Decomposing the Wedge Between Projected and Realized Returns in Energy Efficiency Programs

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July 13, 2020

Abstract

Evaluations of energy efficiency programs reveal that realized savings consistently fall short of projections. We decompose this 'performance wedge' using data from the Illinois Home Weatherization Assistance Program (IHWAP) and a machine learning-based event study research design. We find that bias in engineering models can account for up to 41% of the wedge, primarily from overestimated savings in wall insulation. Heterogeneity in workmanship can also account for a large fraction (43%) of the wedge, while the rebound effect can explain only 6%. We find substantial heterogeneity in energy-related benefits from IHWAP projects, suggesting opportunities for better targeting of investments.

Key words: Energy Efficiency, Weatherization Assistance Program
JEL Classification: Q51, Q53, R310

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1 Introduction

Residential energy efficiency is widely considered to be one of the most cost-effective strategies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions (International Energy Agency, 2019; McKinsey & Co, 2009). As such, it has become central to climate policy around the world, with billions of dollars invested annually to unlock this potential.[1] Independent of climate change policy, many energy efficiency programs focus on other benefits such as reduced energy costs for low-income households and reduced pressure on energy generation capacity. However, these programs will be less cost-effective than anticipated if realized savings from energy efficiency fall short of expectations. Recent analyses have found that ex ante projections overestimate energy savings in home retrofit programs (Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram, 2018; Allcott and Greenstone, 2017; Zivin and Novan, 2016), appliance rebate programs (Houde and Aldy, 2014; Davis, Fuchs, and Gertler, 2014), and building codes (Levinson, 2016).[2]

This paper examines this performance wedge – the discrepancy between ex ante projections and ex post savings – in the Illinois Home Weatherization Assistance Program (IHWAP), which is the Illinois implementation of the largest residential energy efficiency program in the United States. The program is intended to reduce energy bills for thousands of low-income households, thus contributing to equity, energy security, and resiliency against price fluctuations.[3] A wide range of utility and governmental programs, including IHWAP, rely on ex ante projections of energy reductions to allocate funding across homes and retrofits. Since many of these programs use similar tools, decomposing the wedge may be critical for increasing allocative efficiency of IHWAP and other large

[1] For example, more than 1/3 of the carbon reductions from the Massachusetts Global Warming Solutions Act and almost 10% of California's climate bill, AB 32, are projected to be achieved through building and appliance efficiency improvements (EEA, 2018; ARB, 2017). Billions of dollars are collected in rate-payer money each year which are allocated to utility energy efficiency programs (Barbose et al., 2013).

[2] While not always recognized in climate policy reports such as McKinsey & Co (2009), internal evaluations from a subset of energy efficiency programs have found evidence of discrepancies between projected and realized savings since the early 1990s (e.g. Berry and Gettings, 1998; Dalhoff, 1997; Sharp, 1994; Nadel and Keating, 1991). Recognizing those discrepancies, improvements to the projections have been proposed and implemented in some cases (e.g. Ternes and Gettings, 2008; Ternes, 2007).

[3] Additional benefits from the program may include improved health, through better indoor air quality and comfort (Tonn, Rose, and Hawkins, 2018; Pigg, Cautley, and Francisco, 2018).

public programs.[4]

Despite increasing interest in understanding the performance wedge in energy efficiency programs, the underlying factors remain unclear. This paper provides the first estimates of the impact of three primary channels that have been proposed to explain the wedge: 1) systematic bias in ex ante engineering measurement and modeling of savings, 2) workmanship, and 3) the rebound effect.[5] Policy implications can vary depending on which factors are most important. For example, the allocation of IHWAP funds (across and within homes) relies heavily on physical/structural models for ex ante projections, such that correcting systematic biases and improving projections through the use of utility data could improve the allocation of funds. Significant differences in workmanship in the program may warrant enhanced training, oversight protocols, or contractor incentives. Given a sufficiently large rebound effect, energy efficiency models may benefit from incorporating these effects in order to accurately account for the combined impact of treatment on energy use and household welfare.

We employ tree-based machine learning methods in an event study framework to predict per-home counterfactual energy usage. Burlig et al. (2017) and Souza (2019) find that the ML-based event study estimators increase robustness to model misspecification and bias from cohort effects. Our models make use of comprehensive administrative data for more than 9,800 homes served by 34 local weatherization agencies in Illinois between program years 2009 and 2016. The richness of our data and the ML-based approach enable a departure from prior work to examine fine-grained heterogeneity in the performance wedge and to estimate the home-specific cost-effectiveness of IHWAP energy-related investments. On average, we find that approximately 51% of projected *savings* are realized for the average home in the IHWAP program. This estimate falls within the range reported in prior literature: 38% for the WAP in Michigan (Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram, 2018); 58% for a utility sponsored residential energy efficiency program

[4]Many programs rely on tools that use a common set of accepted structural engineering equations, thus are prone to similar biases (Edwards et al., 2013; Sentech, 2010).

[5]Workmanship refers to the quality of the implementation of retrofits, which results from the efforts of individual contractors, auditors, and agency quality control inspectors (QCI). The rebound effect refers to increased household consumption of energy services when they become less expensive due to efficiency improvements.

in Wisconsin (Allcott and Greenstone, 2017); and 73% for insulation and air sealing measures from the Home Energy Services program in Massachusetts (MA-EEAC, 2018). We then use conditional averages of individual-specific wedge estimates to quantify the effects of model bias and workmanship.

Our results suggest that bias in model projections and workmanship are two major factors contributing to the performance wedge. Our estimates reveal that up to 41% of the wedge can be explained by discrepancies between ex ante projections and ex post savings in five major retrofits that collectively account for the vast majority of projected savings in IHWAP: air sealing, furnace replacement, wall insulation, attic insulation, and windows. In particular, the wedge is approximately 20 percentage points larger in homes that receive large expenditures on wall insulation (over $1,500), indicating an outsized impact from this measure. This suggests that improvements to model projections could be important for the optimal allocation of funds across measures.

To estimate heterogeneity in workmanship, we use lagged (prior years') contractor-specific effects on mean savings to create a prediction of current years' quality that is purged of the idiosyncratic unobservable features that may make homes easier or more difficult to weatherize. Our estimates indicate that if all workers performed at the level of the top 5%, then the wedge could be reduced by up to 43%. This is in line with prior work that has demonstrated that moral hazard and incentive problems can affect contractor efficacy in energy efficiency programs (Giraudet, Houde, and Maher, 2018; Blonz, 2018). It suggests a non-trivial role for reforms to improve workmanship, which could include changes to worker incentives, training, or other changes.

While the rebound effect is often touted as a potentially important contributor to the wedge, our results suggest that its effects are relatively modest and may not warrant any specific changes to program implementation. Using ex-post data on the realized relationship between outdoor air temperature and energy consumption, we estimate that a standard rebound effect can account for up to 6% of the wedge.[6]

[6]Direct pre and post measurements of household thermostat settings for closely related WAP populations indicate an upper bound effect of about 0.5^{o}F (Pigg, Cautley, Francisco, et al., 2014; Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram, 2018).

Each of our estimates reflect upper bounds for the contributions of an individual channel, since the three mechanisms that we investigate can interact. Nevertheless, our results suggest that interactions between channels do not account for a large fraction of the wedge. For example, while we find that the top quintile of contractors may have a smaller performance wedge in wall insulation than the bottom quintile, that difference is an order of magnitude smaller (2.1%) than the average wedge estimates for wall insulation (30%).

In the final section of the paper, we compare the disaggregated estimates of energy savings and home-specific expenditures to construct a measure of *net benefits* for each home in our sample. While recent advances in the program evaluation literature have emphasized heterogeneity in treatment effects, to our knowledge this is the first study to use unit-specific treatment effects to trace out the marginal benefits curve for expenditures made in a large public program (Wager and Athey, 2018; Athey and Imbens, 2017; Athey and Imbens, 2016). Our findings indicate that this is especially important in programs like the WAP, where costs and benefits vary substantially across treated households. This method allows us to identify the point where the energy-related benefits are equal to the costs of additional expenditures in the IHWAP sample. We also examine the relationship between home-specific net benefits and the performance wedge. This is important, since the presence of a wedge between projected and realized savings does not necessarily imply that an investment is not cost-effective.

This analysis reveals three key findings: (1) Approximately 45% of homes generate positive energy-related net benefits with substantial marginal benefits for top homes, suggesting an opportunity for improving the allocation of funds on the basis of energy or climate goals; (2) Homes falling in the lower tail of the marginal benefits curve have high net costs – these projects substantially reduce the overall cost-effectiveness of energy-related investments in the IHWAP. These homes also tend to have the largest performance wedge; (3) Homes in the lower tail of the marginal benefits curve receive disproportionately large investments in the very retrofits that we find to be prone to model bias, supporting the hypothesis that addressing bias in ex ante projections could increase the

cost-effectiveness of the program.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the institutional background and the available data. Section 3 introduces the ML-based estimation strategy. Results on each of the channels affecting the wedge are discussed in Section 4. Section 5 reports results on heterogeneity in program cost-effectiveness. Section 6 concludes.

2 Institutional Setting and Data

2.1 Weatherization Assistance Program

The Weatherization Assistance Program (WAP) is the largest and most ambitious energy efficiency program in the United States. It is designed to lower energy bills and increase equity, energy security, and resilience to price fluctuations for low income families by providing energy efficiency improvements to their homes. It has provided weatherization assistance to over 7 million households since it began in 1976, many of whom live in "energy poverty."[7] Prior evaluations report the success of the program along many of these important dimensions.[8] Unlike many energy efficiency programs, congressional funding allocations to the WAP are made on the basis of benefit-cost estimates derived from internal impact evaluations.

Through these internal evaluations, the WAP has long recognized that realized savings fall short of projections (e.g. Berry and Gettings, 1998; Dalhoff, 1997; Sharp, 1994). DOE has also sponsored qualitative studies to explore reasons for falling short of projections and identify opportunities for improved savings (e.g. Pigg, 2014; Berger, Lenahan, and Carroll, 2014) and then has implemented changes in response. For example, both

[7] A household may be defined as "energy poor" or "fuel poor" when their expenditure on energy is consistently high relative to their income (Teller-Elsberg et al., 2016). Energy poverty can also be qualitatively defined as "difficulty paying energy bills." The EIA estimates that approximately one-third of US households have difficulty paying their energy bills (EIA, 2018). In some cases, WAP clients fail to use heating and cooling systems due to cost or broken appliances, such that their indoor thermal conditions may be at unsafe levels and their energy use is well below projected energy use based on regional patterns.

[8] See, for example: Tonn, Rose, and Hawkins (2018), Pigg, Cautley, and Francisco (2018), Francisco et al. (2017), Tonn, Carroll, et al. (2014), Dalhoff (2013), Khawaja et al. (2006), Schweitzer (2005).

Pigg (2014) and Berger, Lenahan, and Carroll (2014) identified work quality as a contributor to the gap, and in 2013 the WAP initiated a Quality Work Plan that mandated clear state standards requiring that every WAP job receive a final inspection by a Quality Control Inspector who had gone through accredited training and was certified by the Building Performance Institute (DOE, 2013). Other major contributors to the gap that were identified by these studies included malfunctioning heating systems and failure to use ex ante billing data to "true up" model estimates.

2.2 Weatherization Assistance Program Administrative Data

Through a partnership with Illinois' Department of Commerce & Economic Opportunity, we obtained comprehensive information from the program, including demographics, housing characteristics, and IHWAP upgrades made for close to seventy thousand single-family homes in Illinois between program years 2009 and 2016.[9] Households apply for the program by contacting a 'Local Administering Agency' that is responsible for managing IHWAP within a given set of counties.[10] Demographics collected during the IHWAP application include: household income and size (with a distinction between number of children or elderly occupants), applicant's age, sex, race, and tenancy. Age, sex, race, and tenancy are not used to determine eligibility, but are required to complete the application. To be eligible for IHWAP, a household's income must be less than 200% of the poverty line.[11] Further, a household is automatically eligible for WAP if: they qualified for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) within 1-year prior to the WAP application; if anyone in the household collects Social Security Disability (SSD) or Supplemental Security Income (SSI); or if they receive Temporary Assistance

[9] The Program has a focus on owner-occupied single-family homes, for which treatment policies are well defined and understood by all stakeholders. Manufactured homes, multi-family and rental units may also qualify for weatherization, though those represent a small fraction of the program population.

[10] There are currently 35 WAP agencies in the State of Illinois.

[11] Applicants can evaluate their eligibility according to income and household size using information provided in a publicly available table: https://www.benefits.gov/benefit/580. Criteria are updated yearly to account for inflation and overall changes in the definition of the poverty line. During the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), the program was expanded such that households below 200% of the poverty line were eligible. Once ARRA funds were exhausted, the eligibility cutoff temporarily reverted to 150% before increasing again to 200%. ARRA mostly affected WAP in Illinois during program years 2010 to 2013.

for Needy Families (TANF). Finally, households with elderly occupants (60 and over), young children (5 or below), or persons with disabilities are prioritized to receive WAP treatment earlier within a program year.

The home of a successful WAP applicant receives an extensive pre-treatment energy audit. Measurements collected during the energy audit include (but are not limited to): building airtightness; attic, wall and foundation insulation; window types and sizes; wall types; building orientation (to account for solar gains); floor area and height; and foundation type. These data also include the characteristics of mechanical systems such as furnaces, water heaters, and air conditioners, including: heating/cooling capacity, fuel type, draft type (for combustion appliances), efficiency rating, appliance location, duct location, duct type, duct leakage metrics, and ventilation flow rates. Data for smaller appliances include lighting type, number of light bulbs, and refrigerator age. Health and safety information (e.g. presence of ground cover in crawl spaces) and incidental repair information (e.g. updating gas piping to a furnace potentially slated for replacement) are also recorded.[12]

Data from the pre-treament home energy audit become inputs to a DOE-approved engineering model, which generates estimates of the energy use of the home as is (pre-treatment) and with potential weatherization measures (post-treatment). The engineering model does not incorporate any energy billing data. The model's optimization scheme is designed to target program funds to the most cost-effective of all potential energy efficiency measures that are used to weatherize homes in the program. In practice, the optimization routine: (1) runs the engineering model to determine the most cost-effective measure that can be implemented in a home with characteristics recorded in the audit, (2) re-runs the model assuming that measure is implemented to determine the next-most cost-effective measure, (3) re-runs the model until all options are explored. Savings-to-investment ratios (SIRs) are determined for each measure using the cost of the measure, the cost of fuel, a uniform present worth factor provided by the federal government, the

[12]Other examples of health and safety repairs include: expenditures on ventilation fans in kitchen and bathrooms; installing CO alarms in the home; power venting a water heater that is no longer drafting properly after HVAC upgrades.

first-year projected savings of the measure, and the expected lifespan of the measure.[13] The DOE-approved system that is specific to Illinois is called "WeatherWorks."[14] The output from the WeatherWorks model consists of a list of measures in order from highest to lowest SIR. Measures with SIR values of 1.0 or greater are eligible for installation using DOE funds. Incidental repairs must be included in the SIR. Health and safety measures are often required to ensure that measures intended to save energy do not cause a health concern and are not subject to SIR eligibility since they are not targeting energy savings. Addressing health and safety in this way is part of the WAP mandate. Quantifying the benefits of those measures on health and safety outcomes is beyond the scope of this paper, thus their costs are excluded from cost-benefit analyses in section 5.1.

WAP policy requires the selection of measures from highest to lowest SIR until either (1) the available funding is exhausted or (2) there are no more remaining measures with SIRs of 1.0 or greater. WeatherWorks directly converts this list into a work order, which is provided to the contractor or in-house crew hired to implement the weatherization.[15] The work order includes the *projected* labor and materials costs for the measure. After work is completed for a home, the *actual* costs (including labor and materials) for each measure are documented in the WeatherWorks database. Finally, every WAP job is subjected to a quality control (QC) inspection by a certified quality control inspector (QCI). The QCI can call back the contractor/crew to rectify problems if they find that measures were not installed correctly. In that case, WeatherWorks data are updated to reflect final costs of the job.

[13] The uniform present worth factor assumes a 3% discount rate and adjusts for fuel price escalation, as proposed by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (Rushing, Kneifel, and Lippiatt, 2012). Expected lifespans range from 25 years for insulation measures, to 5 years for fluorescent lamps.

[14] Examples of other systems include the National Energy Audit Tool (NEAT) and Mobile Home Energy Audit (MHEA), developed by the DOE's Oak Ridge National Laboratory. There are also a number of other commercial and custom packages in use (Sentech, 2010).

[15] That is how measure selection occurred for the sample of homes that we analyze in this paper. In recent years (post-2016), IHWAP has moved to a "braided funding" model whereby non-WAP funds (from utility funded energy programs and partnerships) can be added to WAP funds when clients are eligible for multiple funding sources. In some cases this allows IHWAP to install interventions that are not modeled to be cost-effective but serve to improve safety conditions in the home or otherwise provide more comprehensive treatment for the residents. For example, non-WAP funds may be used to replace water heaters that are nearing the end of their expected life.

2.3 Energy Consumption Data

To test for the effects of WAP upgrades on energy usage, we obtained natural gas and electricity consumption data for over 9,800 WAP homes served by a major utility in Illinois.[16] The utility primarily serves homes in the central and southwest regions of the state. Figure A.1 of the Appendix illustrates the geographic distribution of homes with available energy data. We focus on residences that use either natural gas or electricity as their main heating fuel.[17]

2.4 Weather Data and Supplementary Variables

Using geocoded addresses and daily weather variation from the PRISM Climate Group (2018), we extracted daily minimum temperature, maximum temperature, and precipitation for all homes in our energy data sample.[18] Daily weather observations were then aggregated to match the (monthly) billing cycle of each home.[19] We use minimum and maximum temperatures to construct measures of heating degree days (bases 60 and 65) and cooling degree days (base 75). We obtained state-level residential electricity and natural gas prices from the Energy Information Administration (EIA, 2017), which we use to compute average prices from 2009-2016 for cost-benefit calculations.

2.5 Summary Statistics for WAP Sample

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the main variables collected during the WAP application process and pre-treatment home energy audits. The top panel reports demographic data for the sample, which illustrate that treated households consist pri-

[16] During the WAP application process, households sign an agreement to allow data about their energy usage to be used for program evaluation and research purposes. Nevertheless, not all utilities abide with data requests, even when they are coming from state agents. We have obtained historical data for a significant number of homes served by one particularly cooperative utility in the state.

[17] Data from the American Housing Survey from 2011 suggest that close to 64% of Illinois homes use natural gas as their primary heating fuel, while 22% use electricity (US Census Bureau, 2013).

[18] Addresses were geocoded with Google's geocoding API (Google, 2018). The PRISM Climate group compiles climate observations from various monitoring stations, validates those through rigorous quality control methods, and develops spatial interpolation climate models to produce estimates of weather variation at a 4km grid cell resolution for the U.S.

[19] We calculate average daily maximum temperature, minimum temperature and precipitation for all homes' 30-day billing cycles.

marily of low-income families ($16,400 in average income). They are mostly middle-aged (52 years) homeowners (92%). The second panel of data on housing structure characteristics reveals that the program weatherized a highly diverse set of homes, characterized by wide variation in floor area, pre-treatment blower door tests, attic R-values, number of bedrooms, and vintage. Given this variation in housing type, it is not surprising that there is also considerable heterogeneity in retrofit-specific spending as indicated by the third panel. The bottom panel of Table 1 presents statistics for monthly natural gas and electricity consumption from homes served by IHWAP. Sample averages reveal that natural gas accounts for most of the energy demand in our sample. Nevertheless, there is significant variation of consumption from both fuels. Finally, the table also illustrates the significant variation in temperatures recorded during the billing cycles that we analyze.

Figure 1 compares the average energy consumption obtained from utility data with projections of pre- and post-treatment energy usage from the WeatherWorks model. The figure plots ratios between modelled usage and actual usage as a function of yearly pre-treatment usage averages (usage includes natural gas and electricity billing data).[20] Ratios above 1 indicate that the engineering model overestimates a home's energy consumption. This overestimation can be severe in homes with lower usage, where the modelled usage may be overestimated by a factor of 5.5 pre-treatment and 4 post-treatment. The plot illustrates that modelled energy usage tends to differ greatly from raw consumption data in both the pre- and post-treatment periods.

Overestimation of usage will not *necessarily* result in bias in energy savings projections. Accurate savings estimates may be obtained in a special case where both pre- and post-treatment consumption are overestimated by the same amount, such that errors cancel out. In the following sections, we show that that is not the case for IHWAP. We investigate the sources of error that result in biased projections of savings. We also examine the implications of this model bias.

[20] For comparability with the yearly energy usage values provided by the engineering model, we limit the sample used in Figure 1 to approximately 2,800 homes with at least a full year (Jan-Dec) of pre- and post-treatment billing data.

