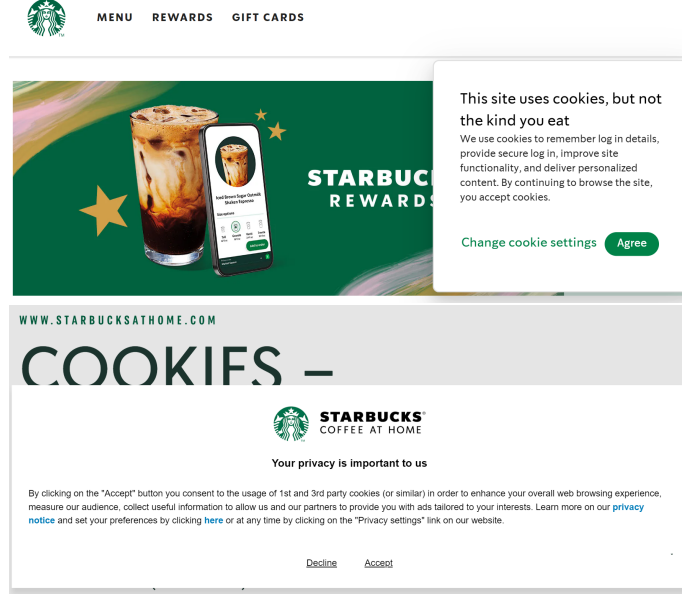


Figure 3: Starbucks' privacy center.

$$SpendPerTransaction_{i,m,t} = \alpha_i + \alpha_t + \beta PostPolicy_{m,t} \times Online_{i,m,t} + \varepsilon_{i,m,t}$$

where i stands for individual, m for merchant, and t for time (day-of-sample). We use the raw data at the transaction-level in this regression, i.e., some individual i may have none, one, or multiple transactions at retailer m on day t . When and We control for individual and day-of-sample fixed effects. We cluster standard errors at individual, merchant, and monthly levels.

3.4 Selection and Privacy Exposure

The prevailing endogeneity concern in this analysis is that certain types of individuals might select into shopping at retailers with or without privacy policies (at certain points in time). To overcome these selection problems, we use the pre-privacy-policy basket shares of individuals to calculate exposure-to-enhanced-privacy-policies

variable. We then use the exposure variable in a reduced-form IV regression.

$$SpendPerTransaction_{i,m,t} = \alpha_i + \alpha_t + \beta EnhPrivacy_{i,t} \times Online_{i,m,t} + \varepsilon_{i,m,t}$$

where i , m , and t denote individual, merchant, and day-of-sample as above. Again we control for individual and day-of-sample fixed effects and cluster standard errors at individual, merchant, and monthly levels.

We then aggregate the data and obtain a balanced panel in which we can fill in zeros, on days when individuals do not spend. We aggregate the data to the individual-day, pre-post cookie compliance, and online/offline levels. I.e., for each individual i on day t , we sum up all transactions pre-cookie compliance policy that are either online or offline as well as all transactions post-cookie compliance that are either online and offline. We then fill in zeros to obtain a balanced panel and run the following specification:

$$Spend_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \alpha_t + \beta PostPolicy_{i,t} \times Online_{i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

where i and t denote individual and day-of-sample as above. Again we control for individual and day-of-sample fixed effects and cluster standard errors at individual and monthly levels.

3.5 Summary Statistics

Table 1 provides summary statistics of the transaction-level data.

Table 2 displays shopper characteristics, their income as well as overall spending at all retailers, in the two weeks before and after any retailer introduced a cookie compliance framework. The p-values of the differences in means are adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing using a Bonferroni correction. We can see that the differences in means of all characteristics are economically small.

Figure 4 shows the share of transactions done at retailers that have privacy policies and cookie compliance systems in place.

	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	5th percentile	25th percentile	75th percentile	95th percentile
All retail spending	66.50	723.9	20.65	2.560	8.980	50	203.1
Online spending	127.3	1299.3	29.97	2.180	10.77	95	416.7
Restaurant spending	24.56	263.7	12.58	2.940	7.080	25	65.90
Grocery spending	36.08	108.2	19.10	1.750	7.580	40.83	119.3
Regular income	1509.3	2101.2	1119.8	79	476.0	1931.8	3872.0
Other income	1097.3	4108.0	200	3.880	41	832	3617.4
Interest income	3.262	147.2	0.0400	0.01000	0.0200	0.170	2.770
Savings income	17.96	509.8	0.970	0.0700	0.520	1.890	5.280
Overdraft fees	95.61	514.5	36	7	35	36	297.5
Late fees	27.55	7.653	25	15	25	35	39
NSF fees	60.97	204.9	34	5	13.87	42.39	200
Interest charges	46.95	62.08	24.60	0.660	7.500	66.80	159.2
Transactions per user per month	129.6	96.11	115	31	76	164	268
Number of users per month	2102.3	1220.6	2105	228	1007	3178	4002
Observations (total)	20,834,279						

Table 1: Full sample, individual-transaction level, January 2014 to August 2023.

