

# What's the Matter with US Residential Electricity Prices?

**Severin Borenstein**

Haas School of Business  
and Energy Institute at Haas

U.C. Berkeley

**James B. Bushnell**

Department of Economics

U.C. Davis

and

Davis Energy

Economics Program



# Marginal Cost Pricing: the elusive utility standard

- Utility prices deviate from Social MC because of
  - Natural monopoly setting, average cost pricing
  - Externalities are not a cost to the utility
  - Much less time variation in prices than in SMC
- Leads to DWL in consumption choices
- Mismatch of  $P$  vs SMC in electricity also becoming a growing allocative efficiency issue
  - energy efficiency; DG solar policy; carbon pricing, etc.

# This paper

- Attempt to quantify the difference between marginal prices and social marginal cost across the US electric sector.
  - Accounting for wholesale prices, distribution losses, and environmental externalities
- Measure relative consequences of the lack of time variation vs. average cost pricing.
  - Currently a measure for calendar year 2015
  - Covering only “basic” residential rates
- Some Punchlines
  - Externality costs are high
    - In many places offsets the inefficiency of average cost prices
    - Large regional variation
  - Distribution marginal costs (losses) are large and usually ignored
  - In most *places* time variation is main source of DWL
  - However, most of the DWL comes in a small number of places where the average costs are too high (e.g. California)

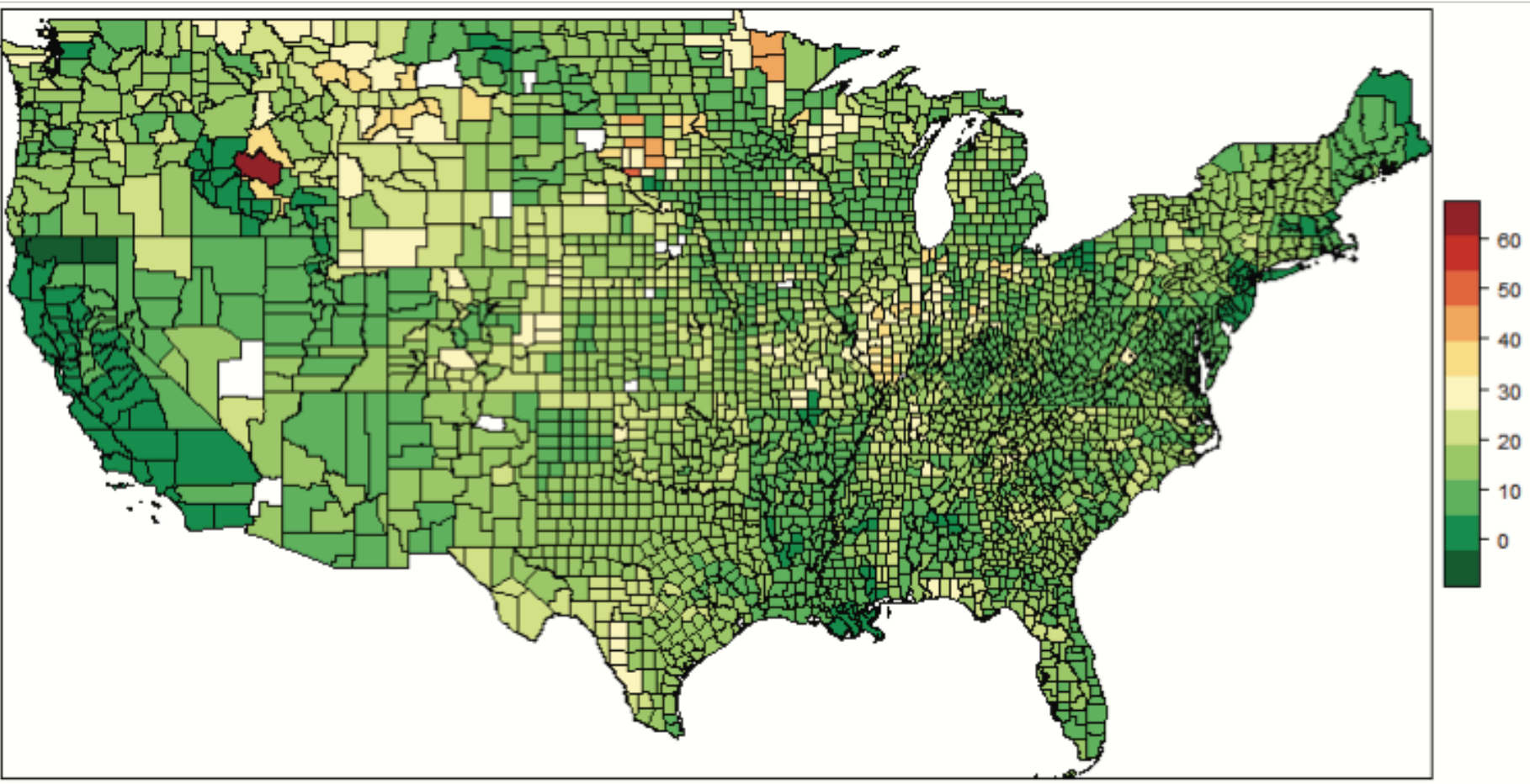
# Estimating Retail Rate Structure

- Two-part pricing is common in US utility pricing.
  - Sales and revenue data do not decompose
- Davis & Muehlegger (2010) look at Natural Gas
  - Use monthly variation in quantities, revenues and costs to estimate slope and intercept of revenue and quantity relationship.
  - Find large deviations from marginal cost pricing
    - They had long time series with nice variation in retail prices
    - Much less variation on power side
- Our approach
  - Utilize data on rate structure (monthly fixed charges) from every major utility in the US

