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Prices, information and nudges for residential electricity conservation: A meta-analysis *

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Abstract

Incentivising households to lower their electricity consumption is increasingly used as a tool to create a more flexible electricity demand. Previous reviews estimate that electricity savings of 6.4-7.4% can be achieved through monetary, informational and behavioural incentives. This papers argues that a more realistic estimate is of a 1.9-3.9% reduction in consumption based on the most recent experimental data, from both peer-reviewed and grey literature sources. Using data from 52 studies published during the "Smart Grid Era" (2005 onwards), the effects of incentives from 128 observations, amounting to 713 002 households, are analysed. The results show that individual and real-time feedback as well as personalised advice on how to save electricity are more effective than feedback on electricity costs and general electricity savings tips which lead to relative increases in consumption. Despite improvements in the quality of more recent studies, the analysis highlights the importance of methodological rigour in carrying out and reporting effects of incentives: an absence of a control group, of socio-demographic data, and the self-selection of participants into treatment leads to overestimation of effects.

Keywords: electricity consumption, electricity conservation, feedback, incentives, meta-analysis, nudges, pricing, residential

1 1. Introduction

Across the globe, countries are committing to increasing the share of production from renewable energy sources (RES) (United Nations, 2017). This

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transition is facilitated by the upgrading of the grid to a smarter, more efficient, more reliable network in which RES can be more easily integrated (Gungor et al., 2011). The movement from a fossil fuel dependent energy system to one based 6 on production from RES requires a re-imagining of the way in which residential consumers interact with the electricity grid. Rather than supply following 8 demand, as is the traditional operation of electricity markets, the intermittent nature of production from RES calls for a greater level of flexibility in demand. 10 Previous demand reduction strategies have focused on increasing energy ef-11 ficiency³ as a way to lower consumption. However, despite a 33% increase in 12 energy efficiency (European Environment Agency, 2016), residential energy con-13 sumption in the EU increased by 9% between 1990 and 2013^4 . The increase in 14 consumption can be associated to the rebound effect and the focus on energy 15 efficiency as end rather than a means to achieving energy demand reduction 16

¹⁷ (Maréchal and Holzemer, 2015).

Another demand reduction strategy focuses on ways to incentivise residential 18 consumers to modify their electricity consuming behaviour. The installation of 19 smart meters as part of the wider smart grid infrastructure, provides two-way 20 communication between the household and the energy company, and allows 21 residential consumers to take a more active role in the management of their 22 electricity consumption. In the traditional electricity market, the residential 23 consumer is a passive user for whom electricity is invisible and readily available 24 (Darby et al., 2006; Burgess and Nye, 2008; Hargreaves et al., 2010). In the 25 new market, the residential electricity consumer is better informed and more 26 conscious of how much they consume. With technological improvements to 27 the grid underway, consumers can receive appropriate incentives to lower their 28 electricity consumption. 29

The incentives tested in pilot studies and field experiments fall into three 30 principal categories: monetary, informational and behavioural incentives. Mon-31 etary incentives include information on monetary expenditure on electricity, and 32 pricing strategies. Such incentives allow households to better connect their con-33 sumption with its costs and encourage them to modify their behaviour to lower 34 their costs. In the case of pricing strategies such as dynamic pricing, increasing 35 the cost of electricity should, according to standard economic theory, incentivise 36 households to consume less. 37

Non-monetary incentives can be further categorised into personal feedback on consumption, and social feedback. Personal feedback refers to information on a household's own consumption whether via a traditional paper bill, or in real-time with an in-home display⁵. Personal feedback also includes advice on

 $^{^{3}}$ Such energy efficiency measures include the installation of home insulation, and the upgrading of old appliances to more energy efficient appliances, among others.

 $^{{}^{4}}$ In 2014, the European Environment Agency (2017) report the first decrease in total household energy consumption since 1990 of 4%. In all previous years, household energy consumption has increased compared to 1990 levels, peaking in 2010.

 $^{^5\}mathrm{An}$ in-home display (IHD) is an electronic device which provides a household with real-time feedback on their energy consumption.

how to reduce electricity consumption, whether this is general advice or advice
tailored to a particular household. By providing consumers with electricity
consumption information and informing them of the consequences of increased
consumption, rational consumers will make the decision to lower their electricity
demand (Frederiks *et al.*, 2015). In reality, individuals do not behave rationally
and so providing a greater level of information and monetary incentives may
not be sufficient to encourage all consumers to modify their behaviour.

Social feedback refers to comparisons of a household's consumption with 49 that of other households. Such incentives are based on behavioural economic 50 and psychological theories which show that individuals use heuristics, or rules-51 of-thumb, to simplify complex decision making (Samson *et al.*, 2018). In the 52 current context, households are informed of their consumption compared to the 53 average consumption of their neighbours and receive social approval of their 54 behaviour when they consume less than their neighbours via the use of positive 55 reinforcement (Schultz et al., 2007). 56

This paper uses a meta-analytical approach to explore feedback in field ex-57 periments and pilot studies in order to evaluate the effect of different incentives 58 on households' electricity consumption behaviour. The objective is to combine 59 the results of many studies to provide a better estimate of the true effect of the 60 different incentive types on residential electricity consumption. The questions 61 posed in this paper are: Which incentives are most effective at encouraging 62 households to lower their electricity consumption? How does the design of the 63 experimental study impact the effectiveness of different incentives? 64

The current meta-analysis adds to literature on meta-analyses which explore 65 incentives for reducing household electricity consumption by including recent 66 studies, those published from 2005 up to 2019 (the time of data collection). By 67 focusing on this time period, named the "Smart Grid Era" by McKerracher and 68 Torriti (2013), a more accurate estimate of the effect of an incentive on current 69 electricity consumption is calculated. Additionally, the present analysis includes 70 studies from both peer reviewed literature and utility and government reports 71 in order to have as varied a database of studies as possible as the objectives 72 of those carrying out the experiments are not necessarily the same. Academic 73 researchers have a final objective to publish their research, whereas those work-74 ing for utilities and governments seek to determine the return on investment 75 in incentives. It can be argued that experiments with larger sample sizes pro-76 vide more robust results, often utilities have the means to run large trials of 77 different incentives. Finally, if only peer reviewed articles are taken into con-78 sideration, there may be an issue of bias in the selection of studies used for the 79 meta-analysis. The issue of publication bias is assessed in this paper. 80

Compared to previous meta-analyses, a finer level of detail regarding the different incentives is used. In particular, the incentives regarding social feedback are separated into those which provide descriptive comparative feedback alone and those which also include approval or disapproval of behaviour as the former has been shown to result in a boomerang effect where households who consume less than their neighbours increase their consumption (Schultz *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, a greater level of study design variables, such as how households

are recruited into the study, and how they are assigned to the treatment groups 88 is included. Studies which recruit participants on an opt-in basis and do not 89 randomise assignment to treatment groups may be subject to selection bias as 90 those households who have favourable consumption patterns or are predisposed 91 to lower electricity consumption are more likely to take part (Alexander, 2010; 92 Ericson, 2011; Buchanan et al., 2015). The final added-value of the present 93 meta-analysis is the inclusion of external factors which can influence energy 94 consumption: a country's climate and energy consumption level. 95

The following section describes the different incentives used in the experimental literature and sets out the hypotheses which will be tested. This is followed by a discussion of previous meta-analyses and reviews in Section 3. Section 4 describes the data collection method, the model used and the variables of interest. Section 5 presents the results, Section 6 discusses the results and finally, Section 7 concludes.

¹⁰² 2. Incentives for lowering residential electricity consumption

Electricity is characterised as an invisible and abstract force that arrives in households via hidden wires (Burgess and Nye, 2008; Hargreaves *et al.*, 2010). Unlike other goods, it is consumed indirectly as an input into individuals' daily activities and routines (Gillingham *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, electricity consuming activities are not made solely at the individual level, they are also made at the household level (Bird and Legault, 2018), thus complicating efforts to lower consumption.

The principal strategies employed in the experimental literature to incentivise households to reduce their consumption are separated, in the present analysis, into monetary, informational and behavioural incentives. Each category evokes different motives to save electricity and works through different mechanisms as will be discussed in this section.

