




# Why Is Electric Competition Proving So Expensive?

Robert McCullough  
McCullough Research

May 23, 2007



## Things to come . . .

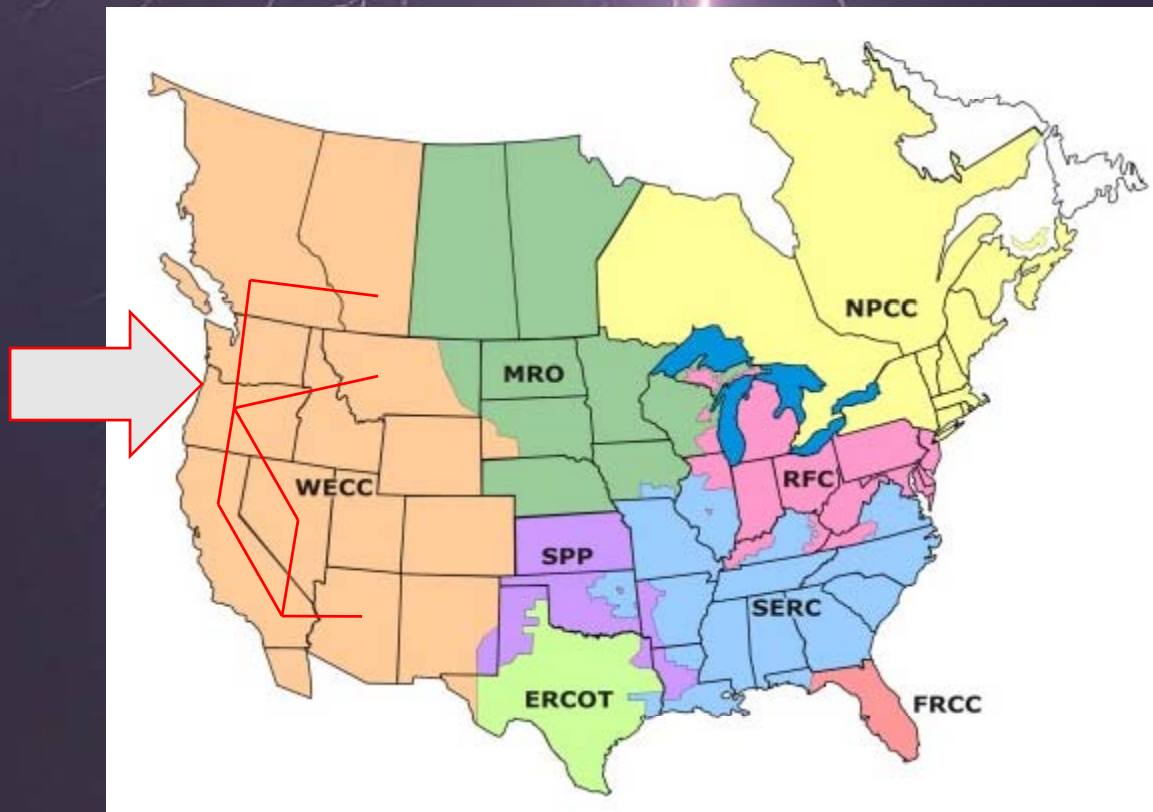
- Where are we?
- How did we get here?
- The onset of competition in wholesale markets
- California rejects the WSPP and embraces the English model
- How have we done since?
- Why are things working so poorly?



## Where are we?

- We are the hub of the western half of the WECC
- Our location is not random – we are the child of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and J.D. Ross
- We enjoy the most open market in the U.S. and Canada

You are here:

