Deconstructing the 'Rosenfeld Curve': Why is per capita residential energy consumption in California so low?

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1 Introduction

Since the early 1970s, electricity consumption per capita in California has stayed nearly constant, while rising steadily for the US as a whole. At the same time, state energy policies have led the nation in encouraging energy efficiency programs and stringent appliance and building standards. In addition to regulatory policy, California has incentivized utilities to implement a diverse set of programs with the aim of reducing consumer demand for energy through the adoption of efficient technologies and conservation behavior. Eom and Sweeney [11] provide an overview of some of these activities, most of which are primarily focused on the demand side. Gillingham et al. [13] provide a more national level review of demand side programs.

The California experiment with energy efficiency has become a well known case study today. So much so that in a recent issue of the Journal of Environmental Research Letters, an article entitled 'Defining a standard metric for electricity savings' (Koomey et al. 21) authored by many of the United State's leading energy and environment economists and engineers suggested creating a unit to measure energy efficiency savings called the 'Rosenfeld', "...in honor of the person most responsible for the discovery and widespread adoption of the underlying scientific principle in question—Dr Arthur H Rosenfeld." A recent discussion of energy efficiency in the widely read Science journal (7) also focused on the Rosenfeld curve.

In this context, it is unsurprising that a causal link is often drawn between a set of regulatory policies and utility programs and the differential between state and national electricity per-capita consumption levels. Indeed a graph comparing retail sales of electricity per capita for California and the United States is often casually referred to as the 'Rosenfeld Curve', after Arthur Rosenfeld, the influential member of California's Energy Commission (See Figures 8.1 and 8.2). The ubiquity of this term and the use of illustrations (see Rosenfeld 28) such as Figure 8.1 has sometimes led to the assumption that if only other populations had followed California's lead, they might have achieved similar outcomes.

[Figure 1 about here.]

[Figure 2 about here.]

As other states in the US (and countries abroad), seek to put in place similar regulations and programs it is important to determine ways of evaluating such programs. If California policy is to be emulated elsewhere in the world, it is necessary to ask exactly how much of the Rosenfeld effect might owe to program effects? This paper undertakes a detailed examination of residential sector energy consumption in the United States with precisely this question in mind.

I show that while state programs may have played a significant role they are not the primary determinant of California's low energy intensities. Along the way I also delve into evidence suggesting specific efficiency policy measures such as building standards may have been most effective in modulating energy demand and find evidence of substantial heterogeneity in the response of different household types of energy efficiency policy interventions. In doing so, this study highlights the limited utility of aggregate statistics such as energy intensity (expressed per capita or otherwise) in comparing populations. These statistics and others derived from energy indices (including those obtained from index decomposition methods) have grown increasingly popular in the literature on applied energy policy literature. While useful for many purposes, caution should be exercised in drawing causal inferences from such statistics (see also 17) in part because they do not enable the counterfactural reasoning necessary to do so. This paper provides further evidence to that end.

2 Outline

In this paper, I model household energy consumption starting from a flexible indirect utility function. The population is segmented into types based on appliance portfolios and other characteristics and a hierarchical, random coefficients specification of demand is estimated. A residual (policy) effect estimator is allowed to vary across household types, enabling us to understand not just what fraction of the Rosenfeld effect owes to policy, but also which types of households have been most strongly impacted. This information translates into valuable insights into the specific types of policy measures that seem to have been most useful (out of the varied portfolio that has been implemented over the years). The model is described in some detail in Sections 3 and 4.

Section 5 contains a description of the empirical data we use to estimate the parameters of the demand model and Section 6 describes the estimation methodology used and a discussion of some of the issues raised while carrying out the econometrics. Section 7 introduces and discusses some of the estimation results in detail. Section 8 synthesises the effects of different factors and places them in the context of the Rosenfeld curve, answering the original question posed in the title of this paper. The Appendix provides details on the Gibbs sampling steps used for estimation along with the posterior means of all parameter estimates and their Bayesian credibility values as well as a discussion of some minor results.

3 Economic Model of Energy Demand

While the 'Rosenfeld Curve' of 8.1 is a description of electricity consumption intensities, the model described in this section is a joint description of energy use in the household, addressing both electricity demand and demand for heating fuels. A complete energy model makes sense in this context for a number of reasons. First, within California it is natural gas, not electricity, that is the most commonly used fuel for heating purposes¹. Nearly 88 percent of households in the state consume natural gas in comparison to a national average of about 62 percent (2005 RECS figures). The use of natural gas in a household will change electricity consumption patterns and correspondingly change the avenues through which efficiency programs can reduce demand.

Secondly, efficiency policy has not focused solely on reducing the consumption of electricity. On the contrary, interventions such as stricter building standards or subsidies for the purchase of better insulated water heaters have aimed to reduce the consumption of whatever energy source is used for heating or cooling end uses. In the case of a household with electric heating and electric water heating, this should mean a reduction in demand for electricity. On the other hand, if the fuel used for these end uses is natural gas, there may be no change in electricity consumption but there will likely be a drop in natural gas demand. Thus from the point of view of understanding policy effectiveness, changes in demand for both fuels provide valuable insight. Figure 8.3 shows the distribution of energy consumption across different end uses in the U.S. residential sector. While electricity is the most important fuel, heating demands for example may be fulfilled by other fuels.

[Figure 3 about here.]

Ideally, because electricity is an indirectly consumed good, a complete electricity demand model should begin by modeling demand for electricity consuming appliances individually and deriving electricity demand from there. Unfortunately this requires data on ownership and use at the appliance level,

 $^{^{1}}$ Acknowledging the somewhat inaccurate terminology involved in referring to electricity as a 'fuel' rather than an 'energy carrier'.

information which is almost always unavailable to the empirical researcher².

Consequently, in this paper I derive the demand function from a flexible utility function representing overall benefits from both electricity and the secondary heating fuels³. Households are assumed to maximize an indirect utility function v(p, I) of the following form

$$v = \begin{cases} y + \psi \left[\exp(-\theta_e P_e) + \exp(-\theta_h P_h) \right] & \text{when secondary fuel consumption occurs} \\ y + \psi \left[\exp(-\theta_e P_e) \right] & \text{when no secondary fuel is consumed} \end{cases}$$

where y is income, v is total utility and P_e and P_h are the average prices of electricity and the secondary heating fuels consumed. This model is an expression of the practical fact that most households cannot be said to exercise much choice in whether or not they have access to natural gas or fuel oil for heating. Conditional on their choice of a house to live in, it is reasonable to suggest that any further consumption decisions are based on the fuels available. It is only when heating is provided by natural gas or fuel oil that consumption decisions must optimize over both electricity and the heating fuel. An alternative view of this formulation is that this analysis separates the decision to use a secondary fuel, from the decision on how much to consume. The first is implicitly made when a home is chosen while the second is an ongoing process of utility maximization conditional on the first decision.

This functional form for utility has been used in the literature studying demand for telephone minutes (e.g. Narayanan et al. 25, Hobson and Spady 15). The properties of this utility function have been discussed in Narayanan et al. 25. It is attractive for my purposes primarily because it lends itself to an easily estimable and flexible demand function, is suited to applications where income elasticity is insignificant, does not impose constant price elasticities, and is consistent with risk averse agents.

This utility function can be interpreted either as modeling demand of a good without significant income effects or as leading to a demand function where the income effect is not separately identified and is instead combined with the constant term. At least in the United States income elasticities have generally been found insignificant, once we condition on the ownership of a particular set of appliances⁴. Additionally it can be argued that it is always difficult to identify an income effect for electricity - in this or other studies - because demand for electricity is the sum of demand for various appliance end uses. Since empirical data rarely measures the full appliance stock within a household it is difficult to claim that one has controlled for appliance ownership in measuring income elasticities. Without such

 $^{^{2}}$ As appliance specific monitoring and feedback becomes more common in the short to medium term, this constraint may change allowing us to understand significantly more than we do now about changes in behaviour in response to variations in price and other characteristics of energy.

 $^{^{3}}$ Heterogeneity implies that households with different appliance stocks are allowed to have different parameters in the utility and demand functions.

⁴Reiss and White [27]find this result using a subset of the data I employ (California RECS 1993,97).Dubin and McFadden [9] and Parti and Parti [26] find similar results. Train and Mehrez [31] study the welfare implications of optional Time of Use pricing of electricity, employing a Gorman polar form utility leading to a demand function free of income effects.

control, the coefficient on income in a demand estimation problem also measures the effects of increasing (unobserved) appliance stocks with increasing income. Thus the income elasticity is fundamentally unidentified, motivating the choice of such a functional form.