115 2.1. Monetary incentives

This category includes pricing strategies which provide direct monetary incentives to lower consumption, through rewards for achieving savings, rebates and increasing prices, and monetary information which acts indirectly on monetary incentives by triggering cost saving motivations (Fischer, 2008).

Any reduction in electricity consumption leads to financial benefits for households and financial motives are typically cited by households as the main reason for choosing to take part in experimental studies (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2010; Goulden *et al.*, 2014). So long as the financial benefits of reducing electricity consumption outweigh the costs, households are expected to make efforts to lower their consumption.

Varying prices provide consumers with economic incentives to reduce (increase) their electricity consumption during peak (off-peak) periods by better aligning the retail price of electricity with the wholesale price in order to maintain supply and demand balance in the electricity market (Borenstein *et al.*,

2002). Under expected utility theory, a rational individual will lower their 130 consumption when faced with an increased price or the possibility of a mon-131 etary reward for doing so. Such pricing tariffs are seen to be effective at re-132 ducing demand during periods of high demand but less effective at reducing 133 overall demand (Allcott, 2011b). In particular, households may increase over-134 all consumption if they are incentivised to increase off-peak consumption by 135 an amount greater than they are incentivised to decrease peak consumption 136 (Torriti, 2012). Yet, these strategies can have spillover effects when behaviour 137 to reduce consumption during a peak period carries over into off-peak periods 138 (Allcott, 2011a). 139

By providing households with information on how much their electricity consumption costs (as opposed to information on the amount of electricity consumed), households can see the monetary benefits of reducing their electricity consumption. In interviews with households participating in electricity conservation field experiments, residents preferred to receive feedback in monetary terms as this is considered to be more relatable, and more comparable, than electricity units (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2010; Raw and Ross, 2011).

On the other hand, monetary incentives may crowd out an individual's existing intrinsic motivation to reduce their consumption due to pro-social or altruistic motives (Bowles, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2012). In particular, interviews with households have revealed that the possible monetary savings are often negligible (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2010; Goulden *et al.*, 2014).

152 2.2. Informational incentives

Information on electricity consumption can be provided through individual 153 feedback on a household's current and historic electricity consumption. It can be 154 received through detailed electricity bills (see Carroll et al., 2014; Schleich et al., 155 2013), online via a website (see Benders et al., 2006; Ueno et al., 2006; Gleerup 156 et al., 2010; Vassileva et al., 2012; Mizobuchi and Takeuchi, 2013; Schleich et al., 157 2013; Harries et al., 2013; Houde et al., 2013), or in real-time via a monitor in 158 the home (see Van Dam et al., 2010; Grønhøj and Thøgersen, 2011; Alahmad 159 et al., 2012; Carroll et al., 2014; Schultz et al., 2015). 160

Feedback on consumption increases households' awareness of their consump-161 tion thus reducing the invisible quality of electricity supply. By increasing the 162 saliency and relevance of consumption, individual feedback highlights how much 163 electricity different activities consume (Fischer, 2008; Buchanan et al., 2014). If 164 the feedback shows a discrepancy in an individual's perception of normal con-165 sumption, then control theory suggests that the individual enters a "negative 166 feedback loop" in which they adapt their behaviour to change future feedback. 167 or change their perception of normal consumption, or they withdraw from the 168 situation (Kluger and DeNisi, 1996). Concerning the latter, interviewed house-169 holds have reported moving in-home displays (IHDs) to cupboards to avoid 170 being reminded of their consumption (Hargreaves et al., 2013). 171

According to the theory of norm activation, feedback affects individual behaviour by allowing individuals to identify a problem, to realise that their behaviour influences the identified problem, and finally, to become aware of how their behaviour affects the problem (Fischer, 2008). Feedback improves awareness of the link between households' actions and their electricity consumption,
thus improving the "action-effect relationship" (Fischer, 2008; Abrahamse and
Steg, 2009). Furthermore, the sooner feedback is received after the occurrence
of a particular action, the greater the influence on behaviour (Darby *et al.*, 2006;
Dwyer *et al.*, 2015).

While feedback directs households' attention to their electricity consumption, it can lack context. Households learn of how much they consume but in the absence of a desire to reduce their consumption or of the knowledge of how to do so, behavioural changes may not be made (McCalley and Midden, 2002; Abrahamse *et al.*, 2005). The knowledge of how to achieve a certain outcome, or procedural knowledge, can lead to individuals providing conservation efforts (De Young, 2000).

In order to assess the effect of providing households with the knowledge of how to reduce their electricity consumption, two further types of informational incentives are evaluated. Households can receive advice tailored to their particular situation (both house and household characteristics) (Allcott, 2011b; Ayres *et al.*, 2012; Costa and Kahn, 2013) or more general electricity savings tips (Ueno *et al.*, 2006; Mountain, 2008; Van Dam *et al.*, 2010; Raw and Ross, 2011).

These informational incentives work by providing households with actions 195 that they can take to reduce their consumption. When the information is tai-196 lored to a household's particular situation, the actions are more relevant. Such 197 approaches are more particularistic and their effectiveness is dependent on the 198 provider of the advice (De Young, 2000). On the other hand, such information 199 may have a detrimental effect by overloading individuals with actions and tips 200 that they are more than likely already aware of (Fischer, 2008). Indeed, the 201 provision of ways to conserve electricity may result in psychological reactance 202 where an individual feels their liberty to do as they wish is restricted and so 203 they display the undesirable behaviour (Brehm, 1966; De Young, 2000). 204

205 2.3. Behavioural incentives

Behavioural incentives, also coined as nudges, encourage a certain behaviour by acting upon systematic biases in individuals' decision making. They do not affect economic incentives and nor do they provide information alone (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008).

In the electricity conservation literature, households are informed of others' 210 electricity consumption, such as neighbours' or similar households', in relation 211 to their own. This comparative feedback is an intervention which has been in-212 creasingly explored in recent experimental studies and uses the notions of social 213 and injunctive norms. According to the focus theory of normative conduct, a 214 215 social norm refers to descriptive consumption feedback of personal consumption compared to that of other households, whereas an injunctive norm also 216 reinforces whether a particular behaviour is socially approved or disapproved 217 of (Cialdini et al., 1991). In the case of electricity consumption, an injunctive 218

norm confirms whether a household's consumption is pro-social, i.e. whether the household is a low-consuming household (Schultz *et al.*, 2007).

These two types of behavioural incentive have been separated in the present 221 analysis as there is evidence that solely descriptive comparative feedback (social 222 norms) leads to a boomerang effect where low-consuming households increase 223 their consumption, converging towards the average (Schultz et al., 2007; Allcott, 224 2011b; Ayres et al., 2012). Low-consuming households may increase their con-225 sumption in order to conform to the norm (Fischer, 2008) or because they feel 226 'licensed' to increase their consumption after previous virtuous efforts to lower 227 it (Khan and Dhar, 2006). The inclusion of injunctive norms reinforces the 228 idea that households who consume less than average are engaged in pro-social 229 behaviour and so they do not increase their consumption (Cialdini et al., 1990). 230 According to Miller and Prentice (2016) a social norm is better used for under-231 performing individuals (over-consumers) as such individuals are concerned with 232 social status and an injunctive norm for over-performing individuals (under-233 consumers) to positively frame their behaviour and to "leverage their concern 234 for normative correctness" (Farrow et al., 2017). 235

Such methods of feedback may be successful by creating competition within 236 a neighbourhood, or by highlighting the social cost of electricity consump-237 tion. Concerning the former, the group to which households are compared is of 238 paramount importance; the comparison group must be relevant to the identity 239 of the particular households (Farrow et al., 2017). Furthermore, comparative 240 feedback may create a situation of conditional cooperation where households 241 consume more (less) after learning that others are consuming more $(less)^6$ (All-242 cott, 2011b; Farrow *et al.*, 2017; Bird and Legault, 2018). 243

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The above discussion of the economics and psychological literature on incentives to lower electricity consumption leads to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

H1 Monetary incentives including *pricing strategies* and *monetary informa- tion* reduce residential electricity consumption.

H2 Informational incentives including *individual* and *real-time feedback*, *personalised advice* and *saving tips* reduce residential electricity consumption.

H3 Behavioural incentives including *social norms* and *injunctive norms* re duce residential electricity consumption.