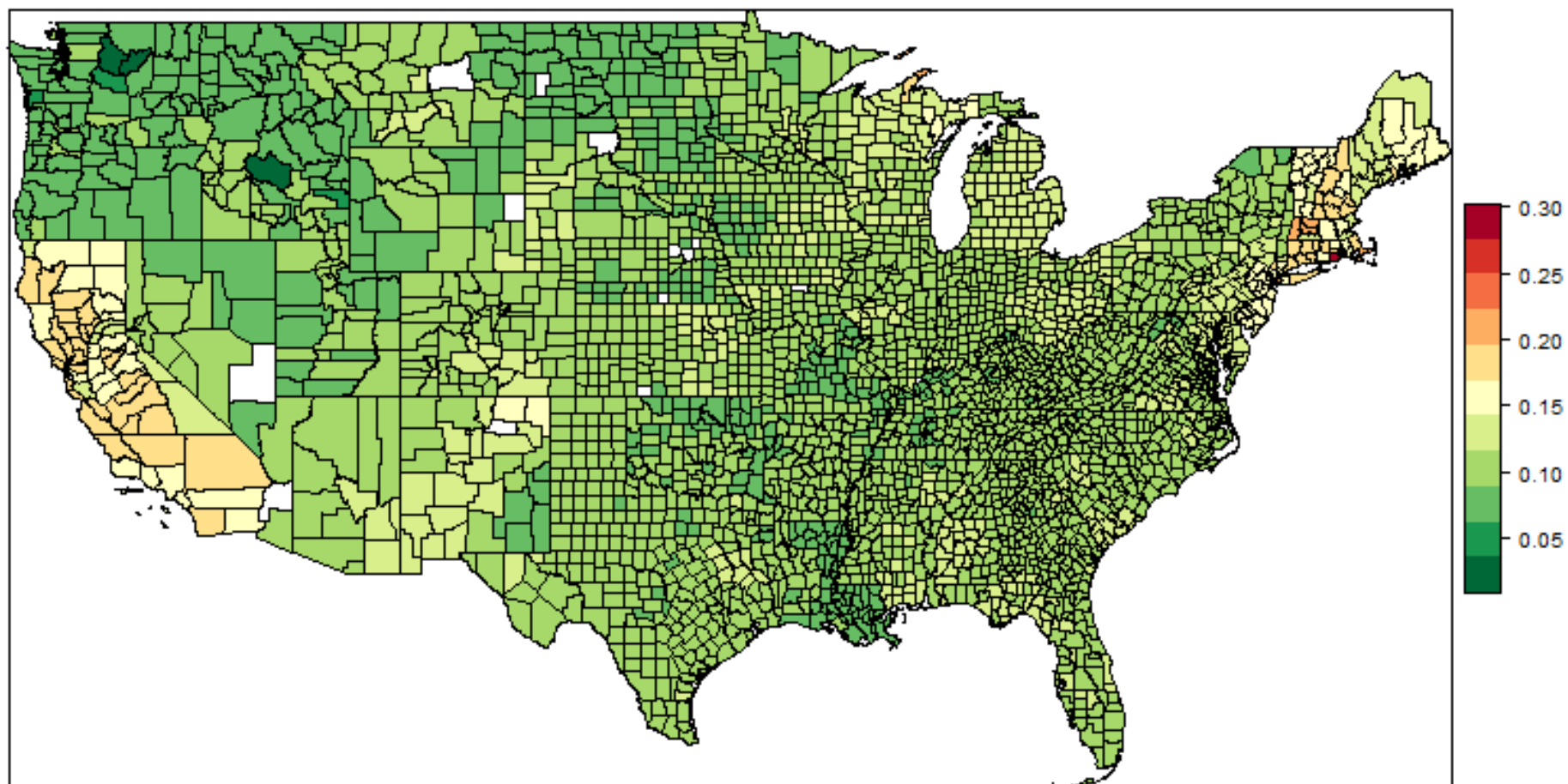
# Data Sources: Retail Pricing

- EIA 861
  - Annual revenues, sales, and customers
  - Some issues in retail choice states
    - Most competitive states bundled sales by incumbent - the “provider of last resort”
- US Utility Rate Database
  - Comprehensive but idio-syncretic collection of tariffs across US
  - Detailed look at rate structure
  - Isolate “standard” residential tariff through string searches
  - Extract monthly fixed charge component of standard rate in each utility region.
- Remove fixed charges, and divide remainder by kWh to get average variable price
  - Does not capture increasing-block or decreasing-block pricing
  - Ito (2014) doesn’t really alleviate this concern
  - But outside CA steps in block pricing are small
  - Revenue and kWh is residential customers on all tariffs

# Monthly Fixed Charges on Residential Rates



# Residential Retail Variable Price





# Data Sources: Social Marginal Cost

- Generation (private costs)
  - Primarily use reported market (“spot”) prices in regions covered by organized markets.
  - EIA 714 “system lambda” for regions with no market data
- Environmental
  - Data from Holland, Mansur, Muller and Yates
  - “gold standard” for detailed enviro cost data from electricity
    - E.g. only source of such data
- Distribution
  - Power delivery incurs “losses” that grow more severe at lower voltage levels
  - Wholesale prices include marginal cost of transmission (high voltage) losses, but not of distribution losses



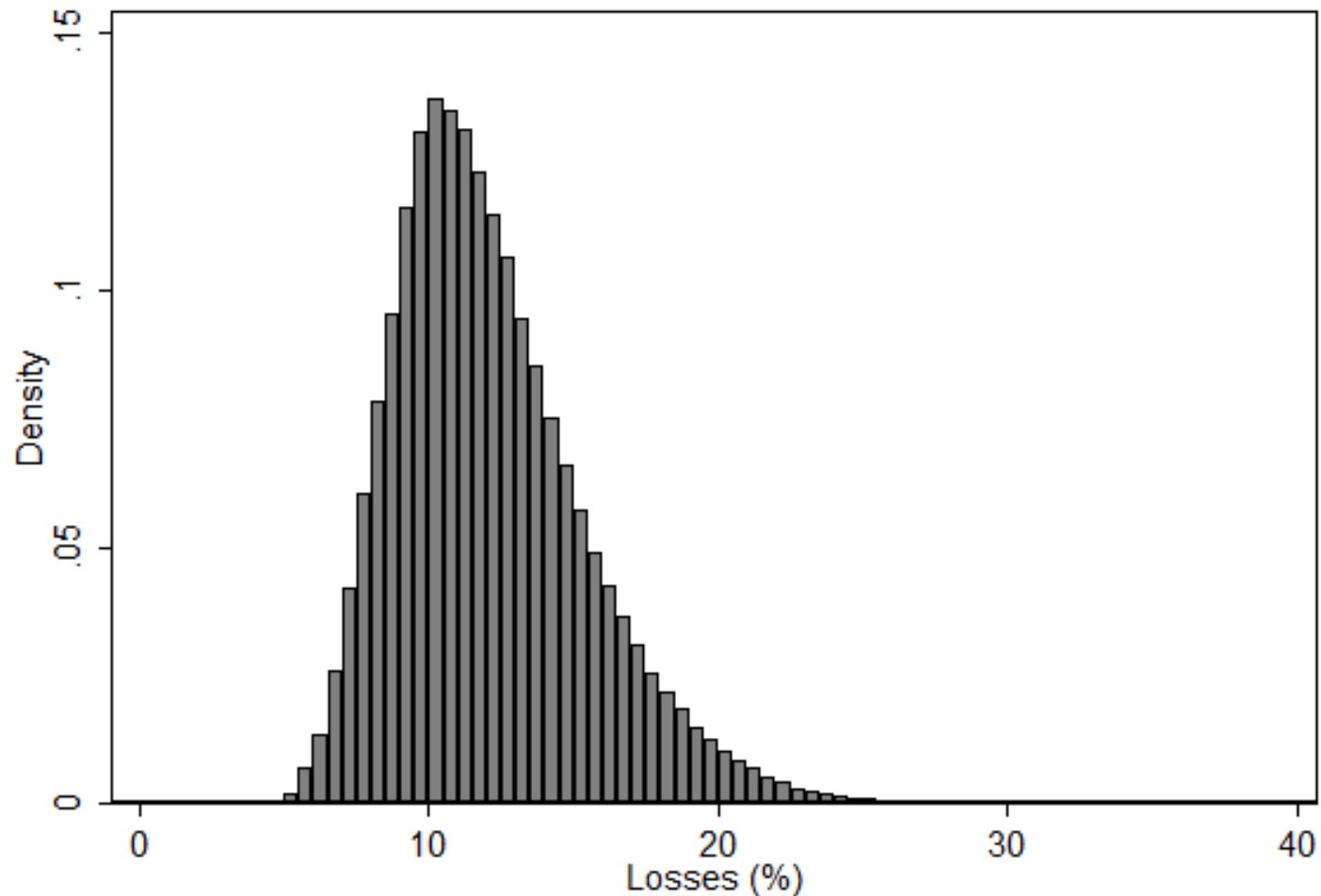
# Distribution Losses

- Share of power lost increases
  - At lower voltage – residential distribution
  - Along longer distribution lines – res distribution
  - When there is more flow on the line
    - We assume a quadratic relationship  $L = \alpha Q_t^2$ , so marginal losses  $2\alpha Q_t$  are approximately twice as large as average losses
- Data are available from by utility from EIA-861
  - But aggregated across all customers and all hours of the year
  - Not available for all utilities, about 90% of load
- We estimate average losses on residential distribution