It is possible from the indirect utility to derive the demand for electricity and the heating fuel using Roy's identity so that

$$x_e = -\frac{\partial v/\partial p_e}{\partial v/\partial y} = \psi \theta_p \exp(-\theta_p P_e)$$
(3.1)

$$x_h = -\frac{\partial v/\partial p_h}{\partial v/\partial y} = \psi \theta_h \exp(-\theta_p P_e)$$
(3.2)

Here x_e, x_h represent demand for electricity and the secondary fuel and ψ is a vector of demand modifiers. If we let $\ln(\psi) = \beta Z + \epsilon \sim N(0, \sigma^2)$ where Z is a set of observed modifiers of demand (including a constant term), β are parameters in the demand function and ϵ is an unobserved component, then we can transform this equation to a log-level demand function of the following form⁵

$$y_e = \ln(x_e) = \beta Z - \theta_p P_e + \epsilon \tag{3.3}$$

The form of the demand function obtained here is quite standard, with one restriction, namely cross price elasticities that are set to zero. This restriction is reasonable (and often used in the recent literature, as in [27]) where the barriers to fuel switching are high. This describes the situation for the residential sector very well, where it is extremely hard and expensive to change heating fuels once the home is constructed. These end uses make up most of the non-electric energy end uses. Of the remainder, it is technically possible to swap from gas to electric clothes dryers but this is still expensive, requiring the purchase of an entirely different appliance. This particular end use is also only a small fraction of overall energy use (about 0.6 percent in 2006, based on the 2010 Buildings Energy Databook).

4 Econometric Specification

I model households as being heterogeneous in the way in which they use energy and in their responses to variations in factors such as income, household size, prices or climate variations. An ex-ante segmentation of households into different types is carried out using a set of observable characteristics. From the point of view of understanding policy, observable heterogeneity is particularly useful for many reasons. Predicting the impact of similar measures in a different population and learning something about the channels through which policies have worked, requires understanding which types of households have

been impacted most. In this instance we may reasonably suppose that households will behave differently depending on their appliance holdings and certain other sociological characteristics. This being the case it is probable that the impact of California's energy efficiency policies on actual household consumption would have varied depending on the type of household in question. In part this is because both regulatory standards and utility programs have a technology component to them that interacts with appliance stocks. Improving home insulation for instance will change electricity demand for a household with central air conditioning much more than it will a household that does not use electricity for cooling or heating. Thus rebates for insulation and retrofits will differ in effectiveness depending on the type of adopter.

In addition to observable heterogeneity, the model structure allows for unobservable heterogeneity in the demand parameters associated with each household type. The latter is important because ignoring unobserved heterogeneity will in general lead to biased parameter estimates and inference (see 1). In particular, simulations of counterfactuals in a model of household demand may be inaccurate where unobservable heterogeneity is not modeled but functional forms are non-linear. To the best of my knowledge this study is the first examination of efficiency policy to explicitly address this problem.

A hierarchical model is therefore used to describe demand. At the top level are the type specific demand equations for electricity and natural gas

$$x_{e,t} = f(Z_t, P_{e,t}, \epsilon_{e,t}; \beta_{e,t}, \theta_{e,t})$$

$$(4.1)$$

$$\begin{aligned} x_{h,t} &= f(Z_t, P_{h,t}, \epsilon_{h,t}; \beta_{h,t}, \theta_{h,t}) \tag{4.2} \\ \beta_{r,t} &= G_{r,t} \Delta_r + \nu_r \sim N(0 \ V_{r,t}) \tag{4.3} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{array}{lll}
\beta_{h,t} &=& G_{h,t}\Delta_h + \nu_h \sim N(0, V_{hk}) \\
\theta_{e,t} &=& \tilde{G}_{e,t}\tilde{\Delta}_e + \eta_e \sim N(0, V_{ep}) \\
\end{array}$$
(4.4)

$$\theta_{h,t} = G_{h,t}\Delta_h + \eta_h \sim N(0, V_{hp})$$
(4.6)

$$\vec{\epsilon} = [\epsilon_{e,t} \epsilon_{h,t}] \sim N(0, \Sigma)$$
(4.7)

Here $x_{e,t}, x_{h,t}$ represent annual consumption vectors of electricity and the secondary (heating) fuel (in units of KWh and Btu respectively) for all households of type t. f is the demand equation and will be of the form in Equation 3.3, Z_t are a set of demand modifiers⁶. $P_{e,t}$ and $P_{h,t}$ are vectors of average prices of electricity and the secondary fuel for households of type t.

The subscript t identifies demand equations for type $t \in (1, 2...T)$ with non price parameters $\beta_{e,t}$ and $\beta_{h,t}$ respectively. $\theta_{e,t}$ and $\theta_{h,t}$ represent the own price coefficients for electricity or natural gas (these are not price elasticities since the demand equation is log-linear in consumption and price). The demand for

⁶These could include climate, demographics, housing unit characteristics, occupancy information and so on.

the two energy sources is assumed to be correlated. The demand equations thus form a pair of seemingly unrelated regression equations (Zellner 33). Thus $\epsilon_{e,h}$ are stochastic terms distributed bivariate normal with some variance Σ . They represent demand shocks observed by the household but unobservable to the econometrician.

The second level allows for the parameters of the demand function to vary across different household types, as a function of certain type characteristics G_t . $\Delta_{e,h}$ represent the parameters to be estimated at the second level. Heterogeneity $in\theta_e$ is described slightly differently from the other parameters in the demand function (β). In the equations above therefore $\tilde{G}_{e,t} \neq G_{e,t}$ (see Section 6). η, ν are multivariate normally distributed stochastic terms at the second level allowing us to fit data to the model. $V_{ek}, V_{hk}, V_{ep}, V_{hp}$ represent the variance of these stochastic terms. This specification allows the coefficients in the demand equation to vary quite generally across households within a type while also capturing any systematic variation across types through the term $G_t\Delta_t$.

The expressions for $x_{e,t}$ and $x_{h,t}$ in can be written as follows (following the expression derived in 3.3). Note that here Z_t has been separated into $[Z'_t CA_t]$ where the first block is a matrix of demand modifiers (see Table 1) and the second is a vector of dummy variables (CA_t) which is 1 when the household is located in California and 0 otherwise.

$$y_{e,t} = \ln(x_e) = \beta'_{e,t}Z'_t + \delta_{e,t}(CA) - \theta_{e,t}P_{e,t} + \epsilon_{e,t}$$
$$y_{h,t} = \ln(x_h) = \beta'_{h,t}Z'_t + \delta_{h,t}(CA) - \theta_{h,t}P_{h,t} + \epsilon_{h,t}$$

It is useful at this point to discuss the use of average prices in the model. A fundamental issue in modeling electricity demand is that consumer knowledge of prices seems limited and the nature of their response to price ambiguous. Electricity pricing in many parts of the nation, especially California, has become highly non-linear and demonstrates both 2nd and 3rd degree price discrimination. Furthermore these schedules are typically not transparently communicated to the end user. It is therefore non-trivial for the consumer to compute marginal costs at any point in time. It is also hard to determine tier rates, and information on the times when consumption crosses tiers, from the only regular communication a consumer has with the utility - namely the monthly bill. In order to optimize against tiered prices consumers must be assumed to be aware of seasonal variations, all other breakpoints in the tier structure and must be assumed to have learned over time how much they will consume over a month - accounting for any shocks and in the absence of any real time information on consumption.

Rather than modeling consumers with a perfect knowledge of electricity prices therefore, it often seems more accurate to think of them as responding to either a biased price belief or to an average price, and as making decisions under price uncertainty. Borenstein [4] discusses this issue in some detail and finds for a population in California that reproducing empirical distributions of consumption seems to require modeling consumers as either optimizing over the tiered schedule with some error, or reacting only to the average or marginal price. In earlier work Shin [30] finds evidence suggesting consumers seem to respond to average not marginal prices. Most recently Ito [19] uses utility level data to suggest that in the short run at least, consumers seem to respond to average prices and not marginal prices or the full tier structure.