254 3. Previous Meta-Analyses

The effect of different feedback types and monetary incentives on electricity consumption has been studied by researchers and utilities alike since the 1970s,

⁶Such behaviour is often observed in public goods (Fischbacher *et al.*, 2001; Frey and Meier, 2004) and common pool resource games (Ostrom, 1990; Velez *et al.*, 2009).

Authors	Objective	Time-frame	Studies	Effect sizes
Darby (2006)	Effect of direct and indirect feed- back on energy (gas and electricity)	1979-2006	38	Direct: -15% to - 5%; Indirect: -10% to 0%
Ehrhardt-Martinez et al. (2010)	Effect of different feedback treat- ments on energy consumption	1974-2010	57	-12% to $-4%$
Faruqui et al. (2010)	Effect on IHDs on energy consump- tion	1989-2010	12	-13% to -3%
Delmas et al. (2013)	Reduction in energy consumption via different treatments	1975-2012	59	-55% to $+18%$; ATE ⁷ : -7.4\%
McKerracher and Torriti (2013)	Effect of IHDs on energy consump- tion	1979-2015	27	-5% to -3%; ATE: - 6.4%
Andor and Fels (2018)	Effect of behavioural interventions on energy consumption	1978-2017	44	-1.2% to 30%
Bird and Legault (2018) ⁸	Efficiency of information and be- havioural interventions	1978-2018	-	-

Table 1: Summary of results of previous reviews and meta-analyses

and as such, several reviews and analyses have been undertaken (see Darby *et al.*, 2006; Ehrhardt-Martinez *et al.*, 2010; Faruqui *et al.*, 2010; Delmas *et al.*,
2013; Faruqui and Sergici, 2013; McKerracher and Torriti, 2013; Andor and Fels,
2018; Bird and Legault, 2018). Table 1 summarises the results of the previous
reviews and analyses discussed in this section.

Darby et al. (2006) review 38 feedback studies from 1979 to 2006 and con-262 clude that, on average, direct feedback which is received immediately after the 263 electricity consuming behaviour is more effective than indirect feedback such as 264 a paper bill. Both Faruqui et al. (2010) and McKerracher and Torriti (2013) 265 analyse the effect of real-time feedback, via an IHD, on electricity consump-266 tion. In a review of 12 pilot studies (1989-2010), Faruqui et al. (2010) find an 267 energy reduction of 18% on average. McKerracher and Torriti (2013) perform 268 a wider analysis of 27 peer and non peer reviewed studies between 1979-2011. 269 The authors find that as sample size increases, the reported treatment effect 270 decreases. Additionally, they classify studies via sampling selection and recruit-271 ment method and find that studies with more representative samples report 272 lower percentages of energy reduction. 273

Ehrhardt-Martinez *et al.* (2010) review 57 studies from 1974-2010 covering both feedback and dynamic pricing studies using advanced metering infrastructure. The authors conclude that feedback interventions result in a greater overall reduction in electricity consumption than dynamic pricing which is more effective at decreasing demand at peak times.

Delmas *et al.* (2013) analyse 59 studies from 1975 to 2012 finding that personalised advice (energy audits and consulting) and real-time feedback are most effective at reducing energy consumption. The authors compare the average treatment effects of studies of higher quality (those which include a control

⁷Average Treatment Effect.

 $^{^{8}}$ The number of studies and effect sizes are not given for Bird and Legault (2018) as they provide a qualitative review of a non-specified number of studies.

group, and control for demographic information and for weather changes) to lower quality studies with fewer controls. They find that higher quality studies report a lower reduction in energy consumption (Delmas *et al.*, 2013).

Andor and Fels (2018) systematically review 44 studies from 1978 to 2017, 286 focusing on behavioural interventions; social comparisons, commitment devices, 287 goal setting and labelling⁹. The authors conclude that social comparison studies 288 are the most effective at reducing energy consumption compared to commitment 289 devices and goal setting. However, they are also the most researched at present 290 and the studies are often of better quality. By quality, the authors refer to the 291 use of randomised controlled trials with large, representative samples, and to 292 methodological rigour in reporting results. 203

Bird and Legault (2018) perform a qualitative review of energy conservation studies from 1978 to 2018 focussing on information feedback and behavioural interventions. In particular, they highlight the need for further studies into the persistence of interventions and ways in which to effectively target lowconsuming individuals. They also call for greater methodological rigour in the design and implementation of field experiments.

These reviews and analyses have covered studies across a long time period, 300 from the seventies and eighties to the present. Ehrhardt-Martinez et al. (2010) 301 find trends in energy savings across two distinct periods; the *Energy Crisis* 302 Era from the seventies to 1995, and the Climate Change Era from 1995 to 303 2010. McKerracher and Torriti (2013) identify an additional era, from 2005 304 onwards which they name the Smart Grid Era. The current paper seeks to bet-305 ter understand the effect of different interventions on electricity consumption 306 by considering solely studies from 2005 onwards so as to focus on the Smart 307 Grid Era. As Ehrhardt-Martinez et al. (2010, p.74) note, "studies that compare 308 feedback-related savings across all four decades may result in inflated expecta-309 tions regarding potential energy savings today". 310

The discussion of previous reviews and analyses leads to the formulation of three additional hypotheses:

H4 As sample size increases, smaller effects of incentives on electricity con sumption are observed.

H5 Studies with *more controls* (inclusion of control group, weather controls, demographic controls, opt-out recruitment, random assignment to treat ment group) show a smaller reduction in electricity consumption.

H6 Average effect of incentives on electricity consumption is lower in *Smart Grid Era* compared to previous eras.

 $^{^{9}\}mathrm{The}$ labelling intervention is applied to the purchase of energy efficient appliances rather than to energy conservation efforts.

320 4. Method

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321 4.1. Data Collection

In order to find appropriate articles for this analysis, the following databases
were searched in November 2019 for articles written in English and carried out
in developed countries: CrossRef, EconLit, EconPapers Repec, Google Scholar,
NBER, ScienceDirect, SpringerLink, Web of Science, SSRN for the following
sets of keywords using Boolean logic:

• Keywords concerning type of consumption: electricity consumption, electricity demand, electricity usage, energy consumption, energy demand, energy usage, and;

- Keywords concerning the type of incentive:
- Incentive, behaviour
- Informational feedback: smart meter, advanced met*, feedback, nudge, norm,
 - Financial feedback: dynamic pricing, tariff, time of use, critical peak pricing, real time pricing, peak time rebate, and;
- Keywords concerning the level of consumption: residential, household, consumer, and;
- Keywords concerning the study type: pilot, trial, experiment, field.

Across all databases, the search terms resulted in a list of 2 564 studies. 339 After eliminating doubles and assessing the titles of each study, 331 studies 340 were retained for screening. The screening of studies involved first, reading 341 each abstract (199 studies were eliminated at this stage) and second, reading 342 the entire paper (76 studies were excluded after a full assessment). In addition, 343 the reference lists and the lists of citing articles for each article selected for 344 full assessment, as well as previous meta-analyses, were scanned for further 345 relevant studies. The final sample includes 52 studies on the topic of using 346 incentives to reduce residential electricity consumption, of which 34 are from 347 the peer reviewed literature and 18 from the grey literature¹⁰. Figure 1 displays 348 a methodological flowchart of the process from initial data collection to the final 349 selection of studies. 350

The final list of articles, those in which the treatment effect is reported as the change in electricity consumption of treated households compared to a baseline or control group are reported in Table 2 and details on why 80 papers were excluded can be found in Figure 1. A coding protocol was implemented for the final selection of 52 studies which involved an experimentation of an incentive.

¹⁰Grey literature is defined as all studies which do not go through a peer review process as for published scientific articles. This includes utility and government reports, conference proceedings and working papers.

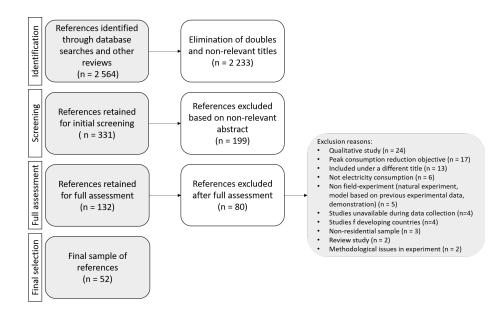


Figure 1: Flowchart of study selection methodology

The majority of articles came from economics, business, and energy journals. The reports are from utility and government websites as well as from consulting companies.

