# Liberalizing Electricity Markets

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http://www.econ.cam.ac.uk/dae/electricity

#### Politically acceptable liberalisation requires:

- confidence in supply security
- sustainable competitive outcomes
- absence of market abuse
- ability to mitigate market power
- credible regulation for efficient free entry and investment

#### These challenges remain in EU

## **EU Energy Directives**

- Electricity 96/92/EC due Feb 1999
- Gas 98/30/EC due Aug 2000
- $\Rightarrow$  extend single market to energy
- $\Rightarrow$  increased role of Commission
- $\Rightarrow$  de-politicise energy policy
- $\Rightarrow$  energy policy to be market friendly

## Energy vs economic policy

- Tensions between energy policy and market solutions
- Liberalisation helped by benign circumstance?
- Energy liberalisation worked in UK
- collapse of communism  $\Rightarrow$  privatisation
- US: unbundling  $\Rightarrow$  lower prices
  - $\Rightarrow$  escape backward-looking RoR tariffs?

# Energy policy for electricity

- Security of supply critical
- cannot store electricity unlike oil, gas, coal
- local failures can have wide-area impacts
- security ensured previously by:
  - obligation to supply + reserve margins
  - franchise and vertical integration
  - imports on long-term contracts

# Security of supply

- spare capacity aids liberalisation
- encourages competition  $\Rightarrow$  low prices
- liberalisation shortens contracts

   threatens investment adequacy
- early liberalisers had spare capacity
- Britain developed regulation, licences
- Continent unprepared for Energy Directives?





# A Single European Electricity Market?

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# Lessons for Reform

- authorisation preferable to tendering/SBM
- *access* is key to creating single market
   press for rTPA
  - require transparency
- require ownership separation of G & T/D
- separate distribution and supply
- strong sector specific regulation needed

Published London: CEPR, 1999

### European Council response

- Lisbon 2000 European Council asks CEC to work to complete single ESI market
- CEC reaches same conclusion as CEPR
- Stockholm 2001 CEC presents
  - analysis: working papers
  - Press Release: 'California not a problem'
  - proposed amendments to Gas+Elec Directives
- France and Germany oppose

### What happened in California?

1996: cost of new power < regulated price

- buy out stranded generation assets
- Price cap until then, expect price fall, *but*
- *average* 2000 wholesale price 3 x 1999
- Jan-Apr 2001 prices 10 x 1999
- distribution companies bankrupted
- State steps in at huge cost





## Responses to California

- ESC concerned at supply risks
- NRAs to monitor supply/demand balance
- $\Rightarrow$  tenders if S/D inadequate
- security cost to be met by whole system
- improve interconnection, harmonise tariffs
- subsidiarity  $\Rightarrow$  CEC only if impossible

# Competition problems in EU ESI

- dominant incumbents (Fr, Be, It)
- merger wave (EdF, E-on, RWE)
- inadequate interconnect transmission
- illiquid or absent wholesale markets
- under-staffed or no regulator
- access to information patchy
- lack of regulatory enforcement power



Source: Towards a Reliable European Energy Market, Presentation by B. den Ouden, APX, January 2001







#### Ratio of largest generator to margin+imports

### Why so much concentration?

- Energy policy *vs* market forces
- National champion to defend national interest?
- More policy control over dominant firms?
- Weak EU concept of 'market' and 'dominance'
- Britain shows importance of deconcentration
- Netherlands nearly merged 4 gencos into one!

#### Generation in England and Wales





## Tensions in liberalisation

- variable cost ~ 50% average cost
- p = SRMC low unless margin tight
- tight margins  $\Rightarrow$  low supply security
- competitive market unacceptably volatile without long-term contracts
- Supply competition reduces contract length
- futures markets illiquid
- $\Rightarrow$  investment risky in competitive markets

## Response to risk

- market dynamics:  $\Rightarrow$  reduce risk, protect margins
- wholesale price risk: reduce by vertical integration
- investment risk: reduce by horizontal integration
- entry deterrence protects investment, margins

#### Without entry threats Gencos may

- Merge (c.f. Germany)
- Reduce spare capacity (Germany)

Contract cover demand driven  $\Rightarrow$  expensive

- $\Rightarrow$  reduces cover  $\Rightarrow$  market power
- $\Rightarrow$  Critical to minimise barriers to entry
- ownership unbundling of G & T

### CCGT as the answer to liberalisation?

- High efficiency, low capital cost, fast build
- modest scale economies  $\Rightarrow$  IPP entry
- but economics depend on gas and electricity market design
- these are likely to be influenced by incumbents
- NETA as an example

### Generation in England and Wales by fuel type



#### But gas prices are still linked to oil





### Contestable entry and gas liberalisation

- incumbent gas companies can
- deny/delay access under nTPA
- obstruct new imports
- then price discriminate to extract rent
- gas balancing charges can distort electricity market

#### Benefits of gas liberalisation

- cheaper to move gas than electricity
- $\Rightarrow$  locate new CCGT near demand
- $\Rightarrow$  each country increases supply/demand
- reduces transmission constraints
- widens market, reduces concentration
- but is gas liberalisation even harder?

## Increasing interconnection

- increases short-run security
- mitigates market power
- provokes cross-border mergers
- spare capacity becomes a public good
- California relied on other states for reserves

# Decentralising security

- Suppliers to secure adequate reserves?
- Problem is length of contract
- Answer: retain the franchise?
- $\Rightarrow$  yardstick contract regulation
- $\Rightarrow$  requires more active NRAs

# Environmental impacts

- liberalisation  $\Rightarrow$  lower prices, higher CO<sub>2</sub>?
- Obvious solution = carbon tax
- practicality = 'green' energy
- country obligations  $\Rightarrow$  trade 'green' certificates
- CHP, wind disadvantaged by balancing markets
- wind requires more interconnection
- $\Rightarrow$  competition benefits

## Conclusions

- tension between competition and investment
- but oligopoly without entry threat reduces capacity
- gas liberalisation key to single electricity market
- otherwise maximise interconnection, ensure reserve adequacy
- $\Rightarrow$  delay ending franchise?

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