This type of evidence would then suggest that models that assume households fully optimize over the non-linear schedule (see for example Reiss and White 27) are less than ideal descriptions of actual consumer behaviour, even though they are satisfying in a theoretical sense. In recent years some authors have chosen alternative formulations of consumer response, either using simpler models of price response or combining optimization over a tiered schedule with a behavioral 'optimization error' term (see McRae 23).

In this paper I incline towards a description of consumer behavior that implies a continuous choice model with demand being influenced by the average price rather than the outcome of solving a discrete continuous demand problem over the non-linear schedule. This choice seems best suited to a long run model estimated using annual demand data, and a reasonably good description of actual consumer behavior at this point in time. That said, this paper is not intended to be a definitive statement on how households respond to electricity price changes. Answering that question requires studying the nature of household response to non-linear prices under uncertainty and incomplete information.

4.1 Treatment Effects and the California policy bound

California's history of program interventions aimed at encouraging energy efficiency may be regarded as a 'treatment' to which households within the state have been exposed. The effects of this treatment will naturally vary across individual households and in most cases cannot be inferred separately for each unit. For this reason we are often interested in some average effect over the whole population. This is the average treatment effect (ATE).

In testing for a California policy effect I proceed as follows. In Z_t I include a dummy variable that equals 1 for households in California. Let the coefficients associated with this dummy in the two demand equations be $\delta_{e,t}, \delta_{h,t} \in \beta_{e,t}, \beta_{h,t}$. The magnitude of δ_t is interpreted as an indication of the type specific effect of being in California on a household's energy consumption (either of electricity or the secondary fuel) over and above differences in the structural covariates in Z and prices P. By estimating a type specific effect δ_t I am able to capture heterogeneity in household responses to state and utility programs. This may be regarded as the average difference owing to unaccounted factors varying systematically between California and the rest of the nation. Some of this California effect could owe to policy and regulatory differences between the state and nation. δ will approach the true treatment effect if one believes that outcomes in households outside California provide, on average, a valid counterfactual to which the treated group (the state) can be compared⁷ for the purpose of policy evaluation.

It is not my intention to claim that the counterfactual formed by households outside California is a perfect choice. Whether this is so depends on how completely the covariate controls correct for nonpolicy differences in the two groups. In interpreting δ_t a more conservative assumption would be that it represents an approximation to policy impact and possibly an upper bound. At the very least the size of δ is suggestive as to whether the role of policy has been large or small, and how similar it is to the occasional estimates produced by regulatory bodies, using different evaluation methods.

It is also worth discussing why I have not included a more explicit indicator of policy effort in the model (as opposed to a state dummy alone). Perhaps the most detailed public information on efficiency spending is the utility specific expenditure amounts on energy efficiency measures that are publicly available from EIA-861 returns archived by the Energy Information Administration. Unfortunately using utility spending data (available aggregated at state or district level) necessitates a more macro-level examination of policy impact which in turn removes our ability to ask questions about heterogeneous impacts across households. Utility expenditure also proxies for only one aspect of policy effort in a state or region and does not relate to many other important measures such as the stringency of building and appliance standards, the effect of state funded public information campaigns and so on⁸.

Secondly, it is has been argued that the expenditure data publicly available suffer from serious errors (Horowitz 18) and are consequently unreliable estimates of either policy efforts or actual spending. To the extent this is true, including these covariates (even if one were to also include some measure of building standards of differing strictness) would introduce a known and potentially large error into estimates. Such an error is difficult to deal with because it is unclear whether the resulting quantification of policy impacts over-estimates or under-estimates true policy effects.

The results of this study suggest it is plausible that at least for this state, efficiency policy has had significant impacts but does not by any means tell a complete story (see Section 8). The values of δ_t in the population are also consistent with the conclusion that building standards and HVAC appliance

⁷To be more precise the model undertakes a comparison of households of a specific type inside California with their corresponding types outside the state. That is, the segmentation in the demand function implements a form of matching wherein similar households are compared to each other in the two populations. This should increase the confidence we have in the validity of comparisons.

⁸This is also a concern in evaluating the results from studies focused on evaluating utility DSM, since regulatory measures such as the stringency of building standards (that tend to be correlated with high utility spending) have not generally been controlled for in previous work. An exception is the work of Arimura et al. [2] who do include a measure of building standards in their regressions. However that paper finds no significant effect of such standards, perhaps an indication that they are inadequately capturing these regulatory measures using the dummy variables they employ.

standards may have made a significant difference to energy demand.

4.2 The demand model

Column 1 of Table 1 lists the covariates that enter the two top level demand functions for households (Z, P_e, P_g) , and Columns 2 and 3 specify the variables entering the various segmentation equations at the second level of the hierarchy.

The second level of the model describes the heterogeneity in parameter estimates in terms of a lower level vector of type variables. These are all binary variables that take either a 1 or a 0 value for any given household. For instance a rich household surveyed in 2001, using electric air conditioning, electric water heating but without any electric heating appliances, luxury goods or durables would have a type vector as follows: $G_t = [1(Intercept), 1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1(Time)]$. A household type t is by definition, a group of households, all of whom have exactly the same group characteristics. These variables are primarily meant to describe the appliance stock in a household in line with our underlying assumption that households with different appliances will respond differently to incentives, structural factors and policy.

All characteristics in Column 2 of the table enter the vector $G_{e,t}$ and all except time enter $\tilde{G}_{e,t}$ (see Section 6.4.1). The type specification for the heating fuel $(G_{h,t})$ is defined using a subset of these characteristics (Intercept, Electric Heating, Low Income and Time). The heterogeneity specification for the secondary fuel segments households into 32 types corresponding to the 2³ combinations that the three second level variable values can take. Of these 31 are represented in the data. In the electricity demand model I estimate coefficients for 97 household types⁹. Because the groups in the electricity demand system are more finely defined than the heterogeneity specification for natural gas one may regard all households as simply belonging to one of 97 types (so that $t \in [1...97]$). Thus the mapping from an electricity type to a natural gas type is onto but not one-one (there may be many electricity household 'types' corresponding to the same natural gas 'type')

[Table 1 about here.]

5 Data

A major challenge to researchers attempting to evaluate the effectiveness of efficiency policy has been obtaining suitable empirical data. Most of the existing literature on this question has employed macro data available at the state or utility level and often at a yearly resolution for the last couple of decades. Examples include Horowitz 16, Loughran and Kulick 22 and Arimura et al. 2. These studies have all

 $^{^{9}}$ After removing a few outliers, some observations with missing data and certain types with less than 15 observations cumulatively over all RECS surveys from 1993 to 2005, I am left with 96 household types actually represented in the data.

had as their object, an evaluation of the effectiveness of utility expenditure in the United States. With the exception of Horowitz, the others have generally used EIA data on expenditures as reported.

The analysis in this paper uses the detailed household level microdata available every 4 years through the Residential Energy Consumption Survey (RECS). The RECS is a cross-sectional survey of households across the United States, administered by the Energy Information Administration, providing consumption and expenditure data on a variety of energy sources along with details of the physical and demographic characteristics of the household and the appliance stock possessed. The sample is probability weighted and the survey has been conducted at four year intervals from 1978 to 2005 (the most recent available data). The 2005 survey collected data from 4,382 households in housing units statistically selected to represent the 111.1 million housing units in the United States. The survey is conducted through in-home interviews and include an inventory of appliances and a survey of the respondent. The data set is supplemented with consumption figures from the utility and weather data from the National Weather Service (NWS). Further details about the RECS data and survey design are available in EIA [10]. RECS data are tabulated for the four Census regions, the nine Census divisions, and since 1993 for the observations from the four most populous States - California, Florida, New York, and Texas are separately identified. In order to identify California observations, I am restricted to using only the survey data from 1993 and later.

I pool together four RECS surveys from the 1993, 1997, 2001 and 2005 RECS to carry out estimation. The additional detail in this data set allows me to estimate a more informative structural model than would be possible relying on aggregate state level data. Combining all four iterations of the RECS surveys (1993, 1997, 2001, 2005) I have a total of 19,779 observations available for inference, with about 42 percent belonging to the period after 2001¹⁰. Table 2 provides the observed average values of electricity consumption (KWh) and secondary heating fuel consumption (1000 BTU) within and outside California.

[Table 2 about here.]