# Estimating Distribution Losses

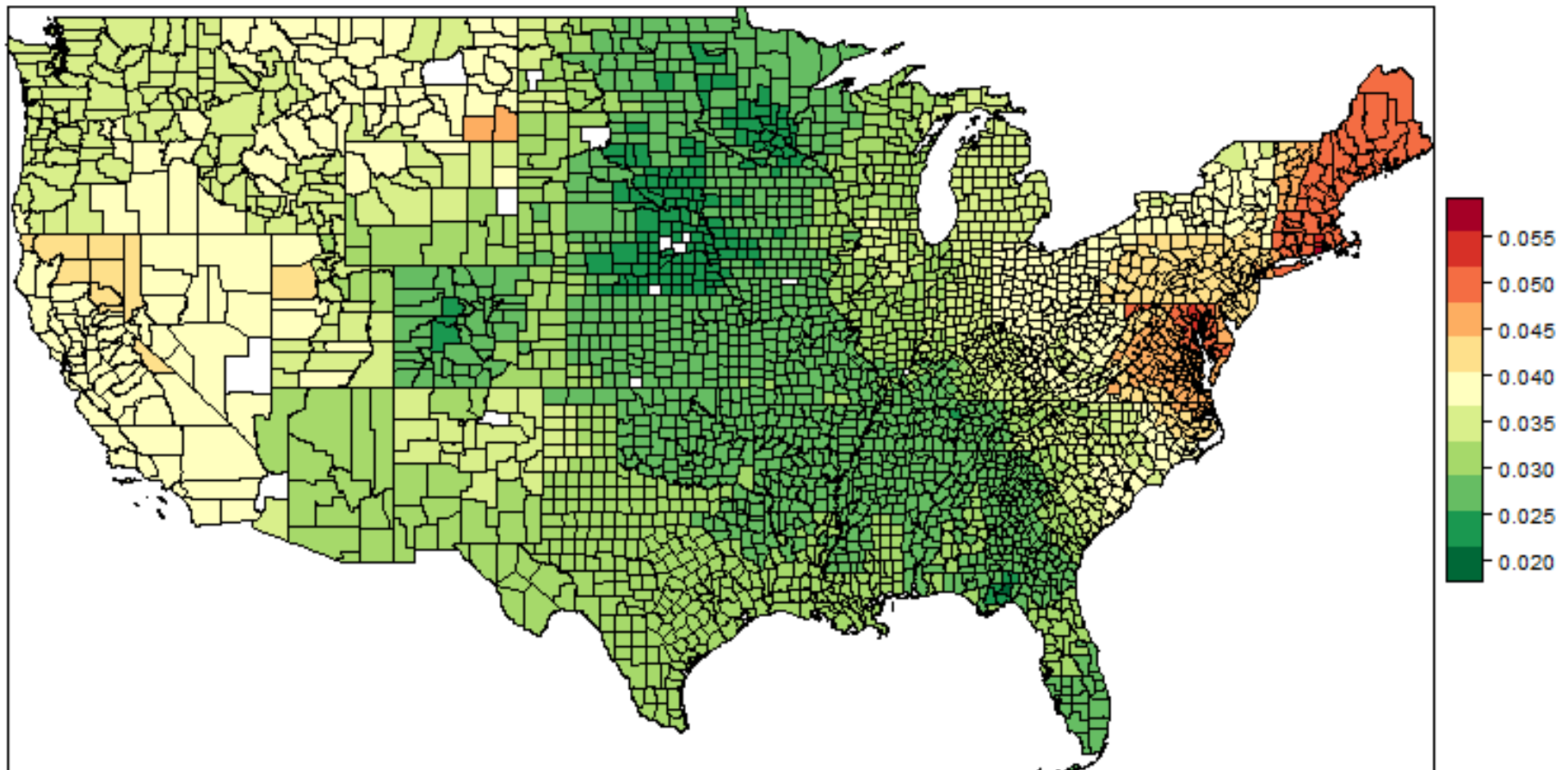
- Average losses strongly correlated with residential share of load, load/km<sup>2</sup>, load/circuit, circuit optimization
- Currently we control for residential share and density (customers/km<sup>2</sup>) plus state and utility type
- Use this to estimate the average losses attributable to residential load
- Then invert  $\alpha = \Sigma L_t / \Sigma Q_t^2$  to get  $\alpha$ , and estimate marginal losses in hour  $t$  are  $\gamma_t = dL_t / dQ_t = 2\alpha Q_t$
- Scale up PMC and EMC by  $1/(1-\gamma_t)$  in every hour

# Histogram of estimated hourly marginal residential losses



Note: Outliers >40% dropped (this was less than 0.0001% of residential kwh sales)

# Average Private Marginal Cost Accounting for Distribution Losses (load weighted)



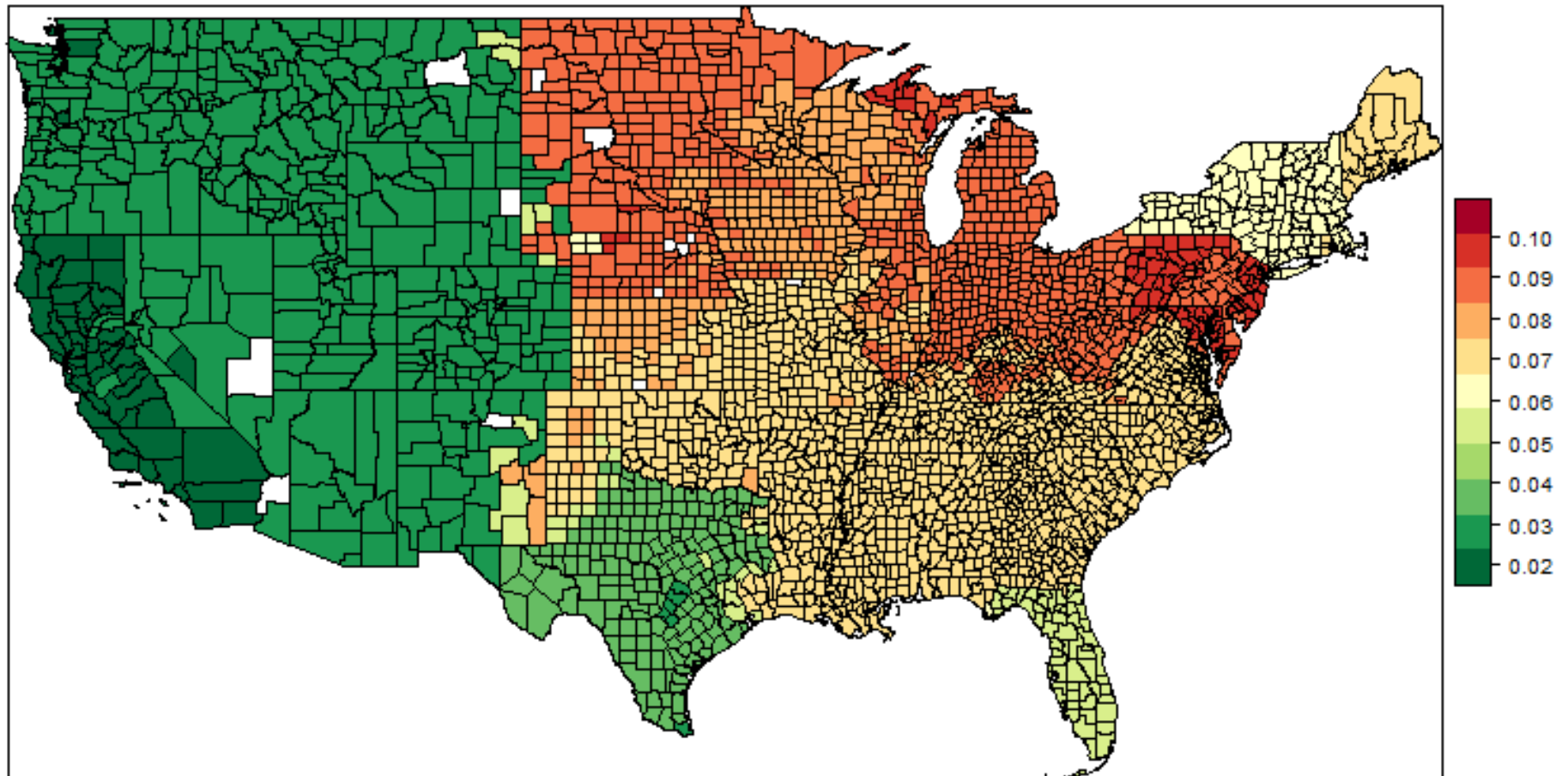
# Why is PMC so low?

- Natural gas prices are very low, and gas-fired generation is often the marginal supply
  - Fuel cost of efficient combined-cycle gas turbine between \$0.02/kWh and \$0.03/kWh
  - PMC of coal often even lower
- Systems are overbuilt so  $PMC < LRAC$ 
  - Due to miscalculation in planning
  - Due to additions of subsidized renewables
  - Due to compensation through capacity markets and ancillary services