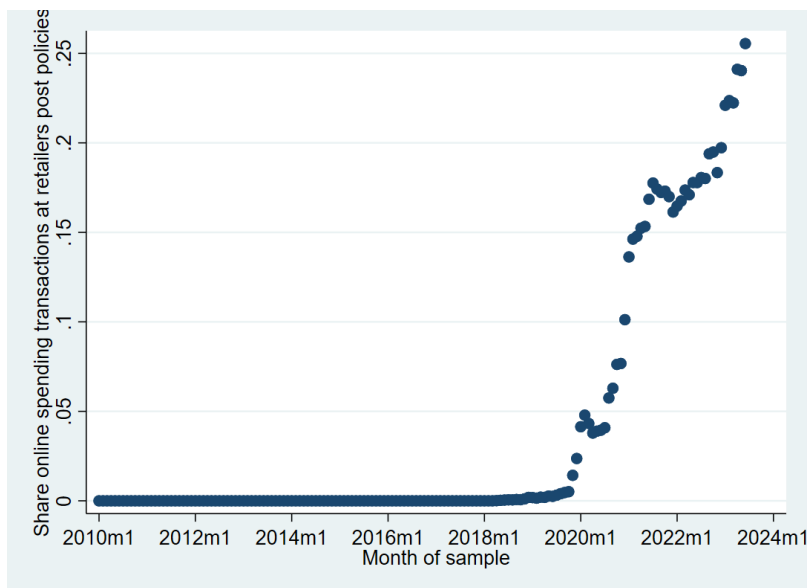


Figure 4: Share of online retail transactions at retailers post their privacy policy.

	Pre privacy policy		Post privacy policy		Difference	P-value
	Mean	Standard error	Mean	Standard error		
All retail spending	70.11	0.72	66.20	0.22	3.91	0.00
Online spending	126.00	2.09	127.43	0.76	-1.43	9.36
Restaurant spending	24.48	0.21	24.57	0.16	-0.09	13.07
Grocery spending	36.39	0.33	36.05	0.07	0.34	5.51
Regular income	1574.24	11.56	1503.78	3.17	70.46	0.00
Other income	1120.96	42.45	1094.91	13.25	26.05	10.04
Interest income	5.34	1.27	3.09	0.30	2.25	1.52
Savings income	38.34	5.56	17.02	0.85	21.32	0.00
Overdraft fees	97.65	12.37	95.45	2.87	2.20	15.53
NSF fees	28.26	0.35	27.50	0.10	0.76	0.72
Late fees	56.59	3.77	61.38	1.63	-4.79	4.39
Interest charges	54.57	0.93	46.36	0.23	8.21	0.00

Table 2: Full sample, individual-transaction level, January 2014 to August 2023, comparison between shopper characteristics two weeks before and after retailers’ privacy policies. The p-values of the differences are adjusted for multiple hypotheses testing using a Bonferroni adjustment. The spending data consists of all identified companies including the one with the cookie policy change.

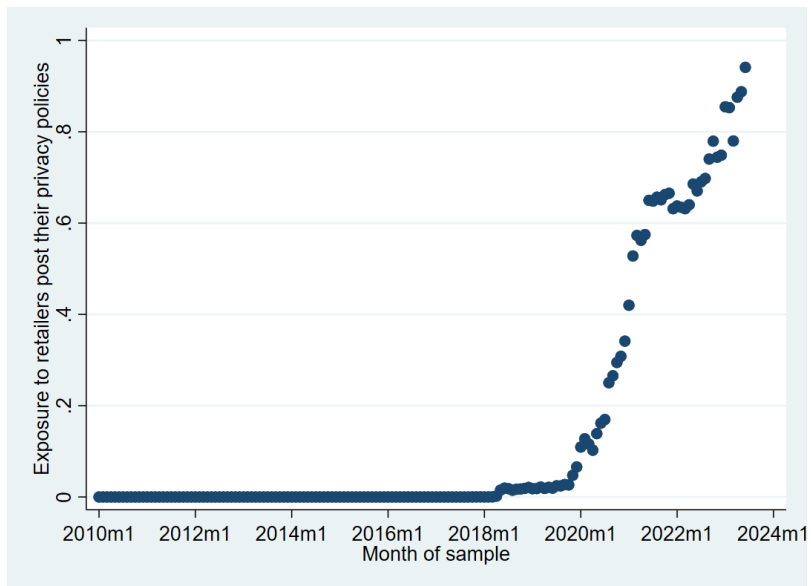


Figure 5: Exposure to online retailers' privacy policies (basket share times indicator of privacy policy implementation).

4 Results

4.1 Main Regression Results

The analysis reveals that the restriction of cookies, targeted advertising, and consumer profiling significantly decreases consumer spending. This is consistent with targeted advertising or price discrimination, where retailers leverage user data to charge higher prices to specific segments of consumers based on their perceived willingness to pay.

We find decreases in spending in both the OLS and IV analyses, using exposure to privacy as the (treatment) instrument.

Table 3 uses the raw transactions sample without any aggregation steps.