A	V	Dublication Information
Author	Year	Publication Information
Alahmad et al.	2012	IEEE Transactions on Industrial Electronics
Allcott	2011	Resource and Energy Economics
Allcott	2011	Journal of Public Economics
Ayres et al.	2013	Journal of Law, Economics and Organization
Bager and Mundaca	2017	Energy Research & Social Science
Bariss et al.	2014	Energy Procedia
Bartusch et al.	2011	Energy Policy
Benders et al.	2006	Energy Policy
Bradley et al.	2016	Energy Policy
Carroll et al.	2014	Energy Economics
Costa and Kahn	2013	Journal of the European Economic Association
DECC	2015	Department of Energy & Climate Change
DNV KEMA	2014	DNV KEMA Energy and Sustainability
Dougherty	2013	Opinion Dynamics Corporation
D'Oca et al.	2014	Energy Research and Social Science
Faruqui and Sergici	2011	Journal of Regulatory Economics
Gleerup et al.	2010	Energy Journal
Grønhøj and Thøgersen	2011	International Journal of Consumer Studies
Harries et al.	2013	European Journal of Marketing
Henry et al.	2019	Energy Policy
Houde et al.	2013	Energy Journal
Iwafune et al.	2017	Energy

Table 2: Studies included in the meta-analysis

Author	Year	Publication Information
Kazukauskas et al.	2017	SSRN
Kendel and Lazaric	2015	Journal of Strategy and Management
Lynham et al.	2016	Energy Economics
Martin and Rivers	2015	(working paper)
Mizobuchi and Takeuchi	2013	Energy Policy
Mountain	2006	Hydro One Network Inc.
Mountain	2008	Hydro One Networks Inc.
Mountain	2012	Research Institute for Quantitative Studies
Mukai et al.	2016	Energy Efficiency
Nguyen et al.	2016	Energies
Nilsson et al.	2014	Applied Energy
Nilsson et al.	2018	Energy Policy
Parker et al.	2008	Florida Solar Energy Center
Provencher et al.	2015	Navigant
Raw and Ross	2011	Energy Demand Research Project:
Schleich et al.	2013	Energy Policy
Schultz et al.	2007	Psychological Science
Schultz et al.	2015	Energy
Shen et al.	2016	Energy Policy
Skumatz and Dimetrosky	2014	NMR Group Inc and Tetra Tech
Stinson et al.	2015	Energy Procedia
Sullivan et al.	2013	Freeman, Sullivan & Co.
Sullivan et al.	2016	Nexant
Torriti	2012	Energy
Ueno et al.	2005	European Council for an Energy Efficient Economy
Ueno et al.	2006	Applied Energy
Van Dam et al.	2010	Building Research and Information
Van Elburg	2014	Dutch Energy Savings Monitor
Vande Moere et al.	2011	IFIP Conference on Human-Computer Interaction
Vassileva et al.	2012	Applied Energy

Table 2: Studies included in the meta-analysis

Figure 2 displays the geographical distribution of included studies. The 359 majority of studies come from the United Kingdom and North America as these 360 countries have been at the forefront of field experiments and pilot studies on 361 incentives to reduce electricity consumption. In addition, this could also be 362 explained by the fact that one of the inclusion criteria is that the paper be 363 written in English and that experiments carried out by national utilities and 364 governments are likely to be written in the native language. This restriction 365 could result in publication bias which will be assessed below. Compared to 366 previous meta-analyses, there is an increasing number of studies from other 367 European countries (in particular the Netherlands and Sweden), and from Asian 368 countries (particularly Japan). 369

370 4.2. Model and Estimation Method

Meta-regression analysis is a quantitative method of systematically analysing the results of empirical studies with a common objective. It goes beyond a literature review as it allows the analyst to calculate a mean treatment effect across studies by discovering which variables lead to differences in experiments

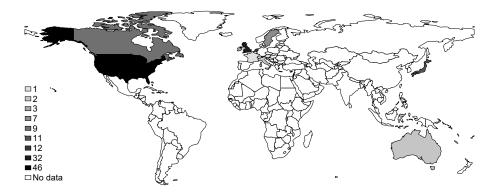


Figure 2: Geographical distribution of included studies

which study the same treatment effect (Stanley and Jarrell, 1989; Nelson and Kennedy, 2009). Meta-analyses are used to estimate a more precise estimate of the true effect of a treatment than any single study can do alone (Borenstein *et al.*, 2009).

Using notation from Stanley and Jarrell (1989), the following meta-regression model is estimated:

$$b_j = \beta + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \alpha_k Z_{jk} + e_j$$
 where $j = 1, ..., L$ (1)

where b_j is the effect size (percentage change in electricity consumption) 381 reported in the *j*th primary study and β is the 'true' value of the effect being 382 estimated. α_k are the meta-regression coefficients to be estimated which ex-383 press the biasing effect of the K meta-independent variables (typically dummy 384 or indicator variable representing incentives, study design characteristics and 385 external factors) represented by Z_{ik} . A positive value of α_k indicates a positive 386 bias or an increase in electricity consumption and a negative value, a nega-387 tive bias or a decrease in consumption. Finally, e_j is the normally distributed 388 sampling-estimation error with zero mean and variance σ_i^2 . 389

This model can be estimated by Ordinary Least Squares (OLS). However, 390 given that in the sample of primary studies, there are effect sizes from studies of 391 varied sample sizes, heteroscedasticity is an issue and the method of estimation 392 by OLS may lead to inefficient and biased estimates. This bias can be mitigated 393 by using White or Huber-White robust standard errors (Sebri, 2014), but the 394 preferred approach is to weight equation 1 by an error of precision, the standard 395 error of the effect size, to give more weight to more precise estimates (Stanley 396 and Doucouliagos, 2012): 397

$$t_j = \frac{b_j}{S_b j} = \frac{\beta}{S_b j} + \sum_{k=1}^K \alpha_k \frac{Z_{jk}}{S_b j} + \frac{u_j}{S_b j} \qquad \text{where } j = 1, ..., L \ (2)$$

In the primary studies collected for the present analysis, standard errors 398 are not always reported nor can they be constructed, thus a common approach 399 in meta-analysis is to proxy precision with a monotonic transformation of the 400 sample size of the primary observation (Nelson and Kennedy, 2009; Stanley and 401 Doucouliagos, 2012). As such, the square root of the sample sizes in the primary 402 studies are used as weights for the estimation following Delmas *et al.* (2013); 403 Sebri (2014); Van Houtven et al. (2017) such that experiments with a larger 404 sample are given more weight. Experiments with larger samples are considered 405 to be more representative of the population and so the estimated effect is a 406 better estimate of the 'true' effect. 407

In addition to heteroscedasticity, the present data may also suffer from is-408 sues of publication bias, heterogeneity, and non-independence. Firstly, to limit 409 issues of publication bias, both peer reviewed articles and reports from the grey 410 literature are included in this analysis. In addition, after a description of the 411 dataset and before any models are estimated, the selection of primary studies 412 used in the meta-analysis is assessed for publication bias. This analysis leads 413 to the conclusion that publication bias is present up to a factor of 2 and that 414 using the sample size as a weight mitigates this problem (see Section 5.3). 415

Secondly, to tackle the sources of heterogeneity, a set of binary variables describing the study characteristics which are potential sources of heterogeneity are included in the regression (Section 4.3 describes the variables used in the analysis), the temporal context has been limited to primary studies published since 2005 representing the *Smart-Grid Era* (McKerracher and Torriti, 2013) and only studies from developed countries are included.

Finally, to address the non-independence of several treatment effects coming from the same primary study, the estimated standard errors are clustered by primary study.

425 4.3. Variables

426 4.3.1. Dependent Variable

The variable of interest is the treatment effect reported in primary studies as the percentage change in electricity consumption as a result of the implementation of an incentive. When a control group is present in an experiment, the percentage change relative to the control group is used. If no control group is present, the percentage change relative to the baseline is used¹¹. A negative (positive) percentage indicates a reduction (increase) in electricity consumption.

433 4.3.2. Independent Variables

The independent variables refer to the type of intervention tested in the primary study and the controls used. There are *pricing strategies*: households receive a financial reward which is directly linked to their electricity conservation effort or *monetary information*: participating households are given feedback on how much their electricity consumption costs.