3 Empirical Strategy

3.1 Machine Learning Estimates of Energy Savings

Our first goal is to estimate heterogeneity in the performance wedge, which we can then use to evaluate our three mechanisms of interest. To that end, we employ a machine learning (ML)-based estimator based on Souza (2019) that has two advantages over traditional fixed-effects regression techniques. First, given our many fine-scale inputs, which interact in complex ways to determine energy consumption, the estimator recovers fine-grained outcome heterogeneity more efficiently than traditional regression techniques. Second, it does not suffer from the near-term bias that researchers have identified with standard two-way fixed effects models (regressions with unit and time-specific indicators) for estimating treatment effects in settings with staggered adoption (see, for example: Borusyak and Jaravel, 2017; Athey and Imbens, 2018; Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille, 2018; Callaway and Sant'Anna, 2018; Goodman-Bacon, 2018; Strezhnev, 2018; Abraham and Sun, 2019).

Consistent with other recent work, our approach employs a machine learning model to predict counterfactual outcomes (energy usage) (e.g. Burlig et al., 2017; Poulos, 2019). Our estimator is trained exclusively using *pre*-treatment observations. The model uses covariates related to housing structure, demographics and weather variation (presented in Table 1), as well as indicators for month- and year-of-sample to predict what the post-treatment consumption of homes would have been had they not received treatment. Yet-to-be treated WAP applicant homes are used to account for time-varying relationships between usage and all covariates to predict the counterfactual consumption in a home's post-treatment period. To select the algorithm/model with best predictive performance, we employ 5-fold *cross-validation*. First, we split our pre-treatment sample into 5 random partitions. We then recursively use 4 of those partitions to train/fit the ML algorithm, while the 5th (holdout) partition is used to assess prediction accuracy, measured by root-mean squared errors (RMSE). This process allows us to obtain proxy *out-of-sample* performance metrics of candidate algorithms/models. We find that the gradient boosted

trees model (XGBoost, by Chen and Guestrin, 2016) has the lowest cross-validated RMSE among five competing models in predicting pre-treament energy use.[21] We therefore use the gradient boosted trees model to construct counterfactual estimates.

Once we obtain counterfactual predictions, we subtract them from realized post-treatment usage to obtain home-by-month treatment effects: $Y_{it}(1|D_{it}=1) - \hat{Y}_{it}(0|D_{it}=1) = \hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$. The average of this measure reflects our estimate of the average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) (i.e. for households that have opted into the program).[22] For our ATT estimate to be unbiased, it is essential that the energy consumption of treated versus not-yet-treated homes are on parallel trends, conditional on controls. This requires that there is nothing unobservable or uncontrolled for that affects energy use and is correlated with the timing of treatment. For example, if households' decision to upgrade is correlated with an anticipated demand shock that would occur at the time of weatherization, it would bias our estimates of program effects. However, a feature of our setting is that the exact timing of the upgrades is difficult for a household to predict. Once a house has been approved for the program and the auditor has selected the measures to be performed, it goes into a job queue which, depending on contractor availability, can last several weeks.

Another concern may be that households served at different points in the program year are unobservably different from one another, such that those that apply later in the year are not adequate counterfactuals for those that apply earlier. We explore the possibility of this or other violations of the parallel trends assumption in Figure 2. This event-study graph depicts the average observed household consumption and the average ML predicted energy consumption in the months one year prior to and one year post treatment. We remove "work in progress" months during which upgrades are still being performed (months between audit and final inspection date), which causes the predicted

[21] Tree-based methods capture nonlinearities in the data through branch splits and automatically perform interactions between all variables, which is important for predicting energy use in a heterogeneous housing stock. The pool of models considered includes: ridge regression, elastic net, lasso, random forest, and XGBoost. Details on the characteristics, cross-validated (out-of-sample) performance, hyperparameter tuning, and prediction errors of each of the five models are provided in Appendix B.

[22] Here Y_{it} denotes energy consumption for home i in month t. D_{it} is a treatment indicator variable equal to one for all homes already exposed to WAP, zero otherwise. $Y_{it}(0)$ represents potential outcomes under control, while $Y_{it}(1)$ represents potential outcomes under treatment.

usage not to be perfectly smooth across the treatment threshold. Nevertheless, the plot illustrates that the realized and counterfactual predicted usage are on parallel trends. If the yet-to-be treated homes were unobservably different than the treated homes in a way that biased the counterfactual estimates, then the post-treatment gap between realized and predicted usage would likely widen or narrow. Given that the gap is stable during the post-treatment period, it is unlikely that there are any major violations of the parallel trends assumptions.

Additionally, Figure 2, reveals that the difference between realized and predicted usage is negligible before treatment, indicating that the ML model provides accurate predictions on average. However, given that heterogeneity is the focus of our analysis, it is also important that the prediction errors are not correlated with measures performed, housing structure, or demographics. There would be systematic bias in the ML predictions if, for example, there were unobservable determinants of energy consumption that were correlated with spending on particular measures. In Appendix B, we report the performance metrics we used to assess accuracy and rule out measure-specific bias for the ML algorithm. Notably, we plot out-of-sample prediction errors across all (binned) categories of program spending, as well as covariates related to housing structure and demographics. We find that errors are small and not significantly correlated with those factors. Importantly, this implies that the heterogeneity that we recover in subsequent sections is driven by systematic differences in treatment effects rather than systematic differences in ML prediction errors.

3.2 Estimates of the Performance Wedge

The outcome of interest in this paper is the performance wedge. We recover estimates of the wedge (in percentage points) by comparing the estimated treatment effects on the treated ($\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$) to the engineering projections ($\hat{b}_{it}^{p}$):

$$\%\text{WEDGE}_{it} = \frac{\hat{b}_{it}^{p}}{\hat{Y}_{it}^{p}} - \frac{\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}}{\hat{Y}_{it}^{ml}} \quad \forall\, t > t_i \,, \tag{1}$$

where $\hat{Y}_{it}^{p}$ are counterfactual outcomes according to the engineering models, $\hat{Y}_{it}^{ml}$ are counterfactual estimates from machine learning predictions, and $t > t_i$ denotes all post-treatment dates for home i.[23]

Table 2 reports estimates of average program effects from engineering projections ($\hat{b}^{p}$) and from our machine learning approach ($\hat{b}^{ml}$).[24] Average savings according to engineering projections are close to 29%, which are almost double the ex post estimates (15%). That implies a realization rate of approximately 51%. In Appendix D we examine the robustness of these estimates to model specification (i.e. models in levels rather than logs) and provide a comparison to standard two-way fixed effects (TWFE) estimates.

4 Decomposing the Performance Wedge

In this section, we explore three main factors that have been hypothesized to explain of the wedge between projected and realized savings in the WAP: (1) systematic errors in upgrade-specific projections of savings; (2) under-performance (workmanship) of WAP workers; (3) the rebound effect for treated households. We use our house-month specific wedge estimates to provide insight about which factors are most relevant in this context.

4.1 Wedge heterogeneity by upgrade-specific spending

We begin by focusing on whether we can identify systematic errors in upgrade-specific savings projections. Since prioritization of measures often depends on their ex ante savings-to-investment ratios (SIRs), modeling errors can lead to over(under)-investment in certain upgrades and result in misallocation of the budget available for a given home. For the purposes of this exercise, we focus on the measures that are considered by WAP to account for the vast majority of energy savings (air sealing, attic

[23] The engineering model provides 2 predictions, representative of a full year of a home's energy usage: one year pre- and one year post-weatherization. From those, we calculate engineering projected savings. We divide by 12 to get monthly projections. More details about the engineering projections can be found in Appendix C.

[24] We estimate the average program savings as the sample average of $\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$ obtained by the machine learning approach. For this analysis, we restrict the sample to billing data from at most two years post-treatment. We focus on near-term effects and do not intend to capture depreciation of appliances or WAP-unrelated consumption changes that may happen long after treatment.

insulation, wall insulation, and furnace replacement) and reflect the primary costs in the program (attic insulation, wall insulation, furnace repair or replacement, and window replacement). Those measures collectively account for almost 68% of expenditures in the average home.

We analyze heterogeneity in the wedge by spending on each measure. A benefit of our empirical setting is that we observe all information that is documented by IHWAP, including a large set of parameters that the WeatherWorks model uses to determine expenditures including: housing structure, household demographics, weather variation, energy prices, and the contractor serving each home. This allows us to recover the mean wedge by spending category conditional on this rich set of factors using the following regression:

$$\%WEDGE_{ijt} = \alpha_0 + \eta_j + \sum_{k=1}^{K}\sum_{b=1}^{B_k} \beta_{kb} \mathbb{1}[Category = k]_{it} \cdot \mathbb{1}[Bin = b]_{it} + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \gamma_g X_{it}^g + \varepsilon_{it} \quad \forall\, t > t_i\,, \quad (2)$$

where the performance wedge $\%WEDGE_{ijt}$ for home i, served by contractor j in the post-treatment billing cycle $t > t_i$, is defined by equation (1); α_0 is a constant; η_j are contractor-specific fixed effects. The coefficients of interest, β_{kb}, indicate the marginal change in the wedge associated with spending the amount in bin b on each measure k. The expression $\mathbb{1}[Category = k]_{it}$, indicates spending on measure k; $\mathbb{1}[Bin = b]_{it}$ indicates if the level of spending falls within a given bin b;[25] Other controls (X_{it}^g) include the complete set of factors in the WeatherWorks database that determine allocation of spending across measures (covariates from Table 1 related to housing structure, demographics), natural gas prices, electricity prices, and weather controls, including monthly average minimum/maximum temperatures, and monthly average precipitation. We introduce flexible controls for each of these variables (X_{it}^k). For this regression, as in section 3, we restrict the sample to observations no longer than 2 years post-treatment.

[25] There are twelve categories of spending, and up to twelve bins for each category. Bins can vary in size, depending on the category being considered.

Given that our ML prediction errors do not systematically vary with the observable factors in model (2), the coefficients capture systematic bias in the projections from the WeatherWorks model at different levels of spending on major classes of retrofit. This bias can be driven by anything unobservable or uncontrolled for that systematically varies by spending in a given category. For the purposes of this analysis, we broadly define "model bias" as bias arising from: (1) errors in structural parameters in the WeatherWorks model, which may be optimistic; (2) systematic errors in the inputs to the model from mis-measurement in pre-weatherization audits; or (3) failure to capture the effects of unobservable features of the home that reduce the effectiveness of retrofits. Patterns in estimates from model (2) may also capture the effects of poor workmanship or household behavior, if the effects of either of these on the wedge systematically vary with spending on a particular category. In sections 4.2 and 4.3, we investigate how workmanship and the rebound effect contribute to the patterns we observe here. To the extent that both of those factors may be positively correlated with spending on a measure, the results in this section provide upper bound estimates of the contribution from systematic ex ante engineering measurement and modeling errors.

Figure 3 presents the coefficient estimates from equation (2), focusing on the five major program measures: air sealing, attic insulation, wall insulation, furnace repair or replacement, and windows.[26] The omitted category is zero spending on each measure, such that positive (negative) estimates indicate that the wedge increases (decreases) relative to the wedge at zero spending. Note that we employ stratified (by home) bootstrapping to obtain standard errors for all analyses in this paper. That implies carrying out all the steps of the analyses, including machine learning, for 200 bootstrap iterations. Then, the standard deviations for each point estimate over all of the bootstrap iterations will represent the standard errors of those estimates. Since we are interested in interpreting many coefficients from equation (2), we also apply false discovery rate (FDR) corrections from

[26] We present coefficients for demographics and housing controls in Appendix E.

Benjamini and Hochberg (1995) to the p-values associated with estimated coefficients.[27] Estimates that are significant after the FDR corrections are plotted in red with a square marker, while those that are non-significant after the corrections are plotted in blue with a triangle marker. The grey bars represent the number of homes in a given category of spending.

Our estimates reveal a substantial discrepancy between projected and realized savings in one category in particular: wall insulation. All estimated coefficients are positive and statistically significant, which indicates systematic upward bias in engineering projections on this measure. Point estimates suggest that the wedge in homes receiving investments of more than $300 in wall insulation is 13-20 percentage points higher than in comparable homes with no investments on that measure.[28] Note that while homes with zero spending on wall insulation are included in the regression, we omit that bin from the histogram plot to better illustrate variation among the 30% of homes with non-zero spending on this measure.

The distribution of furnace spending is bimodal: furnace repairs, cleaning, and tuning usually costs less than $900, while complete furnace replacements start at about $1,800. Interestingly, the bias associated with furnace replacements, is somewhat negative (ranging from -2% to -4%). While the individual coefficients are not all statistically different from zero, taken together, the estimates for these higher-spending bins suggest that ex ante projections may *underestimate* the energy benefits from new furnaces. Coefficients on bins corresponding to furnace tune-ups, on the other hand, suggest the opposite: point estimates trend upward in spending. Estimates in the bins corresponding

[27] Specifically, we employ the procedure from Benjamini and Hochberg (1995) separately to groups of coefficients. For example, all coefficients for income bins are a group, all coefficients for bins of furnace spending are another group, and so on. We assume an overall uncorrected critical p-value of 0.05 for each group. Also, uncorrected p-values withing groups are assumed to be nonnegatively correlated. For robustness, we also run tests employing family-wise error rate (FWER) corrections with alternative assumptions, which tend to be more conservative (lower probability of Type I error, but higher probability of Type II error). That can be especially accentuated when the number of estimated coefficients is large (Newson and Team, 2003). Nevertheless, results in our setting are almost identical across different correction procedures.

[28] This does not necessarily imply that wall insulation is associated with nonsignificant energy savings or that it is not cost-effective, as it is possible for measures to fall short of expected savings and still be both cost-effective and important drivers of savings. For example, Souza (2019), in the same context of this paper, finds that wall insulation can lead to natural gas savings ranging from 4 to 9 percent.

to spending between ($300–$900) are statistically and economically significant. However, we note that the density of homes falling in bins with the largest wedge ($900–$1,200) is relatively small. Furthermore, according to program guidelines, furnace tune-ups are often justified for health and safety reasons, rather than for energy-efficiency.

We also find a positive trend between the level of the performance wedge and spending on windows. Homes with high spending (above $1,400) on windows exhibit performance wedge that is 5 to 8 percentage points greater than the wedge at zero spending. Furthermore, the number of homes with large window spending is substantial (around 1,200). The patterns for air sealing and attic insulation are not as stark. The relationship for air sealing is almost flat, and, while the plot for attic insulation suggests that the wedge becomes larger at higher levels of spending, only the highest spending bin is associated with a statistically significantly higher wedge (5 percentage points). Because fewer homes fall into the higher spending bins of attic insulation, the effects on overall program performance are likely negligible.

We simulate the fraction of the total wedge that can be attributed to spending on four of the most important program measures. The thought experiment behind the simulation asks what would happen to the wedge if any positive spending on each of these categories had no marginal effect on the wedge. We implement this by estimating the mean wedge for the sample if each of the coefficients associated with these spending categories were zero. We display the results of this simulation in Table 3 with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. The column labeled "Baseline" indicates that the mean performance wedge for the sample is 14.7%. Each of columns 1-5 shows the effect on the average performance wedge if the coefficients for positive spending were zero for each of the 5 measures in turn. Spending on all of the considered measures, except furnace replacements, is associated with a larger wedge relative to no spending on that measure, all else equal. The final column of the table shows the combined effect of doing this exercise for all of the measures. While fewer than 1/3 of homes receive wall insulation, the performance wedge would be 26% to 34% smaller for the full sample if there was no change in the wedge associated with implementing that measure. Our estimates sug-

gest that the 5 major measures collectively account for up to 41% of the wedge, with a confidence interval of 24% to 57%.

4.2 Workmanship

We next explore the proportion of the wedge that can be explained by heterogeneity in workmanship. Our definition of "workmanship" includes not only contractors' performance, but also aspects of the pre-weatherization audits and the quality-control inspections, since either of these could systematically influence program outcomes.[29] We begin by estimating the contribution of workmanship to the wedge in each program year. Then, we simulate their effects using a thought exercise that asks what would happen to the wedge if all workmanship was performed at the level of the "best" in the sample.

Estimating Heterogeneity in Workmanship

In order to estimate the role of workmanship on the wedge, we would ideally isolate variation in performance driven by the quality of workers assigned to each job rather than systematic differences across homes' potential for energy savings. To isolate this variation, we create a contractor quality measure for each program year, based on their mean savings from the previous program year. Specifically, we predict year-specific quality ($\hat{\eta}_{jy}$) associated with a particular contractor using the coefficients from the following regression:

$$\eta_{jy} = \alpha_0 + \delta\eta_{jy-1} + \sum_{k=1}^{K}\sum_{b=1}^{B_k}\beta_{kb}\mathbb{1}[Category = k]_{it} \cdot \mathbb{1}[Bin = b]_{it} + \sum_{g=1}^{G}\gamma_g X_{it}^g + \varepsilon_{it} \quad \forall\, t > t_i\,, \quad (3)$$

with notation as defined in equation 2. This can be thought of as a "first-stage" instrumental variables regression where lagged quality is used as an instrument for contempora-

[29] Whereas the estimates reported in Figure 3 and Table 3 capture the effects of systematic mismeasurement in pre-weatherization audits (such as the level of pre-existing wall insulation), workmanship includes other potential unobservable effects of auditors on the performance of specific contractors..

neous quality. The predicted contemporaneous quality measures are then based solely on the observable factors about the job and the part of workmanship that can be explained by last year's performance.

In order to obtain an unbiased measure of quality, the component of a contractor's outcome that is not attributable to quality must not be correlated across years. We include a rich set of controls that contains all measurable components of a household/home that are available to the assigning agency. Further, since our sample is limited to the part of the state that is outside of Chicago, there is good overlap in the characteristics of the housing stock across contractors: single-family homes in areas that are outside of the urban metro area and that heat with piped natural gas rather than propane. Given this comparable housing stock, and our comprehensive set of controls, the component of a contractor's outcome that is not attributable to quality is likely idiosyncratic in any given year.[30] We provide several tests of this assumption below.

In Table 4, we provide results from the estimation of equation 3 (first column of panel A) as well as two robustness checks to rule out that systematic unobservable differences in housing stock may be driving the differences in our contractor quality measure. The first column indicates that a contractor's mean savings in a particular program year is strongly correlated with the previous program year. The second column of panel A adds flexible interactions among all the different categories of spending and between those categories and pre-treatment air-tightness. Including more flexible fixed effects helps to control for any systematic unobserved differences in contractor performance across years that may be driven by interaction effects between spending in particular categories and the wedge. If unobserved interaction effects were important and across years, housing stock differences across contractors could be a large biasing factor in our quality measure.

[30] We have interviewed multiple IHWAP practitioners regarding contractor assignments to jobs. The vast majority of jobs are assigned based on a job's position in a queue rather than any characteristics about the home, measures assigned, or the contractors themselves. However, in certain specific instances, especially in smaller agencies, contracts may be assigned to a particular contractor on the basis of home characteristics. For example, a contractor may lack equipment to do a particular aspect of a job. Our identification strategy addresses this concern in two ways: (1) any assignment outside of the queue is made based on observable characteristics that are in our WeatherWorks dataset and are included as controls; (2) we examine the overlap in the support of the distribution of measures performed across contractors and find that it is substantial.

However, as shown in Table 4, the point estimate on lagged quality changes little with the addition of these controls, suggesting that these are not a significant source of bias.

In Panel B of Table 4, we implement the approach developed by Oster (2019) to further assess the robustness of our quality estimates to unobservables. The first column of Panel B presents bias-corrected estimates of the coefficient on lagged contractor quality, with varying levels of "R-squared Max."[31] We find that the point estimate is stable, irrespective of assumptions. The second column reports a coefficient of proportionality, δ, which captures the relative importance of unobservables in our setting. For example, for our most conservative specification, we find that $\delta = 3$, which means that unobservables would need to be three times as important as observables to drive our estimates to zero. Thus, it is unlikely that unobserved factors correlated across program years are important drivers of our measure of contractor quality.

Finally, in Appendix F we assess balance of top versus bottom performing contractors in terms of spending on the five major upgrade categories. If our quality measure was driven by top and bottom contractors being systematically assigned to different types of homes, then one may also expect systematic differences in the distributions of spending on upgrades. However, figures F.1 through F.5 provide evidence against that. They reveal significant overlap and similarity between top and bottom contractors in terms of spending distributions. This suggests that our quality measure is not being driven by systematic unobserved differences in the types of homes to which contractors are assigned.