Tables 4 and 5 break down the main regression by merchant categories. We can see that the negative effects are concentrated in more retail spending such as electronics, merchandise, home improvement, and travel. In contrast, in categories such as restaurants or groceries, we do not see effects. This is consistent with our prior that price discrimination and targeted advertising are more prevalent in more discretionary rather than necessary spending.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending winsorized	Spending log
Post cookie policy	=1	-12.201*** (0.992)	-0.182 (0.631)	0.073*** (0.009)		
Online	=1	61.841*** (1.525)	47.578*** (2.006)	0.355*** (0.013)	47.694*** (2.007)	0.360*** (0.012)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-20.479*** (4.082)	-13.631*** (2.188)	-0.100*** (0.017)		
Enhanced privacy					-0.400 (0.380)	0.025*** (0.004)
Online	=1 × Enhanced privacy				-4.385*** (0.800)	-0.054*** (0.007)
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs			✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		11,841,247	11,841,160	11,841,160	11,841,160	11,841,160
Adjusted R^2		0.10	0.41	0.48	0.41	0.48

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 3: Full sample, main regression, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized
		Electronics general merchandise	Personal and family	Home improvement	Travel	Restaurants	Groceries
Post cookie policy	=1	3.783** (1.725)	-3.120** (1.378)	8.304 (11.185)	7.472*** (1.434)	-1.470*** (0.331)	4.893*** (1.795)
Online	=1	12.033*** (2.043)	6.511*** (1.793)	65.677*** (7.219)	14.943*** (4.351)	13.601*** (2.068)	25.362*** (7.428)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-29.960*** (4.885)	-2.428 (3.388)	-3.742 (11.587)	-5.928*** (1.533)	-4.363** (2.096)	6.103 (5.763)
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		1,967,361	556,294	311,424	766,902	2,588,433	1,953,711
Adjusted R^2		0.13	0.34	0.30	0.25	0.29	0.31

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 4: Full sample, main regression, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, broken down by spending in categories.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized	Spending winsorized
	Electronics general merchandise	Personal and family	Home improvement	Travel	Restaurants	Groceries
Enhanced privacy	3.330*** (0.587)	0.177 (0.793)	-1.329 (2.781)	0.898 (0.729)	-0.477** (0.204)	-0.012 (0.314)
Online =1	11.694*** (1.916)	7.235*** (1.816)	65.311*** (7.278)	14.604*** (4.342)	13.993*** (2.188)	25.565*** (7.820)
Online=1 × Enhanced privacy	-8.399*** (1.033)	-5.085*** (1.092)	1.457 (2.921)	-1.452* (0.863)	-2.488** (1.117)	-0.770 (2.477)
Individual FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,967,361	556,294	311,424	766,902	2,588,433	1,953,711
Adjusted R^2	0.13	0.34	0.30	0.25	0.29	0.31

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 5: Full sample, main regression, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, broken down by spending in categories.

In order to understand whether the decrease in spending is associated with improvements in financial health, we look at other outcomes, using exposure to privacy as the (treatment) instrument. We find that the likelihood of overdraft fees, the payments made to credit cards, as well as the rolled-over credit card debt, as measured by interest charges, is reduced. This is consistent with lax privacy standard leading to overspending, because of targeted advertising or price discrimination. Again, Table 6 uses the raw transactions sample without any aggregation steps.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Overdraft fees	Late fees	NSF fees	Interest charges	Checking account balance log	Checking account balance winsorized
Enhanced privacy	-0.053*** (0.015)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.060*** (0.008)	0.020 (0.016)	-302.404 (1117.485)
Mean of dependent variable	0.15	0.01	0.05	0.18	8.40	32122.91
Individual FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	20,834,275	20,834,275	20,834,275	20,834,275	4,612,695	4,612,695
Adjusted R^2	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.83	0.84

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 6: Full sample, exposure regression, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels, financial health outcomes.

In turn, we aggregate the data to the offline/online pre/post cookie compliance system, date, and individual level. This allows us to fill in zeros when an individual did not spend at any retailer offline/online pre/post their cookie compliance system. Tables 7, 8, and 9 show the same results in the aggregated data sets.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending deviation from mean	Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending deviation from mean
Post cookie policy	=1	-103.064*** (2.293)	-1.833*** (0.044)	-1.381*** (0.022)	-107.255*** (2.467)	-1.891*** (0.045)	-1.436*** (0.024)
Online	=1	31.385*** (2.190)	-0.310*** (0.020)	0.339*** (0.031)	31.754*** (2.219)	-0.309*** (0.020)	0.343*** (0.032)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-31.798*** (2.373)	0.234*** (0.033)	-0.333*** (0.033)	-32.487*** (2.416)	0.229*** (0.034)	-0.353*** (0.033)
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓			
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓			
Individual times							
month-of-sample FEs					✓	✓	✓
Day-of-week FEs					✓	✓	✓
Week-of-month FEs					✓	✓	✓
Observations		21,950,178	21,950,178	21,950,178	21,949,918	21,949,918	21,949,918
Adjusted R^2		0.12	0.28	0.01	0.13	0.32	0.02

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 7: Full sample, aggregate to online/offline pre/post-privacy policies levels, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels, include zeros, spending outcomes.