# External Marginal Cost

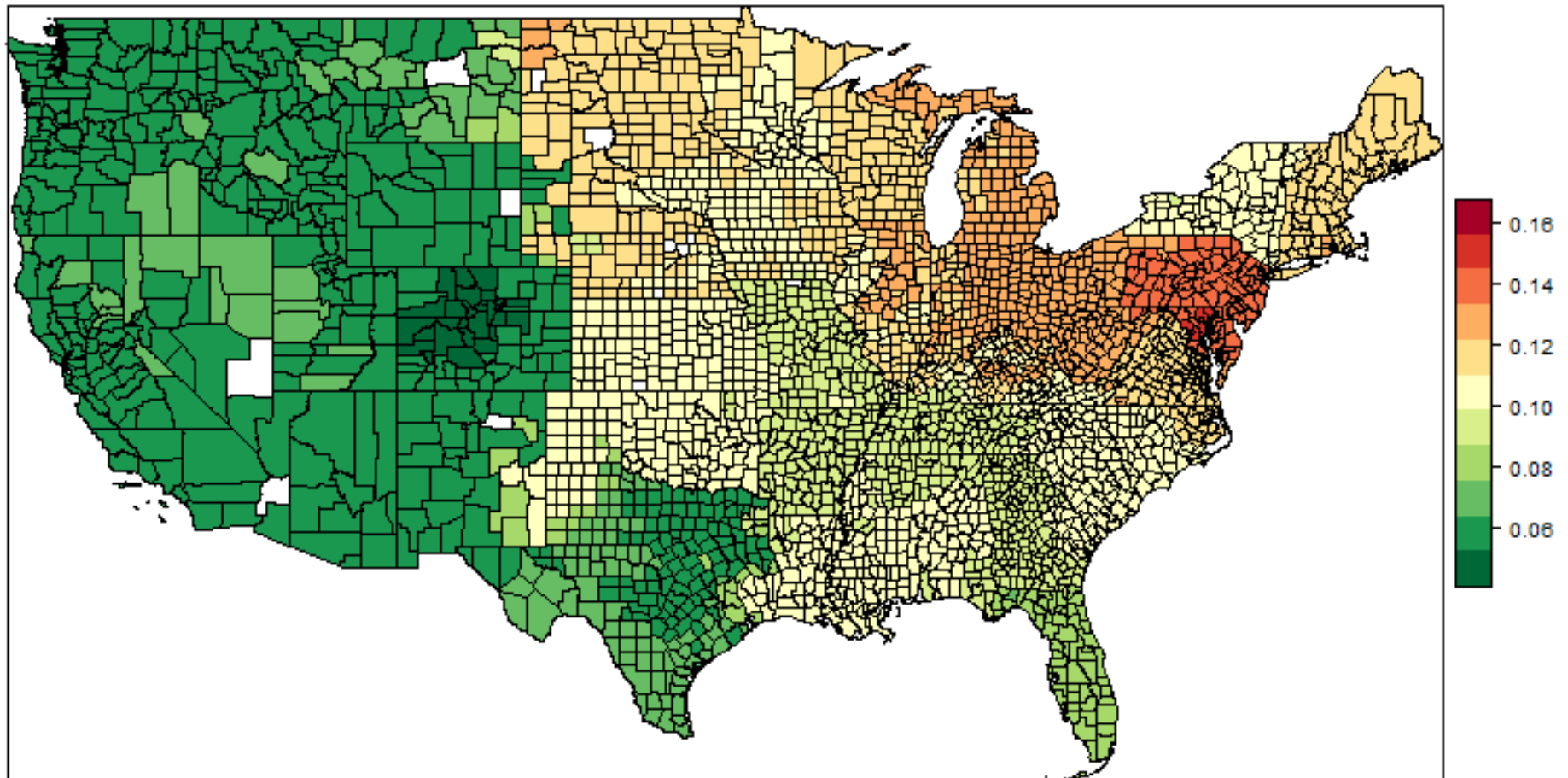
- Holland, Mansur, Muller and Yates, *AER* 2016, create externality cost per MWh by hour of day of consumption by NERC region
  - Based on plant in region providing marginal supply
- Incorporates local pollutants and GHGs
  - GHGs priced at \$41/ton, local pollutants costs vary
- Does not account for seasonal, weather, or load variation
  - TBD
- For each utility-hour, we calculate EMC from HMMY based on hour of day and NERC region