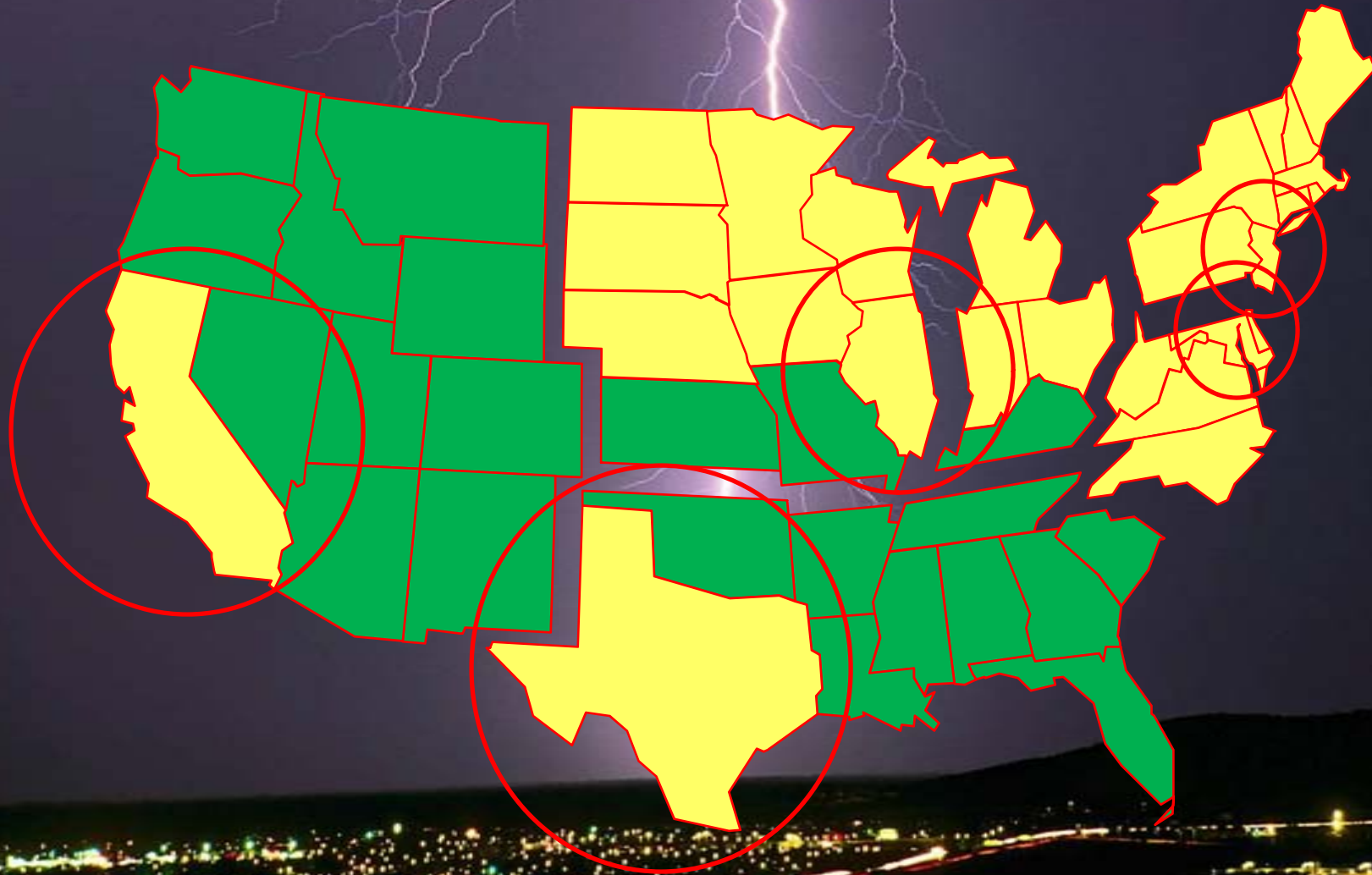


A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is a prominent feature in the dark sky.

## Terminology

- RTO – Regional Transmission Organization – also known as an Independent System Operator or ISO.
- Heat Rate: Rate of transformation from natural gas to electricity. Usually reported in the number of btu required to make a kilowatt-hour.
- Administered markets – markets where stylized market rules are administered by a central authority

# RTO and Non-RTO States



A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is a prominent feature in the dark sky.

## Recent Events

- Texas price increases outstrip fuel costs – high levels of concentration and pivotal bidder behavior
- Default bidder auctions in Illinois (40% over non-auction prices)
- Default bidder auctions in New Jersey and Maryland (20% over non-auction prices)

A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible at the bottom, and the lightning bolt is a prominent vertical streak of light in the center of the dark sky.