4.2 Dynamics

We then look at dynamics to study how online and offline spending evolved around the each-retailer-specific cookie permission introduction dates. We first use the raw transactions data, winsorized or divided-by-individual-means spending transactions and include individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending deviation from mean	Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending deviation from mean
Enhanced privacy	54.436*** (0.771)	1.971*** (0.017)	2.833*** (0.073)	56.495*** (0.807)	2.010*** (0.017)	2.938*** (0.078)
Online =1	-17.267*** (0.380)	-0.782*** (0.015)	-1.101*** (0.022)	-17.746*** (0.388)	-0.804*** (0.016)	-1.130*** (0.022)
Online=1 × Enhanced privacy	-24.656*** (0.966)	-0.024 (0.017)	-1.244*** (0.071)	-24.337*** (0.950)	0.001 (0.017)	-1.184*** (0.068)
Individual FEs	✓	✓	✓			
Day-of-sample FEs	✓	✓	✓			
Individual times				✓	✓	✓
month-of-sample FEs						
Day-of-week FEs				✓	✓	✓
Week-of-month FEs				✓	✓	✓
Observations	16,846,956	16,846,956	16,846,956	16,846,620	16,846,620	16,846,620
Adjusted R^2	0.19	0.28	0.02	0.20	0.32	0.04

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 8: Full sample, aggregate to online/offline pre/post-privacy policies levels, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels, include zeros, spending outcomes.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Overdraft fees	Late fees	NSF fees	Interest charges	Checking account balance log	Checking account balance winsorized
Enhanced privacy	-0.198** (0.076)	-0.009*** (0.002)	0.045 (0.044)	-0.146*** (0.038)	0.020 (0.016)	-302.404 (1117.485)
Mean of dependent variable	0.70	0.04	0.24	0.80	8.40	32122.91
Individual FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	4,612,695	4,612,695	4,612,695	4,612,695	4,612,695	4,612,695
Adjusted R^2	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.83	0.84

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 9: Full sample, aggregate to online/offline pre/post-privacy policies levels, exposure regression, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels, financial health outcomes.

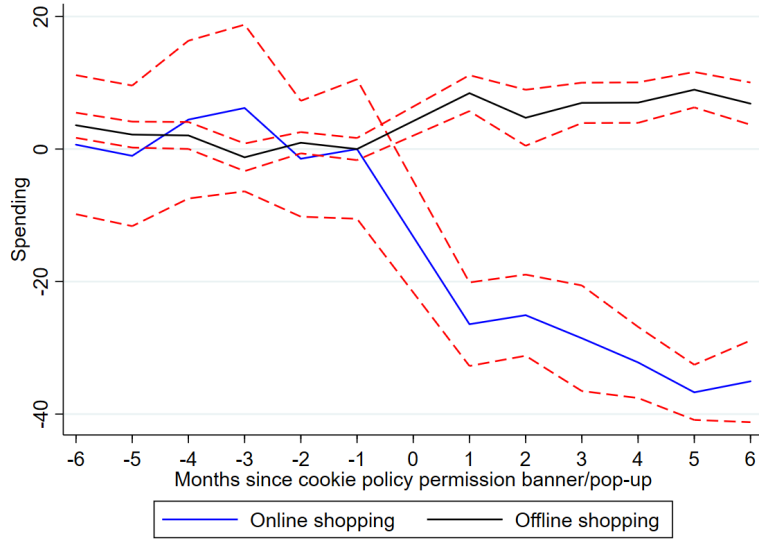


Figure 6: Full sample, main regression, winsorized transactions, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

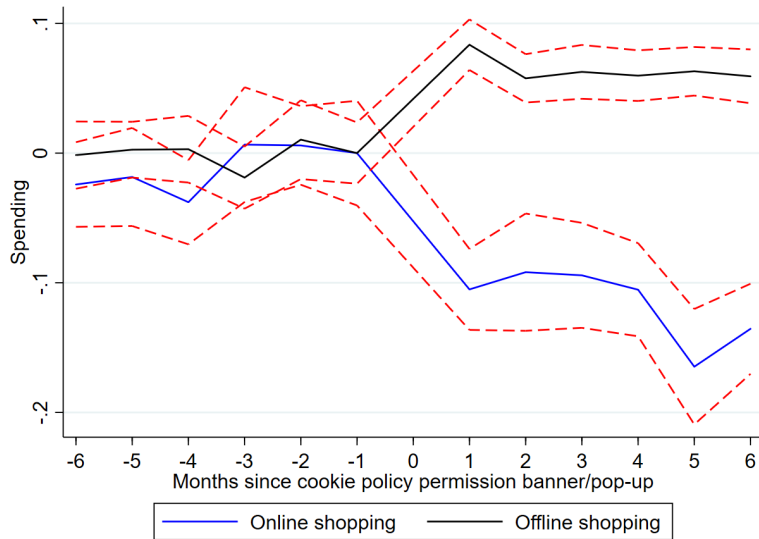


Figure 7: Full sample, main regression, log spending, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

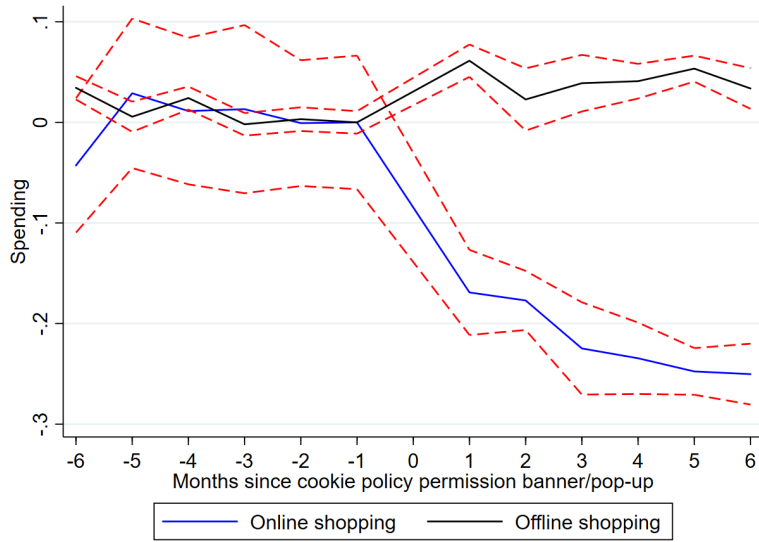


Figure 8: Full sample, main regression, deviations relative to individual-level means, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