The RECS surveys provide for significant cross-sectional variation in prices, consumption, climate, demographic characteristics and the other covariates that enter the demand function (see Appendix A). This variation identifies the demand system. Note that not all possible household types are represented in the data used for estimation and some types may be represented only by a few observations. Even so to the extent the model identifies variation in parameters at the second level, it can be used to make inference about 100 percent of the population. For those types with few observations, it is the model structure at the second level (variation in demand parameters with type characteristics) that is used to infer demand parameters at the top level. A time dummy is introduced that separates the 1993 and

 $^{^{10}}$ This is reflective of the steadily decreasing sample sizes that the RECS has made available to researchers over the last few survey years. The 2009 RECS is expected to use a much larger sample and should help reverse this trend.

1997 cohorts from those from the 2001 and 2005 survey years. This enables us to test for changes in the demand function over time although we are admittedly losing some time variation through combining two survey years together.

6 Estimation

The model specified in Equations 4.1 through 4.7 is estimated as a Bayesian hierarchical linear model with the top level consisting of a two equation Seemingly Unrelated Regression Equation (SURE) system. Posterior distributions of parameters are obtained using a Gibbs sampler. The priors used are proper, and highly uninformative so that given the number of sample observations, final posterior distributions are essentially insensitive to the prior. Normal distributions are employed for the demand parameters at the first and second level of the model with an inverse Wishart prior for the variances. Appendix A provides more details of the prior distributions used and the form of the posteriors. I use a burn in period of 40000 iterations by which time the Markov chain is observed to converge. I then use the next 10000 draws as samples from the final estimated posterior. A brief derivation of the conditional posterior distributions and the full likelihood, along with the steps of the Gibbs sampler, is provided in the Appendix. The reader is encouraged to refer to Rossi et al. [29] for a more detailed discussion of the estimation of Bayesian hierarchical linear models.

6.1 Estimating price elasticities

A challenge to estimation arises from the fact that electricity price schedules have typically been nonlinear, in particular in the last 10-15 years, and even earlier in California. It is common to see utilities offer electricity on a tiered price schedule, with marginal prices rising depending on the block in which consumption is currently taking place. Figure 8.4 illustrates this with a representation of the tiered pricing schedules currently offered by PG&E in California.

[Figure 4 about here.]

The RECS data sets used here, which to the best of this authors knowledge represent the only such national survey instrument, span the period from 1993 to 2005. The survey provides researchers with only the average price paid by consumers, not their full rate schedule. Unfortunately, under a tiered rate structure the average price is no longer exogenous to demand and simply regressing consumption against price may lead to biased estimates of average price elasticies.

To instrument for endogenous prices, I use two additional variables. First I employ dummies for the census division. These are exogenous to demand but correlated with price to a limited degree, capturing

variations in generation and transmission costs and regulatory fees across the country. Next, for the 1993 and 1997 survey years I obtain the local utility average price for baseline quantities of electricity and natural gas for each household¹¹. This price is exogenous to the household demand equation because it is not affected by consumption levels, and is predetermined by utilities in consultation with the regulator (typically over a three year period). It is therefore also uncorrelated with individual, annual shocks. Thus it fulfils the so called exclusion restriction. At the same time, the predetermined baseline price is correlated with average prices because a significant amount of the inframarginal consumption of households is billed at a rate identical or close to the exogenous utility area rate (even though the marginal unit may be billed at a slightly higher or lower tier).

Instrumental variable methods in bayesian models are still a relatively new addition to the literature. This paper implements the method described in Yang et al. [32], to augment the demand side equations described above with a limited information supply side model for average price, using the two instruments just described. In brief (see Appendix for more), the demand system described in Equations 4.1-4.7 is augmented with a supply side specification for price as described below. Here $IV_{e,h}$ are the instruments for electricity and the secondary heating fuel, namely census division dummies and the exogenous utility area rate¹². Note that the supply side specification also allows for heterogeneity in that the degree of correlation between instruments and the the average price is allowed to be different across the 31 different natural gas household types. While dropping or adding this flexibility does not change our final estimates much, we frame the model this way because an examination of utility pricing structures reveals that tiered rates do in fact differ between (for example) all-electric households and dual fuel households.

$$p_{e,t} = \alpha_{e,t}IV_{e,t} + \omega_{e,t}$$

$$p_{h,t} = \alpha_{h,t}IV_{h,t} + \omega_{h,t}$$

$$\alpha_{e,t} = \tilde{G}_h S_{e,t} + \nu_e \sim N(0, W_{hk})$$

$$\alpha_{h,t} = \tilde{G}_h S_{h,t} + \nu_h \sim N(0, W_{hk})$$

$$\bar{E}_t = [\epsilon_{e,t}, \epsilon_{h,t}, \omega_{e,t}, \omega_{h,t}] = N(0, S)$$
(6.1)

The relationship between demand side prices and the supply side is captured by linking the stochastic terms in the demand equation and the pricing equation, as in Equation 6.1.

¹¹This variable was originally released as part of the survey microdata and has since been removed. I managed to obtain the original survey data sets containing the two exogenous price variables. Thanks for this are owed to Peter Reiss. For the 2001 and 2005 surveys this variable was not available and has not been released by the EIA.

 $^{1^2}$ For the heating fuels in some cases more than one fuel type is consumed (for examples small amounts of propane along with the major heating fuel). The instrument (and the average price on the left hand side) is a weighted average of the individual fuel prices in those cases.

The complete model can now be estimated using a simple Markov Chain Monte Carlo sampler, with one addition complication. Going back to the discussion of instruments a few paragraphs ago, one of the problems we have to overcome is that instruments are available only for about half the sample (the 1993 and 1997 survey years). With one additional assumption this constraint is straightforward to circumvent in a bayesian paradigm. The assumption we make is that the type specific, price response coefficient does not change over time. Appliance stocks are still allowed to modify the price coefficient and thus the primary source of heterogeneity is still retained. Referring back to remarks made in Section 4, it is for this reason that the second level heterogeneity specification for electricity is different from the other parameters in that the Time variable is not present in $\tilde{G}_{e,t}$ (see Table 1 and equations 4.1-4.7).

With this assumption in place, the complete estimation is carried out using a two stage procedure. First, I use only the first half of the dataset and instrumenting for price, recover type specific price coefficient posteriors (along with those for the other parameters). Next in step two I re-estimate the demand side using the complete dataset. In this step I treat the price coefficient as known and where required in the MCMC sampler, I draw from the posterior estimated in step one. Since the first step yields a consistent estimate of the price coefficients for all types, this distribution may be used in the second stage provided we are willing to treat the price coefficient as a structural parameter that does not change significantly between the 1993-1997 period and the 2001-2005 period.

As I show in Section 7.2, it turns out that the price elasticity I estimate is very close to prior estimates in the literature that have used the full price schedule and have been estimated for similar households.

7 Results

I discuss the results emerging from the estimated demand system in three parts. I begin in Section 7.1 with an overview of the extent to which California households seem to differ from their counterparts elsewhere, once we control for a variety of structural factors. I show this amount is relatively small - certainly when compared to the stark picture the Rosenfeld curve presents on its own. Next in Section 7.2, I consider the issue of price response and the variation in this parameter within the population. In doing so I also discuss the average elasticity I estimate in the context of other results in the literature. In Section 7.3 I discuss evidence that emerges from this model and the RECS data that supports theories of the existence of split incentive market failures that reduce the adoption of efficiency measures in rented homes.

The model estimated here provides us information on the observable and unobservable heterogeneity in demand parameters associated with other factors beyond price and the state dummy. Table 3 provides estimates of all second level parameters for electricity and the secondary heating fuel. The columns of the table correspond to parameters in the demand function and rows correspond to characteristics of type (as present in $G_{e,h}$). The estimates at the second level tell us how the presence or absence of a group characteristic modifies the parameters of demand. The values provided are means of the posterior distributions at the second level with significant values marked with a star. The last row of the table provides the scale of the demand function covariates. Finally, note that these estimates can be related to percentage changes in energy consumption owing to different type characteristics.

Interpreting this table requires some care. The row headers are characteristics that a household might possess and segment the population into different types. Each of these characteristics are binary as described in Section 4.2. The column headers are variables in the demand function. The numbers within the cells can be used to read off the coefficients of the estimated demand function. An example might be helpful. Consider Row 1 (Base Row). This row provides the estimated demand function for households that have none of the appliance stocks/ characteristics that are listed below. They have no electric air-conditioning, no electric heating, are not low income and so on. For these households, the demand function coefficients corresponding to each of the demand modifiers (Intercept, HDD, CDD and so on) can be read off in the cells directly to the right. The price coefficient of -2.35 indicates a negative price elasticity (approximately -0.235 at 10 cents per KWh). The coefficient -0.13 (corresponding to the California dummy δ) indicates that this type of household consumes about 13 percent less electricity in California than elsewhere.