Simulations of the Effect of Workmanship on the Wedge

We use these estimates of contractor quality to quantify the effects of workmanship heterogeneity on the wedge. We implement a simulation in which we quantify what would happen to the average observed wedge if all contractors were assigned the predicted quality, $\hat{q}_{jy}$, of the 95th, 90th, 75th, or 50th percentile of performers rather than their

[31] Oster (2019) provides extensions to an estimator developed by Altonji, Elder, and Taber (2005). The estimator compares our simple and fully saturated models, comparing changes in coefficients and R-squares. One of the main assumptions is that observables and unobservables are equally important for explaining the relationship of interest. Another assumption relates to "R-squared Max," which denotes the maximum fit that a researcher may achieve for a model, given the setting and data available.

own predicted quality. Results are displayed in Table 5. The first column shows that the mean wedge would drop from 15.36% to 8.81% if all contractors performed at the 95th percentile of quality – a 43% decrease in the wedge, with a confidence interval of 28% to 57%. Likewise, the wedge would decrease by 32% or 16% if all contractors performed at the 90th or 75th percentiles of quality, respectively. These results indicate that workmanship is a key contributor to the wedge and suggest a role for policies that can improve worker performance by restructuring incentives or through training and inspection standards. We note that these large effects are consistent with an emerging body of evidence on the impact of contractor performance in other contexts (Giraudet, Houde, and Maher, 2018; Blonz, 2018).[32]

Interactions Between Workmanship and Model Bias

We examine interaction effects between our measure of contractor quality and spending on wall insulation, which is the primary driver of the performance wedge in our context. It is possible, for example, that lower quality workmanship results in disproportionately negative effects at higher levels of spending on wall insulation. In that case, the pattern revealed in Figure 3 would reflect the bias in ex ante measurement and modeling as well as workmanship. To estimate the magnitude of the interaction, we add indicators for top and bottom quintile of contractor quality interacted with binned spending on wall insulation to equation (2). Figure F.6 from Appendix F reports the results, which show that the relationship between the wedge and spending on wall insulation remains unchanged for median contractors. Further, while bottom contractors are associated with a somewhat larger wedge, we do not find evidence that these effects increase with spending on wall insulation. Panel B in Table 5 reports results from simulations that remove those interaction effects by replacing the estimated coefficients with zero to recalculate the impact of contractor quality on the wedge. Contractor quality cannot explain a large

[32]For example, Giraudet, Houde, and Maher (2018) find that energy savings from a utility retrofit program are lower for those measures installed on a Friday – a day especially prone to shocks to worker productivity. They find that the "Friday effect" can explain 65% of the wedge between predicted and realized savings in that program. For another utility energy efficiency program, Blonz (2018) provides evidence that contractors misreport program data to allow for replacements of non-qualified refrigerators. That in turn can lead to electricity savings that are only half as much of those from qualified expenses.

fraction of the observed relationship between spending on wall insulation and the wedge – the overall effect of contractor performance only changes by about two percentage points. We consider interaction effects for other measures as well (not reported), but do not find any economically or statistically significant effects.

4.3 Household energy consumption behavior

In this section, we examine how consumer behavior affects energy usage and the performance wedge. We focus on "rebound effects" in indoor temperature. Engineering models used by WAP and other utility programs do not account for rebound effects, whereby households may choose a more comfortable but higher thermostat temperature post weatherization and thereby reduce net savings.

We take advantage of the fact that the amount of heat (ϕ_h) required to maintain a particular indoor thermostat setting is linear in outdoor air temperature (T_o) as follows:

$$\phi_h = H(T_b - T_o) \tag{4}$$

The slope, H, is a function of the surface area of the house, the thermal resistance of the wall and the furnace efficiency (See Appendix G). The "balance point" (T_b)–the outdoor air temperature at which the heating systems must be turned on to maintain a household's desired indoor temperature–has a direct mapping to indoor air temperature (T_i):

$$T_b = T_i - (\phi_i + \phi_s)/H \tag{5}$$

The indoor air temperature is chosen by the household, while H, internal (ϕ_i) and solar (ϕ_s) gains are structural features of the house.[33]

Figure 4 Panel A shows this relationship between average natural gas usage and outdoor air temperature for our full sample, both before and after weatherization. As

[33] In Appendix G, we present an engineering structural model which derives the relationship between indoor air temperature and residential space heating requirements (Johannesson et al., 1985).

engineering models predict, there is a linear relationship between energy consumption and outdoor air temperature, especially for colder months. The figure also reveals a clear change in slope (comparing pre and post-treatment) during those months, which suggests increased heating efficiency for homes after treatment. Post-treatment usage is generally lower than pre-treament at all temperature ranges, which suggests that baseload fuel-efficiency might have also increased.

The "kinks" in the curves from Figure 4 Panel A represent balance points. In order to estimate pre- and post-weatherization the balance points, we employ the PRInceton Scorekeeping Method (PRISM) (Fels, 1986).[34] Assuming that homes follow a linear relationship in outdoor temperature as described above, the PRISM method identifies the balance point for a given sample by regressing home-by-month energy usage on a constant plus heating degree days (HDD), iterating through different HDD bases:[35]

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta \text{HDD}_{it}^{s} + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \gamma_g X_{it}^{g} + \varepsilon_{it} \,, \tag{6}$$

where Y_{it} is natural gas usage for home i in billing cycle (month) t; α is a constant; HDD_{it}^{s} are heating degree days for iteration s; X_{it}^{g} are housing and demographic controls; and ε_{it} is an error term. We run the regression (6) separately for pre- and post-weatherization samples, and we iterate through HDD bases from 55 to 65. Results are presented in Figure 4 Panel B, which plots PRISM regression R-squares for each HDD base iteration. The bases with highest R-squared are selected as the balance points for the samples. The figure reveals a slight increase in balance point of 0.6 degrees from 61.2^{o}F pre-weatherization to 61.8^{o}F post-weatherization.

Since the increase in balance point is a combination of both behavioral and structural factors, it cannot be used to directly assess the rebound effect. Ideally, to quantify

[34] PRISM is a method primarily used in engineering to assess whether a home's usage pattern fits with an expected physical relationship between outdoor temperatures and energy usage. One intermediate step of this method estimates the home's heating balance point.

[35] Heating degree days can be used to measure heating demand intensity. They are calculated by taking the difference between daily average outdoor temperature and a chosen "base" temperature. That base represents a building's balance point temperature at which heat gains are equal to heat losses. HDD are zero for temperatures above the chosen base, and increase as outdoor temperature drops.

the rebound effect, the researcher would like a measure of indoor temperature for each household before and after weatherization. While we do not have measures of indoor air temperature for homes in our sample, two studies performed direct pre and post measurements for closely related WAP populations (Pigg, Cautley, Francisco, et al., 2014; Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram, 2018).[36] Pigg, Cautley, Francisco, et al. (2014) found a small but statistically significant increase of 0.3±0.2 ^{o}F for weatherized homes. Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram (2018) found a small and statistically non-significant increase of 0.67^{o}F. Based on this work, we assume that the increase in indoor temperature could range from 0.2 to 0.6^{o}F.

We then simulate the average performance wedge assuming that households had not increased their indoor air temperature after weatherization (i.e. in absence of the rebound effect). The simulations consist of using the PRISM model to predict *post-weatherization* energy consumption for homes in our sample, which are then subtracted from the ML counterfactual predictions to obtain home-specific savings, which in turn are used to estimate the performance wedge as described in section 3.2. For the baseline simulation, we employ a PRISM model with a balance point of 61.8^{o}F. Our alternative scenarios consist of lowering that balance point by 0.2, 0.4, and 0.6^{o}F. That exercise can be used to estimate the impact of "removing the rebound effect," since changes in indoor air temperature map to changes in balance point one-for-one. We note that lower balance points will translate into decreased energy consumption, which in turn decreases the performance wedge. Results from these simulations are presented in Table 6. We find that removing the rebound effect would decrease the performance wedge by 6.35% ± 0.35% for an indoor air temperature decrease of 0.4^{o}F.[37]

[36] Pigg, Cautley, Francisco, et al. (2014) performed a national study of the WAP across 35 states. To study indoor temperature, researchers used a temperature (and relative humidity) data logger, which was hung from the main thermostat and took a snapshot of indoor conditions every 10 minutes over the duration of the study period. Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram (2018) had researchers with thermometers step into people's homes and measure indoor air temperatures for both weatherized and unweatherized homes in southeastern Michigan.

[37] These results are consistent with estimates from prior literature. We find that a 0.4^{o}F reduction in rebound is associated with a 1 percentage point reduction in the wedge. Similarly, according to Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram (2018), a 1^{o}F reduction in indoor temperature is associated with a 3 percentage point decrease in natural gas usage. Effects of that magnitude have also been found by the American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy.

The results in this section suggest that the rebound effect can explain a small, but non-trivial fraction of the wedge – approximately 6%. The behavioral effects examined here have a small enough effect on the wedge that even if the rebound effect occurred exclusively for homes that received wall insulation, it could not explain the bias that we observe in the projected savings for that category. Therefore, even after controlling for behavioral factors, ex ante engineering modeling errors likely play an important role in a significant portion of the wedge. In Appendix G.2 we investigate two other behavioral mechanisms which may affect the performance wedge, namely: (1) existence of non-working furnaces prior to WAP treatment; (2) prolonged periods of building vacancy.[38] We add indicator variables for both of those factors to our wedge specification (2). Results suggest that neither significantly affects our estimates of the wedge.

5 WAP Program: Heterogeneity in Cost-Effectiveness

In this final section, we develop home-specific estimates to better understand heterogeneity in overall program performance and to examine the relationship between cost-effectiveness and the performance wedge. First, we estimate home-specific energy savings using a doubly-robust approach that projects our monthly savings predictions, $\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$, on available covariates plus program spending.[39] We then aggregate them to obtain home-specific energy savings, $\hat{b}_{i}^{ml}$, which we use to compute monetized benefits of weatherization. We compare benefits to total expenditures associated with the set of upgrades completed in each home i to compute the monetized net present value of benefits ($\widehat{NPV(b)}_{i}^{ml}$) associated with each treated home in the sample.

[38] For example, if the furnace was not working prior to the intervention, depending on how the household was compensating for the lack of central heat, installation of a new furnace could lead to substantial increases in overall energy consumption. If some occupants are typically away from home for significant periods of the winter, then realized savings from an improved envelope would be a smaller percentage than if they were home all year round.

[39] Savings $\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$, rather than the wedge, becomes the outcome of equation 2. Souza (2019) demonstrates that simple aggregation of our monthly savings predictions ($\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$) leads to invalid inference. We provide further details about this procedure in Appendix H.

5.1 Home-Specific Net Present Benefits

We use the following baseline assumptions to compute home-specific estimates of net present benefits from IHWAP expenditures, $\widehat{NPV(b)}_i^{ml}$. Benefits accrue through a stream of monthly energy savings attributed to IHWAP measures.[40] Based on analyses presented in Appendix D, we assume that 83% of savings accrue from natural gas and the remainder from electricity. We then estimate the monetized value of energy savings based on social marginal costs of gas and electricity as described in Davis and Muehlegger (2010) and Borenstein and Bushnell (2018), respectively.[41] The resulting social marginal benefits of reductions are $6.74 per MMBtu for natural gas and $33.95 per MMBtu for electricity. We also provide a calculation of the private marginal benefits to IHWAP-served households using retail energy prices, which is the metric used by the WAP program and in the WeatherWorks model. The average Illinois residential energy prices over our sample period (2009-2016) were $8.32 per MMBtu for natural gas and $34.26 per MMBtu for electricity (EIA, 2017).[42]

The expected lifespan of a given upgrade determines the total number of months across which benefits accumulate. For our baseline scenario, expected lifespans for individual upgrades were obtained from the WeatherWorks documentation. They range from 5 years for fluorescent lamps to 25 years for insulation. To account for the fact that homes receive unique bundles of upgrades, we calculate weighted averages of those lifespans using the expenditures made on each retrofit. The resulting weighted average of retrofit lifespans for an average home in our sample is approximately 20 years, after which upgrades are assumed to fully depreciate. To obtain the present value of benefits, we assume a baseline discount rate of 3%, which is the rate recommended by the US Department of Energy and used by WeatherWorks (Rushing, Kneifel, and Lippiatt, 2012).

[40] Our estimates of net present benefits must be viewed as being applicable to IHWAP's implementation and not necessarily to other states. WAP in other states may have other funding sources and potentially different program practices.

[41] For natural gas, marginal private costs are assumed to be the average citygate prices in Illinois from 2009-2016. We assume a social cost of carbon of $40 per ton. Emissions factors were obtained from EPA (1998). For electricity, we use data provided by Borenstein and Bushnell (2018) to estimate the difference between retail prices and social marginal costs for the areas of the state which we analyze. We then apply that difference to the average residential electricity prices, again for 2009-2016.

[42] For both approaches, we apply price escalation based on indices from Rushing, Kneifel, and Lippiatt (2012), which increase yearly after the first year since treatment.

Finally, we subtract costs of all weatherization upgrades, excluding measures that are implemented specifically for health and safety reasons, to obtain estimates of net present benefits for energy-related expenditures.[43]

Figure 5 ranks homes according to net present benefits evaluated at the social marginal cost of energy (a) and at retail energy prices (b).[44] The figure illustrates enormous heterogeneity in the net benefits of energy-related expenditures across homes, demonstrating the importance of considering the marginal returns of IHWAP investments. Vertical black lines identify the point where marginal benefit from an additional IHWAP investment in energy benefits equals zero (MC=MB), which occurs at the 55th percentile in panel A and at the 45th percentile in panel B. Investments in homes performing above these percentiles collectively have a benefit-cost ratio of 1.4. The figure also highlights the importance of outcomes in the tails, where IHWAP projects generate substantial gains and losses. Whereas a dollar of spending in the highest-performing quartile returns approximately $1.6 in energy benefits, the same dollar returns three times less ($0.5) when allocated to homes in the lowest quartile. Homes in the top 10th percentile each generate more than two thousand dollars in net benefits from energy reductions, while homes in the bottom 10th percentile each generate a net cost of more than two thousand dollars. The average IHWAP project generates net energy-related social benefits of $-165 when estimated using baseline assumptions, though the energy-related benefits for the sample become positive when excluding just 5% percent of the worst-performing homes. Using retail energy prices, our estimates indicate that the average IHWAP-treated household receives $383 in private (energy-related) benefits.

Table 7 evaluates the sensitivity of net benefits estimates to assumptions regarding

[43] Approximately $550 or 10.5% of total expenditures are allocated to on health and safety measures in the average home in our sample. Health and safety expenditures are generally not expected to produce energy savings and are ommitted from our cost-benefit analysis since we are not able to measure or account for any benefits from health and safety measures.

[44] For this analysis, we restrict the sample to homes with at least a full year of data pre and post-treatment data. Otherwise, homes for which we only observe winter months, for example, would mechanically be ranked higher, since we know that the effects of the program are stronger during winter. Appendix H presents a ranking without sample restrictions, and also a ranking without homes for which there is a poor correlation between energy use and weather as determined by the PRISM method described above. Results with PRISM restrictions look similar to those reported in the main text. On the other hand, the ranking with no restrictions includes more outlier homes, as expected.

retrofit lifespans (10-40 years) and discount rates (0-6%). A comparison of estimates across the rows in Panel A illustrates that the sign of *total net present benefits* in the IHWAP sample is sensitive to these ranges of values for both parameters when holding others at baseline values. Using the social marginal benefits calculation, we find: (a) 0% versus 6% discount rates result in estimates of $-5.64 versus $+6.65 Million; and (b) 10 versus 30 year retrofit lifespans result in estimates of $-9.81 to $+6.13 Million. Sensitivity to retrofit lifespans is particularly important to consider given documented uncertainty in the lifespan of long-lived materials such as insulation. Whereas WeatherWorks assumes a 25-year lifespan for insulation, recent engineering literature suggests that insulation measures have substantially longer lifespans, such as 50 years for cellulose fiber (ISOCELL GmbH, 2014), 35-50 years for expanded polystyrene (EPS) (EUMEPS, 2017; IVH, 2015), or the full building lifetime for extruded polystyrene (XPS) (50-150 years) (EXIBA, 2019). A 50-year lifespan for insulation increases the combined retrofit lifespan for the average home in our sample to just under 30 years, which corresponds to a total net benefits estimate of $+6.13 Million. An 80-year lifespan for insulation increases the combined retrofit lifespan for the average home in our sample to just under 40 years, which corresponds to a total net benefits estimate of $+11.01 Million.

Overall, these findings caution against using a single sample average to draw conclusive statements regarding the cost-effectiveness of the IHWAP. While subject to uncertainty, the home-specific estimates indicate that certain types of projects are highly cost-effective, and that there is a potential role for targeting energy/climate investments based on marginal benefits. When considered as part of a greenhouse gas abatement strategy, net benefits imply abatement costs of $4.35 per ton of CO2 for the average home in the IHWAP sample. Net benefits for homes in the top quartile of the IHWAP sample imply abatement costs of $-42.50 per ton of CO2, which is among the most cost-effective investments available today (Gillingham and Stock, 2018).[45] The evidence of heterogeneity is consistent across model specifications and robust to outliers (see Appendix H for a

[45] Abatement costs based on authors' calculations using baseline assumptions (20-year lifespan and 3% discount rate). We estimate $4.35 per ton of CO2 for the average home in the IHWAP sample, $-42.50 for the top 25%, and $122.30 for the bottom 25%.

detailed analysis).

5.2 Attributes of High and Low Cost-Effective Homes

We dig deeper into the characteristics of the least and most cost-effective homes by comparing the characteristics of the top and bottom quartile to those in the interquartile range. Results for the five major categories of spending are reported in Table 8. Results for other categories are reported in Table H.2 from the Appendix. On average, we find that per home expenditures in the bottom quartile of cost-effectiveness are $633 higher than those in the interquartile range, while expenditures were $340 lower in the top quartile of cost-effectiveness. This difference suggests that cost-effectiveness is likely affected by diminishing returns.

When we examine particular types of retrofits, we find that the most cost-effective homes are characterized by lower spending on wall insulation and windows, but higher spending on furnace replacements.[46] These findings reveal a strong correlation between the performance wedge and cost-effectiveness of energy-related expenditures in a treated home.[47] This is illustrated directly in the bottom panel of Table 8, which shows that homes with the highest net benefits tend to have a significantly smaller wedge. Interestingly, we do not find evidence of a strong correlation between net benefits and the ratio of modelled to actual pre-treatment *consumption*. While pre-treatment usage data could be used to improve model projections, simple calibration of pre-treatment usage in the WeatherWorks model may not be sufficient to resolve the wedge.

6 Conclusion

Evaluations of a wide range of energy efficiency programs consistently find a wedge between ex ante projected and ex post realized savings. This paper examines the role

[46] This does not imply that wall insulation and window replacements fail to save energy. Rather, spending may have been at levels characterized by diminishing marginal returns. Souza (2019) provides further insight about optimal levels of spending per measure.

[47] We find smaller differences in spending levels on air sealing, general repairs, water heaters, and foundation repairs, which are reported in Table H.2 from the Appendix.

of three hypothesized channels: 1) systematic bias in ex ante engineering modeling of savings, 2) workmanship, and 3) occupant behavioral responses. To quantify the effects of each of these channels, we employ novel machine learning techniques that allow us to recover home-specific estimates of both realized savings and the performance wedge in the Illinois Home Weatherization Assistance Program.

We explore bias in projected savings for the five investments that combine to account for the vast majority of expected energy savings in IHWAP: air sealing; attic insulation; furnace repair or replacement; wall insulation; and window replacement. Taken together, we estimate that ex ante engineering measurement and modeling bias across these five measures can explain up to 41% of the wedge, a large fraction of which can be attributed to overestimated savings in one retrofit class: wall insulation. Further, we find significant heterogeneity in workmanship. If all workmanship were performed at the level of the top 5th percentile in terms of quality, then the wedge could be reduced by up to 43%. Finally, our results suggest that the rebound effect is a relatively modest contributor to the wedge–up to 6%.

We then evaluate the cost-effectiveness of investments made on each home in our sample. While other studies have recovered heterogeneous effect of energy efficiency programs, to the best of our knowledge this is the first study to use estimates of home-specific treatment effects to trace-out a marginal benefits curve. This methodological advance has important implications. Our results indicate that the energy-related social benefits of investments in the top 45% of homes, and the private benefits in the top 55% of homes, exceed their costs to the program and collectively have a highly attractive cost-benefit ratio of 1.4. While WAP does not prioritize treatment on the basis of energy-related benefits alone, this result suggests a key role for targeting investments when funds are allocated on the basis of expected energy/climate benefits. Our estimates reveal that investments in the highest performing homes have lower abatement costs than most available greenhouse gas mitigation strategies. They further indicate that performance in the lower tail significantly reduces the overall cost-effectiveness of the IHWAP. Importantly, the factors driving the composition of the wedge are highly correlated with returns from the pro-

gram, indicating that the wedge in any given home is directly related to cost-effectiveness of expenditures on that home.

These findings have the following policy implications: First, while prior literature has mostly emphasized systematic bias in accounting properly for engineering relationships, our results suggests that workmanship is a significant contributor to the existence of a performance wedge. This suggests an important role for re-structuring worker incentives or improving performance through training programs. Second, even though the rebound effect is often considered to be a potentially important contributor to the wedge, we find that its effects are relatively modest and may not warrant any specific changes to program implementation. In addition, our results reveal areas where focused improvements in ex ante models may lead to better allocation of IHWAP program funds. The majority of model bias appears to be explained by a single measure: wall insulation. Efficiency programs like the WAP may therefore need to improve ex ante measurement of existing wall insulation or better calibrate the model of predicted savings from wall insulation. Finally, while IHWAP already aims to target funds to the more cost-effective measures, our heterogeneity analysis suggests that spending in some measures may not be at their optimal levels. Therefore, reevaluating measure selection practices could systematically improve overall program performance.