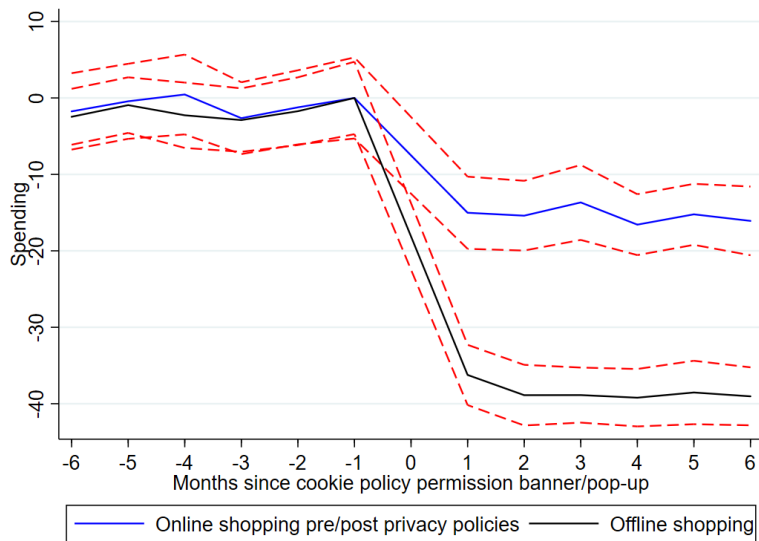


Figure 9: Full sample, aggregated to online/offline pre/post policies levels including zeros, winsorized transactions, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

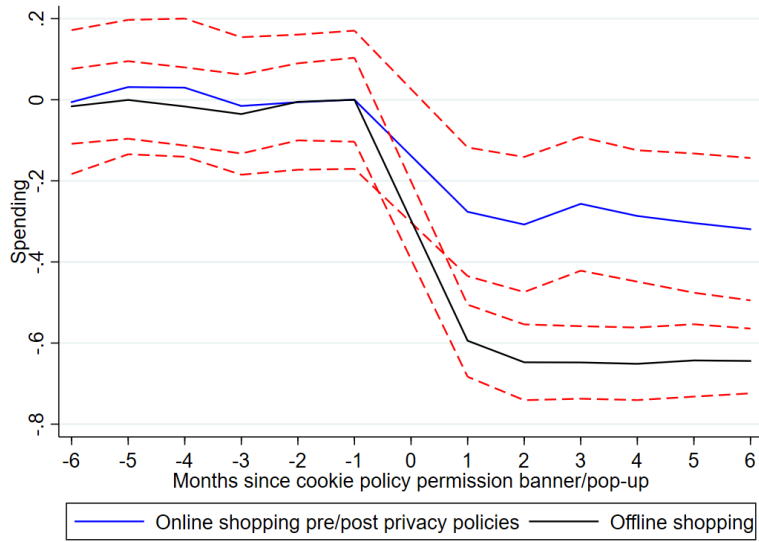


Figure 10: Full sample, aggregated to online/offline pre/post policies levels including zeros, log spending, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

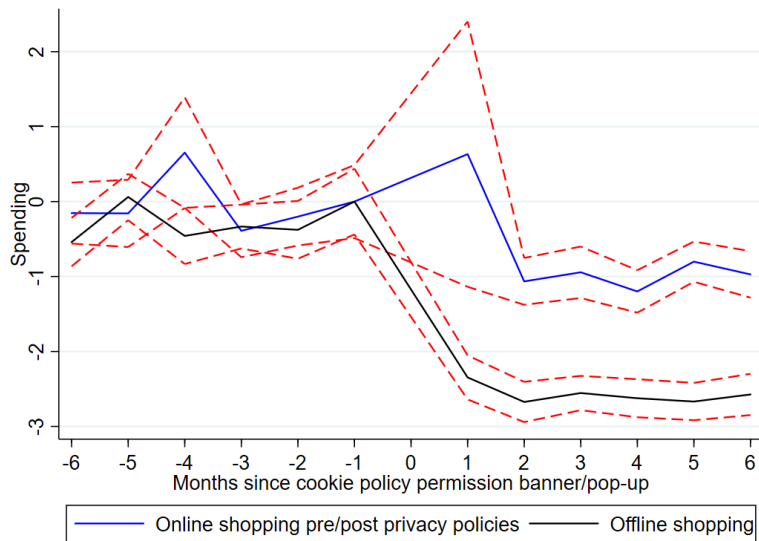


Figure 11: Full sample, aggregated to online/offline pre/post policies levels including zeros, deviations relative to individual-level means, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

4.3 Robustness

To address the concern that companies introduced cookie compliance systems at the same time as other website features that affect online shopping, we show that common other feature additions are not correlated with the addition of cookie compliance systems in Figure 12, for features that would likely affect online shopping, and Figure 13, for features that are less likely to affect online shopping. All of the subgraphs in these figures have the same range of the x- and y-axes, if the dates of feature additions would be correlated, we would expect a lot on the 45-degree line, which is not what we see.



