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# **Economics of Grid-Supported Electric Power Markets: A Fundamental Reconsideration**

**Leigh Tesfatsion** Iowa State University tesfatsi@iastate.edu



# **Foundations and Trends® in Electric Energy Systems**

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# **Economics of Grid-Supported Electric Power Markets: A Fundamental Reconsideration**

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#### ABSTRACT

Centrally-managed U.S. wholesale power markets operating over high-voltage AC transmission grids are transitioning from heavy reliance on fossil-fuel based power to greater reliance on renewable power with increasingly diverse suppliers and customers. This study highlights four conceptuallyproblematic economic presumptions reflected in the legacy core design of these markets that are hindering this transition. The key problematic presumption is the static conceptualization of the basic product as grid-delivered energy (MWh) transacted in short-run (day-ahead and intra-day) markets at competitively determined unit prices (\$/MWh), conditional on delivery location and time. This study argues, to the contrary, that the basic product in need of efficient reliable transaction in these markets is reserve (physicallycovered insurance) for protection against power imbalance (volumetric grid risk). This reserve is the guaranteed availability of dispatchable nodal power-production capabilities for possible central dispatch during designated future operating periods at designated grid delivery locations to satisfy

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just-in-time customer power demands and grid reliability requirements. For illustration, a recently proposed Linked Swing-Contract Market Design is briefly reviewed. The latter design permits dispatchable power resources to offer diverse types of reserve into a centrally-managed collection of linked forward bid/offer-based reserve markets via twopart pricing insurance contracts taking a flexible swing form. The swing in these contracts permits efficient planning for real-time reliability, and the two-part pricing form of these contracts permits cleared suppliers to assure their revenue sufficiency. A principled cost allocation rule supports the independence of the fiducial central manager by assuring break-even revenue adequacy for system operations as a whole.

**Keywords:** Market design; wholesale electric power markets; renewable power integration; volumetric grid risk; linked forward reserve markets; physically-covered insurance; flexible dispatch; nodal multi-interval pricing; revenue sufficiency; digital twinning.

# **1**

## <span id="page-10-0"></span>**Introduction**

The basic purpose of centrally-managed wholesale power markets operating over high-voltage AC transmission grids is to maintain efficient just-in-time production and transmission of bulk power to satisfy justin-time customer power demands and grid reliability requirements.

To achieve this dynamic open-ended purpose, central managers must continually protect against *volumetric grid risk*. This physical risk is the possible disruption or collapse of grid operations due to real-time imbalance between withdrawal and/or inadvertent loss of power *from* the grid and the injection of power *into* the grid. Grid power withdrawals occur when the power usage of customers electrically connected to a grid exceeds their use of locally-generated behind-the-meter power. Inadvertent power losses occur whenever power flows across a grid's transmission lines.

In response to private economic incentives and public policy mandates encouraging grid decarbonization [\[21\]](#page-34-0), U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets<sup>[1](#page-10-1)</sup> are transitioning from a traditionally heavy

<span id="page-10-1"></span><sup>1</sup>Current U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets consist of energy, ancillary service, and capacity markets whose operations over high-voltage AC transmission grids are managed by a *Regional Transmission Organization (RTO)* or *Independent System Operator (ISO)*; see [\[15\]](#page-34-1).

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reliance on fossil-fuel based power generators to a greater reliance on *Intermittent Power Resources (IPRs)*. [2](#page-11-0) These IPRs include wind farms, photovoltaic solar arrays, and hydropower facilities whose weatherdependent power generation is not fully firmed by storage.