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Tables

Table 1: WAP Variable Descriptives

	Average	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Demographics				
Income($/1000)	16.36	10.12	0.00	50.53
N Occupants	2.67	1.63	1.00	9.00
Householder Age	51.83	16.19	22.00	89.00
Female Householder (%)	68.33	46.52	0.00	100.00
Renter(%)	8.03	27.17	0.00	100.00
White(%)	72.32	44.74	0.00	100.00
Black(%)	20.57	40.43	0.00	100.00
Hispanic(%)	4.44	20.61	0.00	100.00
Native American (%)	0.44	6.58	0.00	100.00
Other Race (%)	2.23	14.76	0.00	100.00
Seniors 65+ (%)	32.48	46.83	0.00	100.00
Children Under 18 (%)	18.79	39.07	0.00	100.00
LIHEAP(%)	5.96	23.68	0.00	100.00
Housing Structure				
Blower Door Pre (CFM50)	3990.78	2133.10	990.00	13662.00
Blower Door Post (CFM50)	2527.63	1136.47	746.00	7529.00
Blower Door Reduced (CFM50)	1389.31	1208.18	-1311.00	6527.00
Pct. Blower Door Reduced (%)	31.74	17.55	-114.10	83.31
Attic R-Value	15.82	9.31	0.50	40.00
Floor Area (sqft)	1455.71	592.13	570.00	3768.00
N Bedrooms	2.76	0.98	1.00	6.00
Has Multiple Stories (%)	32.17	46.72	0.00	100.00
Built Pre-1900 (%)	5.53	22.85	0.00	100.00
Built 1900-1929 (%)	22.39	41.69	0.00	100.00
Built 1930-1959 (%)	48.93	49.99	0.00	100.00
Built 1960-1989 (%)	20.38	40.29	0.00	100.00
Built 1990-Present (%)	2.77	16.42	0.00	100.00
Spending per Home or Upgrade (in US$)				
Total	5312.62	1541.85	54.15	11220.26
Air Conditioning	13.90	131.89	0.00	1827.00
Air Sealing	323.02	341.30	0.00	2020.52
Attic	943.44	742.42	0.00	3426.13
Baseload	190.12	243.72	0.00	982.79
Door	321.76	332.47	0.00	2020.34
Foundation	323.54	508.10	0.00	2988.15
Furnace	1348.72	1185.75	0.00	4664.21
General	54.60	288.05	0.00	5121.10
Health and Safety	558.34	365.70	0.00	1708.42
Wall Insulation	348.67	693.05	0.00	3467.00
Water Heater	128.88	238.06	0.00	1553.93
Window	640.59	852.15	0.00	4411.01
Number of Homes	9,881			
Energy Consumption and Weather				
Monthly Gas Usage (MMBtu)	6.33	6.69	0.00	44.10
Monthly Elec. Usage (MMBtu)	2.79	1.83	0.00	27.19
Min. Temperature (C)	6.64	9.53	-19.83	24.37
Max. Temperature (C)	17.61	10.36	-7.05	37.10
Number of Observations	277,167			

Notes: This table presents covariate averages, standard deviations, minimum, and maximum values for WAP-treated homes. All monetary values are in real terms, adjusted to 2017 dollars.

Table 2: WAP Average Treatment Effects on the Treated

Specification:	Engineering Projections	Machine Learning
Outcome: *Percent Energy Savings*	(1)	(2)
WAP Treatment	-29.03***	-14.83***
	(0.20)	(0.37)
Realization Rate		51.08%
Observations	22,394	142,327

Notes: This table presents the average projected savings for our sample and our estimates of the Average Treatment Effects on the Treated (ATT) for IHWAP using the machine learning approach as described in the main text. The WAP Treatment should be interpreted as percent energy savings attributable to the program. Engineering estimates use only two (one pre and one post) observations per home. The realization rate is calculated by dividing our estimates from column (2) by the engineering projections from column (1). All standard errors are clustered by home. Standard errors are bootstrapped (200 iterations) for machine learning. Significance at 1% is indicated by ***.

Table 3: Simulations of Measure-Specific Effects on the Wedge

	Baseline	Simulations					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	**(Total)**
Average Wedge (percentage points)	14.744	16.008	10.330	14.550	14.534	13.561	**8.744**
	(0.592)	(0.822)	(0.611)	(1.210)	(0.599)	(0.649)	(1.285)
Wedge Increase/Reduction Compared to Baseline		8.574%	-29.934%	-1.315%	-1.422%	-8.021%	**-40.692%**
		(4.209)	(1.909)	(7.760)	(0.465)	(1.548)	(8.388)
Observations	111,505	111,505	111,505	111,505	111,505	111,505	111,505
Zero marginal effect on the wedge from:							
Furnace Replacements		X					
Wall Insulation Spending			X				X
Furnace Spending				X			X
Attic Spending Above $2,400					X		X
Window Spending Above $1,400						X	X

Notes: This table presents results from simulations to assess how the average performance wedge would change if the marginal effect of spending on selected measures on the wedge were zero. We use the coefficient estimates from equation 2 for these simulations. The first column (Baseline) presents the average predicted wedge according to that model. The second column (simulation 1), for example, presents the average predicted wedge for a simulation assuming that the coefficients for furnace replacements (spending of over $1,800 on Furnaces) were zero. The third column (simulation 2) assumes that the marginal effect of any level of spending on Wall Insulation were zero, and so on. The "Wedge Increase/Reduction..." rows compare the simulated wedge from each column with the baseline average wedge of 14.744. Bootstrapped standard errors are presented in parentheses.

Table 4: Relationship Between Contemporaneous and Lagged Contractor Quality

Panel A: Coefficient Estimate on Lagged Contractor Quality		
	Specification	
Outcome: *Contractor Quality*	(1)	(2)
Lagged Quality	0.3352***	0.3449***
	(0.0633)	(0.0657)
Observations	88,249	88,249
R-squared	0.2100	0.3031
Controls:		
Housing Structure	Yes	Yes
Demographics	Yes	Yes
Weather	Yes	Yes
Interactions Between Measures	No	Yes

Panel B: Results from Oster Tests		
	Bias-Corrected Coeff.	δ
R-squared Max = .39	0.3384	5.0753
R-squared Max = .45	0.3399	3.7956
R-squared Max = .51	0.3418	3.0303

Notes: Panel A presents results from regression specification (3) from the main text, establishing a relationship between contemporaneous and lagged contractor quality. For brevity, we present only the coefficient associated with lagged quality. Bootstrapped standard errors are in parentheses. Significance at 1% is indicated by ***. Panel B presents results from Oster Tests to bound the potential effects of unobservable confounders on the estimated relationship (Oster, 2019). The tests compare coefficients and R-squares from specification (1) versus the fully saturated specification (2). The first column of Panel B presents results from bias-corrected coefficients, with varying levels of R-squared Max (i.e. how much of the relationship we expect to be able to explain) equal to 1.3, 1.5 and 1.7 times the R-squared from the saturated specification (2). We assume a coefficient of proportionality (δ) equal to one (i.e. observable and unobservable covariates are equally important in explaining the relationship). The bias-corrected coefficients are not significantly different from those presented in Panel A. The second column from Panel B is an alternative approach which produces bounds on the coefficient of proportionality necessary to drive our estimate to zero. Values of δ above 3 suggest that the unobservable confounders would need to be three times as important as the observables to nullify our estimates.

Table 5: Simulations for Workmanship Effects on the Wedge

	Baseline	"Best" Contractor Percentile			
		50th	75th	90th	95th
Panel A: Main Specification					
Avg. Pct. Point Wedge if **All Contractors** Become "Best"	15.357	15.406	12.871	10.452	**8.806**
	(0.621)	(0.638)	(0.734)	(0.977)	(1.205)
Wedge Reduction Compared to Baseline		0.315%	-16.190%	-31.939%	**-42.658%**
		(1.599)	(3.169)	(5.623)	(7.542)
Panel B: Interactions Between Wall Insulation Spending and Workmanship					
Avg. Pct. Point Wedge if **All Contractors** Become "Best"	15.357	15.097	12.566	10.137	**8.481**
	(0.621)	(0.661)	(0.762)	(1.004)	(1.225)
Wedge Reduction Compared to Baseline		-1.698%	-18.178%	-33.989%	**-44.777%**
		(1.924)	(3.462)	(5.854)	(7.703)
Observations	84,404	84,404	84,404	84,404	84,404

Notes: This table presents results from simulations for which we replace all contractors' marginal effects on the wedge with those for contractors identified as high-performers. We define high-performance contractors as those who are at the 95th, 90th, 75th, or 50th percentiles in terms marginal effects on the wedge. The simulations consist of applying those effects to all homes as if they had been served by the best contractors. We then calculate the resulting simulated average performance wedge. Panel A assumes there are no interactions between estimated contractor quality and spending on measures. For Panel B, we consider the interactive effects. Specifically, we replace the coefficient of the interactive effect between low (bottom 20%) performers and spending on Wall Insulation with zero, which leads to only a slight reduction of the wedge compared to Panel A. Bootstrapped standard errors are in parentheses. The "Wedge Reduction..." rows compare the resulting simulated wedge from each column with the "baseline" estimated wedge of 15.357.

Table 6: Simulations for Impact of the Rebound Effect on the Wedge

	Baseline	Varying the balance point		
Balance Point (^{o}F)	61.8	61.6	**61.4**	61.2
Removed Rebound Effect (^{o}F)	0	0.2	**0.4**	0.6
Average Percentage Point Wedge	15.098	14.619	**14.140**	13.673
	(0.583)	(0.581)	(0.580)	(0.579)
Wedge Reduction Compared to Baseline		-3.177%	**-6.347%**	-9.443%
		(0.090)	(0.178)	(0.261)
Observations	128,670	128,655	128,644	128,631

Notes: This table presents results from simulations to assess how the average performance wedge changes by "eliminating" the rebound effect. We estimate post-treatment energy usage (according to equation 6) with balance points adjusted to reflect plausible changes in indoor air temperature due to the rebound effect (0.2, 0.4, and 0.6^{o}F). Lower indoor air temperature settings (lower rebound) directly map to lower balance points. Lower balance points indicate that the heating systems turn on at lower outdoor air temperatures, thus reducing energy consumption and the wedge. The "Wedge Reduction Compared to Baseline" compares the resulting simulated wedge from each column with the "baseline" estimated wedge of 15.098. Bootstrapped standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 7: Heterogeneity in Cost-Benefit Estimates

Lifespan	Discount Rate	Percentile of Homes: All	Top 99%	Top 95%	Top 90%	Top 75%	Share with TB≥TC	Share with MB≥MC
Panel A: Evaluated at Social Marginal Costs of Energy								
		NPB (million $) with Baseline Assumptions						
20 years	**3%**	**-0.77**	**-0.63**	**0.12**	**0.84**	**2.29**	**96%**	**45%**
		NPB (million $) with Alternative Discount Rates						
20 years	0%	6.65	6.78	7.47	8.02	8.79	100%	70%
20 years	6%	-5.64	-5.50	-4.68	-3.84	-1.90	54%	23%
		NPB (million $) with Alternative Lifespans						
10 years	3%	-9.91	-9.77	-8.86	-7.90	-5.48	16%	7%
30 years	3%	5.89	6.02	6.68	7.19	7.94	100%	69%
40 years	3%	11.01	11.15	11.75	12.14	12.41	100%	79%
Panel B: Evaluated at Retail Energy Prices								
		NPB (million $) with Baseline Assumptions						
20 years	**3%**	**1.78**	**1.92**	**2.64**	**3.29**	**4.49**	**100%**	**55%**
		NPB (million $) with Alternative Discount Rates						
20 years	0%	10.12	10.26	10.91	11.38	11.85	100%	76%
20 years	6%	-3.70	-3.56	-2.77	-1.98	-0.25	73%	32%
		NPB (million $) with Alternative Lifespans						
10 years	3%	-8.50	-8.36	-7.49	-6.57	-4.32	26%	11%
30 years	3%	9.29	9.43	10.05	10.48	10.91	100%	76%
40 years	3%	15.08	15.23	15.79	16.10	15.99	100%	85%
Number of Homes		4,649	4,626	4,440	4,208	3,510		

Notes: This table presents our calculations for net present benefits of WAP as a whole. Baseline assumptions include a 20 year lifespan of upgrades, and 3% discount rate. We present results varying those assumptions, as well as the sample of homes considered. Panel A presents estimates based on social marginal benefits, while Panel B is based on retail energy prices. For example, for Panel A with baseline assumptions and with the full sample, WAP net benefits are around -$ 0.77 million. However, considering only the top 75% homes, program benefits can be up to $2.29 million.

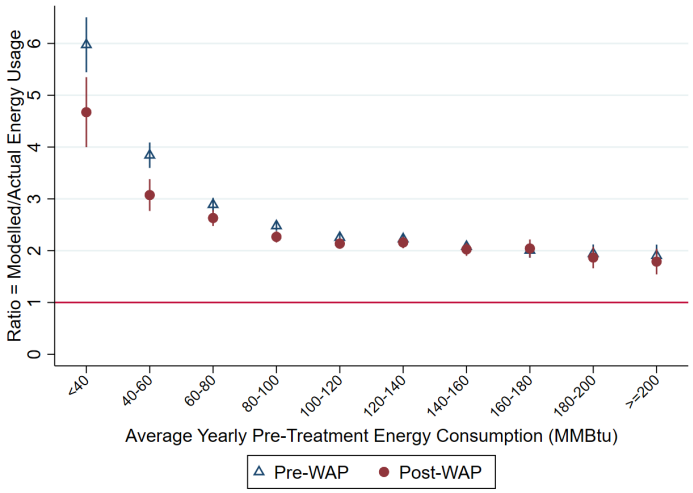
Table 8: Comparing Attributes of Least and Most Cost-Effective Homes

	Least Cost-Effective (Bottom 25%) Homes (1)	Interquartile (25%-75%) Homes (2)	Most Cost-Effective (Top 25%) Homes (3)	Difference in Means Diff. (1)-(2)	Diff. (3)-(2)
Amount Spent per Home or Upgrade (US$)					
Total, Excluding Health and Safety	5199.909	4533.336	4226.574	666.573***	-306.762***
				(48.116)	(52.985)
Window	1273.258	583.777	339.204	689.481***	-244.573***
				(34.123)	(21.404)
Furnace	1200.219	1386.045	1485.635	-185.826***	99.590*
				(37.649)	(44.857)
Non-Zero Wall Insulation	1405.139	1134.678	955.708	270.461***	-178.970***
				(55.757)	(42.403)
% Homes With Attic above $1500	0.219	0.213	0.159	0.006	-0.054***
				(0.015)	(0.015)
Air Sealing	364.772	291.915	222.396	72.857***	-69.519***
				(13.047)	(10.110)
Ratio Modelled/Actual Usage Pre	2.265	2.408	2.343	-0.143*	-0.065
				(0.072)	(0.069)
Ratio Modelled/Actual Usage Post	1.949	1.946	1.938	0.002	-0.008
				(0.050)	(0.054)
Realized Savings (%)	-10.884	-15.980	-19.015	5.095***	-3.035***
				(0.406)	(0.321)
Projected Savings (%)	-25.286	-26.213	-27.234	0.928	-1.021
				(0.645)	(0.695)
Savings Gap (%)	14.413	10.227	8.236	4.186***	-1.991**
				(0.696)	(0.736)

Notes: This table compares covariate means of least, most, and interquartile cost-effective homes, according to the home-specific cost-benefit analyses (adjusting for social marginal benefits). The fourth column presents differences in means between least cost-effective and interquartile homes. The fifth column presents differences in means between most cost-effective and interquartile homes. Bootstrapped standard errors are presented in parentheses. Significance at 1%, 5% and 10% are indicated by ***, ** and *, respectively.

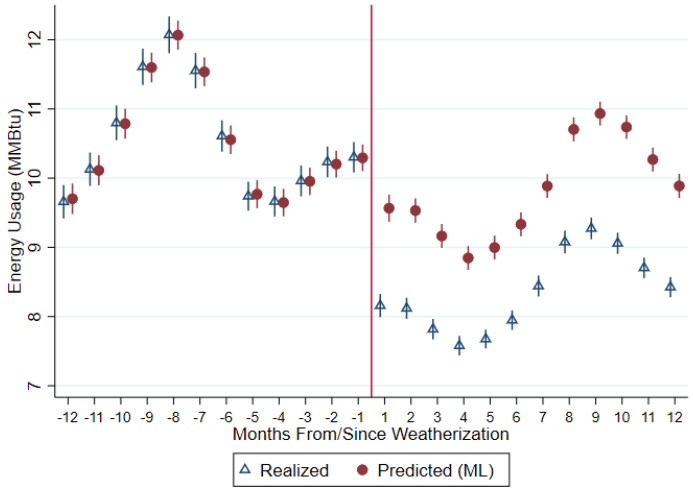
Figures

Figure 1: Ratio Between (WeatherWorks) Modelled and Actual Energy Usage



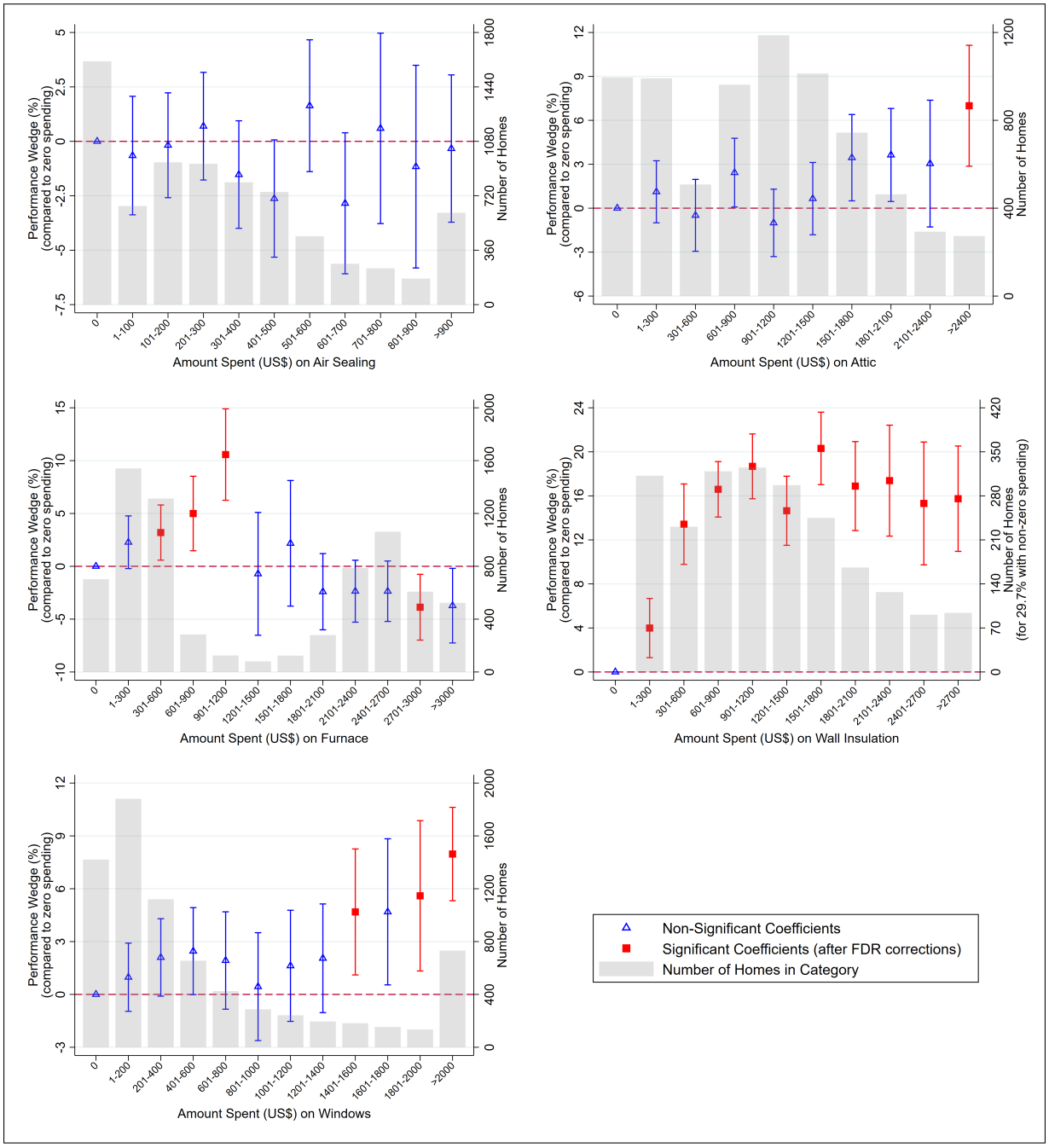
Notes: This figure presents average ratios between projected and realized energy usage of WAP-treated homes. The whiskers represent 95% confidence intervals. Averages are calculated for bins of homes' annual pre-treatment usage. As indicated by ratios above 1, we find that engineering models consistently overestimate homes' energy consumption. That is accentuated for smaller homes (with lower yearly consumption), and it holds both before and after treatment.