Figure 12: Dates of the additions of a cookie compliance system with the addition of other website features that may also affect online shopping. The date range on the x- and y-axes are the same, from May 2001 June 2023.

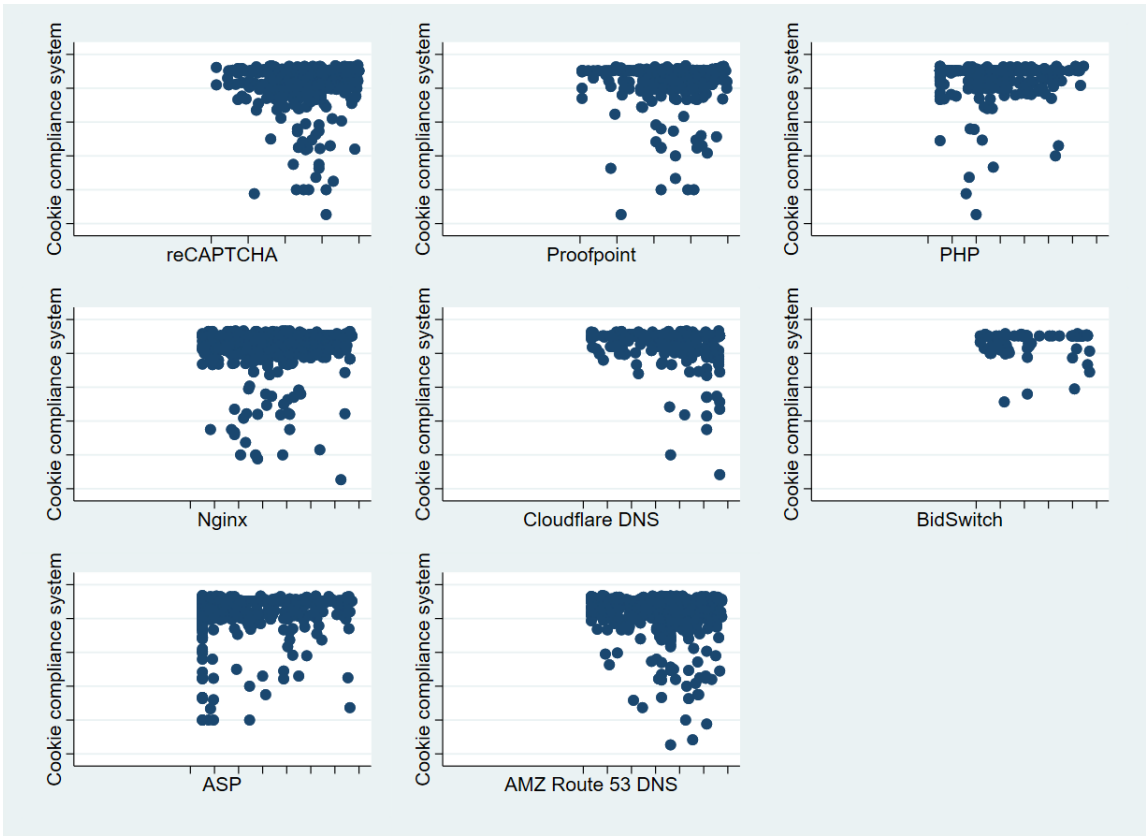


Figure 13: Dates of the additions of a cookie compliance system with the addition of other website features that are unlikely to affect online shopping. The date range on the x- and y-axes are the same, from May 2001 June 2023.

We also split the sample by regular income and time in Tables 10, 11, 12. Finally we go back to the raw transactions data and split by amounts in Table 13. We note here that the effects manifest in medium and larger transactions.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Spending winsorized	Spending deviation from mean	Spending winsorized	Spending deviation from mean	Spending winsorized	Spending deviation from mean
		1st income tercile		2nd income tercile		3rd income tercile	
Post cookie policy	=1	-10.698*** (1.207)	-0.090*** (0.009)	-11.534*** (1.438)	-0.081*** (0.009)	-14.806*** (1.843)	-0.087*** (0.008)
Online	=1	50.417*** (1.953)	0.353*** (0.012)	59.773*** (2.252)	0.352*** (0.013)	77.603*** (3.064)	0.306*** (0.011)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-14.389*** (4.492)	-0.088*** (0.032)	-24.228*** (4.698)	-0.125*** (0.032)	-26.968*** (7.613)	-0.041 (0.059)
Median of dependent variable		49.74		57.01		76.21	
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		3,692,796	3,692,796	3,822,906	3,822,906	3,702,153	3,702,153
Adjusted R^2		0.10	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.10	0.01