The increasing participation of IPRs in U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets, together with initiatives such as FERC Order No. 2222 [\[13\]](#page-33-0) encouraging more active participation by demand-side resources, has increased the uncertainty and volatility of grid *net load*. [3](#page-11-1) In consequence, as reported in [\[14\]](#page-33-1), RTOs/ISOs are finding it harder to procure the dependable advance availability of RTO/ISO-dispatchable power-production capabilities with sufficiently diverse attributes to maintain reliable real-time balancing of net load.<sup>[4](#page-11-2)</sup>

Moreover, many IPRs connect to high-voltage AC transmission grids by means of power electronic inverters that convert DC to AC power, a connection technology that differs fundamentally from the traditional connection technology for fossil-fuel based power generators. At higher IPR penetration levels, this new connection technology can pose new security issues [\[4\]](#page-32-1).

The recognition of these difficulties has led to increasingly urgent calls for action. For example, in 2021 the National Academies of Sciences (NAS) and the National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL) issued separate reports [\[35\]](#page-36-0), [\[41\]](#page-36-1) identifying key challenges facing current U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets. In 2022 the U.S. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) issued an order [\[16\]](#page-34-2) requesting a fundamental reconsideration of the design and operation of these markets. In 2024 a group of researchers at Resources for the Future (RFF) released a report [\[31\]](#page-35-0) titled "Time for a Market Upgrade?" that

<span id="page-11-0"></span><sup>2</sup>For the purposes of this study, an *Intermittent Power Resource (IPR)* is defined to be a grid-connected power resource whose power injections and/or withdrawals are not mediated through some form of aggregator and are not fully controllable by centrally-managed dispatch.

<span id="page-11-1"></span><sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The *net load* of a grid at a given point in time consists of power withdrawals and inadvertent power losses (e.g., transmission line losses) net of non-dispatched power injections.

<span id="page-11-2"></span><sup>4</sup> In practice, reliable real-time balancing of net load means *maintaining net-load balance within acceptable tolerance levels over time*.

examines current U.S. wholesale power market operations in relation to critical future needs.

Strongly encouraged by these calls for action, efforts are underway to improve the conceptual and operational design of U.S. wholesale power markets. As discussed in later sections of this study, these efforts are taking diverse forms. Nevertheless, they largely adhere to the following nine broadly-accepted goals:<sup>[5](#page-12-0)</sup>

**Goal (G1):** *Incentive Alignment.* The market design should be well-aligned with the local objectives and constraints of market participants, including privacy concerns, thus ensuring their voluntary participation.

**Goal (G2):** *Resource Adequacy.* The market design should provide incentives for new resources to enter in sufficient quantity to accommodate retirements, de-ratings, and increases in power demand over time while maintaining adequate reserve to address uncertainty and volatility of net load.

**Goal (G3):** *Efficiency.* The market design should be *efficient*, i.e., it should not waste resources. To promote *shortrun efficiency*, the design should permit the production, transmission, and distribution of power from *existing* resources to be based on accurate assessments of benefits and costs. To promote *longer-run efficiency*, the design should encourage the development and adoption of *new* technologies permitting increased benefit from power use and reduced cost for power production and transmission.

**Goal (G4):** *Reliability and Resiliency.* The market design should ensure continual net-load balancing during normal power system operations, despite weather events and other anticipated types of disturbances. The design should also support rapid recovery and return to net load balancing

<span id="page-12-0"></span> ${}^{5}$ The specific expressions (G1)–(G8) for the first eight goals are based on Oren [\[37,](#page-36-2) Section II.A], Tesfatsion *et al.* [\[49,](#page-37-0) Section 2], and Tesfatsion [\[43,](#page-36-3) Section 2.2].

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following sudden major disruptions, such as the loss of a line or a generation unit.

**Goal (G5):** *Fairness.* The market design should be *fair*, i.e., it should provide an even playing field for all actual and potential market participants. Thus, it should permit and encourage actual and potental market participants to compete for the provision of reserve and for the production, procurement, delivery, and use of electric power. It should also avoid the unintended creation of structural and strategic market advantages for some participants to the detriment of others.

**Goal (G6):** *Conceptual Coherency and Transparency.* The market design should be conceptually coherent, and market rules and operations under the design should be as transparent as possible.