The rows below the Base row tell us how demand needs to be modified as household characteristics change. For example, the addition of electric air-conditioning alone will change the demand function for a household and the nature of the new demand function is obtained by adding together the Base Row and the Electric Air-Conditioning row (Row 2). Thus for instance the intercept will go up by from 7.94 to 8.44 (a change of 0.50), as one would expect since an additional electrical end use is now present. Sensitivity to heating degree days changes dramatically from an insignificant estimate of 0.09, to a highly significant estimate of -0.26. Again this makes sense because an appliance is now present whose use is strongly influenced by temperature. In a similar vein the California dummy coefficient decreases further, from -0.13 to -0.22 (a decrease of -0.09). This indicates that the gap between CA and non-CA homes widens when we consider households with air-conditioning as well.

[Table 3 about here.]

7.1 The role of policy

The primary purpose of estimating this model is to understand how much of a difference remains between California households and others in the nation, once we account for the various structural parameters in the demand function. This is represented by the state dummy for CA (denoted by $\delta_{e,h}$). Each of the household types represented in the population is allowed to have a different value of δ_t and it is evidently interesting to see how δ_t varies across types because this tells us something about which policies may have been most effective.

Note that it is possible that there are spillover effects associated with at least some of California's efficiency policies. Accounting for spillovers rigorously is difficult at the best of times, but it is reasonable to argue that for program interventions centered around mandatory building standards and incentives provided to residential consumers to make efficiency purposes, any spillovers are likely to be limited. Assuming very significant spillovers would seem to go against observed consumer reluctance to invest in energy efficiency - the energy efficiency gap is a puzzling and difficult problem precisely because much of the time consumers do not seem to rationally undertake energy saving behavior. That said, regardless of ones beliefs as to the magnitude of these considerations, it would still be accurate to regard the 'policy effect' estimated here as a *net* effect, over and above any spillovers. From the point of view of explaining the Rosenfeld curve (which also only measures net differences between state and nation) we need only explain this net effect.

The estimated parameter values δ_t are interesting and suggest a limited influence of policy. The values of δ may be expressed in terms of a percentage reduction in electricity or heating fuel use associated with being in California owing to the effect of efficiency measures and any confounding unobservables missing in the model. When combined with the representation of household types in the population (using the probability weights associated with each observation in the RECS survey) they can be used to obtain a distribution of residual effects (δ)¹³. Figures 8.5 and 8.6 illustrate these distributions for electricity and the secondary heating fuels respectively.

Note that each of these figures contains two distribution plots - one computed using the distribution of households in the United States as a whole and the other using the California distribution. Because the distribution of household types in the two populations is not identical, and because the reductions captured by δ vary with type, we would expect the nature of demand shifts in the country as a whole to differ from that in California even if both groups had been subjected to exactly the same policy measures and reacted in similar ways. The differences between the distribution shapes and mean reductions in Figures 8.5 and 8.6 illustrate this fact. They also demonstrate how the estimates of a model can be used to make predictive statements about another population and why heterogeneity is so important here. It is precisely because all households are not the same, and will not react to a program intervention the

¹³As a rough approximation the parameter value directly translates to a percentage decline but to determine percentages accurately it is necessary to also account for the fact that each type specific δ_t estimate is associated with a household type with different mean consumption levels. Furthermore posterior distributions of δ_t differ across types. To accurately compute expected population distributions therefore, one needs to carry out a simulation exercise using the posterior parameter distribution.

same way, that the results of similar interventions in different populations will differ. For that reason, simply calculating an average estimate of policy impact is only of limited utility.

The figures show the simulated distribution of treatment effects (the 'California Effect' captured by δ). There is heterogeneity induced by the different household types in the population, each of which are allowed to have a different average effect. The curve is smooth because the model fits a normal distribution to each of the different types, what is plotted is therefore a mixture of normals. The table shows how δ varies across types and is simple the relevant column taken from Table 3.

Overall the estimates of δ capture an effect corresponding to around a 13.7 percent reduction in California (as a percentage of the national average consumption). For the secondary heating fuel (natural gas for the most part in California), the California effect unexplained by structure is much higher at about 40 percent of the national average. At first glance this might suggest that there are confounding factors in the secondary fuel demand model that are contributing to this difference. Two potential confounds of this type are household behavior and technology differences. However while both may contribute to the overall effects captured by δ it is not entirely misleading to regard them as indicators of 'efficiency'.

With regards behavior - especially as it relates to heating end uses - the RECS data sets do reveal some evidence of differences in the way Californians treat energy when compared with the rest of the nation. For instance in 2005, more Californians reported lowering the temperature in the day when the house is empty and while sleeping than the national average. As many as 45 percent of Californian residents reported that they switched off heating when the house was empty as opposed to about 8 percent for the nation as a whole. There are two points of view that one might take regarding such conservation behavior. One is that it represents the outcome of regulatory and utility efforts to educate consumers about the importance of saving energy. The other point of view is that Californians are intrinsically different from the rest of the nation and these differences arise completely independent of policy. As with all things, the truth probably lies somewhere in between, but this author inclines more to the former point of view.

The other cause for a large difference, especially in natural gas consumption, may be intrinsic technological differences. In grouping together the secondary heating fuels because of their similarity in how the consumer interacts with them we have also compared different combustion technologies. Natural gas home heating tends to be more efficient than using fuel oil where the need to maintain exhaust at a certain minimum heat results in combustion efficiencies that normally cannot exceed 85 percent. A natural gas furnace on the other hand, which burns a higher quality fuel, can be much more efficient (around 95 percent for the best models). Unfortunately I am unaware of any good estimate of the efficiency of the stock of home furnaces in different parts of the country and therefore it is hard to separate the role of this factor in explaining δ_h .

7.1.1 Have HVAC interventions been the real success story?

Figures 8.5 and 8.6 also provide the estimated parameter values for δ_e, δ_h at the second level of the hierarchy (as does Table 3). This is useful to see how the difference between households in the state and those outside varies depending on type characteristics. These estimates provide a type of difference in differences estimator that suggests that heating and cooling end uses might be one area where program interventions have been especially successful.

[Figure 5 about here.]

[Figure 6 about here.]

The tables next to the distribution plots tell us how the difference between CA and non-CA house varies with the presence of type characteristics. The first row (Base) is the magnitude of δ_e associated with households that have none of the additional electrical end uses - that is no electric heating, water heating or cooling, a zero for the durables indicator. They are also not in the poorest quintile and do not own homes. The parameter value in the second row (Electric AC for Figure 8.5) indicates that households with this characteristic show an even larger CA effect (δ values going from -0.13 for Base types to -0.22, an addition of -0.09, when an electric AC is owned). The rows below this tell us whether this difference increases or decreases as a specific type characteristic is 'added on' (that is they provide the net effect of each characteristic on δ_e). There are significant effects associated with electric air-conditioning, electric heating, durables ownership and time. The difference also increases on average with time (about 7 percent between the 1993-97 and the 2001-2005 cohorts). Finally - and somewhat counter-intuitively - the state nation divergence reduces when the durables indicator is 1. Low income households also show a greater than average California effect.

These numbers are interesting, especially those associated with the electric air conditioning and heating dummies, because in one sense they provide stronger evidence of the role of policy than the top level distribution of δ_e alone. Recall that one disadvantage of the estimate δ_e is that it potentially contains other factors that are unobserved but correlated with California households and independent of efficiency policy. The change in δ_e in households with electric air-conditioning however might do a much better job of eliminating unobserved confounding factors. To be specific, one may assume that the base value of δ_e (about 13 percent) captures any confounding effects and some fraction of efficiency policy impacts that influence even 'base' consumption households. Then the increment to δ_e owing to electric air conditioning (a further 9 percent reduction) exists over and above these confounds (it is the difference in δ_e values between households with and without electric air-conditioning) and provides much stronger evidence that policy interventions may have helped reduce energy used for cooling end uses. This is indicative of a significant impact of building standards, insulation rebates, air-conditioner appliance standards and so on.