¹¹Presence of a control group is controlled for in the analysis to come.

Individual feedback refers to interventions where participants receive infor-439 mation on their current and previous consumption in electricity units. This 440 refers to consumption information that is in addition to the standard electric-441 ity bill, be it a more detailed bill, or consumption information on a web site. 442 *Real-time feedback* refers to the same type of information which is delivered in 443 real-time via an IHD¹². Households can also receive *personalised advice* specific 444 to their living situation on how to lower their electricity consumption, or generic 445 electricity savings tips. 446

Studies which provide social feedback are separated into those which provide *social norms* feedback: descriptive feedback of personal consumption compared
to that of other households, and *injunctive norms* feedback which provides social
approval or disapproval of a household's consumption behaviour.

A set of control variables are included in the analysis: *control group*: pres-451 ence of a control group; *weather controls*: whether weather is controlled for; 452 demographic controls: the collection demographic information; random assign-453 *ment*: households are assigned randomly to control and treatment groups as 454 opposed to choosing an intervention; opt-in recruitment: households choose to 455 participate in the study; *duration*: duration of study; *year of publication*: the 456 publication year of the study. These control variables are included in order 457 to capture the heterogeneity between the different experiments. Furthermore, 458 studies which include such controls are more robust as they control for changes 459 in behaviour which cannot be explained by the use of an incentive alone. 460

Finally, variables concerning the climate of each study and the average electricity consumption per capita at the time of the study are used as external controls. This is to account for variations between different countries' climate and the impact of a country's consumption, as countries have different electricity needs according to their climate, and those with a greater level of average consumption per capita have more scope to reduce their consumption.

467 5. Results

468 5.1. Descriptive Statistics

The analysis covers 128 observations from 52 unique papers giving, on average, 2.5 observations per study. In meta-analysis it is preferable to limit the analysis to one observation per study in order to reduce correlation between studies (Nelson and Kennedy, 2009). However, given that some studies describe the results of more than one experiment or simultaneously test different combinations of incentives, doing so would greatly limit the number of observable treatment effects.

15

 $^{^{12}}$ Only data that are received via an IHD are considered to be *real-time feedback* in the present analysis. Real-time data are made available to households via websites (see Houde *et al.*, 2013), however, the data are not accessible to consumers in real-time. They must log-on to the site in order to access the information. The incentives used in such experiments are included in *individual feedback*.

Table 3 provides descriptive statistics of the independent and dependent 476 variables for the full sample. Within the sample of studies selected for this 477 analysis, *individual feedback* is the most experimented treatment, representing 478 70% of the observations and 79% of the studies. Compared with previous meta-479 analyses, the share of studies involving a form of social feedback (social norms or 480 injunctive norms) has increased. Social norms represents 16% of observations 481 and 27% of studies. The *injunctive norms* treatment represents 25% of both 482 the observations and studies. 483

Concerning the design of the primary studies, the majority use a control 484 group for comparison and control for demographic differences in the sample 485 population, 85% and 71% respectively. Fewer studies (48%) control for vari-486 ations in the weather. Randomised controlled trials are increasingly used to 487 explore the effects of incentives on energy consumption. In the present sample, 488 in 65% of observations, subjects are randomly assigned to a treatment but this 489 is not a practice adopted in all studies, 52%. Opt-in recruitment is the most 490 common method of recruitment, 68% of observations and 71% of studies. 491

⁴⁹² 5.2. Average Effects by Treatment

Table 3 also provides both a non-weighted and weighted average treatment 493 effect (ATE) by incentive. ATE refer to the percentage reduction or increase in 494 consumption for a group of households in response to an intervention. These 495 are the results reported in or constructed from data in the primary study. To 496 calculate the weighted ATE, the reported effect sizes from the primary observa-497 tions are weighted using the sample size of each primary observation (i.e.: the 498 number of households in a study who face the same intervention) as frequency 499 weights then averaged following Schmidt and Hunter (2014). This gives more 500 weight to observations with larger samples as such studies are considered to 501 show a more representative estimate of the true effect size. 502

The ATE across all incentives is a 3.91% reduction in electricity consumption. Once sample sizes are accounted for, the weighted ATE equates to a 1.87% reduction. This means that, on average, an incentive in a typical electricity conservation study will result in electricity savings of slightly less than 2%. In the sample of studies selected, the effect of incentives on electricity consumption ranges from a 22.2% reduction (Kendel and Lazaric, 2015) to a 13.69% increase (Torriti, 2012).

From Table 3, it can be seen that *real-time feedback* and *monetary information* have the greatest effects on electricity consumption with a weighted average reduction in consumption of 2.97% and 2.74%, respectively. *Pricing strategies* have the smallest effect on electricity consumption with a weighted average reduction in consumption of 1.03%.

Study characteristic	Mean	Std. dev.	Primary obs.	Primary studies	Sample size	Min (%)	Max (%)	ATE (%)	Weighted ATE (%)
Effect size					5570	-22.20	13.69	-3.91	-1.87
Pricing strategies	0.34	0.47	34%	31%	1670	-14.20	13.69	-3.96	-1.03
Monetary information	0.31	0.47	31%	42%	640	-18.06	5.30	-4.11	-2.74
Individual feedback	0.70	0.46	70%	79%	7765	-22.20	5.30	-4.35	-1.91
Real-time feedback	0.38	0.49	38%	40%	458	-18.06	5.30	-5.01	-2.97
Personalised feedback	0.18	0.39	18%	13%	16525	-12.00	-0.60	-2.55	-2.02
Savings tips	0.48	0.50	48%	37%	4282	-16.71	5.30	-2.86	-1.77
Social norms	0.16	0.36	16%	27%	764	-18.00	3.50	-4.43	-2.24
Injunctive norms	0.25	0.43	25%	25%	19017	-7.02	-1.00	-2.39	-1.95
Control group	0.87	0.34	87%	85%	6399				
Weather controls	0.65	0.48	65%	48%	5710				
Demographic controls	0.80	0.40	80%	71%	5702				
Random assignment	0.65	0.48	65%	52%	7993				
Opt-in recruitment	0.68	0.47	68%	71%	466				
Duration (months)	11.97	9.05	100%	100%	5570				
Sample size	5570	13677	100%	100%	5570				
Number of observations			128	52					

Table 3: Descriptive statistics and average treatment effects

To assess how effect size estimates are affected by the conception of a study, 515 the primary studies are separated into those which use a medium level of con-516 trols (control group, weather and demographic controls) following Delmas et al. 517 (2013) and those which use a high level of controls (as before and employ a ran-518 domised treatment assignment approach and an opt-out recruitment method) 519 following McKerracher and Torriti (2013). Such studies are assumed to show a 520 more representative estimate of the true treatment effect as they control for a 521 greater number of factors which could affect the effectiveness of an intervention. 522 When a control group is used for comparison, additional variations in con-523 sumption across the duration of a study are accounted for. Controlling for 524 demographic and weather variables allows for the capture of additional factors 525 that may affect energy consumption in addition to the incentives used. Studies 526 which adopt a random treatment assignment method and an opt-out method 527 of recruitment are more representative as they use samples in which households 528 have not chosen their treatment method nor are subject to selection bias. 529

Table 4 gives the ATE and weighted ATE by level of controls used. Of all observations 18% include all five controls, and 38% include at least three controls. The studies with high controls have an ATE of -2.17%, followed by and ATE of -3.56% for medium controls, and those with fewer controls have an ATE of -4.93%¹³. The weighted ATE indicates only marginal differences when sample size is taken into account.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of treatment effect by publication year. The majority of studies were published from 2010 onwards. A large number of the studies were published in 2011. There does not appear to be a trend in the

¹³These ATE are significantly different from one another (*p*-value ; 0.01, Wilcoxon signed rank test).

	Primary obs.	Min (%)	Max (%)	ATE (%)	Weighted ATE (%)
All studies	128	-22.20	13.69	-3.91	-1.87
High level of controls	23	-5.40	-1.17	-2.17	-1.98
Medium level of controls	49	-18.06	1.52	-3.56	-1.99
Low level of controls	56	-22.20	13.69	-4.93	-1.67

Table 4: ATE by number of controls

⁵³⁹ effects of incentives on electricity consumption over this time period.