Figure 2: Realized versus Predicted Energy Usage by Timing of Treatment



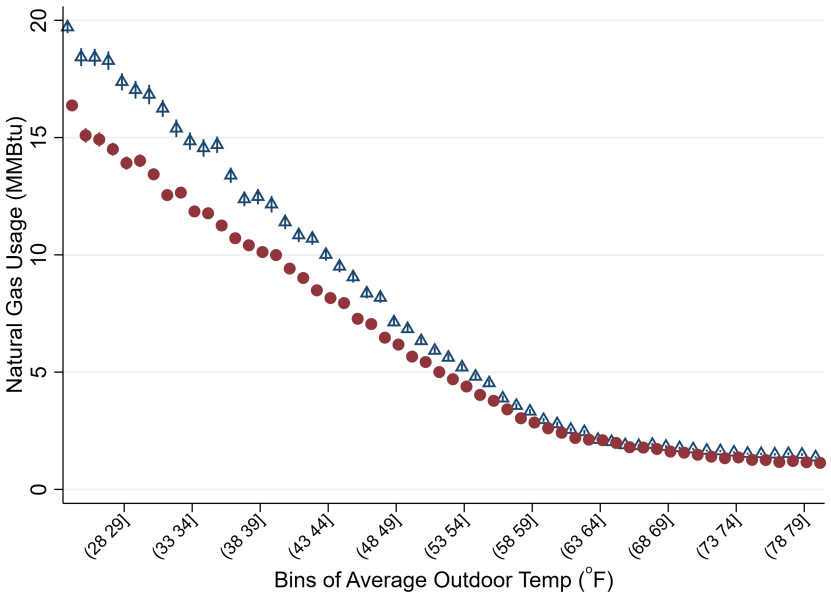
Notes: This is an event study graph comparing realized (ex-post) versus predicted energy usage for WAP treated homes. The whiskers around the point estimates represent 95% confidence intervals, based on bootstrapped standard errors. Predictions are based on a flexible machine learning model, as described in section 3.1. The model is trained with pre-treatment data only. We present cross-validated (out-of-sample) predictions for months before weatherization. The predictions after treatment represent counterfactuals (energy usage in case the homes had not been treated). The difference between the curves post-treatment represents the energy savings attributed to WAP.

Figure 3: Heterogeneity in the Performance Wedge by Spending on Retrofits

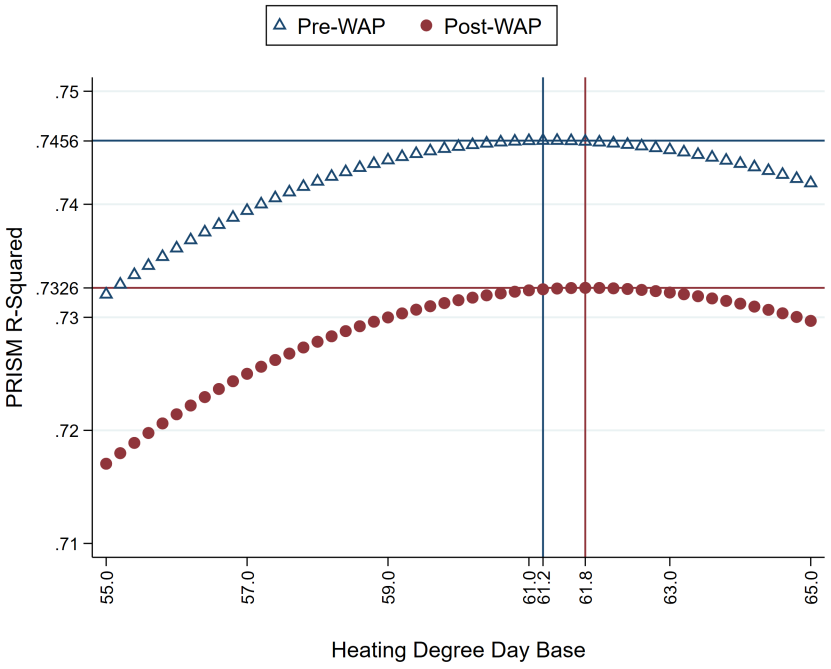


Notes: This figure presents estimates of how the performance wedge is affected by additional spending (compared to zero) on the five major program measures. Coefficients are interpreted as percentage point increase/reduction in the wedge, relative to the omitted category (zero spending). The whiskers around the point estimates represent 95% confidence intervals, based on bootstrapped standard errors. P-values have been corrected with the false discovery rate procedure from Benjamini and Hochberg (1995), where red indicates significance after these corrections. The light grey bars represent the number of homes (distributions) with spending in a given category, denoted on the right-hand vertical axis.

Figure 4: Identifying Change in Balance Points



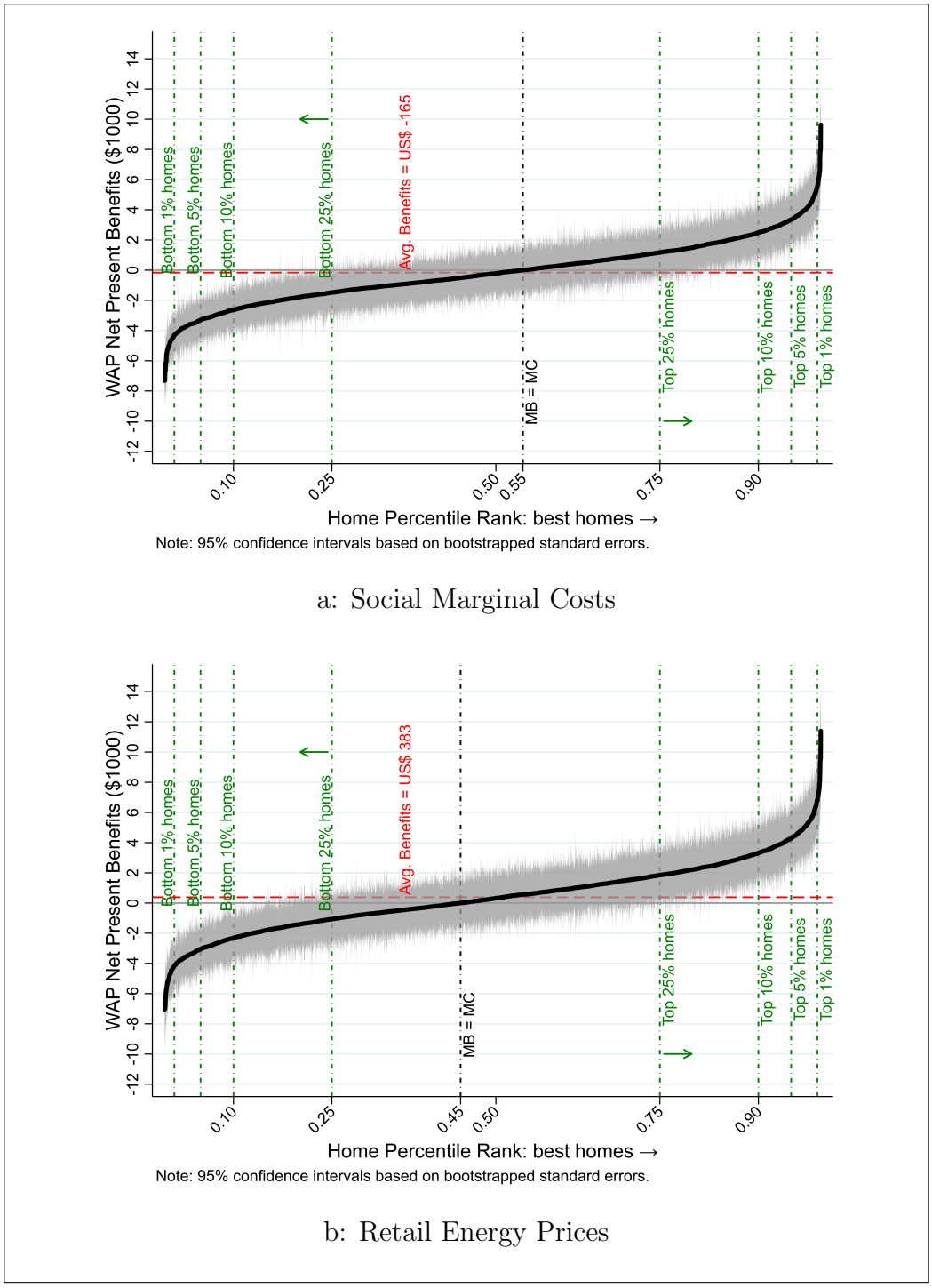
Panel A: Average Energy Usage by Temperature



Panel B: PRISM Optimal HDD Bases

Notes: Panel A plots average natural gas consumption by outdoor temperature bins for homes served by WAP. We use the full sample for this analysis, plotting averages before and after treatment. Standard errors are clustered by home. Panel B plots results from PRISM analyses using the full sample of WAP homes. We iterate through many temperatures to identify the optimal HDD balance points for an average home, both before and after treatment. Balance points with highest R-squared are considered optimal.

Figure 5: Ranking of Homes by Net Present Benefits

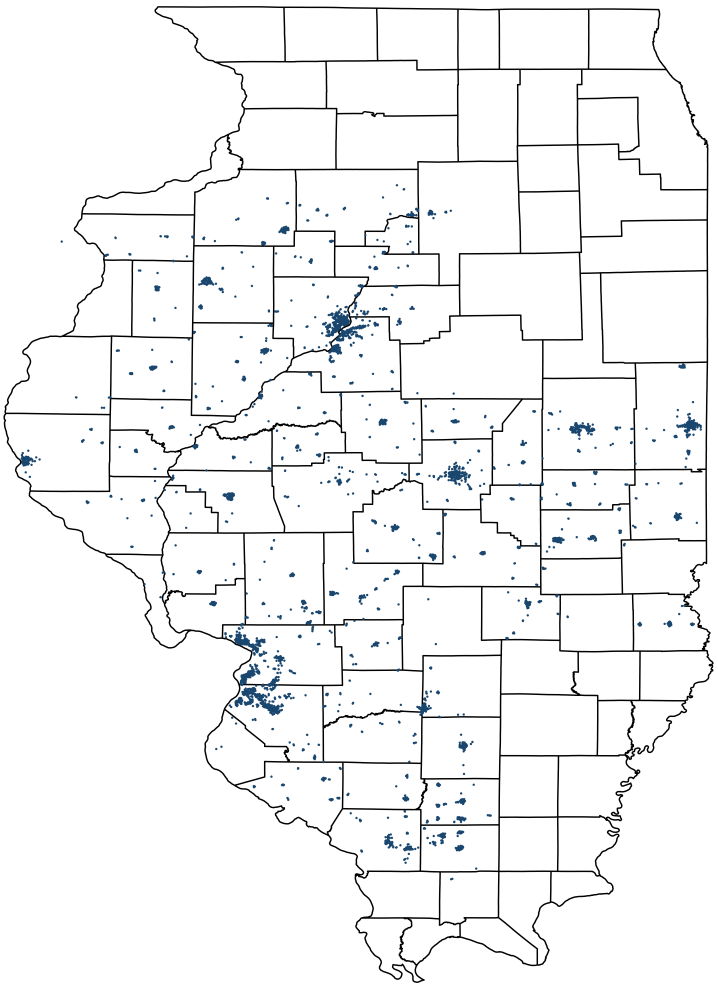


Notes: This figure ranks homes from lowest to highest WAP net benefits. The whiskers around the point estimates represent 95% confidence intervals, based on bootstrapped standard errors. We use baseline assumptions (20 year lifespan of upgrades, 3% discount rate), and a sample of homes with at least one full year of post-treatment data. For the left panel, energy savings are monetized based on retail energy prices. For the right panel, we adjust for social marginal costs. It is possible to note significant heterogeneity in program benefits, ranging from -$7,000 to +$11,000 according to the left panel. Even though average net benefits are close to zero, we identify many homes with significantly positive benefits.

Appendix – For Online Publication

A Additional Sample Descriptives

Figure A.1: Geographical Distribution of WAP-Treated Homes in Sample



Notes: This Figure maps homes with available energy consumption data, which constitutes the sample used for the analyses in this paper. Each blue dot represents a home in our sample. The Northern and Southeastern parts of the state are not served by the utility that provided data for this project.

B Machine Learning Model Tuning and Diagnostics

We use the following sample restrictions to predict pre-treatment energy consumption: single-family homes; heating fuel is natural gas; for which both electricity and natural gas billing data is available. The model is trained only with data that would be available prior to weatherization: pre-treatment billing data, energy audit information, household demographics, and weather variation. Specifically, we include the following variables: energy usage in MMBtu (outcome), heating degree days (base 60, and 65), cooling degree days (base 75), min. outdoor temperature, max. outdoor temperature, precipitation, floor area (square feet), family size, number of windows, number of stories, number of bedrooms, vintage, county indicator, building shielding (measure of shielding provided by structures surrounding home), pre-treatment blower door test (CFM50), main heating system type, main heating system capacity (Btu), attic R-value, household income, indicators for householder's race, presence of disable occupant, presence of children, presence of elderly, home priority rank, audit date (month, year, and day), program year of audit, month of year, year of sample, and number of days in billing cycle. Our outcome (energy usage) varies by home and by month of sample (billing period). Weather also varies by month of sample, while information collected during WAP audit/applicaiton varies only by home.

We use the machine learning algorithm XGBoost, which is a computationally efficient implementation of gradient boosted trees, developed by (Chen and Guestrin, 2016). The concept of boosted trees involves iteratively combining weak predictive trees to form an ensemble. More weights are given to the trees with better predictive accuracy. By default, the algorithm uses mean squared errors (MSE) as a measure of accuracy. Each tree is constructed with a fraction of the provided sample and a different set of the variables described above. It is important to note that regression trees automatically consider variable interactions and non-linear functional forms (i.e. binning). As the tree "depth" increases, interactions become more complex. With more tree "branches," the model allows for more flexibility in how each variable is included.

To increase predictive accuracy of machine learning models, it is common practice

to "tune" the (hyper)parameters that control factors such as maximum tree depth. The following section describes the configurations that we considered for our model.

B.1 Hyperparameter Tuning

We perform cross-validation and hyperparameter tuning to identify which machine learning algorithm exhibits best out-of-sample prediction accuracy. We implement 5-fold cross-validation via the "SuperLearner" package in R Polley et al. (2018). We consider the following 5 types of predictions models: ridge regression; elastic net; lasso; random forest; XGBoost. Several hyperparmeter configurations are tested for each of the types of models.

Results from Table B.1 suggest that models with lower learning rate (shrinkage = 0.05) are generally more accurate in this setting, as measured by the cross-validated (out of sample) RMSE. Increasing the number of trees does not significantly affect performance. We therefore select a parsimonious model (number of trees = 1000). Our preferred specification is an ensemble of model IDs 1 and 3.

Table B.1: Hyperparameter Tuning - XGBoost

Model ID	N Trees	Max Tree Depth	Shrinkage	Min Obs per Node	In Sample RMSE	Cross-Validated RMSE
1	1000	20	0.05	30	0.745	2.614
2	2000	20	0.05	30	0.379	2.598
3	1000	30	0.05	30	0.459	2.641
4	2000	30	0.05	30	0.111	2.635
5	1000	20	0.50	30	0.001	3.002
6	2000	20	0.50	30	0.001	3.002
7	1000	30	0.50	30	0.005	3.061
8	2000	30	0.50	30	0.002	3.061

Table B.2: Hyperparameter Tuning - Random Forests

Model ID	N Trees	Max Nodes	Min Obs per Node	In Sample RMSE	Cross-Validated RMSE
1	1000	500	30	3.455	3.621
2	2000	500	30	3.455	3.621
3	1000	1000	30	3.253	3.538
4	2000	1000	30	3.255	3.538

Table B.3: Hyperparameter Tuning - Ridge/Elastic Net/Lasso

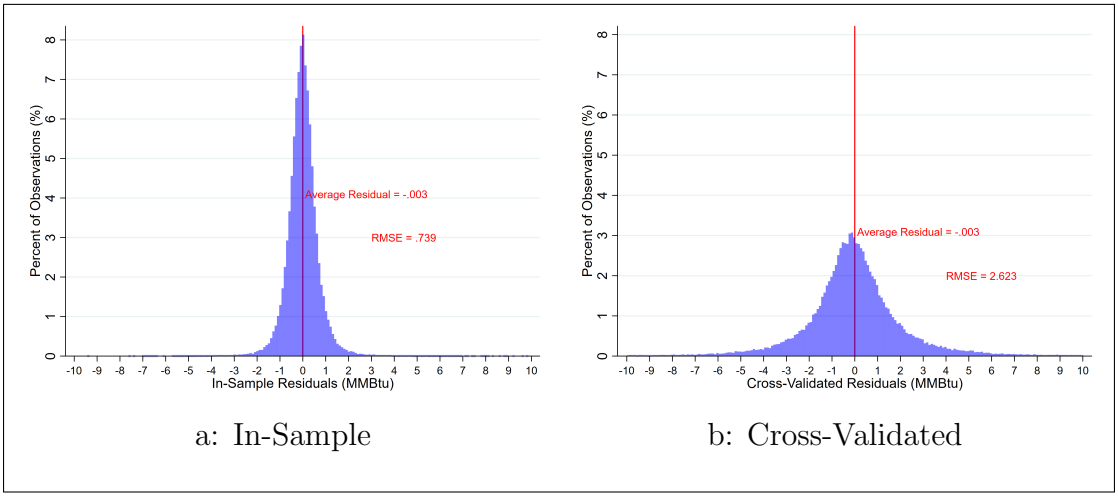
Model Type	Alpha	Max Variables	In Sample RMSE	Cross-Validated RMSE
Ridge	0.00	50	no convergence	no convergence
Ridge	0.00	75	no convergence	no convergence
Ridge	0.00	100	7.666	7.666
Ridge	0.00	150	7.666	7.666
Ridge	0.00	200	3.711	3.716
Elastic Net	0.25	50	3.917	3.911
Elastic Net	0.25	75	3.753	3.759
Elastic Net	0.25	100	3.707	3.712
Elastic Net	0.25	150	3.665	3.671
Elastic Net	0.25	200	3.664	3.670
Elastic Net	0.50	50	3.830	3.836
Elastic Net	0.50	75	3.739	3.742
Elastic Net	0.50	100	3.702	3.706
Elastic Net	0.50	150	3.663	3.672
Elastic Net	0.50	200	3.663	3.672
Elastic Net	0.75	50	3.807	3.804
Elastic Net	0.75	75	3.720	3.728
Elastic Net	0.75	100	3.696	3.699
Elastic Net	0.75	150	3.670	3.675
Elastic Net	0.75	200	3.670	3.676
Lasso	1.00	50	3.791	3.779
Lasso	1.00	75	3.715	3.722
Lasso	1.00	100	3.691	3.696
Lasso	1.00	150	3.673	3.677
Lasso	1.00	200	3.673	3.677

Notes: "no convergence" indicates that the algorithm did not arrive at a sufficiently precise lambda (or shrinkage) parameter.

B.2 Prediction Errors

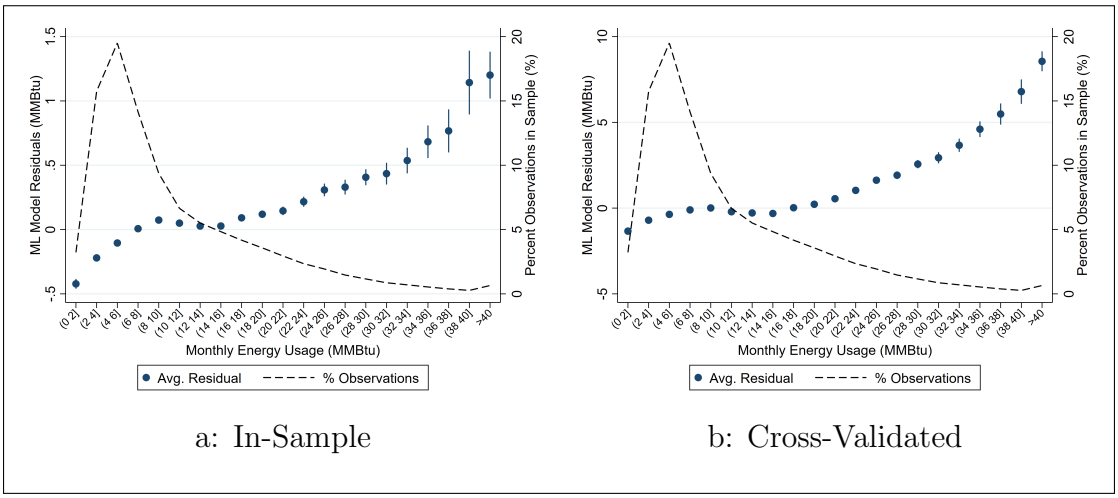
Figure B.1 presents the distributions of in-sample and cross-validated prediction errors (residuals) for the machine learning model. Both types of errors are approximately centered around zero, although cross-validated errors exhibit significantly fatter tails. In Figure B.2, we disaggregate the errors by bins of monthly energy consumption on the horizontal axis. The dashed lines represent the percent of months (on the right vertical axis) with a given level of observed energy consumption. The (5-fold) cross-validated errors serve as a measure for out-of-sample model performance. As expected, those are larger than in-sample errors. Nevertheless, significant errors occur only at the tails of the distribution (for months when energy usage was abnormally high or abnormally low). We can note slight overestimation of energy usage at the low end, and slight underestimation at the high end.