**Goal (G7):** *Minimum Administrative Intervention.* The market design should discourage ad-hoc rule-making and decision-making by administrators. To further this goal, market rules and operations should be based on service requirements rather than on irrelevant physical and operational attributes of resources, to an extent compatible with the attainment of other design goals. Wherever possible, mechanisms should be instituted to permit and encourage transition to a design with limited administrative control.

**Goal (G8):** *Supportive of Previous Reform Efforts.* The market design should be in accordance with FERC, RTO/ISO, and stakeholder efforts to promote increased market access, pay for verified performance, demand-side participation, and encouragement of private initiative.

**Goal (G9):** *Internalization of Externalities.* The market design should permit the net-benefit (i.e., benefit minus cost) objective functions used in centrally-managed marketclearing processes to internalize *social* benefits and costs

reflecting the environmental impacts of electric power production, transmission, and distribution.

Despite the general acceptance of goals  $(G1)$ – $(G9)$ , ongoing efforts to reform the core design of current U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets have been contentious. A key theme of this study is that much of this contention arises from four conceptually-problematic economic presumptions built into this core design. In brief preliminary form, these presumptions are as follows:

#### **Problematic Presumption (P1):**

The basic transacted product for grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power markets is grid-delivered energy (MWh), i.e., accumulations of flows of power (MW) *at* designated grid locations *b during* designated operating periods *T* with duration measured in hours (h).

#### **Problematic Presumption (P2):**

For careful analysis of supplier revenue sufficiency in such markets, it suffices to partition total supplier cost into a "variable" component dependent on the quantity supplied and a "fixed" component independent of the quantity supplied.

#### **Problematic Presumption (P3):**

Grid-delivered energy conditional on delivery location *b* and delivery period *T* is a commodity, i.e., its units (MWh) are perfect substitutes. Thus, these units can (and should) be transacted in a spot market  $M(b,T)$  at a uniform per-unit locational marginal price  $\text{LMP}(b,T)$ (\$/MWh) determined in accordance with the standard competitive  $(marginal benefit = marginal cost) spot-price rule.$ 

#### **Problematic Presumption (P4):**

The total supplier revenue attained in the spot markets in (P3) will suffice to cover total supplier cost.

Presumptions (P1)–(P4) reflect the static view that the primary role of U.S. RTOs/ISOs is to oversee the determination of unit prices 8 Introduction and the set of the s

(\$/MWh) for grid-delivered energy (MWh) in collections of short-run competitive markets, weakly cross-correlated by needed real-time ancillary service adjustments. [6](#page-15-0)

The current dynamic reality is far more daunting: U.S. RTOs/ISOs are fiducial conductors tasked with orchestrating the availability and possible future dispatch of increasingly-diverse dispatchable power resources to service the just-in-time power demands of increasingly diverse customers while meeting just-in-time power requirements for reliable grid operation. This orchestration is severely constrained by the physical complexity of power flows across transmission grids: a power injection anywhere flows everywhere.

Recognition of this dynamic reality results in strong counterclaims to  $(P1)$ – $(P4)$ , expressed below in brief preliminary form:

#### **Counter-Claim (CC1):**

Suppliers participating within a grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power market provide *two* basic types of product:

- *Physically-Covered Insurance: Availability* of nodal power-production capabilities for *possible* central-manager dispatch during *future* operating periods, to reduce volumetric grid risk;
- *Real-Time Power Delivery: Actual delivery* of power in response to central-manager dispatch signals received *during* an operating period to satisfy just-in-time customer power demands and grid reliability requirements.

#### **Counter-Claim (CC2):**

A conceptually-sound analysis of revenue sufficiency for a supplier participating within a grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power market requires a partitioning of this supplier's total cost

<span id="page-15-0"></span> ${}^{6}$ The need for ancillary service adjustments, e.g., the real-time dispatch of generation capacity unencumbered by market-determined dispatch obligations, arises from inevitable discrepancies between scheduled and delivered energy, and between delivered energy and the actual flow of customer power withdrawals. These discrepancies require continual real-time corrective actions across distinct grid locations to maintain continual power balance at each of these locations.

into *three* components: (i) non-avoidable fixed cost ("sunk cost"); (ii) avoidable fixed cost; and (iii) variable cost.