## Competition Where?

- BPA proposed selling its short term supplies on the open market
- PGE implemented these supplies as economic development supplies to local industry
- A robust wholesale market soon spanned the west coast
- Major industries gained the right to access the market under a family of subterfuges
- By the late 1990s most major Pacific Northwest industry enjoyed market pricing in some fashion
- Thermal plant availability increased from 80% to 92%





# California Rejects Free Markets

- After a prolonged review in the mid-1990s, California authorities reject open markets in favor of the administered British approach
- Let a hundred regulators intervene, make a hundred markets opaque
- California's markets were, in the words of the convicted felon, Tim Belden, "prone to gaming"
- California's model has been adopted by half of the U.S. and Canada

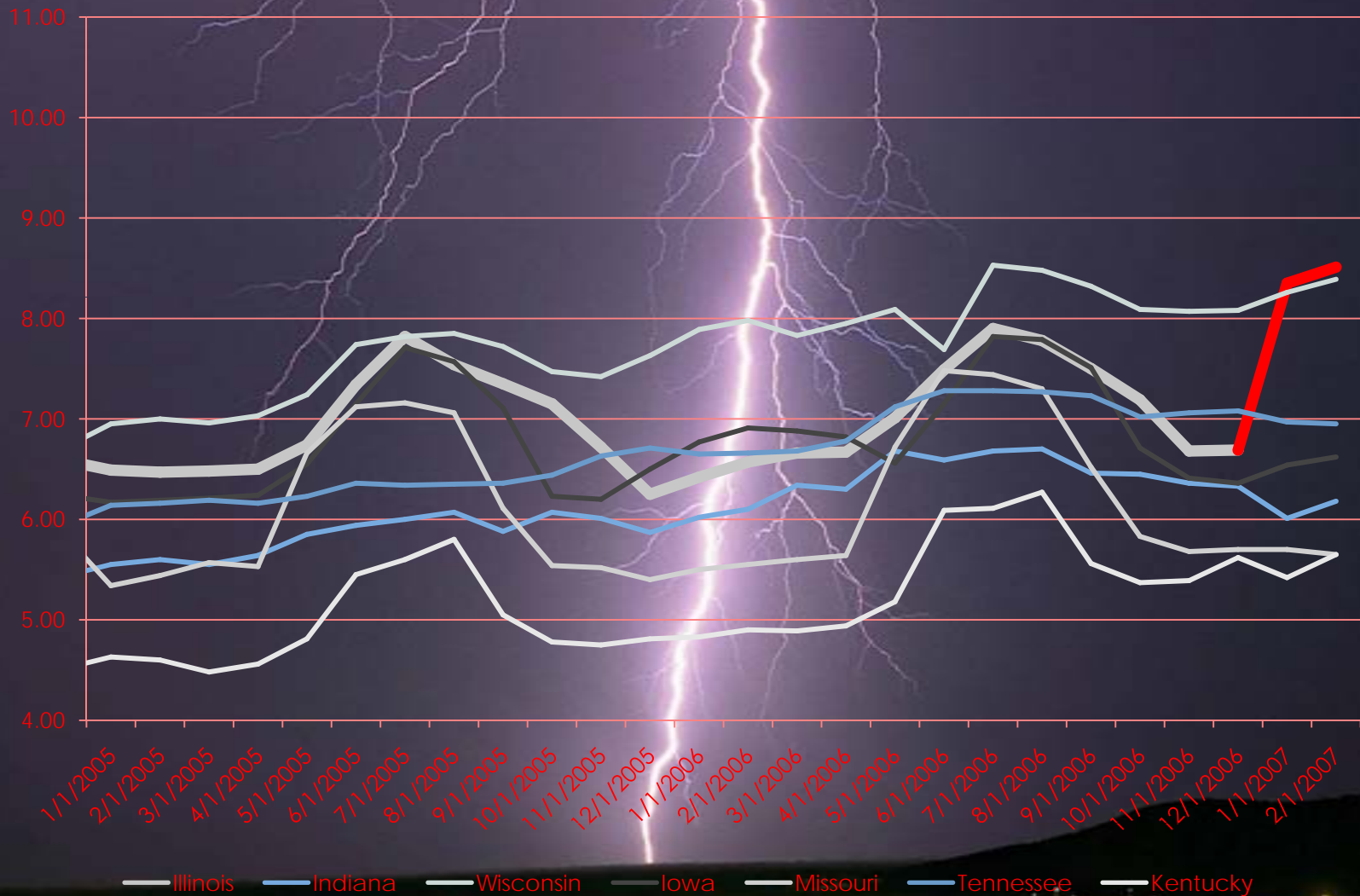
A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is a prominent feature in the dark sky.