Figure B.1: Distribution of Pre-Treatment Residuals



a: In-Sample b: Cross-Validated

Figure B.2: Pre-Treatment Residuals by Actual Energy Consumption



a: In-Sample b: Cross-Validated

B.3 Correlation Between Prediction Errors and Covariates

In this section, we report the correlation between pre-treatment cross-validated errors and observable covariates. These graphs provide evidence on the relationship between errors in the machine learning model and observable characteristics of homes in our sample. We expect errors to be zero, on average, for fine scale bins of our controls. We note that estimates for some bins are very noisy and that some are statistically different from zero in one direction or the other. However, they are for sparse regions of the sample and are small in magnitude. The same is true for the graphs of prediction errors by program spending. These graphs suggest that our ML model errors are unlikely to drive the results

reported in the paper.

Figure B.3: Cross-Validated Prediction Errors by Observable Covariates

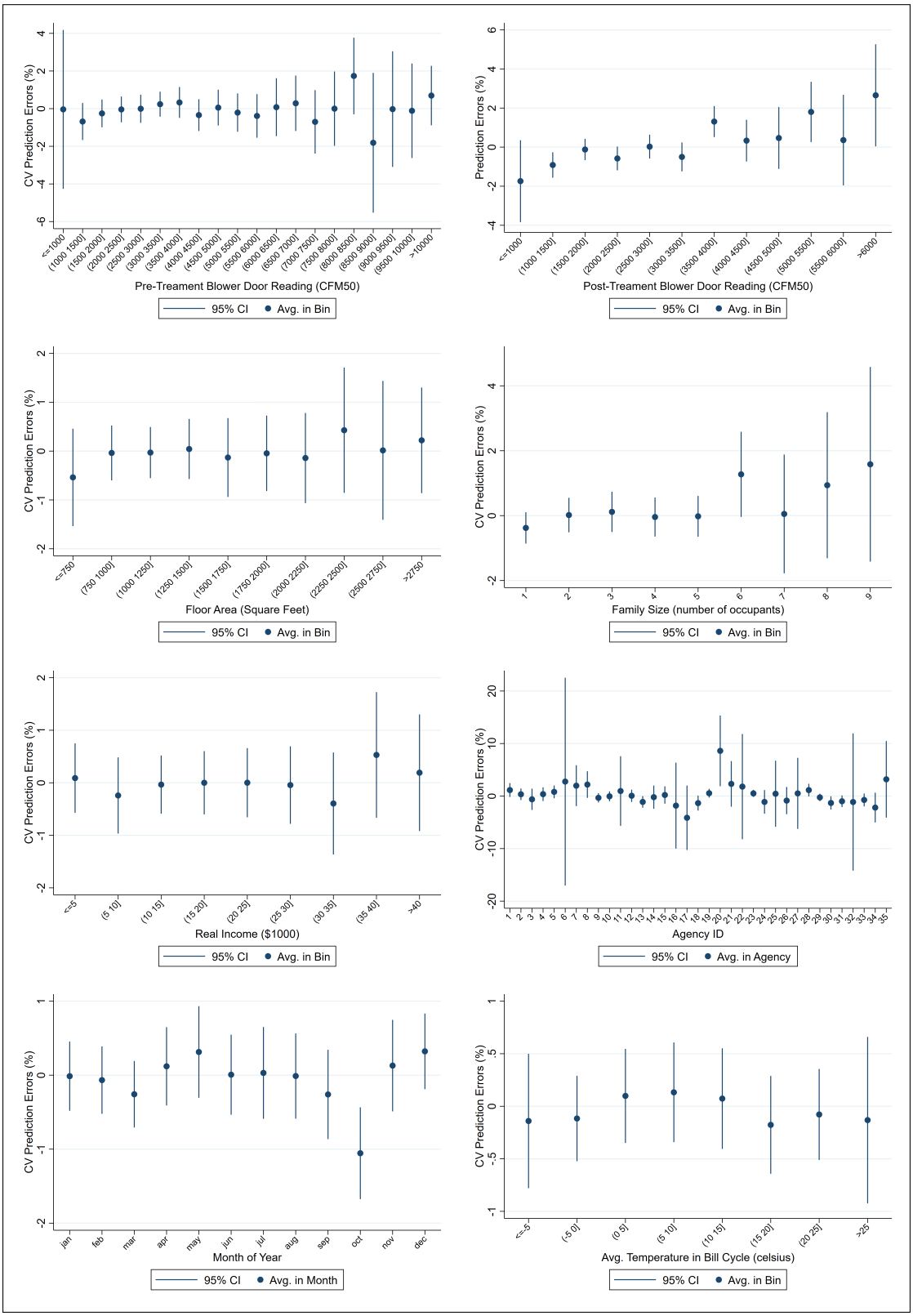


Figure B.4: Cross-Validated Prediction Errors by Program Spending

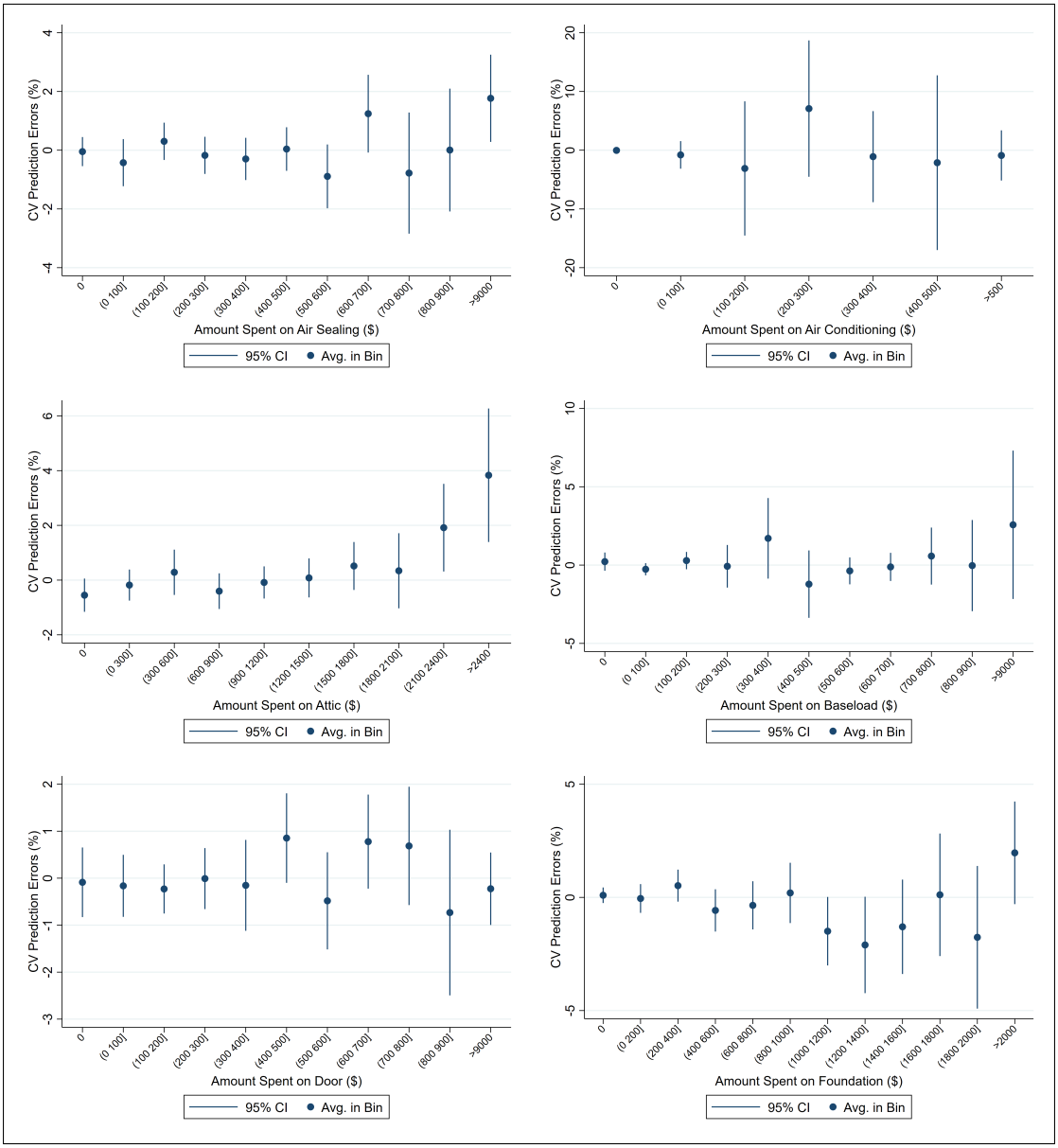
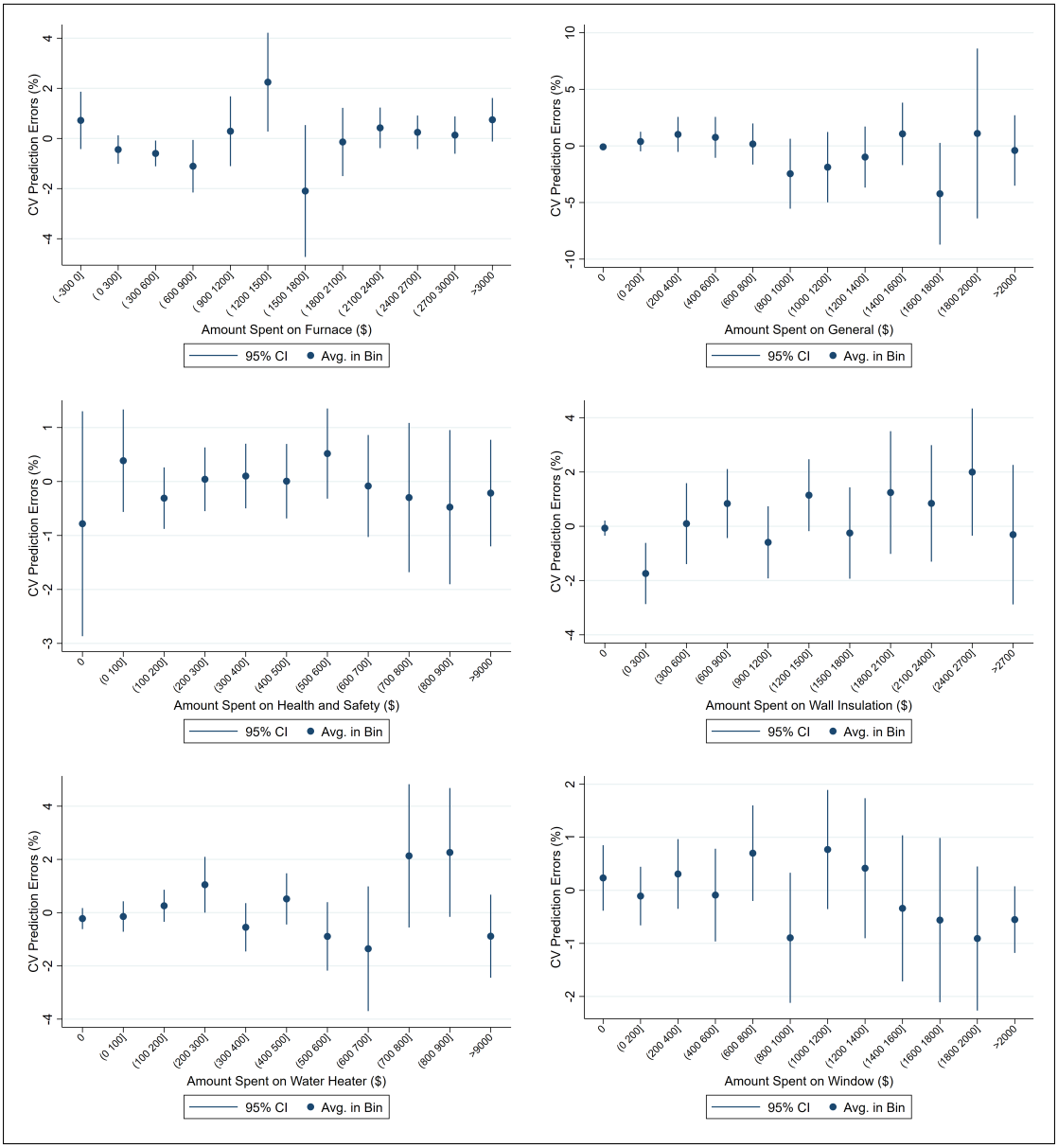


Figure B.4 (Continued): Cross-Validated Prediction Errors by Program Spending



C Obtaining Monthly Projections of Energy Savings from Weatherworks

This section describes the method that we use to obtain monthly projections from Weatherworks model that are comparable to our monthly observations from billing data. The Weatherworks engineering model provides 2 estimates of a home's energy usage: (1) pre-weatherization and (2) post-weatherization. These estimates are designed to represent a full year of energy demanded prior to weatherization and a full year post. We re-scale these estimates to obtain monthly observations by dividing by 12.[48] The average projected savings from the engineering model can then be obtained with a home fixed effects model:

$$ln(Y_{id}) = \beta^p \mathbf{1}[WAP]_{id} + \alpha_i + \varepsilon_{id} \tag{C.1}$$

where Y_{id} are engineering model calculations of monthly energy demand for home i in treatment status d. β^p measures the average projected energy savings for the sample of homes used in the regression. We restrict the sample to the same homes for which utility data was available. Since the regression specifies a log-linear form, we correct the estimated coefficients of interest so that they can be interpreted as percentage projected energy savings: $exp(\beta_p) - 1$.

[48] Rescaling the engineering projections does not change results that are in percentage terms. However, that transformation is necessary for analysis in levels (MMBtu) because our utility data is monthly.

D Comparing Estimates from Machine Learning and Two-Way Fixed Effects Models

We compare our machine learning estimates with variations two-way fixed effects regressions. Specifically, we consider the following specification:

$$ln(Y_{it}) = \beta^{TWFE}\mathbf{1}[WAP]_{it} + \alpha_i + \alpha_t + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{D.1}$$

where $ln(Y_{it})$ is the natural log of energy consumption from home i in billing cycle t; $\mathbf{1}[WAP]_{it}$ is a treatment indicator equal to one for time periods after a given home has been treated, zero otherwise; α_i are home fixed effects; and α_t are time fixed effects. We also consider variations of that specification with interactions of home by calendar month fixed effects, as well as month of sample by county fixed effects.

These results are reported in Table D.1. We find that the machine learning estimates are slightly higher than those from two-way fixed effects specifications.

Table D.1: WAP Average Treatment Effects on the Treated

Specification:	Engineering Projections	Machine Learning	Fixed Effects Models		
Outcome = log(Energy)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
WAP Treatment	-0.2903***	-0.1483***	-0.1321***	-0.1295***	-0.1280***
	(0.0020)	(0.0037)	(0.0039)	(0.0038)	(0.0039)
Realization Rate		.5108			.441
Observations	22,394	142,327	277,182	239,135	238,167
Controls:					
Home FE	Yes	NA	Yes	No	No
Month of Sample FE	No	NA	Yes	Yes	No
Home by Calendar Month FE	No	NA	No	Yes	Yes
Month of Sample by County FE	No	NA	No	No	Yes
Heating and Cooling Degree Days	No	NA	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: This table presents Average Treatment Effects on the Treated (ATT) estimates for WAP. The coefficients on WAP Treatment should be interpreted as percent energy savings attributable to the program. No controls are used for the machine learning ATT, which is identified from the difference between post-treatment usage and predicted counterfactuals. Machine learning estimates use post-treatment monthly observations only (although predictive models are trained with pre-treatment data). Engineering estimates use only two (one pre and one post) observations per home. Realization rates are calculated by dividing estimates from columns (2) or (5) by the engineering projections from column (1). All standard errors are clustered by home. Standard errors are bootstrapped (200 iterations) for machine learning. Significance at 1% is indicated by ***.

Table D.2 reports estimates of WAP average treatment effects in levels rather than logs. We note that realization rates are significantly smaller in these specifications. This can be attributed to engineering model overestimation of energy usage both before and

after treatment, as shown in Figure 1. As discussed in Section 2.5, overestimation does not necessarily imply bias in percent projected energy savings. The general agreement among WAP stakeholders is that the engineering models aim to be accurate in projecting percentage energy reduction.

Table D.2: WAP Average Treatment Effects on the Treated - levels

Specification:	Engineering Projections	Machine Learning	Standard Econometrics		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
WAP Treatment	-5.1656***	-1.4529***	-1.5988***	-1.5380***	-1.5050***
	(0.0495)	(0.0413)	(0.0422)	(0.0346)	(0.0351)
Realization Rate		.2813			.2913
Observations	22,394	142,327	277,182	239,135	238,167
Controls:					
Home FE	Yes	NA	Yes	No	No
Month of Sample FE	No	NA	Yes	No	No
Home by Calendar Month FE	No	NA	No	Yes	No
Month of Sample by County FE	No	NA	No	No	Yes
Heating and Cooling Degree Days	No	NA	Yes	Yes	Yes

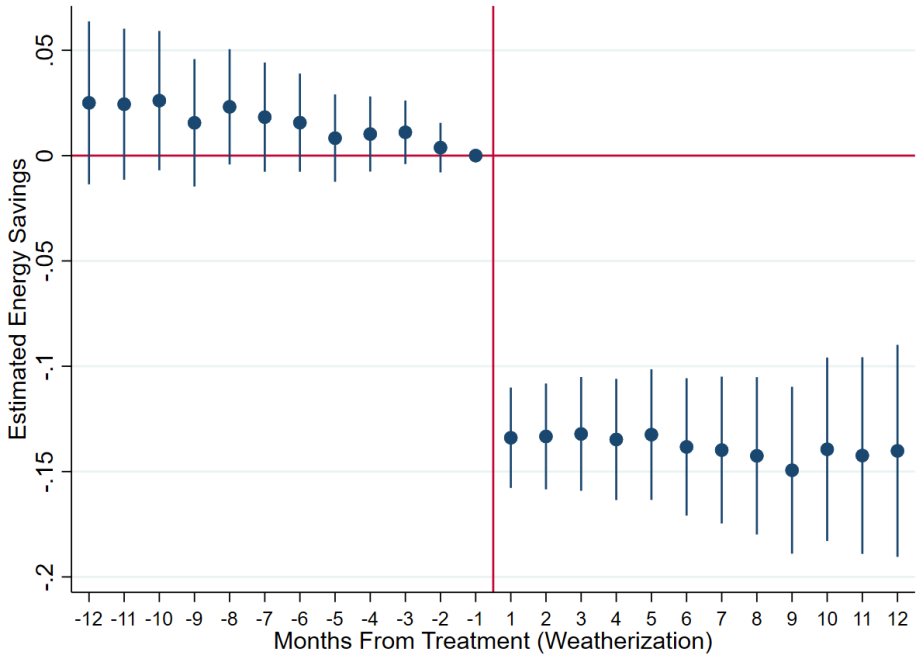
Note: This table presents ATT estimates of the effect of WAP on energy usage. The coefficients on WAP treatment should be interpreted as MMBtu energy savings attributable to WAP. No controls are used for the machine learning ATT, which is identified from predicted counterfactuals. Realization rates are calculated by dividing realized savings estimates with the engineering projected savings. All standard errors are clustered by home. For the machine learning estimates, standard errors are bootstrapped (200 iterations). Significance at 1% is indicated by ***.

We also assess the parallel trends assumption for the fixed effects models. We add lags and leads of timing of treatment to regression specification (D.1). With that, we estimate effects for 12 months before and 12 months after WAP upgrades, conditional on home and month of sample fixed effects. Recall that for our analyses we exclude "work in progress" months for which we believe upgrades are still being performed (months between audit and final inspection date). In our setting, the month immediately before a home's audit date is the omitted comparison group.[49] We normalize timing of treatment based on number of months before/elapsed since the construction phase.

Figure D.1 presents results from an event study regression using that approach. We cannot reject that the coefficients prior to treatment are equal to zero, such that parallel trends are likely to hold. For the months immediately after final inspection, there is a strong reduction in energy usage, with points estimates close to 13%. Effects do not seem to dissipate even a full year after treatment.

[49] Normally for event studies it is possible to identify a clear cutoff point after which treatment occurs. Given that WAP treatment may occur over many days, there is no clear cutoff in this context. Therefore we exclude monthly observations that are constituted of a mix of untreated and treated days.

Figure D.1: Event Study Results - Fixed Effect Models



Finally, Table D.3 presents results from specifications to recover the effects of WAP on natural gas and electricity usage separately. It can be noted that, given the focus of WAP, natural gas savings are significantly higher than electricity savings. Looking at the last three columns we find that, for the average home, approximately 83% of program savings can be attributed to reduced natural gas usage, while the remainder can be attributed to reduced electricity usage.