#### **Counter-Claim (CC3):**

Within the context of a grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power market, *grid-delivered energy is not a commodity*. Although grid-delivered energy has a standard unit of measurement  $-$  a megawatt-hour (MWh) – central managers and market participants do *not* consider these units to be perfect substitutes (economically equivalent) conditional on grid delivery location and time. Thus, "marginal benefit" and "marginal cost" are not well-defined concepts for grid-delivered energy.

#### **Counter-Claim (CC4):**

A grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power market *M*(*T*) for an operating period *T* must necessarily be a *forward* market due to the speed of real-time operations. To ensure revenue sufficiency, a supplier *i* participating in  $M(T)$  should be permitted to submit supply offers in a *two-part pricing*[7](#page-16-0) form enabling full compensation for:

- (1) *avoidable fixed cost* that supplier *i* must incur to guarantee the *availability* of reserve (dispatchable nodal power-production capabilities) for possible central dispatch during *T*, whether or not supplier *i* is actually dispatched to provide power delivery during *T*;
- (2) *variable cost* (if any) that supplier *i* incurs for *actual* dispatched power delivery during *T*.

<span id="page-16-0"></span><sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>It has long been recognized by economists that two-part pricing can be used by monopolistic suppliers in *spot-market* settings as price-discrimination instruments permitting extraction of "net surplus" from buyers; see, for example, the discussion of this spot-market issue in Section [4.4.](#page--1-0) The recommended use of two-part pricing in (CC4) is for an altogether different context: namely, suppliers participating in *forward* markets might have to incur *avoidable fixed costs* to guarantee their ability to fulfill a *range* of possible real-time delivery obligations under contracts with swing (flexibility) in their delivery terms, as well as *variable costs* for actual real-time deliveries, and both types of costs must be fully covered in order for these suppliers to stay in business.

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The remaining sections of this study are organized as follows. Section [2](#page--1-0) presents a careful summary description of the *Two-Settlement System* constituting the core design feature for all seven U.S. RTO/ISOmanaged wholesale power markets. Basic measurement and economic concepts essential for undertaking a fundamental reconsideration of this core design feature are reviewed in Sections [3](#page--1-0) and  $4.8$  $4.8$ 

Section [5](#page--1-0) highlights the dependence of the Two-Settlement System on the four economic presumptions (P1)–(P4) and carefully presents and analyzes the counterclaims (CC1)–(CC4) to these four presumptions. Section [6](#page--1-0) then considers how the retention of the Two-Settlement System – hence presumptions  $(P1)$ – $(P4)$  – as a core design feature is hindering the ability of U.S. RTO/ISO-managed wholesale power markets to transition smoothly to decarbonized grid operations.

Section [7](#page--1-0) considers what else can be done. Specifically, could the Two-Settlement System be advantageously replaced by a conceptuallyconsistent alternative? Or, as some have argued, would the only alternative be the inefficient adoption of zonal pricing, or a return to an inefficient reliance on top-down cost-based prices set by administrators?

As a counterpoint to the latter pessimistic view, Section [7](#page--1-0) briefly reviews an alternative *Linked Swing-Contract Market Design* [\[43\]](#page-36-3) proposed for grid-supported centrally-managed wholesale power markets. It is argued that this alternative design is consistent with goals  $(G1)$ – $(G9)$ and counterclaims (CC1)–(CC4), and is well-suited for the scalable support of increasingly decarbonized grid operations with more active participation by diverse suppliers and customers.