## The Illinois Auction

- The two major utilities “auctioned off” their customers in a complex, highly secretive auction this past summer
- Although they were restricted from “buying back” more than 30% of their customers, Illinois has neither transmission access, nor surplus generation to serve 20,000 megawatts of demand
- Not surprisingly, the results were not great
- Average prices were \$80/MWh
- Average Total Cost was approximately \$40/MWh
- Marginal Cost was also approximately \$40/MWh

# Illinois and Neighboring States

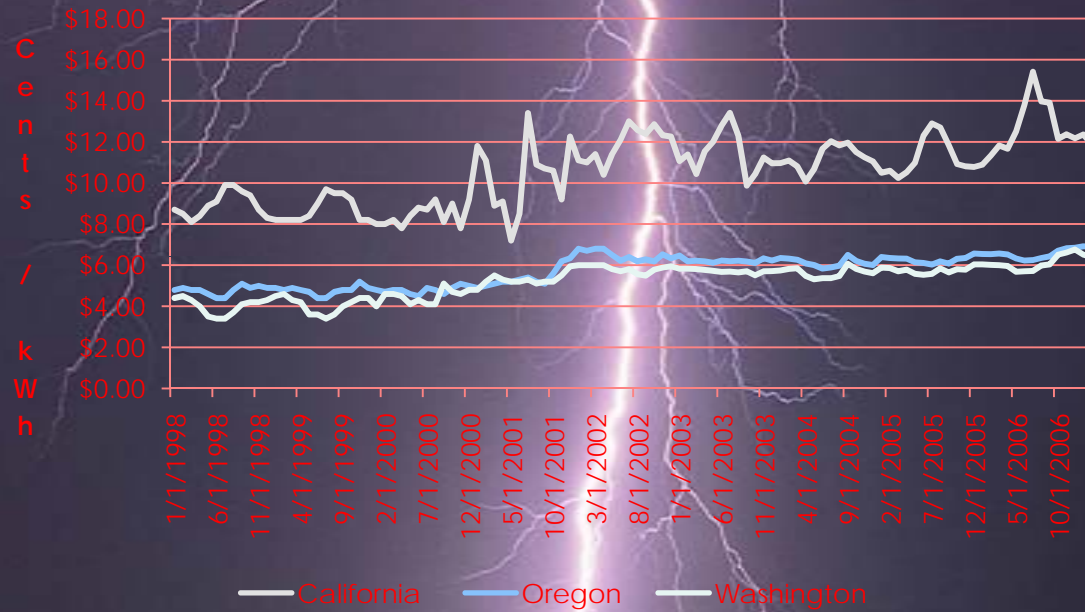
Source: Table 5.6.A  
EIA Electric Power Monthly



— Illinois — Indiana — Wisconsin — Iowa — Missouri — Tennessee — Kentucky

# California, Oregon, and Washington Electric Rates

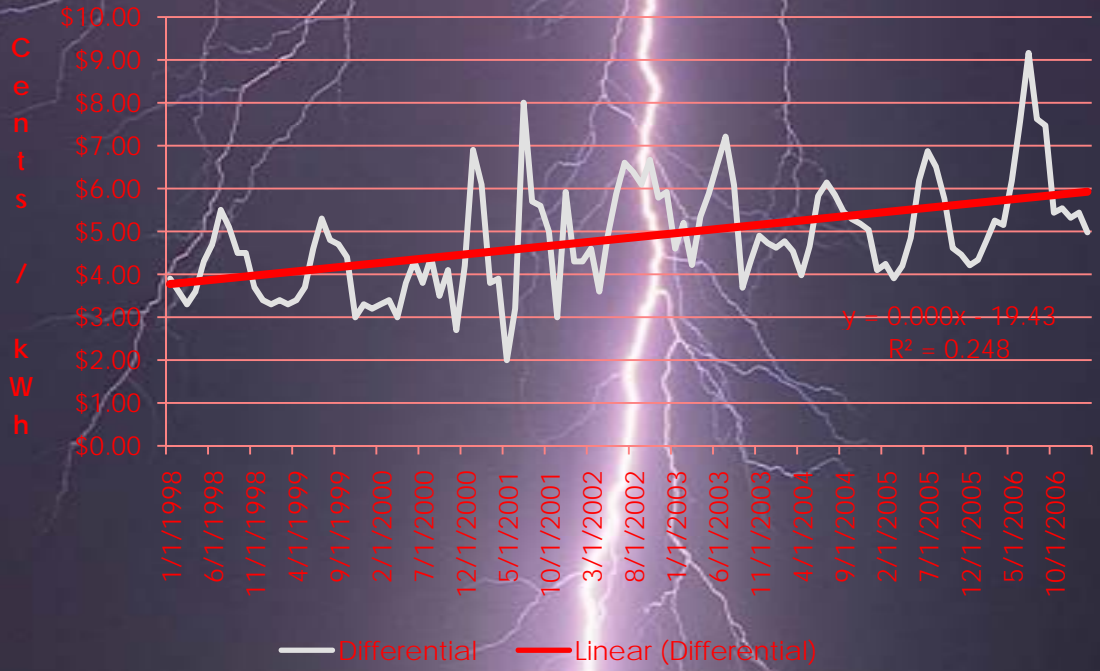
Source: Table 5.6.A  
EIA Electric Power Monthly



