A photograph of a multi-lane highway covered in a thick layer of snow. Several cars are visible, some driving and others parked. In the background, a bridge spans the highway, and various commercial signs are visible on the right side. The scene is hazy, suggesting a winter day.

Lessons from the 2021 Texas Electricity Crisis

Peter Cramton

5 July 2021, [latest version](#)

Peter Cramton is Professor of Economics at the University of Cologne and the University of Maryland (emeritus since 2018). He was an independent director of the ERCOT board from 2015-2021. He is grateful to his research team: Emmanuele Bobbio, David Malec, and Pat Sujarittanonta.

Many interconnected systems

Weather

People

Electricity

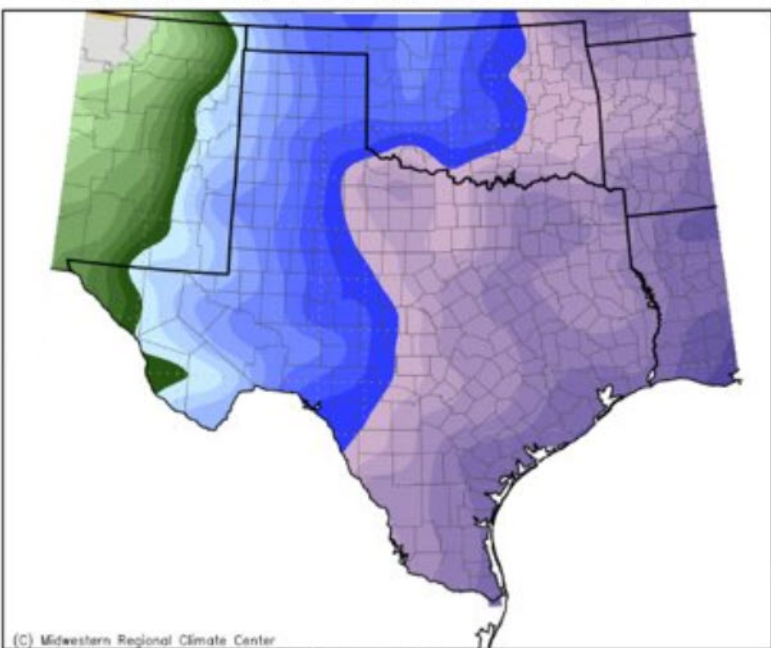
Water

Gas

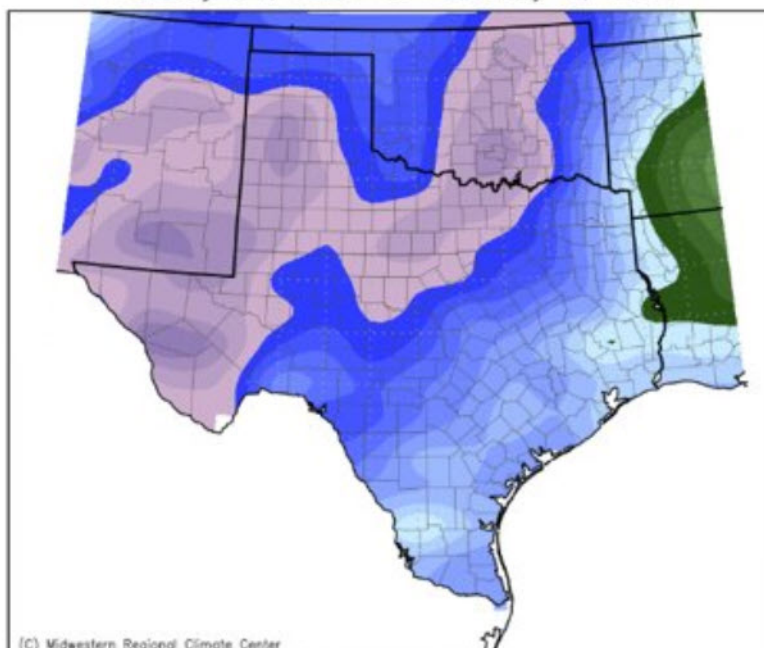
Historical Comparison with Past Arctic Outbreaks, 7-day Temperature Anomalies

Temperature departures from normal for the 7-days centered on the coldest day for Dec. 1989, Feb. 2011, and Feb. 2021 outbreaks. Feb. 12-18, 2021 had the most significant extended period of below normal temperatures compared to these prior outbreaks. (Midwest Regional Climate Center online plotter does not go below -25F departure)