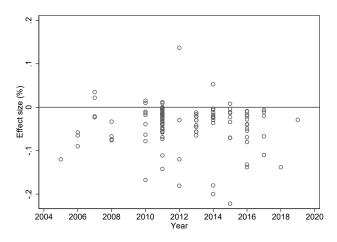


Figure 3: Treatment effect by year of publication

Figure 4 shows the distribution of treatment effect by duration of the study. The majority of observations, 60%, are shorter than 12 months in duration. There are a cluster of studies lasting two years (13%). The majority of the longer studies are those that are led by utilities. Finally, there are a few utilityled studies which last for almost three years. Figure 4 suggests that the longer the duration of a study, the smaller the effect of incentives on electricity savings.

546 5.3. Publication Bias Analysis

According to Card and Krueger (1995) there are three potential sources of publication bias in economic research: (1) a predisposition to accept studies which are consistent with the conventional view; (2) an inclination to report models based on the presence of conventionally expected results; (3) a tendency to publish only statistically significant results. Given this, meta-analysis frequently suffers from publication bias.

Potential publication bias in the sample of primary studies used in this meta analysis can be analysed graphically using a funnel plot, as shown in Figure 5.
 Funnel plots show treatment effects against a measure of precision, such as the

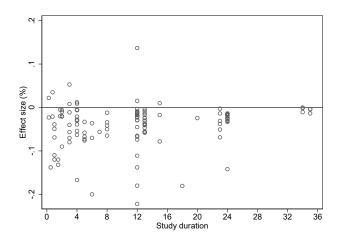


Figure 4: Treatment effect by study duration

inverse standard error of the treatment effect or the square root of the sample 556 size of the treatment group. The intuition is that the accuracy of the treatment 557 effect increases with the level of precision. Studies with larger standard errors 558 and smaller sample sizes are dispersed at the bottom of the graph, with the 559 spread of treatment effects decreasing as standard errors decrease and sample 560 sizes increase. In the absence of publication bias, the effect sizes are distributed 561 symmetrically around the mean effect size, resulting in a symmetrical, inverted 562 funnel-shaped graph (Borenstein et al., 2009). On the other hand, if there 563 is publication bias, an asymmetrical funnel can result due to an absence of 564 publications of non-statistically significant results (Egger *et al.*, 1997; Sterne 565 et al., 2004). 566

The funnel plot in Figure 5 plots effect size against the square root of sample size¹⁴. The plot shows that the majority of treatments result in a reduction in electricity consumption. The somewhat asymmetrical nature of the funnel plot suggests that there may be an issue of publication bias in the present sample due to relevant studies not being included in the analysis.

Stanley *et al.* (2010) suggest that publication bias may be reduced and scientific inference improved by averaging the treatment effects of the top 10% of the funnel as these are the most precise estimates. Table 5 shows the non-weighted and weighted ATE for the top decile and the full funnel plot for both the full sample and the sub-sample for which standard errors are available¹⁵. Compar-

 $^{^{14}}$ The square root of sample size is used a proxy for precision as either not all studies report standard errors or standard errors cannot be constructed from the available data.

 $^{^{15}}$ There are 48 observations in the sample for which the standard error is available. This sub-sample is used as as a robustness check for issues of publication bias as the standard error is the preferred weight.

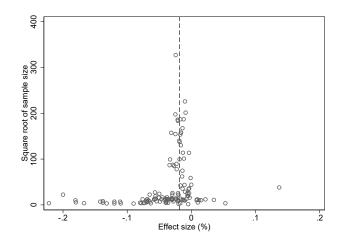


Figure 5: Funnel plot of treatment effect versus sample size

⁵⁷⁷ ing the ATE for the top 10% of the funnel and the full sample suggests that, on
⁵⁷⁸ average, the effect of incentives on electricity consumption is overestimated by
⁵⁷⁹ a factor of 2. When sample size is accounted for, as the weighted ATE shows,
⁵⁸⁰ the distortion due to publication bias is greatly reduced as the weighted ATE
⁵⁸¹ differ only by 0.02 percentage points.

As the inverse standard error is the preferred measure of precision, the non-582 weighted and weighted ATE of the 48 observations for which standard errors are 583 reported or can be constructed are also given. The distortion due to publication 584 bias for this subset of the sample when comparing ATE between the top 10%585 and the full sample is a factor of 2.5. The weighted ATE for the sub-sample 586 shows a distortion of a factor of 1.35. This suggests that when the preferred 587 measure of precision is used, which greatly reduces the number of studies, then 588 publication bias is an issue. In the full sample, publication bias, if present, is 589 small and not statistically significant once sample sizes have been accounted for 590 in calculating weighted average treatment effects. Nevertheless, it is prudent to 591 test for the existence of such bias. 592

	ATE	C (%)	Weighted	ATE (%)
	Full sample	Sub-sample	Full sample	Sub-sample
Top 10% of funnel plot All of funnel plot	-1.86 -3.91	-1.27 -3.20	-1.89 -1.87	-0.99 -1.34
Observations	128	48	128	48

Table 5: Comparison of ATE accounting for publication bias

⁵⁹³ In the presence of publication bias, treatment effects are positively correlated ⁵⁹⁴ with their standard errors (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 2012). This suggests that ⁵⁹⁵ the size of an effect will depend on its standard error:

$$treatment_effect_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SE_i + \epsilon_i \tag{3}$$

To account for differences in the primary studies, the equation is weighted by a measure of precision, ideally the inverse of its standard error (Stanley *et al.*, 2010):

$$t_i = \beta_0 (1/SE_i) + \beta_1 + v_i \tag{4}$$

where t_i is the t-statistic of the treatment effect. As standard errors are not available for all observations, this equation is also constructed using the square root of sample size as the measure of precision:

$$treatment_effect_i/sample_size_i^{0.5} = \beta_0 (1/sample_size_i)^{0.5} + \beta_1 + v_i.$$
(5)

In the presence of publication bias, treatment effects are positively corre-602 lated with their standard errors, and negatively correlated with sample sizes, as 603 standard errors are inverse functions of sample size (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 604 2012; Schmidt and Hunter, 2014). Estimates of β_0 from equations 4 and 5 are 605 an alternative correction of publication bias (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 2012). 606 Table 6 shows the results of the estimations of the models in equations 4 and 5 607 for the sub-sample of 48 studies for which the standard error is present and of 608 equation 5 for the full sample using the square root of sample size as a proxy 609 measure of precision. 610

Testing H_0 : $\beta_1 = 0$ is a test of whether publication bias is present, the 611 funnel asymmetry test. If the coefficient is significantly different from zero then 612 there is publication bias. In the first and second specifications of 6, the null 613 hypotheses are rejected which suggests that there is an issue of publication bias 614 in the sub sample for which standard errors are present. This is unsurprising 615 given the small number of observations for which standard errors are available. 616 In the third specification of Table 6, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected 617 indicating no publication bias in the full sample. 618

A second test is the precision effect test of whether there is a genuine empirical effect: H_0 : $\beta_0 = 0$. If the coefficient is significantly different from 0, then there is an underlying effect (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 2012). In all three specifications, the null hypothesis is rejected, implying that there is a genuine empirical effect which merits further analysis.

Graphically, the funnel plot suggests that there is a potential issue of publi-624 cation bias. When comparing the ATE of the full sample to the top 10% of the 625 funnel, this bias is of a factor 2. Testing for publication bias suggests that pub-626 lication bias is present in the sub-sample for which standard errors are present. 627 In the full sample, the funnel asymmetry test indicates no issue of publication 628 bias. However, this test has been shown to have low power in small samples 629 (Sterne and Egger, 2001). Accounting for sample sizes reduces the distortion 630 due to publication bias to a small and insignificant amount. Therefore, a WLS 631

632	estimation will be used to mitigate publication bias and to account for het-
633	eroscedasticity in the sample of primary observations, as discussed in Section
634	4.2.

	(1) Standard error Equation 4	$\begin{array}{c} (2)\\ \text{Square root of sample size}\\ Equation \ 5 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} (3)\\ \text{Square root of sample size}\\ Equation 5 \end{array}$
β_0	-0.808^{***} (0.059)	-7.087^{***} (0.692)	-6.474^{***} (2.194)
β_1	-203.631^{***} (65.878)	(0.052) 0.146^{**} (0.053)	(2.101) 0.070 (0.156)
Observations R^2	48 0.816	$\begin{array}{c} 48\\ 0.519\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 128 \\ 0.374 \end{array}$

Standard errors in parentheses

Standard errors are clustered by primary study.