# Average External Marginal Cost Accounting for Distribution Losses (load weighted)

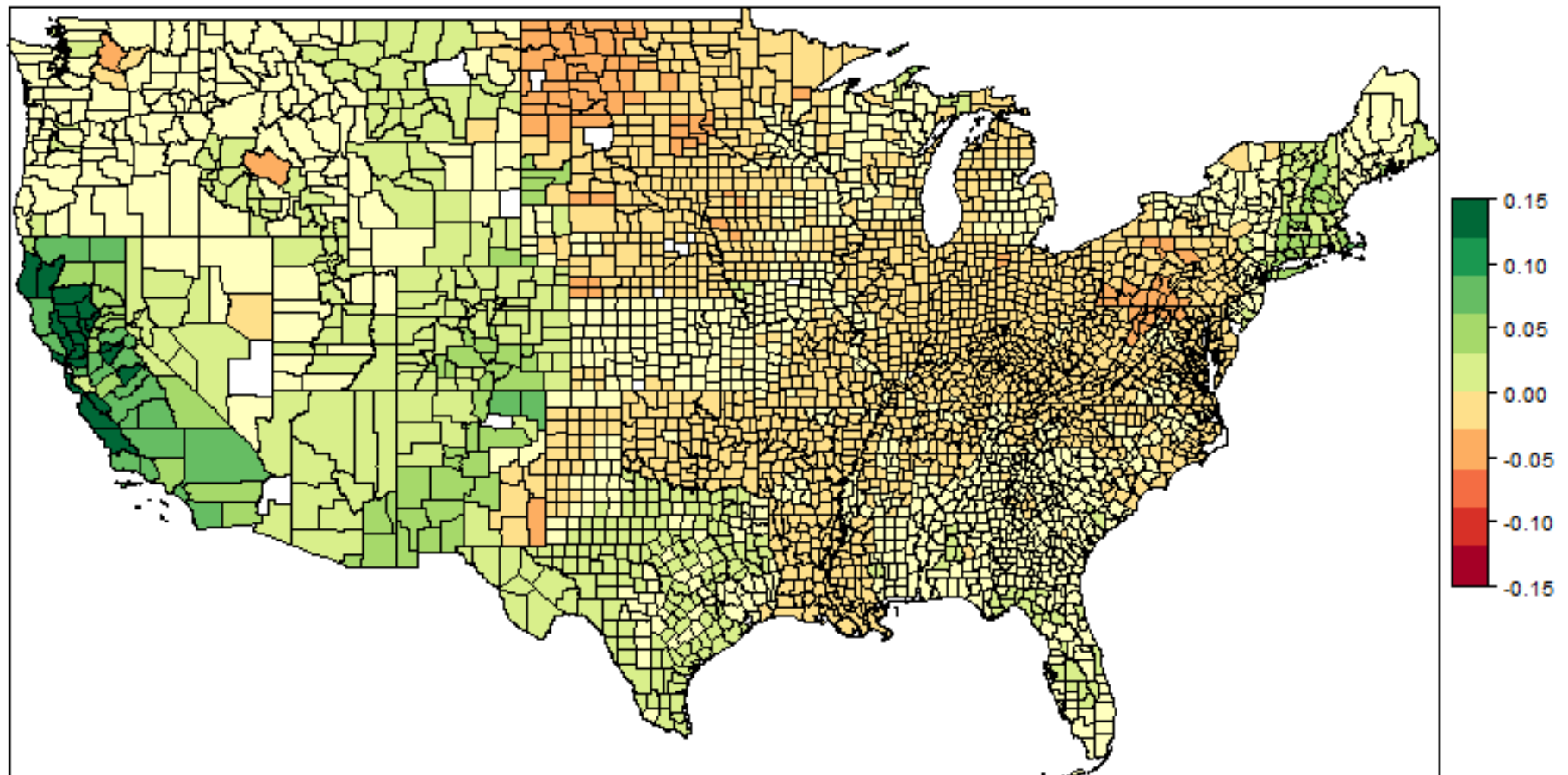




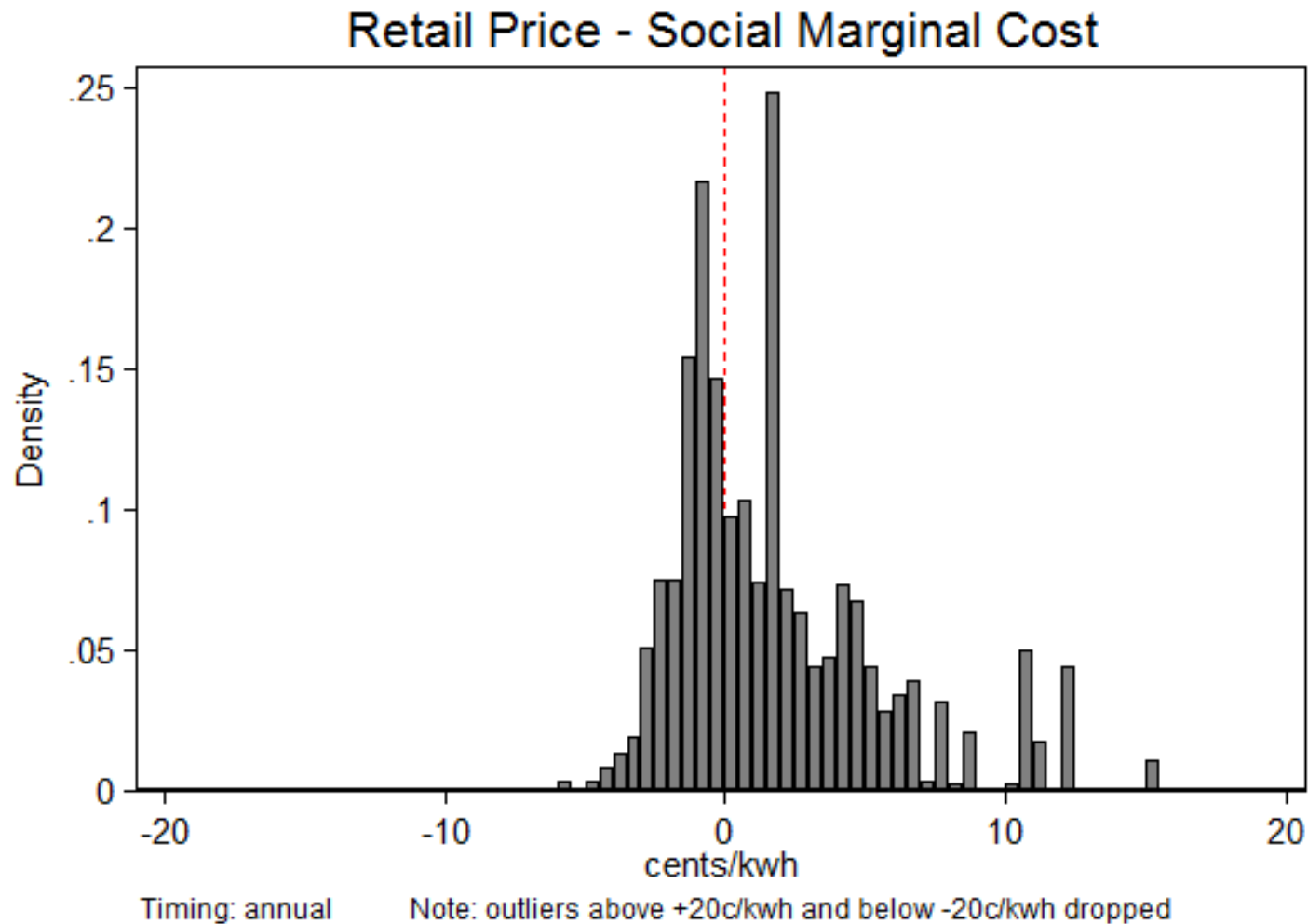
# Average Social Marginal Cost Accounting for Distribution Losses (load weighted)