The local success story

# Is the Differential Increasing?

Source: Table 5.6.A  
EIA Electric Power Monthly



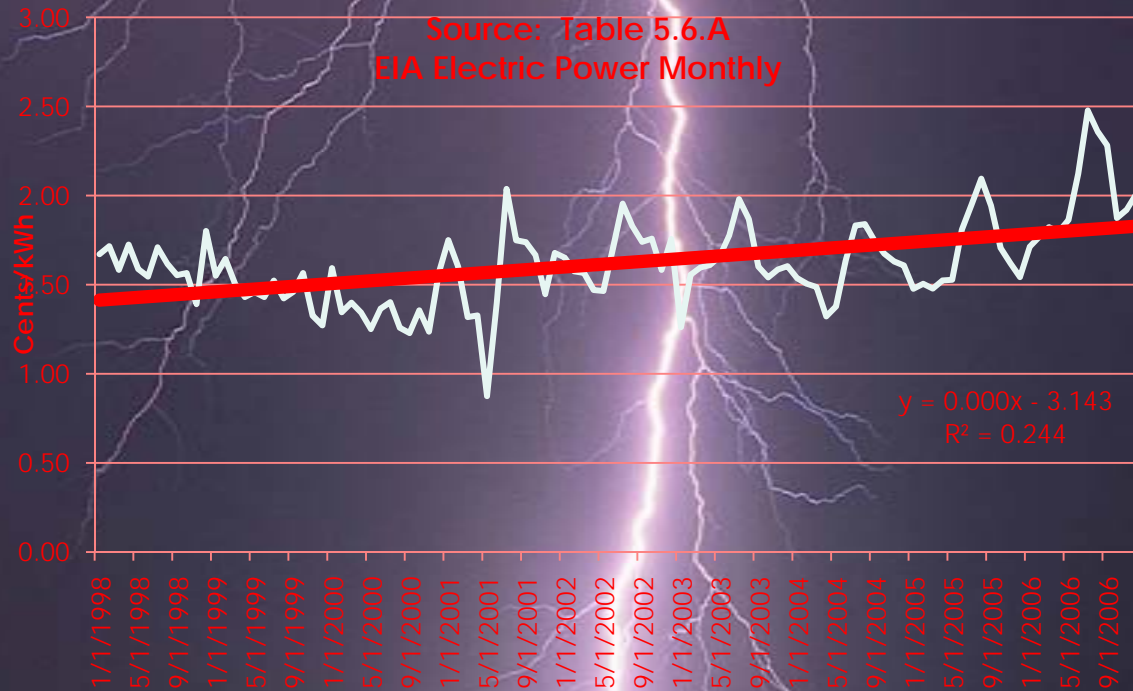
California has failed – decisively – to reduce its rates relative to its neighbors

A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

## How have we done since?

- Not very well
- The California model has been adopted (with many perplexing baroque touches) in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, and throughout the Midwest
- Relative to free market states, rates are up and reliability is down

## Differential Between RTO and Non-RTO Electric Rates to Consumers



The differential is steadily increasing – at a statistically significant rate

A night photograph of a city skyline with a large, bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible at the bottom, and the lightning bolt is the central focus, extending from the top of the frame down to the horizon.