A similar argument holds for the increased (in magnitude) state effect (δ) for households with electric heating and this again points to possibly large impacts of programs targeting HVAC technologies. These measures include Title 24 building standards, rebates provided for the purchase of insulation and for home retrofits and utility financed installation of programmable thermostats in homes. Finally, other programs that are not focused on heating and cooling (such as efficient CFL lighting subsidies) may have played some role in driving the baseline reduction that is observed. Other recent work that has suggested a significant impact of building standards in California is Kahn and Costa [20] and Aroonruengsawat et al. [3].

The change in δ_e corresponding to Time in the second level points to a diverging trend. This estimator measures the difference in rates of change between the two populations. Whether this owes to greater policy differences in this period or not is debatable. However it is consistent with the implication of the Rosenfeld curve that the state of California has steadily pulled away from the nation over time. The estimate is small but highly significant even though only a limited amount of time variation is available in the data. Note that over the period of time studied here the rate of divergence between the two population intensities does seem to have slowed.

Lastly we have a result that suggests that households in California with more durables (or at least both a clothes washer and a clothes dryer) are significantly less different in percentage terms than their counterparts elsewhere (there is significant positive increment in δ_e). This might suggest that households in California with more durables consume more electricity without an offsetting difference in efficiency compared to their counterparts elsewhere.

7.2 Price response

While the central objective of this study is not to estimate price elasticities, the price coefficients estimated over the household types are still of some interest. One reason for this is that prices of electricity and natural gas are significantly influenced by regulatory policy. In California, utility decoupling initiatives and utility driven efficiency programs have certainly influenced the rate structures consumers see. The average prices of electricity in California are not a result purely of market forces, indeed there would be a strong case for arguing that the largest single determinant of rate changes is regulatory policy. In any case to the extent prices may be slightly different between the state and the rest of the nation, overall consumption should be expected to be different as well. The degree to which price variations will influence electricity and secondary fuel consumption levels will depend on the price response (inferred from parameters $\theta_{e,h}$) that is suggested by the data. Note that the parameters $\theta_{e,h}$ do not directly translate to price elasticities but can be expressed as such ($\epsilon_e = \theta_e P_e$). Also, as with the parameter in the previous section we need to draw from type specific elasticity posteriors to obtain the distribution in population of the price elasticity.

Figure 8.7 presents the type specific electricity price elasticities implied by the model corresponding to an average price of 10 cents per KWh (2005 dollars). I interpret my price response as being closer to the medium to long run elasticity of demand which is likely to be larger than a short run elasticity. Whether these are reasonable estimates is a difficult question to answer because it is hard to find much agreement in the literature on what the medium term price elasticity of residential electricity demand actually is. Previous work has estimated widely divergent elasticities. In a meta survey Espey and Espey [12] found that the literature contains estimates of short run price elasticities ranging between -2.01 to -0.004 with a mean of -0.35. Long run elasticities range between -2.25 to -0.04 with a mean of -0.85 and a median of -0.81. Similarly Reiss and White [27] discuss the range of price elasticity estimates in the literature and suggest that numbers ranging from nearly 0 to -0.6 are most commonly obtained. In recent work using a California specific data set, Gillingham et al. [14] find a price responsiveness of near 0 for the specific end use of electric heating. The price elasticities infered here seem reasonable in this light.

There is one interesting feature of the distribution of elasticity estimates that is worth noting. For a population distribution of household types that matches California, there seems to exist a multimodal distribution of price responsiveness with a long tail. There is a large probability mass of less responsive consumers with elasticities around -0.40 and lower and then another cluster of consumers with elasticities around -0.40 and lower and then another cluster of consumers with elasticities around -0.6 (at a constant price). As a qualitative matter, my results indicate that the distribution of price elasticities in California is different from that in the rest of the country with a larger mass of less responsive consumers. This owes to the distribution of different household types with heterogeneous price response coefficients.

[Figure 7 about here.]

Figure 8.7 also contains a table showing how the price coefficient varies with type characteristics. In general there is evidence that consumers with more electrical end uses are more responsive to price - consistent with the idea that they have more 'room to manouvere' since they have a greater number of appliances whose use can be adjusted¹⁴.

I also obtain price elasticities for the secondary heating fuel (primarily fuel oil and natural gas)

¹⁴Households using more electricity are probably paying higher bills and consequently may be more aware of the effects of price changes. This would also lead to similar results of greater elasticities for heavy users but it is not clear that in a cross sectional study of annual elasticities this type of individual salience argument is meaningful.

corresponding to a price of 100 cents per therm. Figure 8.8 presents these estimates. In general price responsiveness seems higher than in the case of electricity and the distribution of heterogeneity in the population is much smoother.

[Figure 8 about here.]

7.3 The 'Split Incentives' problem

It has often been theorized in the energy literature that home owners may be more likely than renters and/or households that do not pay for electricity directly, to make energy efficiency investments (see Murtishaw and Sathaye 24). This is an instance of an incentive compatibility problem wherein households who do not own their dwelling are unlikely to be willing to make long term investments with large capital costs that would improve the energy efficiency of the building. At the same time the owner might not wish to make this investment either energy bills are paid by the tenant and consequently there would be no direct benefit to the owner from making efficiency upgrades.

As a consequence one might expect energy consumption in dwellings occupied by owners to be lower than it is in rented homes. In practice however, this hypothesis has been difficult to test directly. Two recent working papers that attempt to shed some light on this problem are Gillingham et al. [14] and Davis [8]. The authors come to mixed conclusions. The first paper looks at heating energy use and finds no strong evidence of differences in energy consumption, nor the temperature levels at which thermostats are set. The authors do point out however that households show certain differences in the frequency with which they change heating and cooling temperature settings depending on whether they pay for heating or not. They also point out that insulation levels seems better in households which own their dwelling. Davis examines whether there is a significant difference in the ownership of energy efficient appliances between home owners and tenants (based on the 2005 RECS data) and finds that there is does seem to be the case. This paper does not look at differences in other investments such as insulation and weatherization however, both of which (as the author also notes), might be even more likely candidate for split incentive problems. Unfortunately neither of these two studies looks at energy use directly.

I am able to make a contribution to this debate and highlight some of the reasons why it may be difficult to detect split incentive considerations in practice. To do this we need to look at the way the constant term in the demand function changes for the two fuel types (electricity and the secondary fuel), depending on whether or not the household owns the dwelling. This information is provided in Table 3 in the first column.

7.3.1 Electricity versus the secondary fuel

To begin, let us consider the difference between the qualitative sign of the parameter estimates associated with home ownership for the two fuels. Electricity use seems to increase for households that are home owners. The parameter estimate at the second level is 0.43 and significant, translating to an increase in electricity consumption of about 48 percent associated with home ownership¹⁵. This likely reflects two factors at play here. First, home owners, all else equal are likely to be richer than those who are renters. While the income effects associated with electricity consumption may be small, appliance ownership (as I have remarked earlier) will increase with income. To the extent that home ownership plays the part of a proxy for greater income and increased appliance stocks, it is unsurprising that electricity use may increase for home owners. Secondly, even at the same income level, it is likely that home owners may make greater investments in electricity using appliances than renters. 'Feathering ones nest' is an important part of living in your own house and one might expect home owners to invest in a variety of small and large appliances - home theatre systems, increased lighting, workshop equipment in garages and so on.

If home owners do indeed gradually accumulate more electricial appliances it is not surprising that their net electricity consumption will exceed that of renters. This effect may well swamp any efficiency improvements that might occur because of increased adoption of efficiency enhancing technologies. I suggest this underlies the increase in electricity consumption levels predicted for electricity by the model. Detecting split incentives in electricity consumption might therefore be much easier to do by looking directly at the existence of efficient appliances in the home (rather than overall electricity consumption). This is the approach Davis [8] takes.

The situation is somewhat different for secondary heating fuels - natural gas, fuel oil and the like. Unlike in the case of electricity, it is by no means clear that increases in income would translate to the addition of different end uses for these fuels. This is simply a reflection of the fact that these fuels are primarily used for thermal heating purposes, which tend to be limited to cooking, space heating, water heating and occasionally clothes drying. Furthermore whether or not a household is set up to use natural gas for these end uses is primarily a consequence of the availability of the fuel and building construction considerations that are not easily amenable to changes after the initial choice. Thus income increases would not necessarily translate to a wider range of end uses for the secondary fuel. This is all the more so since the end uses for the secondary fuels are rather basic and would need to be in place whether or not the resident owns or rents the dwelling.