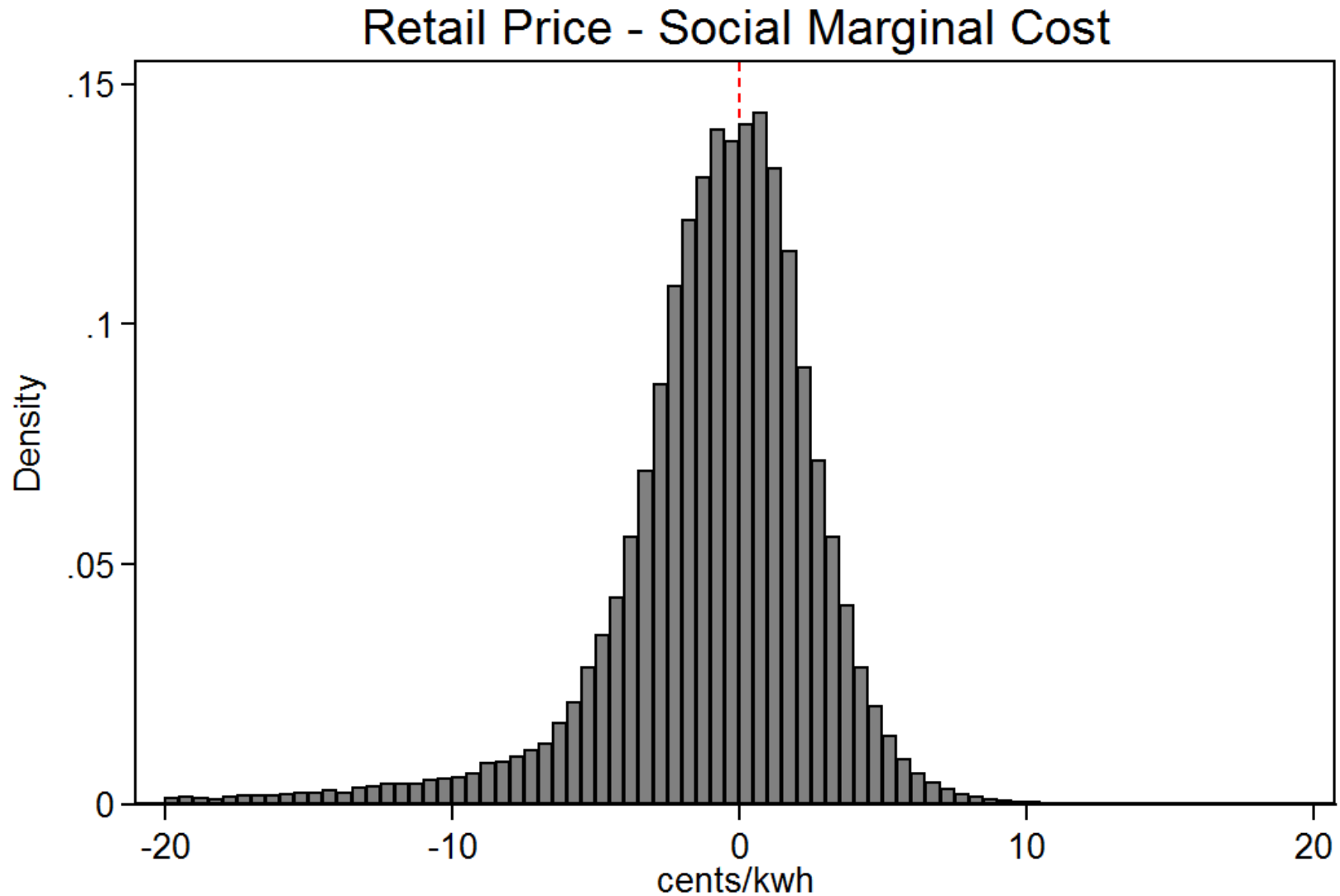
# Price-Average SMC



# Histogram of $P\text{-SMC}_{\text{avg}}$ across utilities



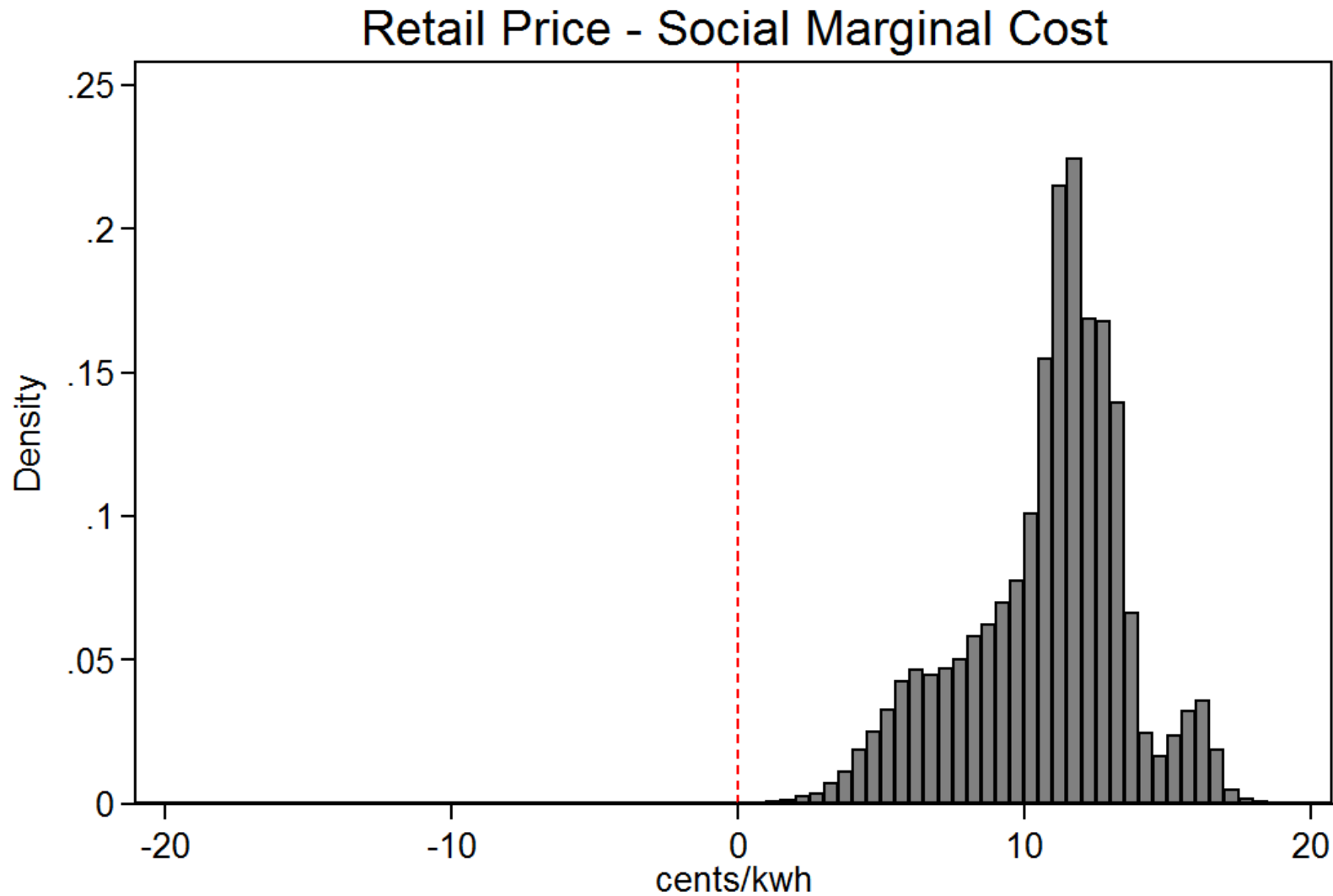
# Fixed Retail Price vs. SMC in PA



Timing: hourly

Note: outliers above +20c/kwh and below -20c/kwh dropped  
Distributed Energy Resources Workshop, January 12 2018

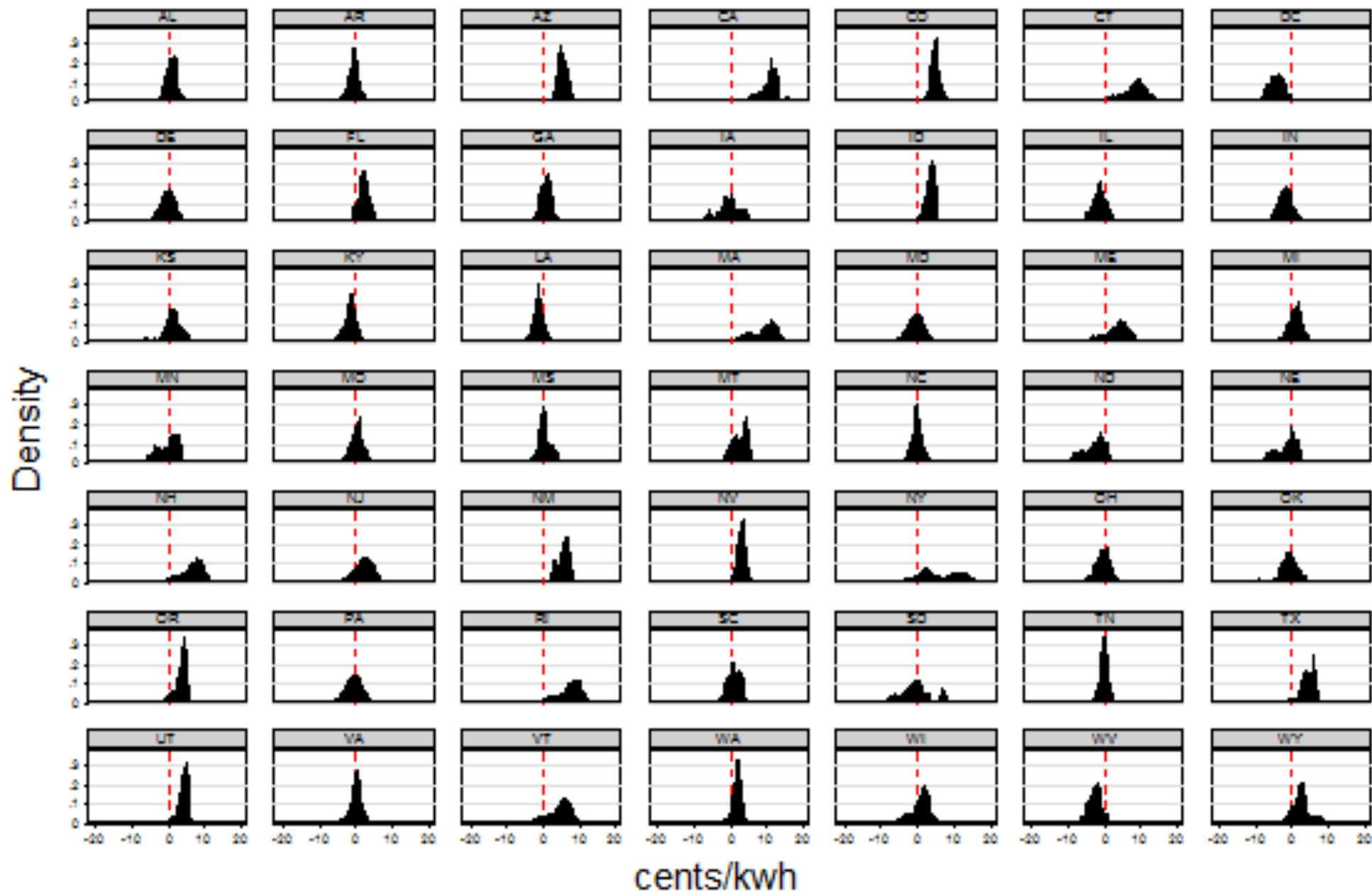
# Fixed Retail Price vs. SMC in California