## Why?

- Reading Alfred Marshall and Adam Smith
- Fuel Costs
- Producer's Surplus
- Electric Reliability



# Exchanging Producers' Surplus for Average Total Cost



A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

# Reading Alfred Marshall and Adam Smith

- Damn! You mean that the fine print really matters?
- Market concentration
- Costly information
- In the long run we are all dead (John Maynard Keynes)

A night photograph of a city skyline with a large, bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

# Fine Print of Competition

- Freedom of entry and exit
- Numerous buyers and sellers
- No asymmetry of information
- In the long run we are all dead (John Maynard Keynes)



# Market Concentration

- By any traditional measure, the RTO markets are highly concentrated.
- In Texas, one supplier holds 60% of the real time market
- By almost any measure, concentration is high and increasing

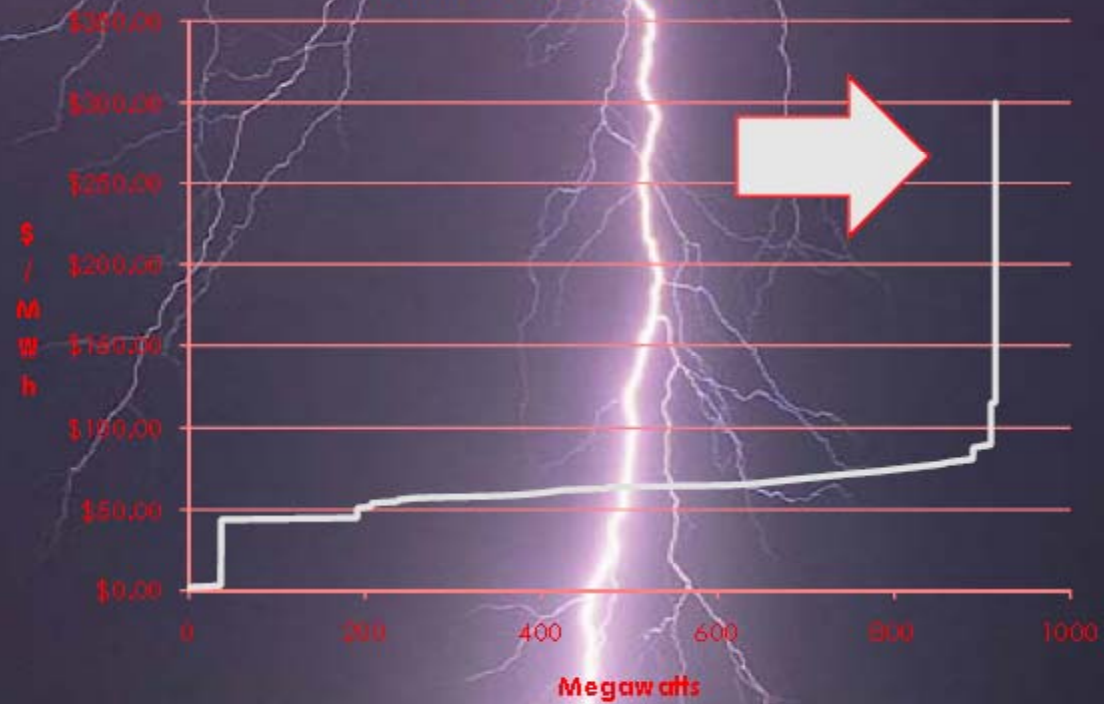
A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

# Information Asymmetry

- Competition is enhanced by protecting the identity of bidders and the bids they make for prolonged periods
- Even the algorithms are secret
- Most larger players enjoy a strong informational advantage

# ERCOT North Zone Bid Curve

April 1, 2007 3:00 P.M.



Why does the bid curve stop with a small bid at \$300.00/MWh?



## Fuel Costs

- While coal is the primary U.S. fuel – disgustingly plentiful and inexpensive – natural gas provides 30% of our electric generating capacity
- Natural gas prices correlate closely with oil
- Oil prices have increased markedly over this period



RTO and Non-RTO states are roughly comparable in the proportion of natural gas capacity



# Natural Gas Prices As An Explanatory Variable

Cochrane-Orcutt AR(1) regression -- iterated estimates

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	7.08228735	1	7.08228735	Number of obs =	109	
Residual	91.8172138	107	.858104801	F( 1, 107) =	8.25	
Total	98.8995011	108	.915736121	Prob > F =	0.0049	
				R-squared =	0.0716	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0629	
				Root MSE =	.92634	

differential	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
henryhub	-.1974898	.0687429	-2.87	0.005	-.3337646	-.0612149
_cons	5.821075	.3969133	14.67	0.000	5.034241	6.60791
rho	.5557569					