Concluding remarks are given in Section [8.](#page--1-0) Quick-reference guides for acronyms, terms, and key concepts used in this study are provided in Appendices  $A.1-A.5$  $A.1-A.5$ . Technical materials regarding the invertibility of demand and supply functions, used in support of counterclaims  $(CC1)$ – $(CC4)$ , are provided in Appendix [A.6.](#page-29-0)

<span id="page-17-0"></span><sup>8</sup>Shortened versions of the essential background materials in Sections [2–4](#page--1-0) appear in Tesfatsion [\[46,](#page-37-1) Sections III–IV], a companion study focused more narrowly on locational marginal pricing.

# <span id="page-18-0"></span>**Appendices**

# **Appendices A.1–A.6: Quick-Reference and Technical Materials**

### <span id="page-19-0"></span>**A.1 Acronyms**



*Continued.*

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## **A.1 Continued**



## **A.2 Standard Transmission System Terms**



*Continued.*

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## **A.2 Continued**



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## **A.3 Standard Economic Terms**



*Continued.*

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## **A.3 Continued**



*Continued.*

## **A.3 Continued**



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## **A.4 Cost Types for Grid-Supported RTO/ISO-Managed Wholesale Power Markets: Empirical Examples**

### *Types of Avoidable Fixed Cost:*

- (1) **Capital Investment Cost.** Land acquisition, building construction; equipment purchases. Financed by *internal financing* (i.e., funds on hand), or by *external financing* taking two possible forms:
	- *Direct Financing:* Sell *newly issued* securities in primary security markets to lenders willing to invest in risky assets (i.e., assets with chance of loss) that also offer a sufficiently high chance of gain;
	- *Indirect Financing:* Obtain loans from financial intermediaries, typically secured by some form of collateral, that then result in amortized streams of payment obligations.
- (2) **Transaction Cost.** Insurance, building code compliance, licensing fees, employee search. Transaction costs are typically financed by internal financing.
- (3) **Opportunity Cost.** Expected net earnings from a best possible alternative use of assets, e.g., use of generation units directly (behind the meter) for local purposes.
- (4) **Unit Commitment Cost.** Start-up, no-load, minimum-run, and/or shut-down cost that are incurred for ensuring the availability of power-paths for possible RTO/ISO dispatched delivery during a future operating period but are not dependent on the specific form (if any) of this delivered power-path.

### *Types of Variable Cost:*

- (1) **Fuel Cost.** Charges for pulverized coal, natural gas, nuclear, petroleum, and/or refuse-derived fuels as inputs to power production.
- (2) **Labor Cost.** Salaries/wages for: legal/tax advice; advertisement; planning; supervision; trading-desk operations; maintenance; and repair.
- (4) **Equipment/Software Rental Cost.** Rental charges for office equipment, cars, and software licenses.
- (5) **Depreciation of Owned Machinery.** Generation unit wearand-tear due to start-up, normal, and/or shut-down ramping required to follow RTO/ISO-signaled dispatch set-points during successive operating periods.
- (6) **Assessed Charges for Transmission Services.** Transmission grid operation and maintenance (O&M) costs allocated across market participants.
- (7) **Variable-Cost Offsets from Sales of Valuable Bi-Products.** Revenue offset to variable cost of a product due to joint production, e.g., co-generation of valuable heating services along with power by Combined Heat and Power (CHP) units.
- (8) **Disposal Cost for Waste Bi-Products.** Cost incurred by power plants (e.g., nuclear) to dispose of solid-waste output resulting from plant operations.

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## <span id="page-28-0"></span>**A.5 Swing-Contract Market Terms**

#### <span id="page-29-0"></span>**A.6 Invertibility of Demand and Supply Functions**

The following conditions suffice to ensure an *inverse* demand schedule  $\pi := D_j(q)$  for a buyer *j*, defined as in **CM6**, can be inverted to obtain a well-defined *ordinary* demand schedule  $q := D_j^o(\pi)$  for buyer *j* as defined in **CM3**, and vice versa, where  $D_i(q)$  coincides with buyer *j*'s marginal benefit function  $MB<sub>j</sub>(q)$  as defined in **CM5**. See Tesfatsion [\[43,](#page-36-3) Section 9.3.4] for extended discussion.