Table D.3: WAP Average Treatment Effects - Natural Gas Versus Electricity Savings

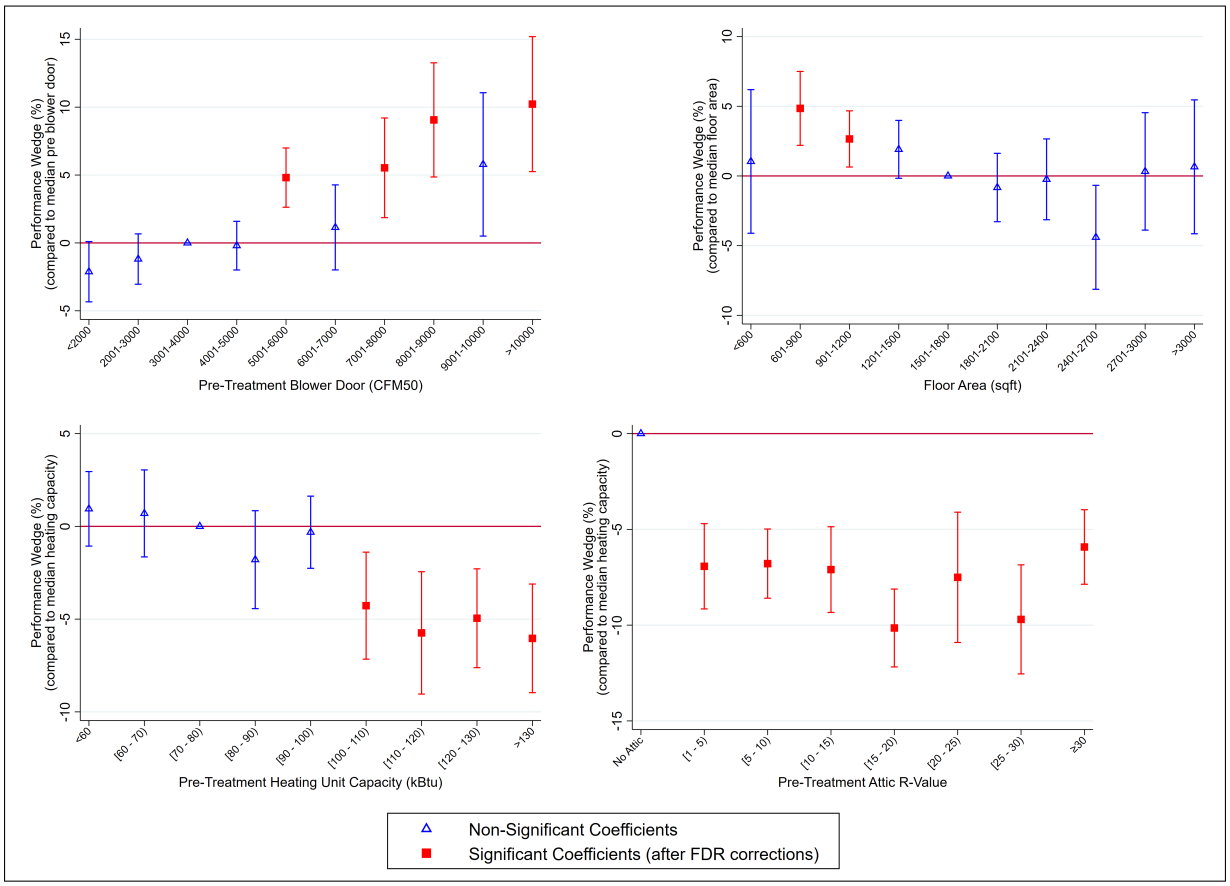
	Logs			Levels (MMBtu)		
Energy Outcome:	Total	Gas	Electricity	Total	Gas	Electricity
WAP Treatment	-0.1280***	-0.1472***	-0.0767***	-1.5050***	-1.2374***	-0.2676***
	(0.0039)	(0.0059)	(0.0052)	(0.0351)	(0.0352)	(0.0156)
Observations	238,167	238,167	238,059	238,167	238,167	238,167

Note: This table presents ATT estimates of the effect of WAP on total energy, natural gas, and electricity usage. These are results from fixed effects models that include home by calendar month FE, month of sample by county FE, plus weather controls (degree days). Standard errors are clustered by home. Significance at 1% is indicated by ***.

E Wedge Heterogeneity for Other Covariates

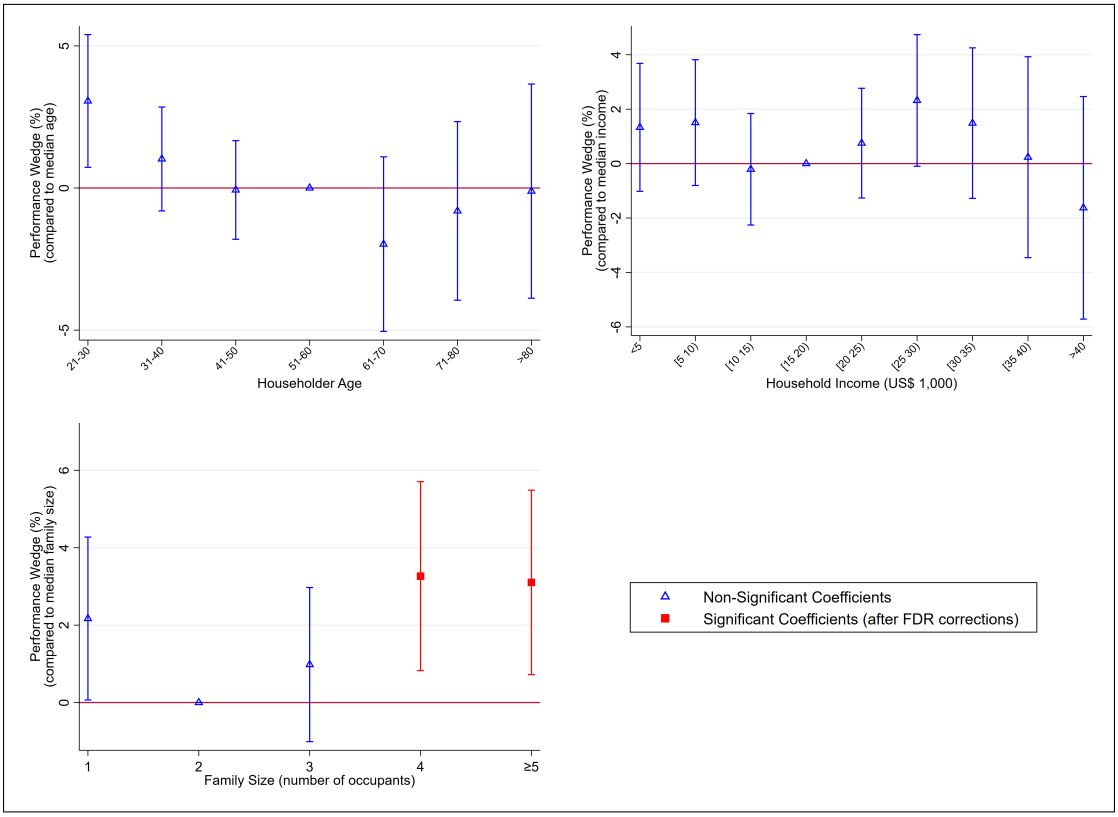
In the main text we interpret results for the most important upgrades or home attributes that may be related to energy savings and the performance wedge. The following suite of graphs presents heterogeneity results for other household or housing structure variables that were not discussed. Recall that these were all obtained from a same regression that flexibly decomposes the performance wedge across many dimensions.

Figure E.1: Performance Wedge Heterogeneity by Other Covariates



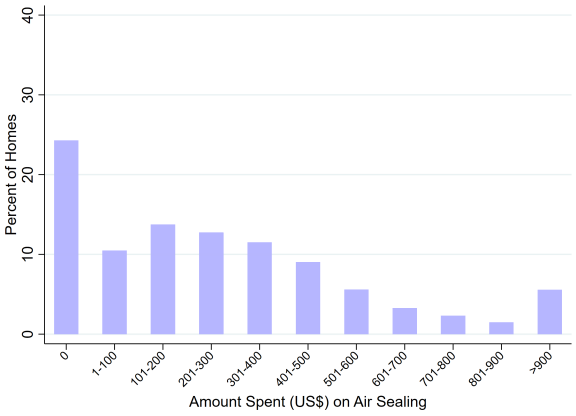
(Continues on next page)

Figure E.1: Performance Wedge Heterogeneity by Other Covariates (continued)

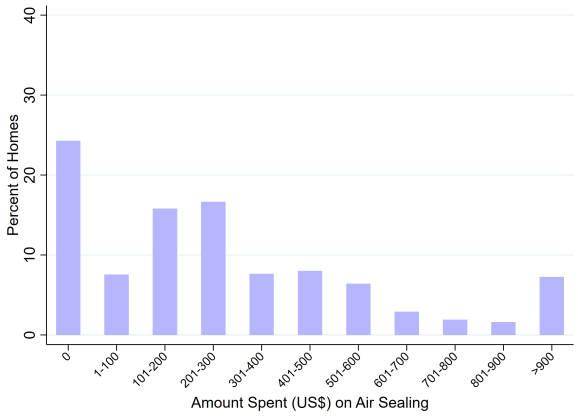


F Robustness of Contractor Quality Estimates and Interactions

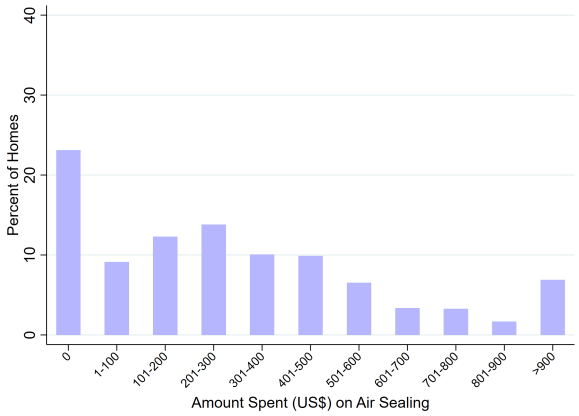
Figure F.1: Histograms for Amount Spent on Air Sealing



a: Full Sample

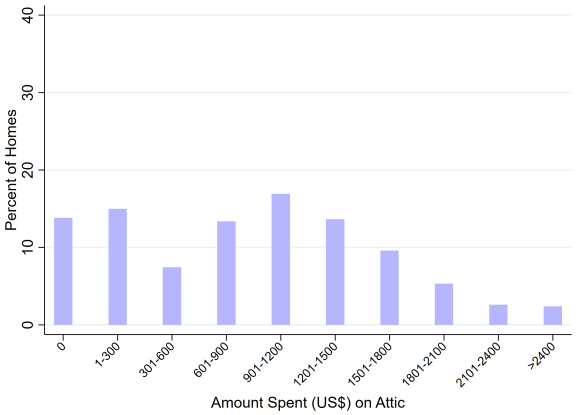


b: Top 20% Contractors

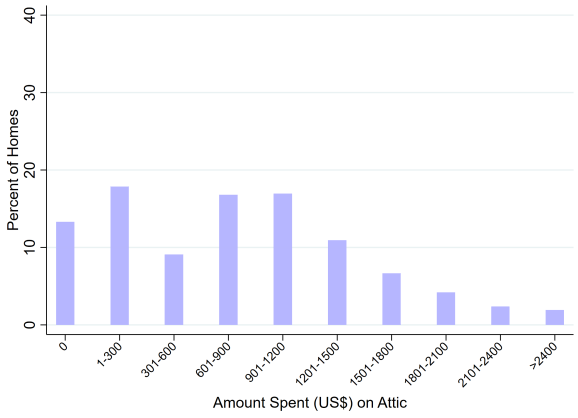


c: Bottom 20% Contractors

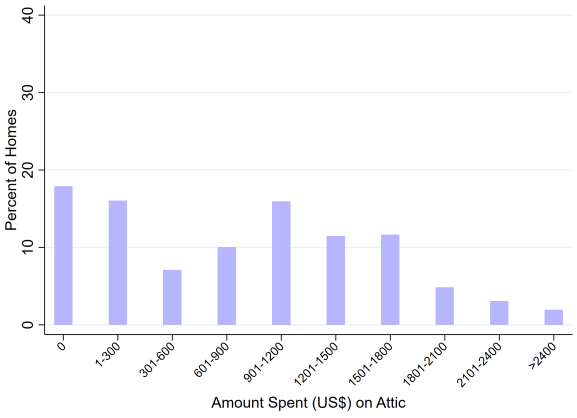
Figure F.2: Histograms for Amount Spent on Attic



a: Full Sample

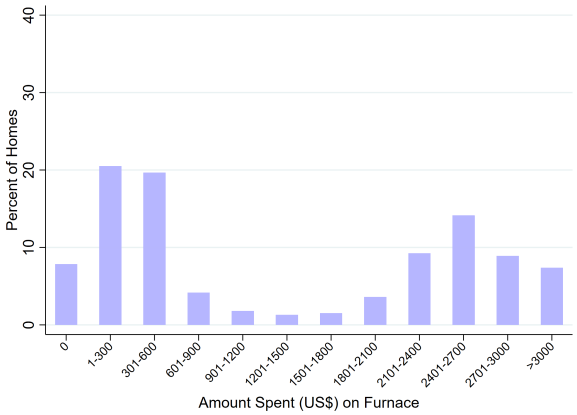


b: Top 20% Contractors

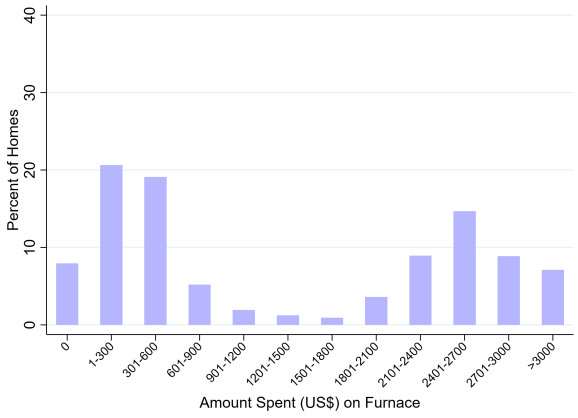


c: Bottom 20% Contractors

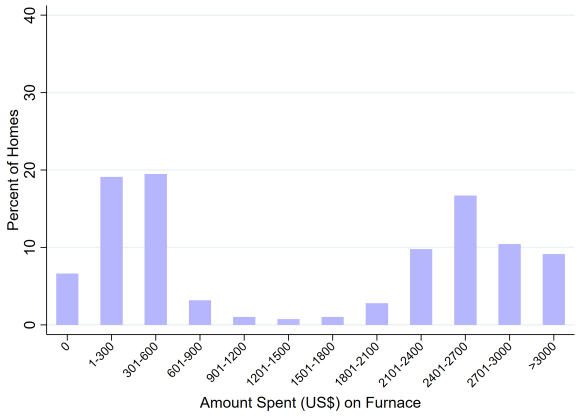
Figure F.3: Histograms for Amount Spent on Furnace



a: Full Sample

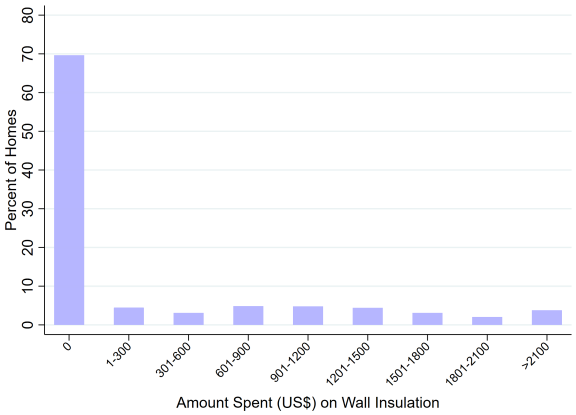


b: Top 20% Contractors

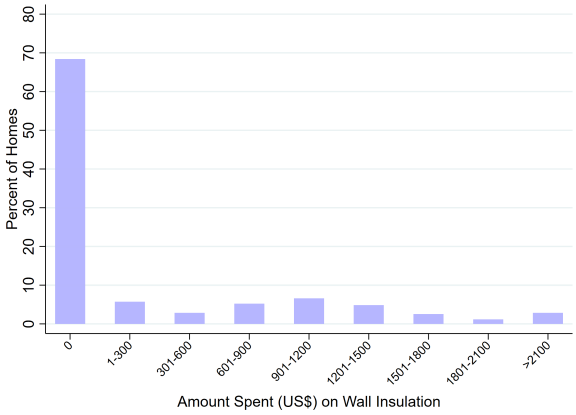


c: Bottom 20% Contractors

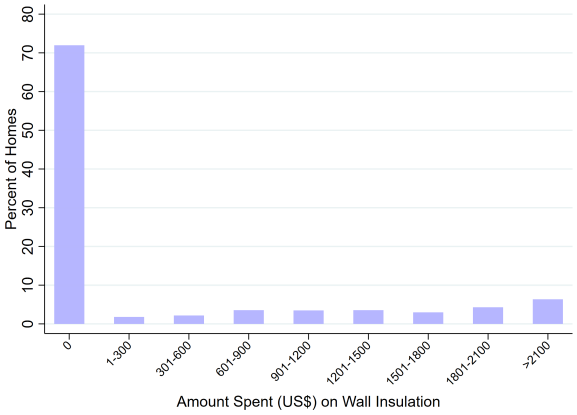
Figure F.4: Histograms for Amount Spent on Wall Insulation



a: Full Sample

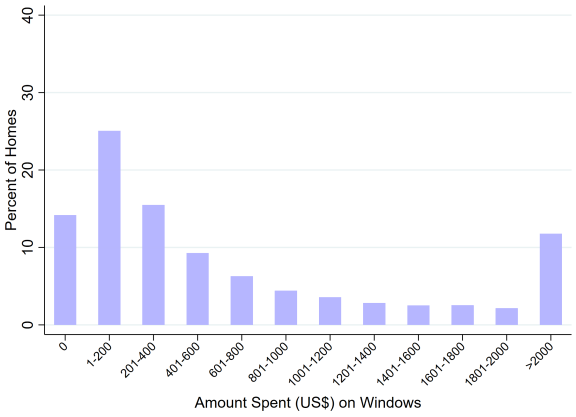


b: Top 20% Contractors

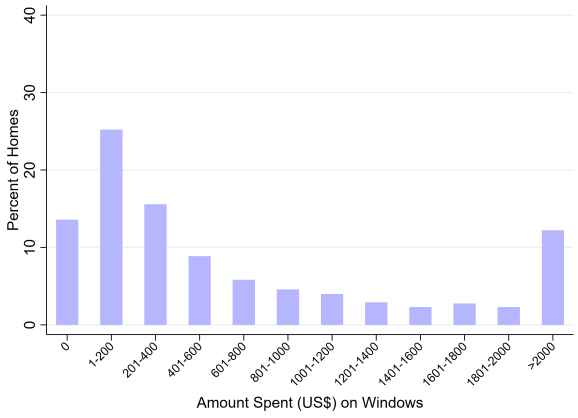


c: Bottom 20% Contractors

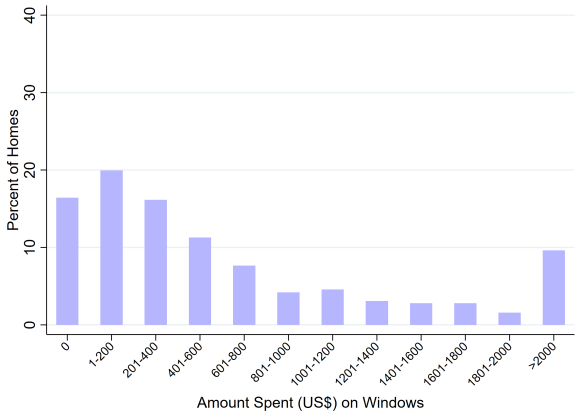
Figure F.5: Histograms for Amount Spent on Windows