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 10: Full sample, main regression, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, split by regular income, spending outcomes.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Spending	Spending	Spending	Spending	Spending	Spending
		winsorized	deviation from mean	winsorized	deviation from mean	winsorized	deviation from mean
		1st time tercile		2nd time tercile		3rd time tercile	
Post cookie policy	=0	0.000	0.000				
		(.)	(.)				
Online	=1	67.922***	0.354***	62.477***	0.336***	53.743***	0.304***
		(1.948)	(0.010)	(1.727)	(0.009)	(2.014)	(0.010)
Post cookie policy	=0 × Online=1	0.000	0.000				
		(.)	(.)				
Post cookie policy	=1			-14.008***	-0.095***	-14.222***	-0.097***
				(1.593)	(0.012)	(0.882)	(0.006)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1			-16.474	-0.163**	-15.242***	-0.056*
				(10.859)	(0.075)	(4.255)	(0.029)
Median of dependent variable		57.11		59.32		67.30	
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		3,758,921	3,758,921	4,010,054	4,010,054	4,072,235	4,072,235
Adjusted R^2		0.12	0.04	0.12	0.03	0.10	0.01

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 11: Full sample, main regression, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, split by time of the sample, spending outcomes.

		(1) Spending winsorized	(2) Spending deviation from mean	(3) Spending winsorized	(4) Spending deviation from mean	(5) Spending winsorized	(6) Spending deviation from mean
		1st time tercile		2nd time tercile		3rd time tercile	
Post cookie policy	=1	2.404 (1.370)	0.020 (0.011)	2.213** (0.782)	0.017*** (0.005)	8.415*** (2.045)	0.037** (0.014)
Online	=1	35.168*** (3.456)	0.163*** (0.014)	36.366*** (2.874)	0.193*** (0.015)	41.005*** (3.503)	0.220*** (0.022)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-6.855** (2.946)	-0.033 (0.021)	-22.452*** (3.995)	-0.096*** (0.024)	-26.759*** (4.012)	-0.125*** (0.022)
Median of dependent variable		66.05		67.17		73.62	
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		1,095,864	1,095,864	1,096,747	1,096,747	1,056,847	1,056,847
Adjusted R^2		0.45	0.23	0.43	0.09	0.45	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 12: Full sample, main regression, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, split by time of the sample post 2019, spending outcomes.

4.4 Placebo

As our placebo exercise, we reshuffle the cookie permission dates, and then rerun our main dynamic regression analyses.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending winsorized	Spending log	Spending winsorized	Spending log
		1st spent tercile		2nd spent tercile		3rd spent tercile	
Post cookie policy	=1	0.241*** (0.043)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.640*** (0.077)	0.027*** (0.003)	-1.554 (2.349)	0.000 (0.009)
Online	=1	-0.381*** (0.048)	-0.077*** (0.008)	1.280*** (0.072)	0.050*** (0.003)	55.996*** (2.876)	0.180*** (0.007)
Post cookie policy	=1 × Online=1	-0.005 (0.069)	0.013 (0.012)	-0.428*** (0.150)	-0.012** (0.006)	-15.435** (6.326)	-0.059*** (0.018)
Median of dependent variable		6.94		26.80		189.16	
Individual FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Day-of-sample FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Merchant FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations		4,393,216	4,393,216	4,388,810	4,388,810	3,057,710	3,057,710
Adjusted R^2		0.23	0.28	0.14	0.15	0.41	0.40

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 13: Full sample, main regression, individual, day-of-sample, and merchant fixed effects, cluster at individual, month, and merchant levels, split by amount, spending outcomes.

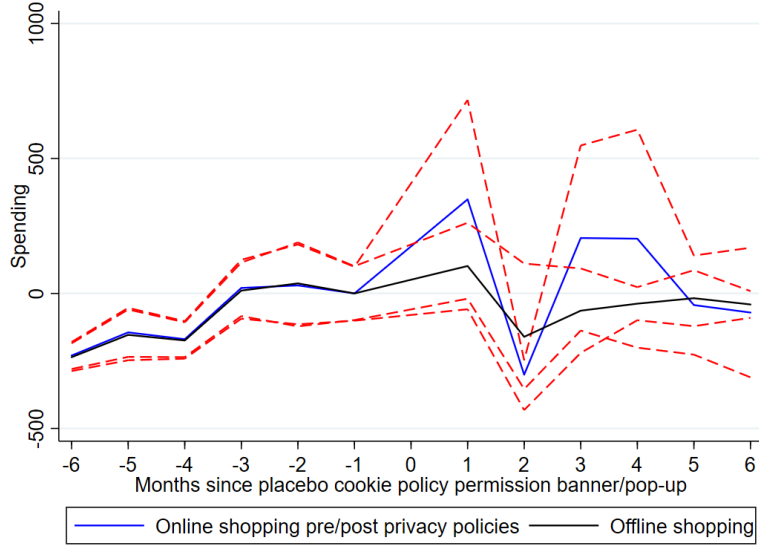


Figure 14: Placebo with reshuffled cookie permission dates, full sample, aggregate to online/offline pre/post-privacy policies levels, winsorized transaction amounts, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Our findings raise important considerations regarding the trade-off between personalized marketing and consumer privacy. While targeted advertising can lead to increased profits for online retailers, it also raises concerns about the economic costs associated with lax data privacy standards.