Suppose buyer *j* has a *benefit function*  $B_i(q)$ , defined as in **CM4**, that is non-decreasing, differentiable, and *concave* over  $q \geq 0$ . Evaluated at any *Q*-demand level  $q' \geq 0$ , buyer *j*'s marginal benefit  $MB_j(q')$ (measured in  $\frac{\mathcal{S}}{u}$ ) as defined in **CM5** is then the non-negative derivative of buyer *j*'s benefit function  $B_j(q)$  with respect to *q*, evaluated at  $q = q'$ . The mapping  $D_j(q')$  of  $q'$  into the non-negative *marginal* benefit evaluation  $\pi'$  (\$/*u*) :=  $MB_j(q') := \partial B_j(q')/\partial q$  is buyer *j*'s *inverse demand schedule for Q*. Finally, if buyer *j*'s marginal benefit function  $MB<sub>i</sub>(q)$  is a *strictly* decreasing function of *q* for  $q \geq 0$ , a common "diminishing marginal returns" assumption for commodity spot markets, it can be inverted over  $q \geq 0$  to give a *strictly* decreasing *ordinary* demand schedule  $q := D_j^o(\pi)$  for buyer *j*. In this case, by construction, the *Q*-unit price  $\pi'$  that satisfies  $q' = D_j^o(\pi')$  is the marginal benefit  $MB_j(q')$  of buyer *j* evaluated at the *Q*-demand level *q*'.

The following conditions suffice to ensure an *inverse* supply schedule  $\pi := S_i(q)$  for a supplier *i*, defined as in **CM10**, can be inverted to obtain a well-defined *ordinary* supply schedule  $q := S_i^o(\pi)$  for supplier *i* as defined in **CM7**, and vice versa, where  $S_i(q)$  coincides with supplier *i*'s marginal cost function  $MC<sub>j</sub>(q)$  as defined in **CM9**. See Tesfatsion [\[43,](#page-36-3) Section 8.2] for extended discussion.

Suppose supplier *i* has a *total avoidable cost function*  $C_i(q)$ , defined as in **CM8**, that is non-decreasing, differentiable, and *convex* over  $q \geq 0$ . Evaluated at any *Q*-supply level  $q' \geq 0$ , supplier *i*'s marginal cost  $MC_i(q')$  (measured in  $\frac{2}{u}$ ) as defined in **CM9** is then the nonnegative derivative of supplier *i*'s total avoidable cost function  $C_i(q)$  with respect to *q*, evaluated at  $q = q'$ . The mapping  $S_i(q')$  of  $q'$  into the nonnegative *marginal* cost evaluation  $\pi'$  (\$/*u*) :=  $MC_i(q') := \partial C_i(q')/\partial q$ is supplier *i*'s *inverse supply schedule for Q*. Finally, if supplier *i*'s

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marginal cost function  $MC_i(q)$  is a *strictly* increasing function of *q* for  $q \geq 0$ , a common "increasing marginal cost" assumption for commodity spot markets, it can be inverted over  $q \geq 0$  to give a *strictly* increasing *ordinary* supply schedule  $q := S_i^o(\pi)$  for supplier *i*. In this case, by construction, the *Q*-unit price  $\pi'$  that satisfies  $q' = S_i^o(\pi')$  is the marginal cost  $MC_i(q')$  of supplier *i* evaluated at the *Q*-supply level  $q'$ .

## <span id="page-31-0"></span>**Author's Note**

This study is a revised version of Working Paper #22005 (Iowa State University Digital Repository) submitted as a supporting document [\[45\]](#page-37-2) for comments e-filed to FERC for Docket AD21-10-000 [\[16\]](#page-34-2).

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