Durbin-watson statistic (original) 0.912365  
Durbin-watson statistic (transformed) 1.837154

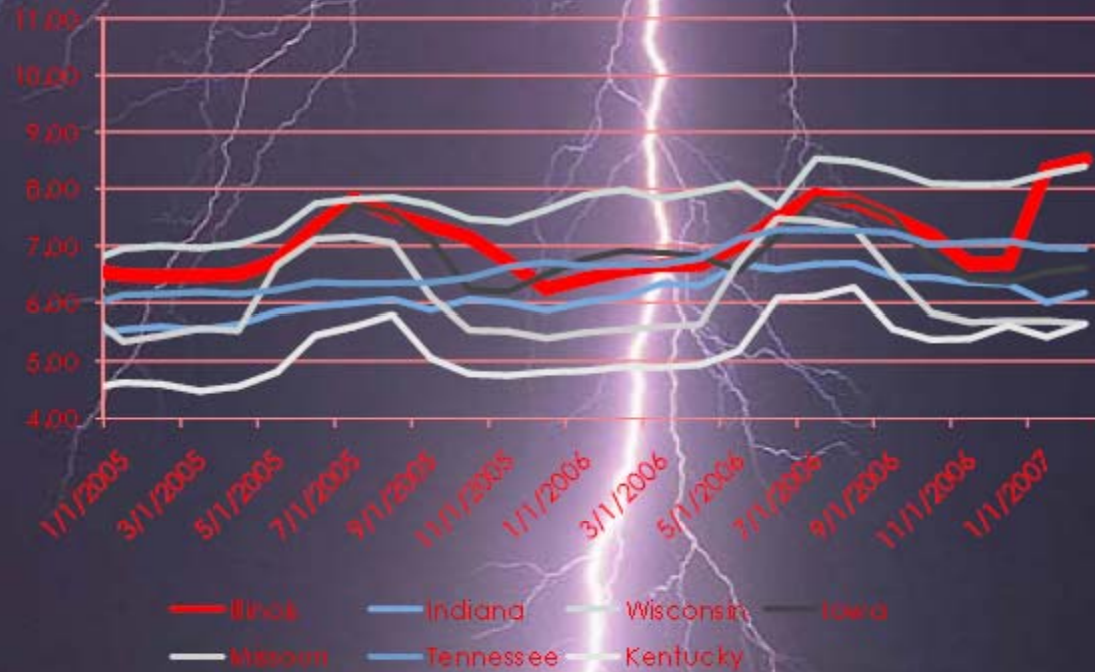
A night photograph of a city skyline with a bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

# Producers Surplus

- Under traditional regulation, consumers are charged average price
- In RTO states, it is common for consumers to pay the marginal price
- The difference is called “producer’s surplus” and it can be a pretty penny

# Illinois and Neighboring States

Source: Table 5.6.A  
EIA Electric Power Monthly



Illinois rates before and after the shift to marginal pricing





## Pivotal Supplier Issues

- RTOs are generally restricted from long term purchases of capacity
- When their reserve margin becomes less than the market share of any individual supplier, this supplier gains the ability to cause an emergency
- This happens quite frequently

22-Jul-06	WECC-CAMX	CISO	PA	out 200 M	1,271,893	Weather - High Temperatures
24-Jul-06	WECC-CAMX	CISO	PA	855 MW	N/A	Weather - High Temperatures
24-Jul-06	WECC-CAMX	CISO	PA	N/A	tible Tariff (I-6) C	Weather - High Temperatures