a: Full Sample

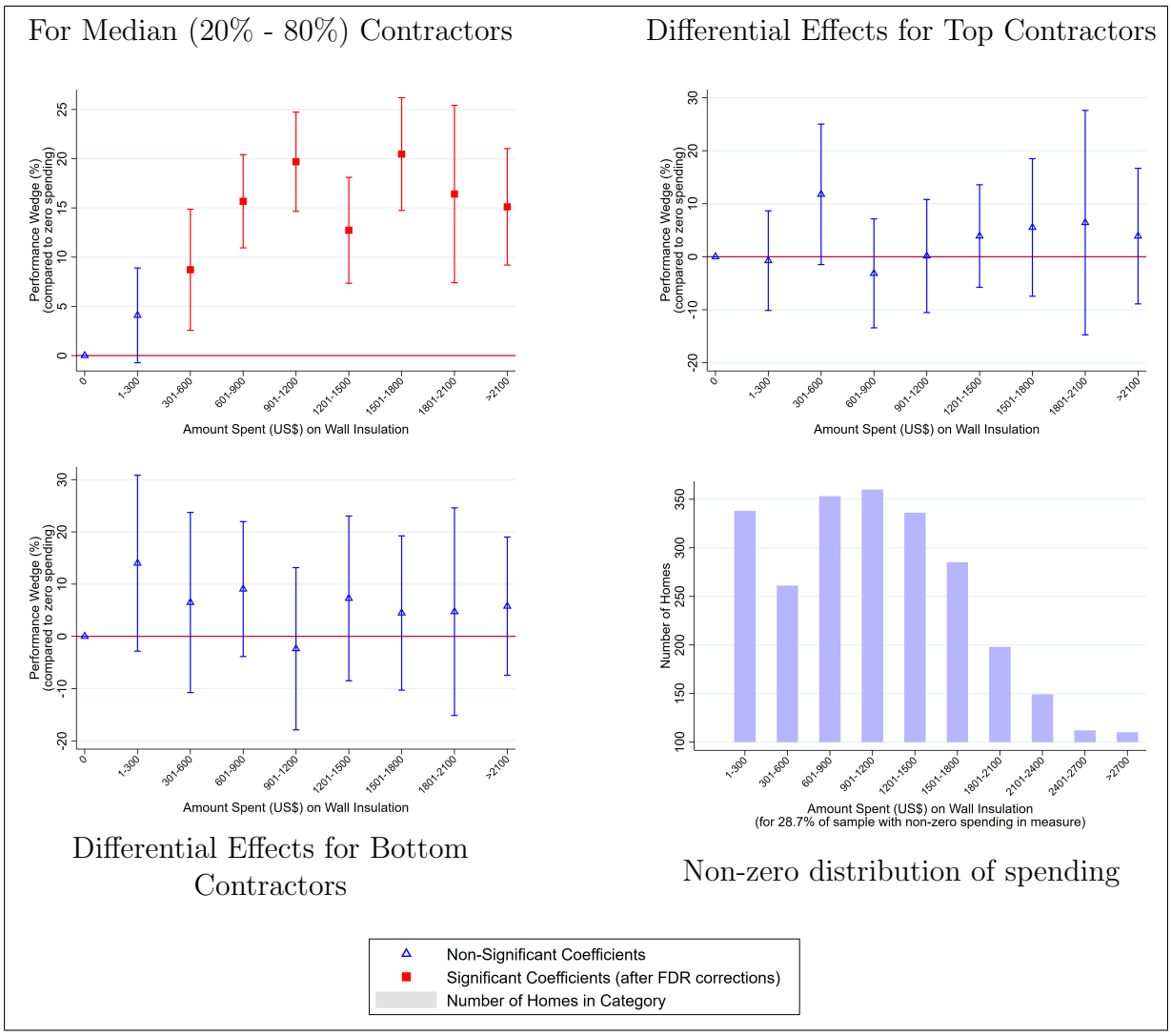


b: Top 20% Contractors



c: Bottom 20% Contractors

Figure F.6: Wedge by Wall Insulation, Interacted with Contractor Quality



G Further Details on the Behavioral Analyses

G.1 Engineering Structural Model for Residential Space Heating

In order to understand how household behavior might interact with the projected savings from WAP, we begin by describing the components of the physical relationships that drive space heating requirements for residential space. The heat interchange between a house and its surroundings can be written as follows (Johannesson et al., 1985):

$$\phi_h + \phi_i + \phi_s = \frac{A}{Be^F}(T_i - T_o) + S \tag{G.1}$$

where ϕ_h is the thermal output from the heating system (MMBtu), ϕ_i are internal heat gains from inhabitants, lighting, and other appliances (MMBtu), and ϕ_s are heat gains from absorption of solar radiation (MMBtu). The surface area of the house is indicated by A, while B is the thermal resistance of the wall, and e^F is the efficiency of the furnace. Taken together, the term $\frac{A}{Be^F}$ measures transmission and ventilation heat losses (MMBtu/^{o}F). The indoor and outdoor temperatures are T_i and T_o respectively (^{o}F), and S represents the rate of heat storage within the structure (MMBtu). Although all the terms vary with time, the equation may be applied to mean values over longer periods, such as a monthly billing cycle.

We test if changes in consumer preferences for indoor temperature T_i after weatherization can lead to significant differences in energy output projected by equation (G.1). The outdoor air temperature at which a heating system must be turned on to maintain a household's desired indoor temperature is known as a "balance point" (T_b). It is a function of indoor temperature (T_i), internal (ϕ_i) and solar (ϕ_s) gains, as well as transmission and ventilation heat losses (H), where $H = \frac{A}{Be^F}$.

$$T_b = T_i - (\phi_i + \phi_s)/H \tag{G.2}$$

The monthly output required from a heating system for a particular balance point, T_b, is

linear in the outdoor air temperature as follows:

$$\phi_h = H(T_b - T_o) \tag{G.3}$$

We drop S from equation (G.1), assuming that net heat storage will be negligible over a heating season (Johannesson et al., 1985). An increase in a household's chosen indoor air temperature, T_i, increases energy consumption by raising the balance point, T_b, thus causing the heating system to turn on at higher outdoor air temperatures. The change in balance point following weatherization is as follows, where superscripts indicate pre and post weatherization and $\Delta T_b = T_b^{post} - T_b^{pre}$.

$$\Delta T_b = \Delta T_i - \left(\frac{\phi_i^{post} + \phi_s^{post}}{H^{post}} - \frac{\phi_i^{pre} + \phi_s^{pre}}{H^{pre}} \right) \tag{G.4}$$

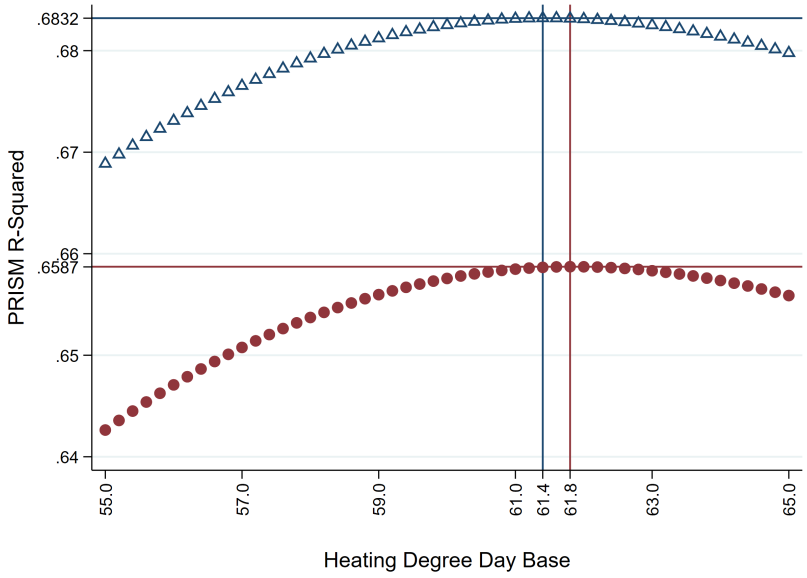
In addition to the effects from households changing their preferred indoor air temperature, the balance point will be affected by weatherization through two structural channels. First, weatherization increases the thermal resistance of the structure so that $H^{post} > H^{pre}$, which serves to lower the balance point, such that the furnaces turn on later in the season, at colder temperatures. Second, more efficient lighting, appliances, and windows lower internal gains ($\phi_i + \phi_s$), and potentially counteract some of the effects of the change in H on the balance point. Lighting is upgraded in all homes as part of the weatherization process. In certain cases, new windows may be installed. Refrigerators are rarely replaced.

As described in the main text, we use the Princeton Scorekeeping Method (PRISM) to identify the balance point T_b for a given sample (Fels, 1986). We regress home-by-month energy usage on a constant plus heating degree days (HDD), iterating through several HDD bases s:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta \text{HDD}_{it}^s + \varepsilon_{it} \,, \tag{G.5}$$

In the main text, we present results for a specification that adds housing and demographic control. Results without controls are presented in Figure G.1. Results suggest an increase of 0.4^oF comparing pre- and post-weatherization samples.

Figure G.1: PRISM Optimal Heating Degree Day Bases - specification without controls



Notes: This figure plots results from PRISM analyses using the full sample of WAP homes. We iterate through many temperatures to identify the optimal HDD balance points for an average home, both before and after treatment. Balance points with highest R-squared are considered optimal. Results suggest an increase in balance points after treatment, such that heating systems turn on *earlier* in the season. That is evidence of behavioral effects, since most of WAP measures are expected to lower balance points (e.g. better heat retention should lead to heating systems turning on *later* in the season).

G.2 Effects of Alternative Behavioral Factors on The Wedge

We investigate if behavioral factors, other than rebound effects on indoor temperature, may affect our estimates of the performance wedge. Specifically, we look at: (1) existence of non-working furnaces prior to WAP treatment, such that households were substituting to other heat sources (e.g. oven, electric space heating), or heat retention strategies (e.g. more layers of clothing, blankets); (2) occupants that were not home for significant periods of the year. The former is directly identified by WAP energy auditors. For the latter, we use a variation of the Princeton Scorekeeping Method (PRISM) described in the main text.

Rather than fitting the PRISM equation (6) for the whole sample, we fit it separately for each home. That allows us to identify homes for which energy consumption reliably follows variations in outdoor temperature. Strong deviations from those patterns are attributed either to measurement error, or behavioral discrepancies, such as a family not being home during winter (thus leading to low usage during those months). If the fit of

equation (6) at a home's optimal balance point is not strong enough (R-squared is below 0.85), then it is deemed non-temperature responsive. In Figures G.2 and G.3 we report correlations between R-squares and optimal heating degree day bases according to this PRISM analysis. We assume that a given home is responsive to variations in outdoor temperature if the optimal base is between 43 and 73 degrees, with an R-squared above 0.85.

We then estimate our "wedge regression," equation (2), including those indicator variables for non-working furnace and non-responsiveness to outdoor temperatures. Table G.1 presents the results of this estimation. Neither of these factors appear to contribute in an economically or statistically significant way to the wedge between projected and realized savings.

Table G.1: Effects of Non-Working Furnace and Failing PRISM Restrictions

Outcome: *Percent Performance Gap*	
Non-Working Furnace	-0.8670
	(1.4576)
Failed PRISM	0.6477
	(0.9906)
Observations	60,855

Notes: This table presents how the performance wedge is different for homes that had a non-working furnace pre-treament and for homes that failed the PRISM sample restrictions (meaning that their energy consumption patterns are unresponsive to changes in outdoor temperature). These are coefficients obtained from the "wedge regression" described in the main text. That regression controls for other factors that can affect the wedge, such as housing structure, demographics, weather, and program spending. Note that none of the coefficients are significant, indicating that those set of homes do not have an average performance wedge that is different form the rest of the sample. Coefficients were obtained from a regression of the performance wedge on indicators for those two conditions, plus program spending variables, weather controls, demographics, and housing structure. Some homes were drop from this analysis because the home-specific PRISM procedure requires a full year of data both pre- and post-treatment. Standard errors in parentheses are bootstrapped.

Figure G.2: Correlation Between PRISM Optimal HDD Base and R-Squared - Pre-Treatment

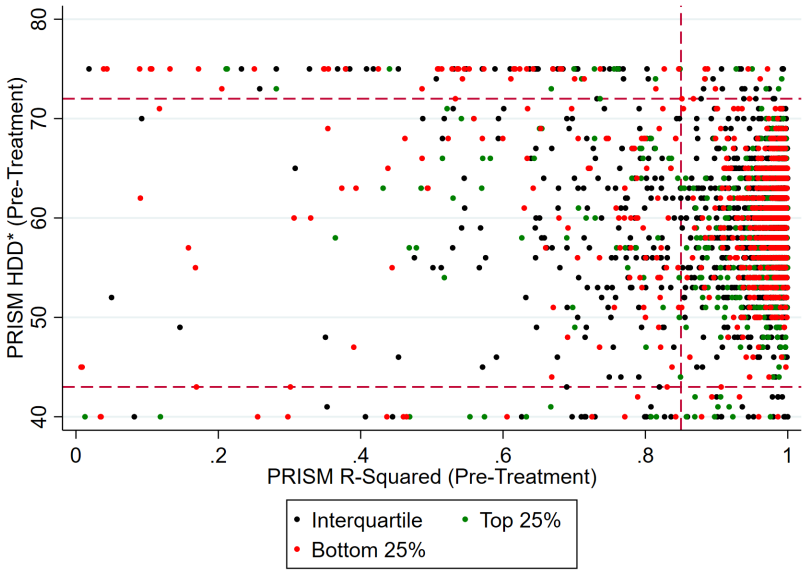
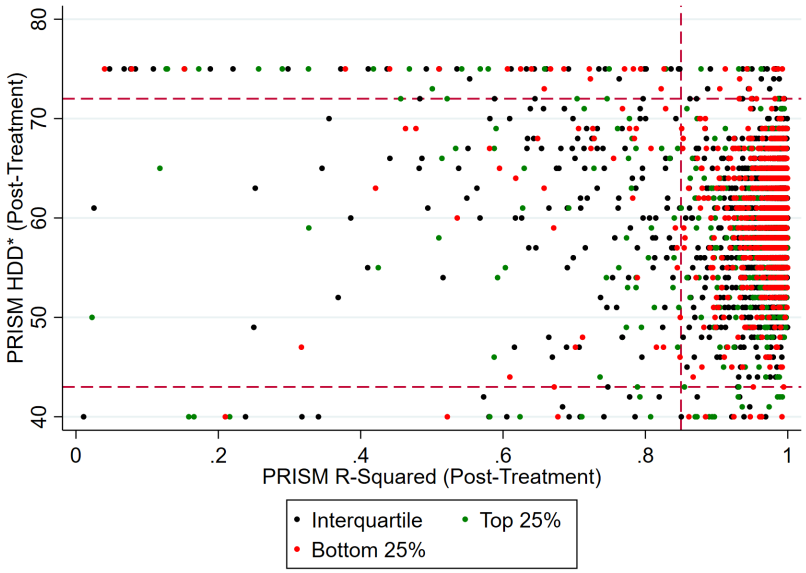


Figure G.3: Correlation Between PRISM Optimal HDD Base and R-Squared - Post-Treatment



H Further Details on Home-Specific Cost-Benefit Analysis

We use a doubly-robust method presented by Souza (2019) to obtain home-specific energy savings attributed to weatherization. The first step consists of obtain home-by-month energy savings $\hat{b}_{it}^{ml}$ with the ML method as described in the main text. Then, we project those savings on available covariates as follows:

$$\hat{b}_{it}^{ml} = \alpha_0 + \eta_j + \sum_{k=1}^{K}\sum_{b=1}^{B_k} \beta_{kb} \mathbb{1}[Category = k]_{it} \cdot \mathbb{1}[Bin = b]_{it} + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \gamma_g X_{it}^g + \varepsilon_{it} \quad \forall\, t > t_i\,, \quad \text{(H.1)}$$

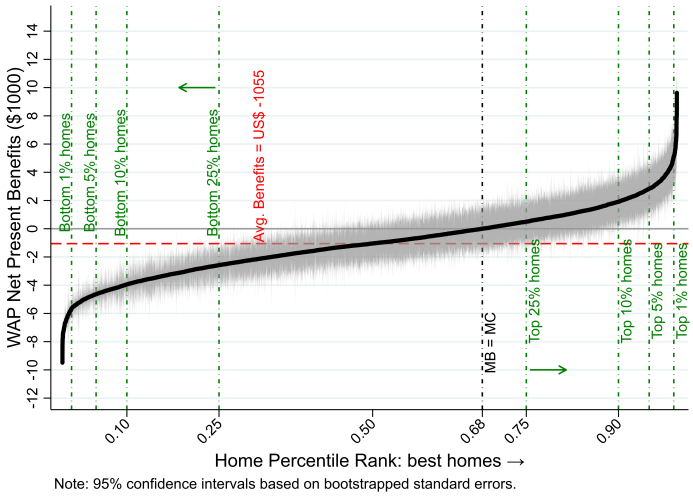
with notation as decribed in the main text. We use that model to obtain new, doubly-robust predictions of savings $\hat{\hat{b}}_{it}^{ml}$. Those monthly savings are then aggregated to the home level by, for each home: 1) computing average predicted savings per month of year; 2) summing the savings across all 12 months of the year. We thus obtain yearly estimates of energy savings for each home, which are then monetized according to the assumptions described in the main text.

H.1 Robustness of Home-Specific Net Benefits to Sampling Restrictions

Table H.1: Heterogeneity in Costs and Benefits With Baseline Assumptions

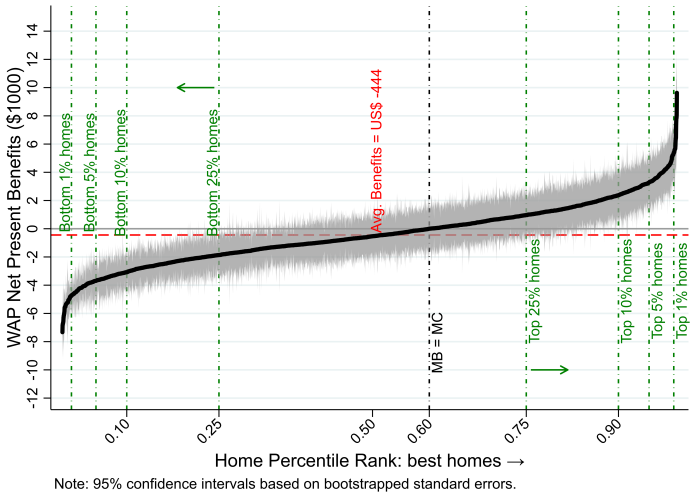
	Full Sample	Top 99% Homes	Top 95% Homes	Top 90% Homes	Top 75% Homes	TB≥TC	MB≥MC
Total Costs (million $)	21.52	21.37	20.35	19.11	15.59	.	.
Total Benefits (million $)	20.75	20.74	20.47	19.95	17.87	.	.
Net Benefits (million $)	-0.77	-0.63	0.12	0.84	2.29	96%	45%
Number of Homes	4,649	4,626	4,440	4,208	3,510	.	.

Figure H.1: Ranking of Homes by Net Present Benefits - not requiring a full year of pre- and post-data



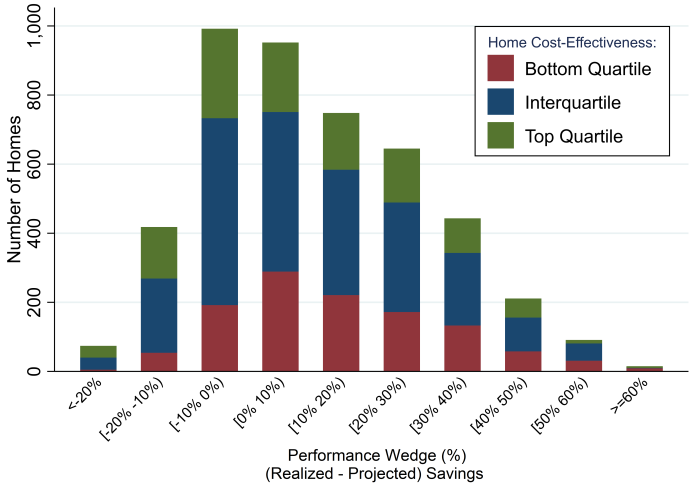
Note: 95% confidence intervals based on bootstrapped standard errors.

Figure H.2: Ranking of Homes by Net Present Benefits - PRISM sample restrictions



Note: 95% confidence intervals based on bootstrapped standard errors.

Figure H.3: Distribution of the Energy Savings Wedge, by Cost-Effectiveness Ranking



Notes: This graph presents the distribution of the performance wedge, correlating it with our calculations of WAP homes' cost-effectiveness. As expected, the wedge is smaller (larger) for the most (least) cost-effective homes.

Table H.2: Comparing Attributes of Least and Most Cost-Effective Homes

	Least Cost-Effective (Bottom 25%) Homes (1)	Interquartile (25%-75%) Homes (2)	Most Cost-Effective (Top 25%) Homes (3)	Difference in Means Diff. (1)-(2)	Diff. (3)-(2)
Amount Spent per Home or Upgrade (US$)					
Total, Excluding Health and Safety	5199.909	4533.336	4226.574	666.573***	-306.762***
				(48.116)	(52.985)
Window	1273.258	583.777	339.204	689.481***	-244.573***
				(34.123)	(21.404)
Furnace	1200.219	1386.045	1485.635	-185.826***	99.590*
				(37.649)	(44.857)
Non-Zero Wall Insulation	1405.139	1134.678	955.708	270.461***	-178.970***
				(55.757)	(42.403)
% Homes With Attic above $1500	0.219	0.213	0.159	0.006	-0.054***
				(0.015)	(0.015)
Air Sealing	364.772	291.915	222.396	72.857***	-69.519***
				(13.047)	(10.110)
Air Conditioning	8.492	6.407	3.671	2.086	-2.735
				(3.153)	(2.102)
Baseload	204.355	191.111	167.906	13.244	-23.205**
				(9.115)	(7.950)
Door	427.386	318.288	252.042	109.098***	-66.245***
				(13.580)	(9.749)
Foundation	310.297	333.613	329.015	-23.316	-4.598
				(18.132)	(18.864)
General	138.093	43.748	24.018	94.344***	-19.730***
				(15.671)	(5.504)
Health and Safety	521.445	539.285	493.865	-17.840	-45.420***
				(12.745)	(12.623)
Water Heater	151.699	132.843	125.827	18.857*	-7.016
				(8.255)	(8.183)

Notes: This table compares covariate means of least, most, and interquartile cost-effective homes, according to the home-specific cost-benefit analyses (adjusting for social marginal benefits). The fourth column presents differences in means between least cost-effective and interquartile homes. The fifth column presents differences in means between most cost-effective and interquartile homes. Bootstrapped standard errors are presented in parentheses. Significance at 1%, 5% and 10% are indicated by ***, ** and *, respectively.