Timing: hourly

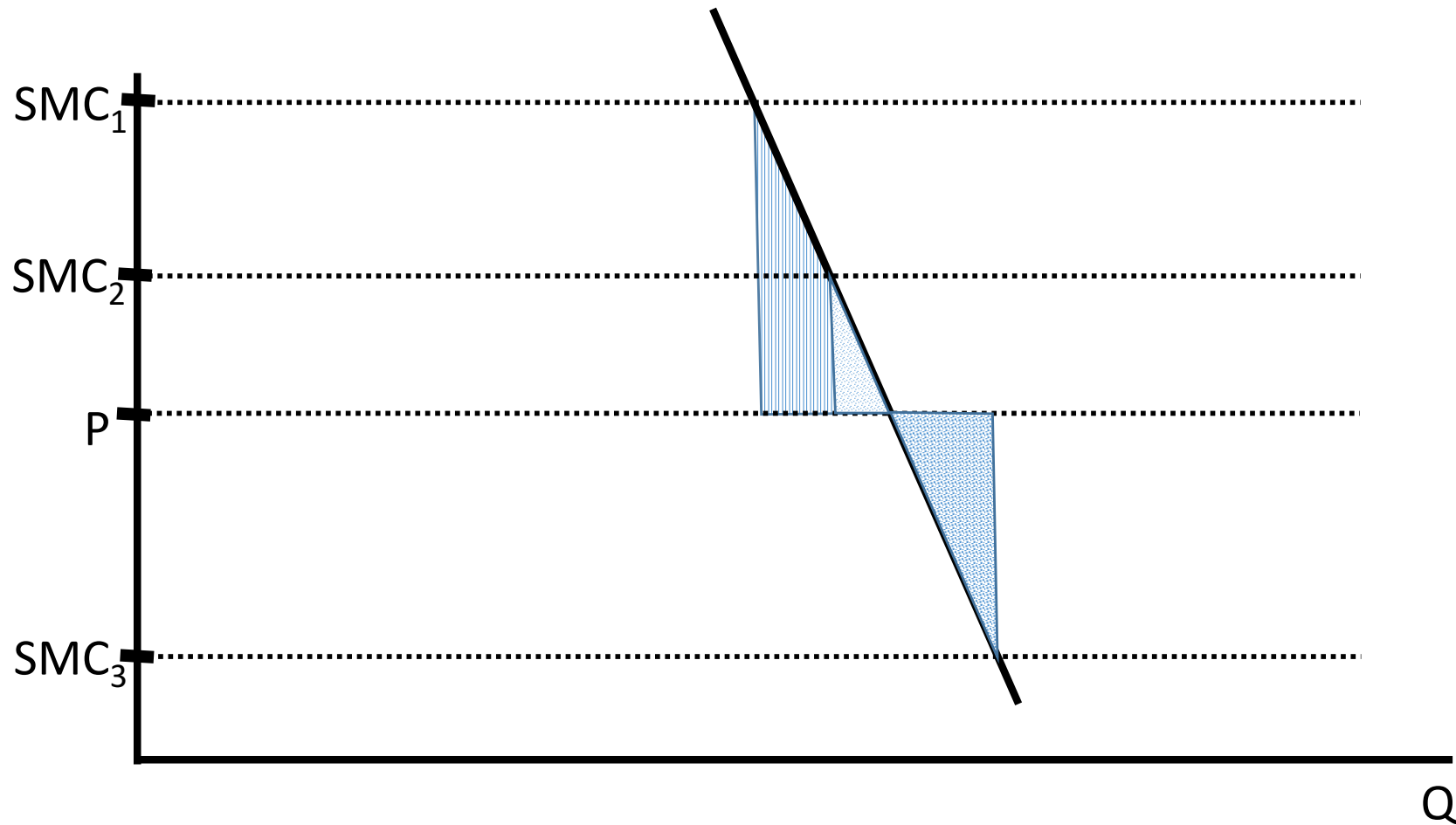
Note: outliers above +20c/kwh and below -20c/kwh dropped  
Distributed Energy Resources Workshop, January 12 2018

# Retail Price - Social Marginal Cost



Graphs by state

# Deadweight loss calculations





# Decomposing deadweight loss from mispricing

- If demand slope same in all hours, so response is same to change in average price as to hourly price change, then

$$DWL = \sum_h \frac{1}{2s} (\bar{P} - SMC_h)^2 = \frac{1}{2s} [H \cdot (\bar{P} - \overline{SMC})^2 + \sum_h (\overline{SMC} - SMC_h)^2]$$

- But demand changes hour to hour
- We assume that the elasticity of one unit of demand at retail price is the same in all hours and for hourly or average price change so

$$DWL = \frac{1}{2\hat{s}} \left[ \sum_h Q_h \cdot (\bar{P} - \overline{SMC}_w)^2 + \sum_h Q_h \cdot (\overline{SMC}_w - SMC_h)^2 \right]$$

- where

$$\overline{SMC}_w = \frac{\sum_h Q_h \cdot SMC_h}{\sum_h Q_h}$$

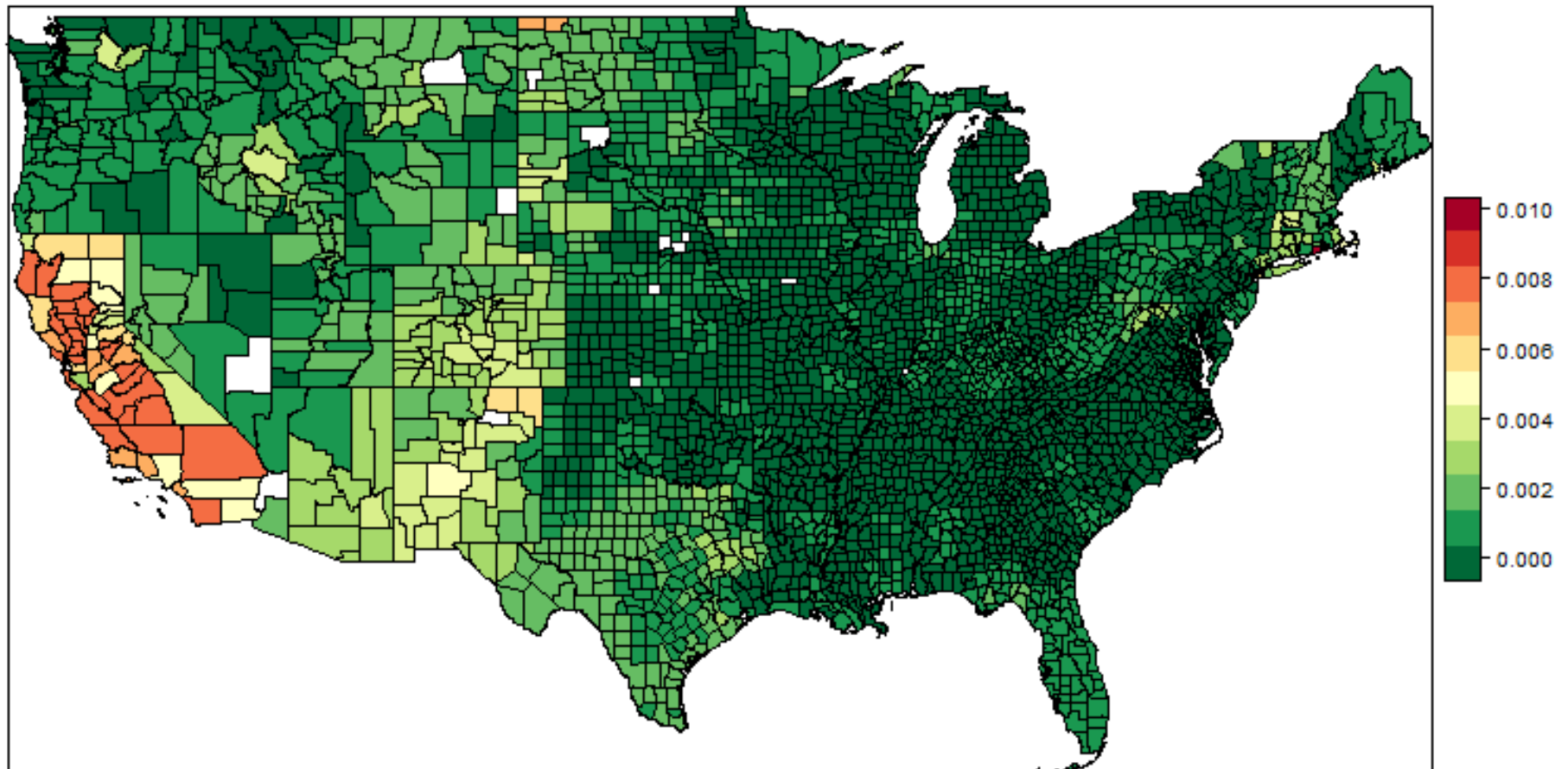
# Deadweight loss decomposition

$$DWL_{avg} = \frac{1}{2\hat{s}} \left[ \sum_h Q_h \cdot (\bar{P} - \overline{SMC_w})^2 \right]$$