* p < 0.10,** p < 0.05,*** p < 0.01

Table 6: Estimation of publication bias

⁶³⁵ 5.4. Effects of Individual Incentives

Table 7 shows the results of the WLS meta-regression analysis across the 636 different incentive types. Specifications 1 and 2 consider monetary incentives, 637 specifications 3 and 4 look at personal feedback, specifications 5 and 6 present 638 social feedback, specifications 7 and 8 include study design variables, and fi-639 nally specifications 9 and 10 are of the full model. Odd numbered specifications 640 present the coefficients of the listed variables, and even-numbered specifications 641 also control for external factors which may influence energy consumption be-642 haviour including the energy consumption per capita and the climate conditions 643 of the country in which the study took place¹⁶. In addition, each specification 644 includes a variable accounting for the duration of the study and the year of 645 publication. Finally, standard errors for each estimation are clustered by study 646 to account for any dependence between studies. Coefficients on the different 647 incentives are interpreted as a change in electricity consumption relative to the 648 consumption of the control group, when present in the study (which is the case 649 for 87% of the observations) and controlled for in each specification, or the 650 baseline level of consumption. A negative coefficient signifies a reduction in 651 electricity consumption. 652

In specification 1, there is no significant effect of monetary incentives on consumption behaviour. Controlling for external factors (specifications 2 and 10) and for other incentives (specification 9 and 10), the effect of *monetary information* is significant showing an increase in electricity consumption of between 2.3 and 3.5 percentage points.

 $^{^{16}}$ Energy consumption per capita data was collected from International Energy Agency (2019) with observations categorised into groups by quartile. Observations are categorised into climate type according to the Köppen Climate Categorisation (Arnfield, 2019).

Individual feedback has a significant negative effect indicating a reduction in electricity consumption of 2-4 percentage points. In the personal feedback specifications (3 and 4), when such feedback is delivered in real-time no additional significant effects on electricity consumption are found. This could indicate that the effectiveness of feedback is captured in the individual feedback variable, however, when controlling for all incentives and for external factors, *real-time feedback* shows an energy reduction effect of 2.4 percentage points.

The use of *savings tips* indicates an increase in consumption of 3.2 to 5.2 percentage points across all specifications. *Personalised advice* has a significant effect of reducing energy consumption when external factors are controlled for, of 5.2 percentage points.

Concerning the design of the study, across specifications 2-10, the coefficient 669 on *control group* is significantly positive. This suggests that when electricity 670 savings are calculated compared to a baseline of the same group (which is the 671 case for 13% of observations), they may be overestimated by between 4.3 and 672 10.1 percentage points. Studies which do not account for the demographic 673 characteristics of their sample may overestimate energy savings by between 3.2 674 and 5.5 percentage points. Concerning the method of recruiting households 675 to participate in the study, those which recruit volunteer households, opt-in 676 recruitment, achieve greater energy savings by 3.0 to 5.5 percentage points. 677

Finally, the coefficient on *year of publication* is significantly negative in odd-numbered specifications, indicating that more recent studies show slightly greater levels of reduction of the order of 0.6 percentage points. However, once external factors are controlled for, this significant effect disappears.

For clarity, Table 8 summarises the results presented in this section against the different hypotheses presented in Section 2 and 3. The status of each hypothesis in in relation to the corresponding result is given.

685 6. Discussion

A reduction in household electricity consumption in response to incentives is necessary to create a more flexible energy demand to allow for greater integration of renewable energy sources in the production mix and to meet climate change objectives. This meta-analysis set out to collate the recent experimental evidence on the effect of different incentives and experimental design features on residential electricity consumption.

The extensive research for studies resulted in a sample of 52 studies with 128 observations of more than 713 002 households across 13 countries over 15 years (2005-2019). This equates to nearly 3.5 studies per year highlighting the increased interest in this topic in recent years. Previous analyses and reviews collected at most 1.5 studies per year (Ehrhardt-Martinez *et al.*, 2010; Delmas *et al.*, 2013). In this section, the main findings are discussed followed by the limits of the present analysis.

⁶⁹⁹ Firstly, on average, an incentive can be expected to result in a reduction ⁷⁰⁰ in energy consumption of 3.91%, varying between 2.4 and 5.0%. This result

	Monetary (1)	$_{(2)}^{tary}$	Personal feedback (3) (4)	feedback (4)	Social feedback (5) (6)	edback (6)	Study design (7) (8)	lesign (8)	Full (9)	II (10)
Incentives										
Pricing strategies	-0.569 (1.382)	-0.407 (1.547)							-0.933 (1.318)	-0.038 (1.226)
Monetary information	$1.932 \\ (1.537)$	2.331^{*} (1.357)							3.362^{**} (1.541)	3.482^{**} (1.316)
Individual feedback			-2.158^{*} (1.283)	-0.784 (1.054)					-4.098^{***} (1.456)	-2.497^{*} (1.253)
Real-time feedback			-0.388 (1.314)	-1.051 (1.283)					-1.738 (1.287)	-2.370^{*} (1.323)
Savings tips			3.743^{**} (1.498)	5.191^{***} (1.752)					3.188^{**} (1.390)	4.761^{***} (1.584)
Personalised advice			-3.472 (3.405)	-5.167^{*} (2.641)					-4.443 (2.966)	-5.213^{**} (2.130)
Social norms					-1.788 (2.205)	-2.384 (2.001)			0.522 (1.666)	-0.255 (1.580)
Injunctive norms					$0.236 \\ (1.599)$	-0.703 (1.584)			1.133 (1.831)	0.067 (1.588)
Study design variables										
Control group	3.285 (2.440)	4.265^{*} (2.355)	8.215^{***} (2.671)	10.116^{***} (2.591)	4.324^{*} (2.423)	5.954^{***} (2.220)	4.424^{*} (2.525)	5.783^{**} (2.432)	7.354^{***} (2.355)	8.893^{***} (2.358)
Weather controls	1.200 (1.619)	$0.549 \\ (1.561)$	-0.857 (1.648)	-1.816 (1.574)	0.692 (1.678)	-0.023 (1.542)	0.570 (1.711)	-0.111 (1.586)	-0.115 (1.713)	-1.234 (1.587)
Demographic controls	4.659^{**} (2.121)	5.495^{**} (2.188)	3.210^{*} (1.807)	3.749^{**} (1.637)	3.769^{**} (1.669)	4.214^{**} (1.867)	3.945^{**} (1.751)	4.449^{**} (2.103)	4.622^{**} (1.904)	5.449^{***} (1.730)
Random assignment	0.605 (1.591)	-0.136 (1.573)	-0.708 (1.880)	-0.952 (1.669)	0.412 (1.669)	-0.254 (1.626)	0.451 (1.588)	-0.335 (1.636)	-1.031 (1.654)	-1.009 (1.477)
Opt-in recruitment	-4.731^{**} (1.981)	-5.050^{**} (2.040)	-3.037 (2.222)	-4.274^{**} (1.745)	-3.878 (2.417)	-4.316^{*} (2.406)	-4.094^{**} (1.746)	-3.916^{*} (2.010)	-3.353 (2.758)	-5.517^{**} (2.234)
Duration	-0.078 (0.118)	0.010 (0.124)	-0.006 (0.100)	0.107 (0.112)	-0.071 (0.116)	0.032 (0.120)	-0.060 (0.113)	0.039 (0.120)	-0.007 (0.100)	0.081 (0.113)
Year of publication	-0.621^{**} (0.306)	-0.465 (0.343)	-0.635^{**} (0.285)	-0.409 (0.295)	-0.659^{**} (0.315)	-0.473 (0.364)	-0.686^{**} (0.315)	-0.543 (0.352)	-0.541^{**} (0.269)	-0.298 (0.295)
Constant	1241.540^{**} (615.561)	$923.988 \\ (689.824)$	1266.243^{**} (574.260)	808.435 (593.854)	1316.871^{**} (633.507)	942.315 (730.818)	1370.837^{**} (633.091)	1081.165 (706.105)	1077.616^{*} (540.597)	585.391 (592.914)
Energy cons. per capita controls Climate type controls Adjusted R^2 Number of clusters Observations	No No 52 128	Yes Yes 0.225 52	No No 52 128	Yes Yes 0.376 52	No No 52 128	Yes Yes 0.215 52	No No 52 128	Yes Yes 0.208 52	No No 52 128	Yes Yes 0.399 52