¹⁵This number can be calculated by converting the log parameter estimates to original energy consumption numbers (by taking an exponent of the parameter value). For electricity, mean consumption by renters is given by e^{E_r} where E_r is the log of average electricity consumption by renter households. The increase in expected consumption due to a switch to home ownership is given by $e^{(E_r+\Delta_i)} - e^{E_r}$, where Δ_i is the parameter estimate corresponding to home-ownership (0.43).

As a consequence of these differences in the way electricity is used as opposed to the secondary fuels, one might expect that differences in the level of investment in efficiency enhancing technologies would more visibly influence energy consumption of heating fuels than it would electricity.Recall that large capital intensive investments with long pay back periods - retrofits, insulation upgrades and the like - are all strong candidates for split incentive problems and at the same time are aimed largely at improving HVAC efficiency. And indeed, in the case of the heating fuels, the demand model predicts entirely different behavior for homeowners as opposed to renters. The coefficient estimate is again significant but negative implying a decrease in secondary fuel consumption of about 29 percent corresponding to a shift from a rented dwelling to an owned dwelling.

I therefore interpret the significant negative coefficient associated with home ownership (indicative of significant declines in consumption of heating fuels for such homes) as being relatively strong evidence that is consistent with the existence of incentive compatibility market failures. Taken together with the results in Davis [8], which focused on electricity and suggested that home owners may possess more efficient appliances on average, I suggest that these results present evidence that the split incentive problem may be even more severe for the other fuels. Table 4 presents some other, more direct, indicators of energy efficiency investments focusing on behaviors that are closely tied to the end uses that the secondary fuels are used to fulfill. The intent is simply to show that there seems consistent evidence of increased diffusion of these technologies and behaviors amongst home owners than renters (who may not pay utility bills directly and may have fewer incentives to invest in home efficiency upgrades). This might explain why they appear to consume less energy. For a more rigorous claim one would wish to control for other covariates such as income and credit constraints and the like in comparing the outcome variables in Table 4, but that is an analysis best left to a separate study.

[Table 4 about here.]

8 Synthesis

It is helpful to collect together the model estimates for both electricity and the secondary fuel in order to break down the Rosenfeld effect into its constitutive components. I use the demand parameters estimated here for different household types and combine these with RECS sample weights to obtain implied reductions in California demand due to various structural factors. Similarly, I also form a population estimate for the California dummy (or bound on treatment) $\delta_{e,h}$.

The Rosenfeld curve is normally drawn in units of per capita electricity consumption and energy per capita is a very commonly used statistic when discussing how the energy use characteristics of populations. Therefore Figures 8.9, 8.10 use this metric and convert household reductions to per capita reductions. In order to compute these effects sizes the estimated demand function parameters are combined with California and non-California mean values for the various covariates. This is done separately for each household type and averaged over the population using the RECS sampling weights corresponding to each type. This tells us the influence of the structural differences between California and the United States. I plot reductions due to only those factors that pass a significance test - i.e for whom the uncertainty in demand parameter posteriors is not so large as to negate the possibility of making statistically significant statements regarding the difference between the two populations. For instance,

$$y_{e,t} = \ln(x_e) = \beta'_{e,t} Z'_t + \delta_{e,t} (CA) - \theta_{e,t} P_{e,t} + \epsilon_{e,t}$$

$$\Delta KWH_{t,price} = exp(\hat{\theta}_{e,t}P_{CA,t} + \hat{E}_{ca}) - exp(\hat{\theta}_{e,t}P_{US,t} + \hat{E}_{ca,t})$$

 ΔKWH_{price} is an estimate of the change in annual electricity consumption that a household type in California would show if prices faced by all members of that type were changed to be the same as those outside the state (all else held equal). When $P_{CA,t}$ (the actual California prices) is systematically higher than $P_{US,t}$ (prices in non-CA households) then ΔKWH_{price} will be negative, implying a reduction in state consumption owing to higher prices. Here $\hat{\theta}_{e,t}$ is the price coefficient estimated from the data and $\hat{E}_{ca,t}$ is the mean electricity consumption in California for the type in question. Because the parameter estimates $\hat{\theta}_{e,t}$ are stochastic with some estimated posterior distribution the implied change in consumption will also be uncertain. The distribution of ΔKWH_{price} can be used to carry out a significance test. Note that the primary effect of climate is likely to be in changing the type distribution (determined largely by appliance ownership) of households. For instance household types with electric AC are less common inside California. This is in part a climate effect but will influence energy consumption independent of any efficiency program effects. The block marked type distribution in the graphs below accounts for these differences in population composition. Consequently I interpret the HDD and CDD effect as representing additional effects on demand over and above their influence on appliance purchase.

[Figure 9 about here.]

[Figure 10 about here.]

It is easy to see from Figure 8.9 that the average reductions in electricity consumption that we may attribute to non-price policy impact is very limited at about 317 KWh per capita annually or approximately 20 percent of the overall difference between the state and the rest of the nation. This is still a significant reduction of course but it suggests a very different story than a comparison of electricity

intensities by themselves. When the impact of price is included the total share due to price (heavily influenced by regulation) and policy is about 512 KWh annually or 32.5 percent of the actual difference.

The recently released California Energy Commissions 2010-2020 Demand Forecast model provides updated official estimates of cumulative savings in the residential sector over time. A comparison with California Energy Commission (CEC) estimates of the effects of utility programs and regulatory standards is instructive. It is a difficult task to accurately quantify savings gained from these efforts, in large part because of the variety and number of individual utility programs. The CEC does produce some aggregate figures, compiled from the aggregation of various quantification methodologies applied to individual programs, the outputs from a detailed energy system model, and self reported utility estimates of savings¹⁶. Education, training and awareness generation programs are excluded from savings estimates due to the difficulty in quantifying them. Some caution should be exercised in interpreting CEC estimates provided for comparison in Table 5 because numbers published in different years as part of the demand forecast models have typically been subject to changes and modifications. The figures reported here are the total electricity savings estimates for 2001 and 2005 from the California Energy Demand 2010 - 2020 Commission-Adopted Forecast (CEC 2010), which contains revised estimates of efficiency savings. It is interesting that the residential sector savings estimates are close to the results we obtain given that they derive from an entirely different bottom up approach.

[Table 5 about here.]

The relative agreement between the regulator's newest figures and our own is heartening as an evaluation of the California Energy Commission's current methods although as remarked earlier regulator estimates have been modified on an ongoing basis. That said, it is important and useful to use empirical microdata as an evaluation technique because in general regulators and a utility do have an incentive to over-report savings once policy is funded.

I use the econometric model to estimate the policy bound and impact of prices for the 1993-97 and 2001-05 periods and then interpolate between the two periods. I compare with the newest CEC estimates of program impacts over this period of time. Figure 8.11 contains the results. This graph is instructive on the question of how much of the Rosenfeld effect might actually be policy driven.

[Figure 11 about here.]

For the secondary heating fuel (natural gas in California) I obtain a much larger estimate of δ_g suggesting that about 43 percent of the difference between California and non-California households might owe to the state's efficiency related efforts. An additional 12.3 percent can be attributed to price

¹⁶Some details on the methodology used in making forecasts and savings estimates are available in the Energy Demand Forecast Methods Report (California Energy Commission 2005).

differences and 21.2 percent of the gap owes to differences in household types. Again these findings are qualitatively consistent with the conclusions of separate studies carried out recently such as Kahn and Costa [20] that indicate that building standards might have been an especially effective part of the portfolio of efficiency enhancing interventions attempted in California.

A few final remarks are worth making here. Even though for California it appears that the influence of efficiency interventions may have been limited in scope, as Figure 8.5 and 8.6 show the impact on different household types is quite varied. Households with energy expenditures on heating and cooling end uses seem to be most clearly impacted. Yet with regards electricity demand these types are also only a relatively small fraction (especially in the case of air conditioning) of the California population. This would seem to suggest that the potential impact of similar policies - such as strong building standards and incentives to improve air-conditioner efficiency - might be much greater in geographies that have more extreme climates.

To make a broader methodological point, in the energy community, comparisons of energy intensity are very popular. This single metric (typically expressed per unit GDP instead of per capita) also remains fundamental to international climate change negotiations. Part of the motivation for this analysis has been to make the point that while indices such as energy intensities (and more sophisticated versions derived from decomposition methods) can provide a great deal of insight, they also hide as much as they reveal. In particular, we need to be careful when we identify seemingly spectacular success stories screened on the basis of a single aggregate statistic.