Our findings indicate that the presence of cookie permission banners leads to a decrease in online spending at the respective retailer. To address concerns regarding potential selection bias and ensure the robustness of our results, we conduct a reduced form instrumental variable (IV) analysis. The IV instrument we employ is the exposure of each individual to cookie compliance policies based on their pre-policy shopping patterns at a specific retailer. Through this analysis, we validate our initial findings and additionally observe a positive impact on financial well-being, as indicated by reduced overdraft fees, higher checking account balances, and decreased credit card interest payments, associated with exposure to enhanced cookie compli-

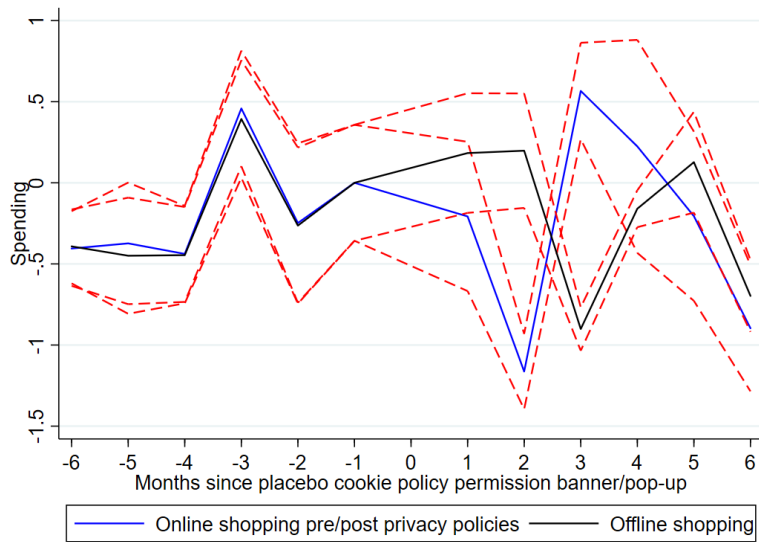


Figure 15: Placebo with reshuffled cookie permission dates, full sample, aggregate to online/offline pre/post-privacy policies levels, deviations relative to individual-level means, individual and day-of-sample fixed effects, cluster at individual and month levels.

ance measures.

Our research thus highlights the significance of data privacy regulations in safeguarding consumer interests. Existing regulations, such as the GDPR and state-level privacy acts, play a vital role in protecting user data. Policymakers should also consider the potential benefits of federal-level regulations aimed at enhancing data security to possibly protect customers from overspending.

References

- Aridor, G., Y.-K. Che, and T. Salz (2020). The economic consequences of data privacy regulation: Empirical evidence from GDPR. NBER Working Paper 26900, Columbia University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Aridor, G., Y.-K. Che, and T. Salz (2021). The effect of privacy regulation on the data industry: Empirical evidence from gdpr. In *Proceedings of the 22nd ACM Conference on Economics and Computation*, pp. 93–94.
- Babina, T., G. Buchak, and W. Gornall (2022). Customer data access and fintech entry: Early evidence from open banking. *Available at SSRN*.
- Berman, R. and A. Israeli (2021). The added value of data-analytics: Evidence from online retailers. Technical report, working paper.
- Bessen, J. E., S. M. Impink, L. Reichensperger, and R. Seamans (2020). GDPR and the importance of data to AI startups. Working paper, New York University, Boston University.
- Bian, B., X. Ma, and H. Tang (2021). The supply and demand for data privacy: Evidence from mobile apps. *Available at SSRN*.
- Bian, B., M. Pagel, and H. Tang (2023). Consumer surveillance and financial fraud. Technical report, mimeo.
- Bindra, C. (2019). Next steps to ensure transparency, choice and control in digital advertising.
- Dubé, J.-P. and S. Misra (2023). Personalized pricing and consumer welfare. *Journal of Political Economy* 131(1), 131–189.
- Goldberg, S., G. Johnson, and S. Shriver (2019). Regulating privacy online: The early impact of the gdpr on european web traffic & e-commerce outcomes. *Available at SSRN 3421731*.

- Janssen, R., R. Kesler, M. Kummer, and J. Waldfogel (2021). GDPR and the lost generation of innovative apps. NBER Working Paper 146409, University of Zurich, University of Minnesota, University of East Anglia, Georgia Institute of Technology.
- Jia, J., G. Z. Jin, and L. Wagman (2021). The short-run effects of the general data protection regulation on technology venture investment. *Marketing Science*, forthcoming.
- Johnson, G. (2013). The impact of privacy policy on the auction market for online display advertising.
- Kesler, R. (2022). The impact of Apple’s app tracking transparency on app monetization. *Available at SSRN 4090786*.
- Lukic, K., K. M. Miller, and B. Skiera (2023). The impact of the general data protection regulation (gdpr) on online tracking. *Available at SSRN*.
- Peukert, C., S. Bechtold, M. Batikas, and K. Tobias (2021). Regulatory spillovers and data governance: Evidence from the GDPR. *Marketing Science*, forthcoming.
- Todri, V. (2022). Frontiers: The impact of ad-blockers on online consumer behavior. *Marketing Science* 41(1), 7–18.
- Wernerfelt, N., A. Tuchman, B. Shapiro, and R. Moakler (2022). Estimating the value of offsite data to advertisers on meta. *University of Chicago, Becker Friedman Institute for Economics Working Paper* (114).
- Zhao, Y., P. Yildirim, and P. K. Chintagunta (2021). Privacy regulations and online search friction: Evidence from gdpr. *Available at SSRN 3903599*.