Table 7: WLS estimation of treatment effects

Hypothesis	Hypothesis status	Empirical result
H1	Unconfirmed	Pricing strategies have no significant effect Monetary information increases consumption
H2	Partially confirmed	Individual and real-time feedback, and personalised advice lead to energy conservation Savings tips increase consumption
H3	Unconfirmed	Social and injunctive norms have no significant effect
H4	Confirmed (graphically)	The funnel plot shows that studies with larger samples have smaller effect sizes
Η5	Partially confirmed	Studies without controls groups and which do not control for demographic characteristics overestimate energy savings Studies which use opt-in recruitment achieve higher energy savings than those which do not Weather controls and random treatment assignment have no significant effect
H6	Partially confirmed	More recent studies show marginally greater levels of energy savings, but this is no longer significant when controlling for external factors

Table 8: Summary of results in relation to hypotheses

is at the lower end of results reported in previous meta-analyses (see Table 1).
However it is in line with the conclusion of McKerracher and Torriti (2013)
that there is a downward trend in the size of conservation effects. Accounting
for variation in sample sizes, as the publication bias analysis suggests, a study
will show on average a reduction in consumption of 1.87% which is a more
conservative estimate.

Secondly, consumption feedback relative to one's own consumption and that 707 which is accessible in real-time effectively reduce consumption. The majority of 708 households are unaware of their electricity consumption and of how much elec-709 tricity different daily activities consume. By providing households with detailed 710 consumption information, their awareness of their own consumption increases 711 and this motivates households to lower their consumption. Personalised advice 712 is also seen to reduce consumption, however, such interventions require higher 713 involvement from third parties. In order to provide households with tailored 714 advice on what they can do to lower their consumption, and for such interven-715 tions to be cost-effective, a large amount of information on households would be 716 required (occupancy information, what sort of appliances are in the household, 717 characteristics of the house, etc.). Qualitative research finds that households 718 are typically against the collection of such detailed data about themselves and 719 its use by energy companies or third parties (Gerpott and Paukert, 2013; Naus 720 et al., 2014; Pepermans, 2014; Richter and Pollitt, 2018). 721

Thirdly, households increased their consumption in response to monetary information on consumption. This result is consistent with studies which have found that the possible monetary savings from lowering energy consumption

are too small to motivate behavioural change (Hargreaves et al., 2010; Goulden 725 et al., 2014), or that households expenditure on electricity is small relative to 726 their income (Faruqui et al., 2010; Schleich et al., 2013; Murtagh et al., 2014). 727 Upon receiving monetary information, if households are spending less than an-728 ticipated they may feel entitled to increase their consumption. Prior to receiv-729 ing such information, households may have been driven by other motivations to 730 lower their consumption, thus increasing the salience of the monetary cost of 731 consumption may crowd out intrinsic motivations (Farrow et al., 2017). 732

Fourthly, providing households with generic advice on how to save electricity has the undesired effect of increasing consumption. This result can be explained by reactance theory (Brehm, 1966; De Young, 2000), or that the reminder of what a household should do may crowd out any existing pro-environmental motives to do so.

Finally, the experimental quality of recent studies has considerably improved. 738 Delmas et al. (2013) found that merely 15% of their sample of studies used a con-739 trol group, and controlled for both weather variations and the socio-demographic 740 characteristics of the participating households. In the present analysis, 56% of 741 the sample of studies use this level of controls, and 18% go further by recruiting 742 households on an opt-out basis and by using a randomised approach to assign-743 ing household to treatments. Despite this increase in the level of controls used, 744 not all studies are as methodological rigorous. They do not use sufficient con-745 trols (Van Dam et al., 2010; Bartusch et al., 2011; Vassileva et al., 2012; D'Oca 746 et al., 2014), use small samples (Ueno et al., 2006; Vande Moere et al., 2011; 747 Bradley et al., 2016), test an incentive over a short time period (Schultz et al., 748 2007; Nguyen et al., 2016), or suffer from self-selection bias (Nilsson et al., 2014; 749 Kendel and Lazaric, 2015). This lack of controls and experimentation of incen-750 tives with a small number of volunteer households over a short time frame lead 751 to higher estimations of the reduction potential of different incentives which may 752 not be reflective of their true effect. In particular, volunteer households may 753 have motivations to take part in studies that are not necessarily accounted for in 754 the experiment. These participants may be predisposed to make a greater effort 755 than if the incentive were to be implemented at a national level (Alexander, 756 2010; Ericson, 2011). 757

758 7. Conclusion

This paper has brought the knowledge on the effectiveness of incentives on 759 residential electricity consumption up-to-date by analysing the results of stud-760 ies across the fields of economics, psychology, marketing and building research 761 within the "Smart-Grid Era". On average, an incentive designed to reduce 762 household electricity consumption will result in a reduction in consumption of 763 764 3.91%. Accounting for differences in sample sizes, a more conservative estimate suggests a reduction of 1.87%. This result indicates that electricity consump-765 tion reductions can be attained by incentivising households to make behavioural 766 changes to reduce their electricity consumption. 767

Information on households own consumption delivered via paper bills, on-768 line or in real-time, and personalised advice are found to be the most effective 769 at lowering residential electricity consumption. Information provided in mon-770 etary terms and generic savings tips are shown to have the adverse effect of 771 increasing electricity consumption. Other incentives namely pricing strategies 772 and behavioural incentives do not significantly affect on consumption. However, 773 disentangling the effects of individual incentives is complicated by confounding 774 effects as few studies examine the effect of a single incentive. 775

The present meta-analysis faces certain limits. As with all meta-analyses, 776 the present paper is limited by the data available. While every effort was made 777 to be exhaustive in the collection of primary studies, appropriate studies may 778 have been missed. Furthermore, the analysis highlighted the methodological 779 shortcomings of some studies which may lead to uncertainty as to the reliability 780 of their reported effect sizes. Certain primary studies found treatment effects 781 which were much larger, in both the direction of reducing and of consuming more 782 electricity. Such results should not necessarily be excluded from the dataset as 783 they meet the criteria set out in Section 4.1, however, they may influence the 784 findings and conclusions of the analysis. 785

Secondly, the primary studies differ in the statistical procedures used to
calculate effect sizes. This information is not always clearly presented in the
primary studies and ranges from simple percentage change calculations between
either a baseline and a treatment period, to difference-in-difference estimations,
to econometric analysis accounting for household fixed effects.

Thirdly, the primary studies may differ in ways that are not captured in the 791 present analysis. For example, the composition of the participating households, 792 the level of involvement of researchers in the study to increase household en-793 gagement, the amount of detail in feedback from monthly to appliance specific 794 data, the frequency of feedback delivery or consultation of IHDs, the way in 795 which households pay for their electricity, etc. Such information can be difficult 796 to collect and is not necessarily comparable across different incentives. Future 797 analyses could focus on how the intensity of delivery of a particular incentive 798 affects its effectiveness. Particularly in the case of IHD as previous studies have 799 found that while households may initially interested in the data provided they 800 soon lose interest and no longer consult the information (Hargreaves et al., 2010; 801 Schleich et al., 2013). 802

Finally, while meta-analysis allows the researcher to calculate effect sizes for individual incentives, in reality, there are few studies which investigate the effect of a single incentive which may lead to confounding effects. Here the conclusion of Andor and Fels (2018) is reiterated: future studies should explore the effectiveness of an individual incentive by applying a single intervention to a treatment group.

Given the findings of the present analysis and the limits identified above, several recommendations for future studies can be made. Future studies should:

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812

• Include a control group in which subjects do not receive an incentive and are monitored at the same time as the treatment group

27

- Control for weather variations, in particular the number of days of temerature extremes
- Collect socio-demographic information on households
- Limit selection bias by recruiting households on an opt-out basis or by the randomisation of treatment assignment
- Explicitly report statistical procedures to allow for better replication and interpretation of results
- Improve reporting of details of the experimental procedure
- Focus on individual incentives to disentangle treatment effects

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