### Yesterday's Non-simultaneous Peaks, Reserves, and Generation Limitations at time of Peak

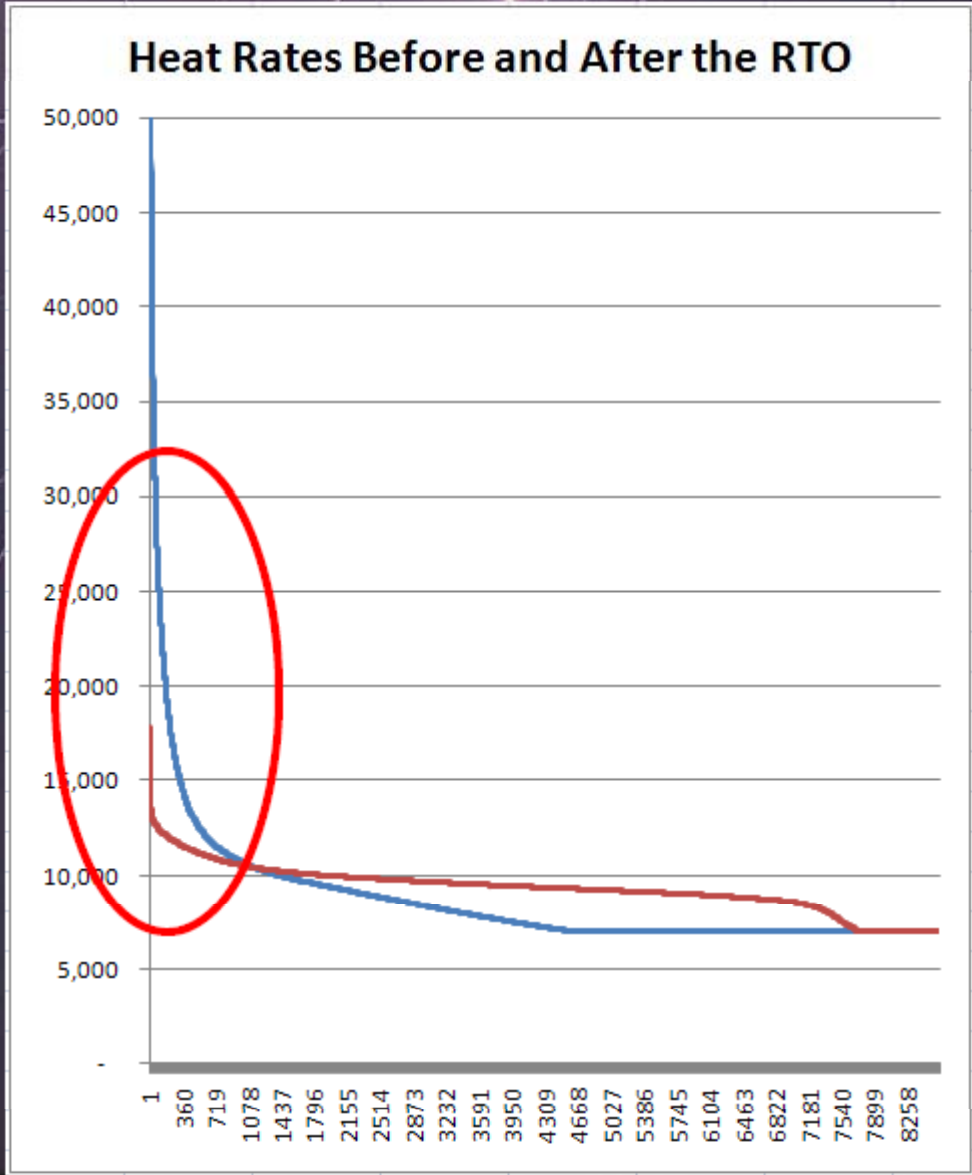
Area	Peak Demand <sup>1</sup>	Actual Reserves <sup>1</sup>	Req. Reserves <sup>1</sup>	Gen. Outages/Limitations
Northwest SC	54,759	8.0% 4,366	3,833 <sup>2</sup>	5,616
RM/DSW RC	39,374	10.7% 4,201	2,756	337
Calif./MX RC	65,049	7.6% 4,921	4,372	3,851

<sup>1</sup> Peak demands, Actual and Projected Reserves and Required Reserves are non-simultaneous accumulations of peaks as reported by each area within each Reliability Center.

<sup>2</sup> Required reserves calculated to be 7% of peak demand.

**We have adopted a don't ask/don't answer policy on RTO shortages.**

### Heat Rates Before and After the RTO



A night photograph of a city skyline with a large, bright lightning bolt striking the sky. The city lights are visible in the foreground, and the lightning bolt is the central focus of the image.

## Where do we stand?

- Competition by committee hasn't been a great success story
- We haven't successfully addressed either market power or pivotal supplier issues
- The transfer of producer's surplus is an elephant in the living room in most policy discussions