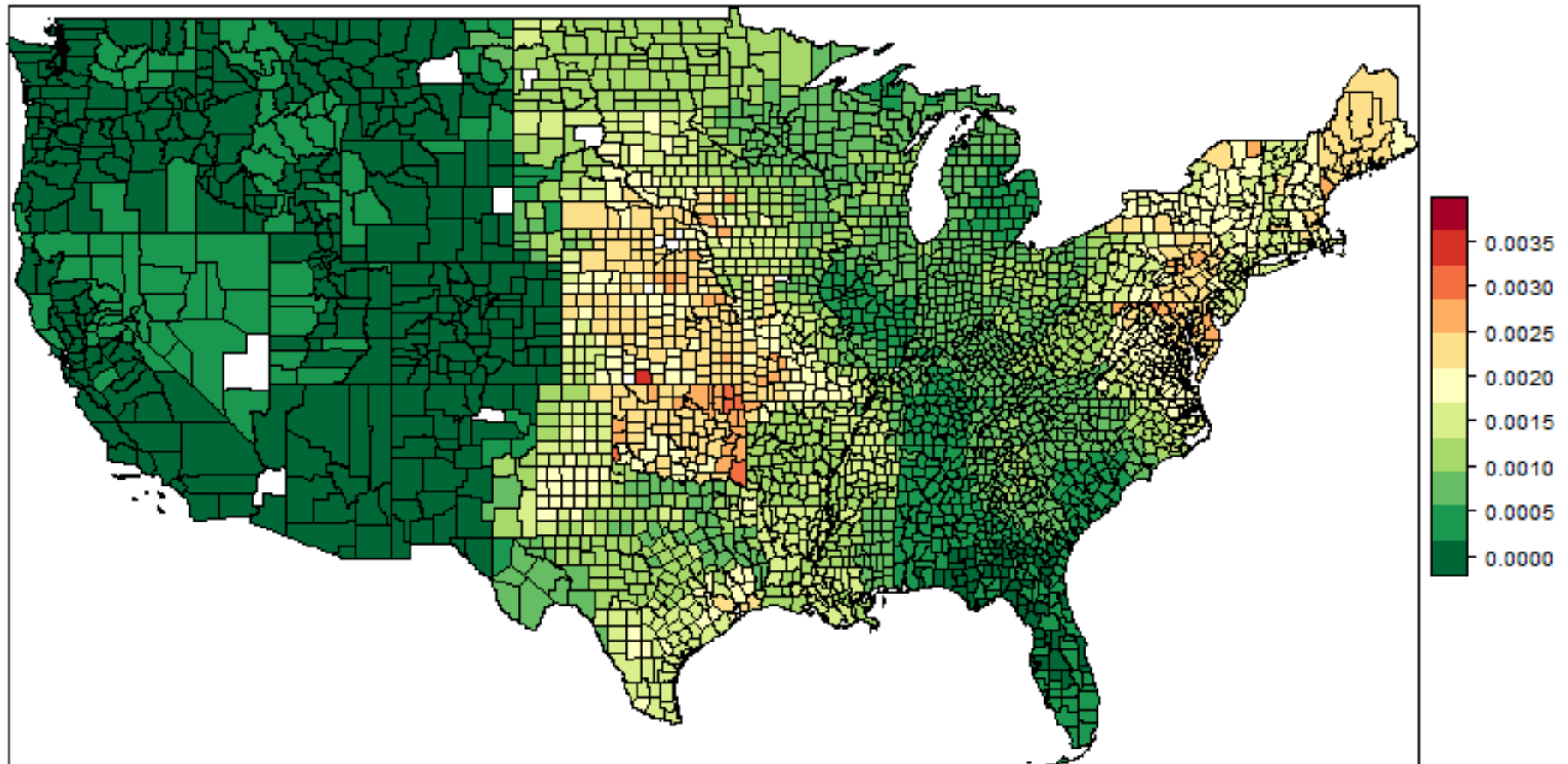
$$DWL_{resid} = \frac{1}{2\hat{s}} \left[ \sum_h Q_h \cdot (\overline{SMC_w} - SMC_h)^2 \right]$$

- $s^{\wedge}$  set to yield  $\varepsilon = -0.2$  at retail price

# Deadweight Loss Per Unit Demand from Price Differing From Average SMC



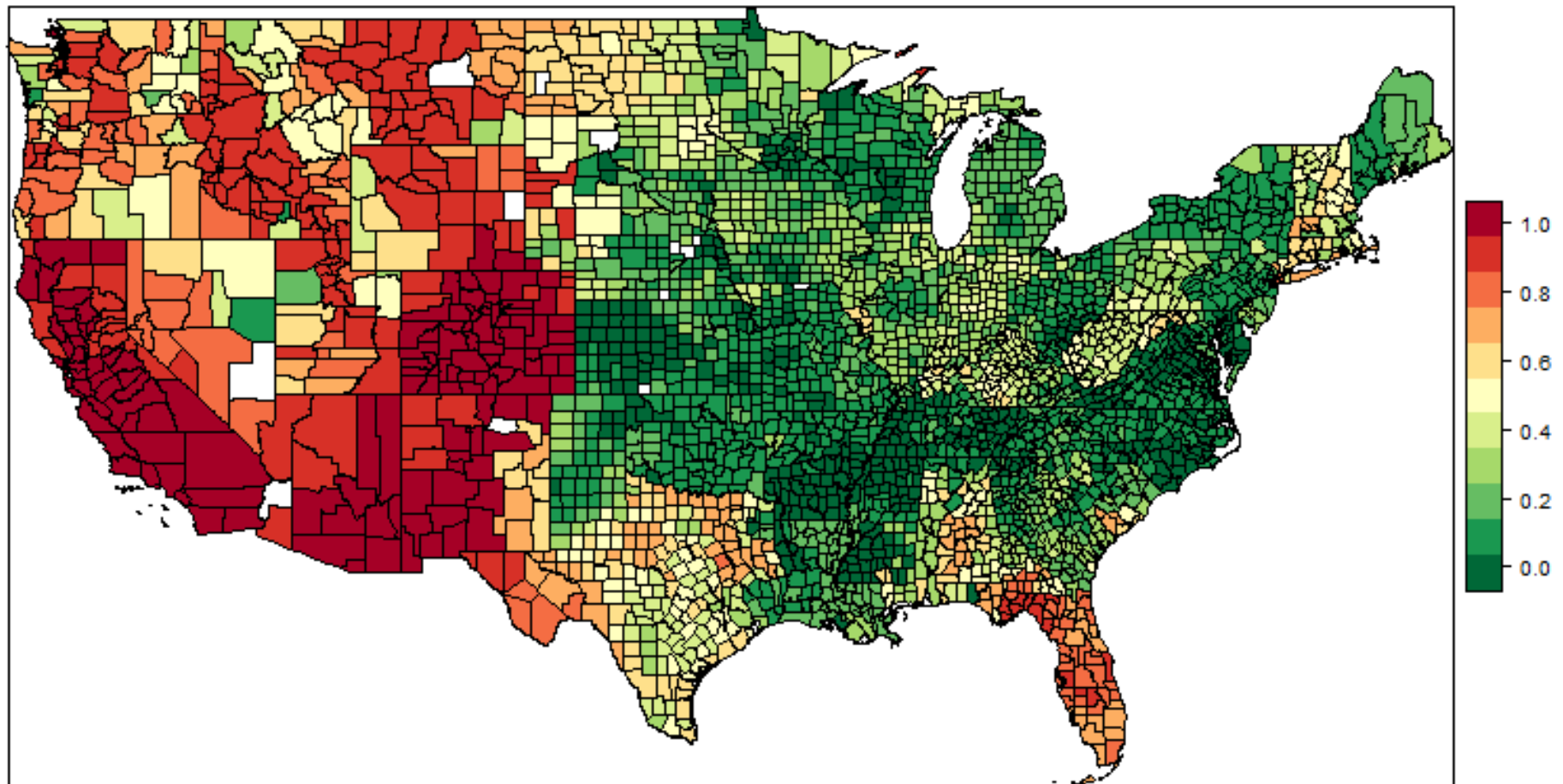
# Deadweight Loss Per Unit Demand Due to Time-Varying SMC



# Why does SMC variability create so little deadweight loss?

- Excess capacity and system operator use of reserves to dampen wholesale prices
  - => less cost (wholesale price) volatility
- In the short term, this almost certainly overstates DWL from SMC variability
  - Because price responsiveness to hourly price changes is likely small
- In the long term, maybe understates
  - Automated price responsiveness increases price elasticity, load shifting, and value of hourly pricing
  - Less reliance on excess capacity, more on rationing with price

# Share of Total Deadweight Loss Due to Price Differing From Average SMC



# Conclusion

- Multiple reasons that residential electricity is not sold at the “right” price => SRSMC
- Externalities appear to (currently) comprise more than half of social marginal cost
- Surprisingly (to us) there are nearly as many U.S. utilities with price too low as too high
- Residential prices also virtually never move with time-varying costs, causing DWL
- But DWL due to lack of time variation currently is likely smaller than due to price differing from average social marginal cost



# Future Work

- Analysis for 2010-2016 – higher PMCs?
- Improved/updated Utility Rate Database
- Refinement of residential distribution losses
- Greater granularity in external marginal cost

# Thank You

What's the matter with US Electricity Prices?  
Severin Borenstein and James Bushnell