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Figure 8.1: The Rosenfeld Curve showing the evolution of per capita electricity consumption in California and the United States



Figure 8.2: Sector-wise comparison of California and US electricity consumption (Source: EIA electricity sales figures).



Figure 8.3: U.S. residential energy consumption percentages by end use. M denotes end uses with mixed fuels. E denotes electrical end uses. Source: DOE 2010 Buildings Energy Data Book. URL: http://buildingsdatabook.eren.doe.gov/TableView.aspx?table=2.1.5



Figure 8.4: Schematic of Pacific Gas and Electric rate structure as of August 2010. Note that level of consumption defined as the baseline differs across the service territories of the utility, may vary by season. Low income consumers face a different rate structure.



Figure 8.5: Percentage reductions in electricity consumption attributed to the California dummy (δ_e) . Table provides second level parameter estimates showing how δ_e varies across type characteristics. ** indicates 90 percent significance, * indicates 85 percent significance.



Figure 8.6: Percentage reductions in electricity consumption attributed to the California dummy (δ_h) . Table provides second level parameter estimates showing how δ_e varies across type characteristics. ** indicates 90 percent significance, * indicates 85 percent significance.



Figure 8.7: Variation in price elasticity across household types. Elasticities are computed from price coefficient estimates assuming an average price of 10 cents per KWh. Average elasticity for California and the US population differs due to differences in type distribution.



Figure 8.8: Variation in price elasticity of the secondary fuel across household types. Elasticities are computed from price coefficient estimates assuming an average price of 1 dollar per therm.



Decomposition of Rosenfeld Effect for Electricity (Residential Sector 2001-05)

Figure 8.9: A decomposition of the difference between California and the rest of the country in per capita electricity consumption. Numbers at the bottom are block heights in annual KWh per capita. The green block is the bound on California program effects (the δ dummy). Estimates are averages over the 2001, 2005 time periods.



Decomposition of Rosenfeld Effect for Secondary Fuel (Residential Sector, 2001-05)

Figure 8.10: A decomposition of the difference between California and the rest of the country in per capita heating fuel consumption. Numbers at the bottom are block heights in annual KBtu per capita. The green block is the bound on California program effects (the δ dummy). Estimates are averages over the 2001, 2005 time periods.



Figure 8.11: Counterfactual plots of California electricity intensities absent policy and higher prices compared with California Energy Commission estimates.

Demand Equation	G_e : Type Characteristics (Electricity)	G_h : Type Characteristics (Secondary Fuel)
Intercept	Intercept	Intercept
Cooling and Heating Degree Days	Electric Air-Conditioning	Electric Water Heating
Price (Electricity)	Electric Water Heating	Electric Heating
Price (Secondary Fuel)	Electric Heating	Home Ownership
Housing Unit Floorspace	Durables Ownership	Very Low Income
Household Size	Home Ownership	Time (Absent $in\tilde{G}$)
Housing Unit Age	Very Low Income	
Occupancy Dummy	Time (Absent $in\tilde{G}$)	
${ m Urban}/{ m Rural \ Location}$		
California Dummy		

Table 1: Model covariates in demand function (left column) and heterogeneity segmentation for the two fuels (right columns). Number of types estimated from the data: 97 (electricity demand model), 31 (secondary heating fuel model).

	Time Period	Electricity (KWh)	Secondary Fuel (1000 BTU)	Fraction All-Electric
Outside CA	1993-1997	10683.50	93823.94	0.28
California	1993 - 1997	6443.78	50527.17	0.14
Outside CA	2001-2005	11153.41	80851.06	0.24
California	2001-2005	6549.64	47319.76	0.09

Table 2: Average consumption per household of electricity and secondary heating fuels (where used) in California and the rest of the nation

Parameter Variation with Type Characteristics in Electricity Demand Equation													
	Intercept	HDD	CDD	HomeArea	${ m HHMemb ers}$	Old Hou se	New Hou se	$\operatorname{At}\operatorname{Hom} e$	HHAge	Rural	Urb an	CA (δ)	$\operatorname{PriceCoeff}$
Base	7.94**	0.09	0.40**	0.23**	1.05**	-0.06**	-0.16**	0.03	0.03	0.10**	-0.04	-0.13**	-2.35**
Electric Air-Conditioning	0.50**	-0.35**	0.25**	0.02	-0.10**	0.02	0.06*	0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.09**	-1.60**
Electric Water Heating	0.46^{**}	0.20**	-0.33**	-0.02	0.17**	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.57**
Electric Heating	0.35**	0.03	-0.19**	0.05*	-0.11*	0.02	-0.06*	-0.05*	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.05	-0.83**
Durables	0.39**	-0.04	0.08	-0.10**	0.06	0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.01	0.04	-0.02	0.08**	-0.58**
Home Ownership	0.43**	-0.21**	-0.24**	-0.08**	-0.01	-0.04	-0.06	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.84**
Low Income	-0.03	-0.04	-0.11*	0.01	0.08	0.06**	0.05*	0.00	-0.07**	0.02	0.05*	-0.06*	0.03
Time	-0.01	0.05	0.13**	-0.04*	0.06	0.00	0.08**	0.02	-0.07**	0.01	-0.01	-0.07**	NA
Units	1	10000 DD	5000 DD	1000 sq.ft	$10 \mathrm{\ per\ son\ s}$	1	1	1	$50 { m yr s}$	1	1	1	$1 \operatorname{cent}/\mathrm{KWh}$
		Pa	arameter V <i>a</i>	riation with [Type Character	istics in Seα	ondary Fuel I	Demand Eq	1 ation				
	Intercept	HDD	CDD	HomeArea	$\rm HHMemb ers$	Old Hou se	New Hou se	$\operatorname{At}\operatorname{Hom} e$	HHAge	Rural	Urb an	CA (δ)	$\operatorname{PriceCoeff}$
Base	11.40**	0.16	-0.87**	0.16*	0.54**	0.19**	0.10	0.08	0.03	-0.09	-0.05	-0.58**	-5.85**
Electric Water Heating	-0.41**	0.54**	0.40**	-0.06	0.23**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	0.13*	0.11	-0.02	0.21**	-0.07
Electric Heating	0.08	-0.05	-0.09	0.09	0.26**	-0.04	-0.17**	-0.06	-0.04	0.05	0.05	0.02	-2.13**
Home Ownership	-0.26**	0.18*	0.16	0.00	-0.10	-0.06	-0.10	-0.01	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.11	1.23**
Low Income	-0.05	-0.12	0.01	0.03*	0.02	0.07*	-0.07	0.01	0.01	0.15*	-0.03	-0.05	-1.40**
Time	-0.22**	0.14	0.06	-0.03	-0.22**	0.08	-0.12	0.06	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	NA
Units	1	10000 DD	5000 DD	1000 sq.ft	$10 \mathrm{\ per\ son\ s}$	1	1	1	$50 { m yr s}$	1	1	1	$1 \ \mathrm{cent} / 10^4 \mathrm{BTU}$

Table 3: Mean values of the second level hierarchy coefficients. The header row lists parameters present in the demand equation. The Intercept row provides base values of these parameters. Each subsequent named row provides the mean increment or decrement associated with each demand parameter for households that possess the related row characteristic. A single star indicates significance at an 85 percent credibility level and two stars indicate significance at 90 percent.

Efficiency Behavior	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	
Well Insulated Home	42.00%	30.30%	
Low-E Coating (Double or Triple Pane)	9.99%	1.52%	
Some Windows Replaced	23.30%	10.61%	
Have Programmable Thermostat	35.47%	16.36%	
Reduce Temperature During Day	58.48%	43.40%	
Reduce Temperature During Night	67.15%	53.70%	
Lower Heat When Unoccupied	40.08%	27.88%	
Lower Heat At Night	42.64%	22.42%	

Table 4: Indicators of efficiency investments in homeowners and renters from the 2005 RECS survey.

Year	CEC (Residential)	CEC (Industrial)	CEC (Commercial)
2001	427	=	258
2005	524	-	307

Table 5: Revised CEC savings estimates of California programs from the 2010-2020 Demand Forecast. Energy commission estimates exclude market and price effects. Figures in KWh per capita.