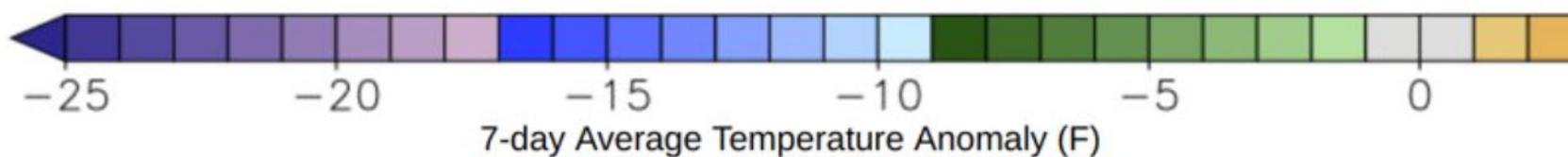
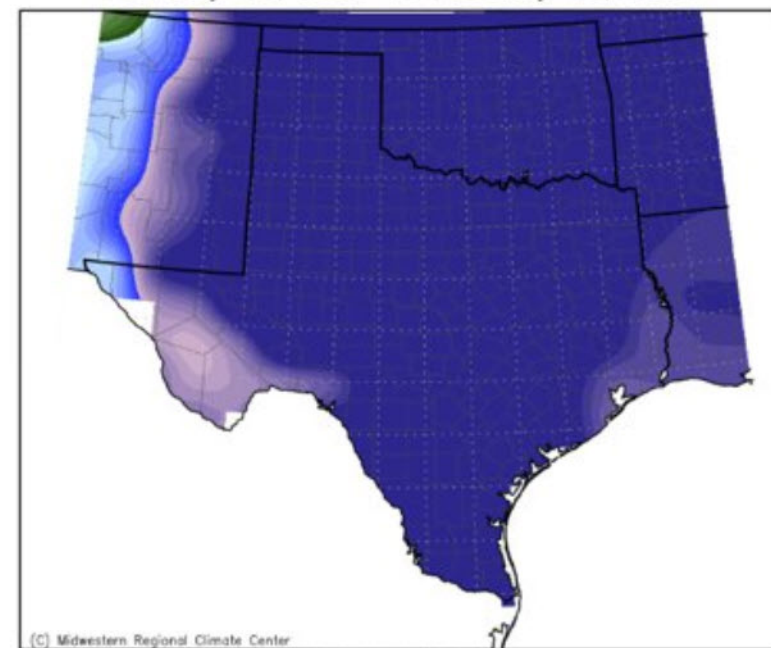
Average Temperature (°F): Departure from Mean
December 19, 1989 to December 25, 1989



Average Temperature (°F): Departure from Mean
January 31, 2011 to February 6, 2011



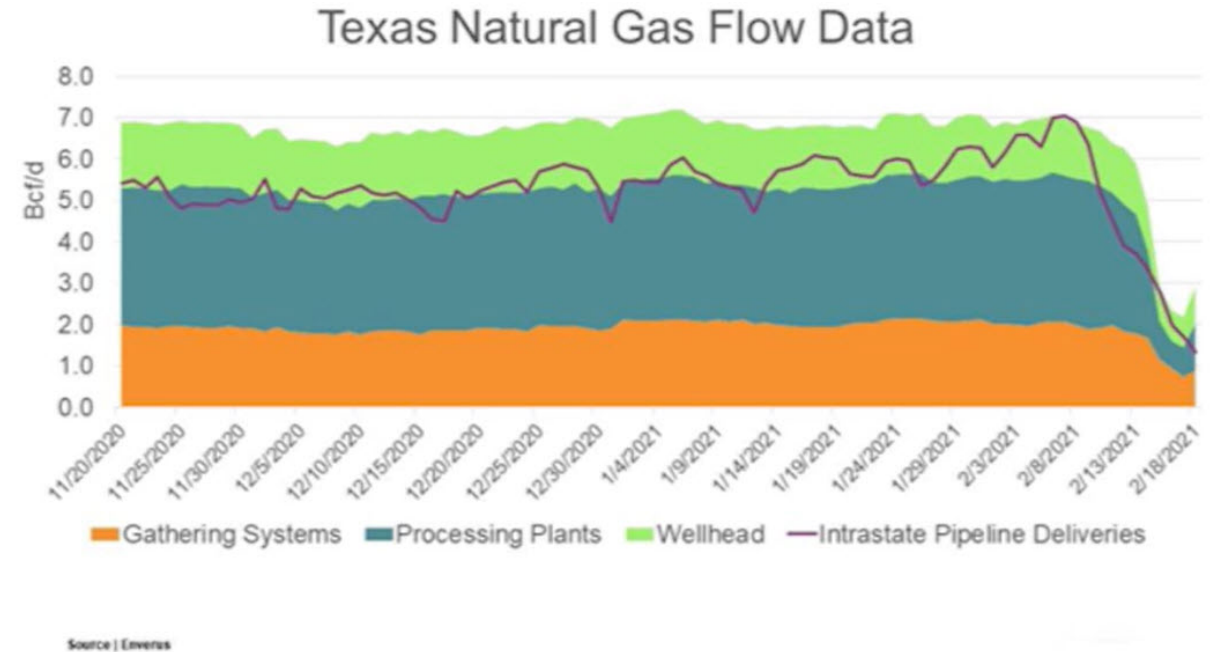
Average Temperature (°F): Departure from Mean
February 12, 2021 to February 18, 2021



Coldest temperatures during Texas cold snaps, Fahrenheit



Natural gas flow drops sharply on Friday, 12 Feb, *well before* electricity outages on Monday, 15 Feb



Fri. 12 Feb. 2021

Over the week natural gas pipeline flow data shows a significant drop. Spot gas prices soars on Friday to over \$150/MMBtu at HSC (some locations topped out at \$999 for other locations according to NGI).

Sat. 13 Feb. 2021 08:43

ERCOT Physical Responsive Capability (PRC), which is a measure of online capacity that is available to respond quickly to disturbances, falls below 3 GW for the first time during the weekend.

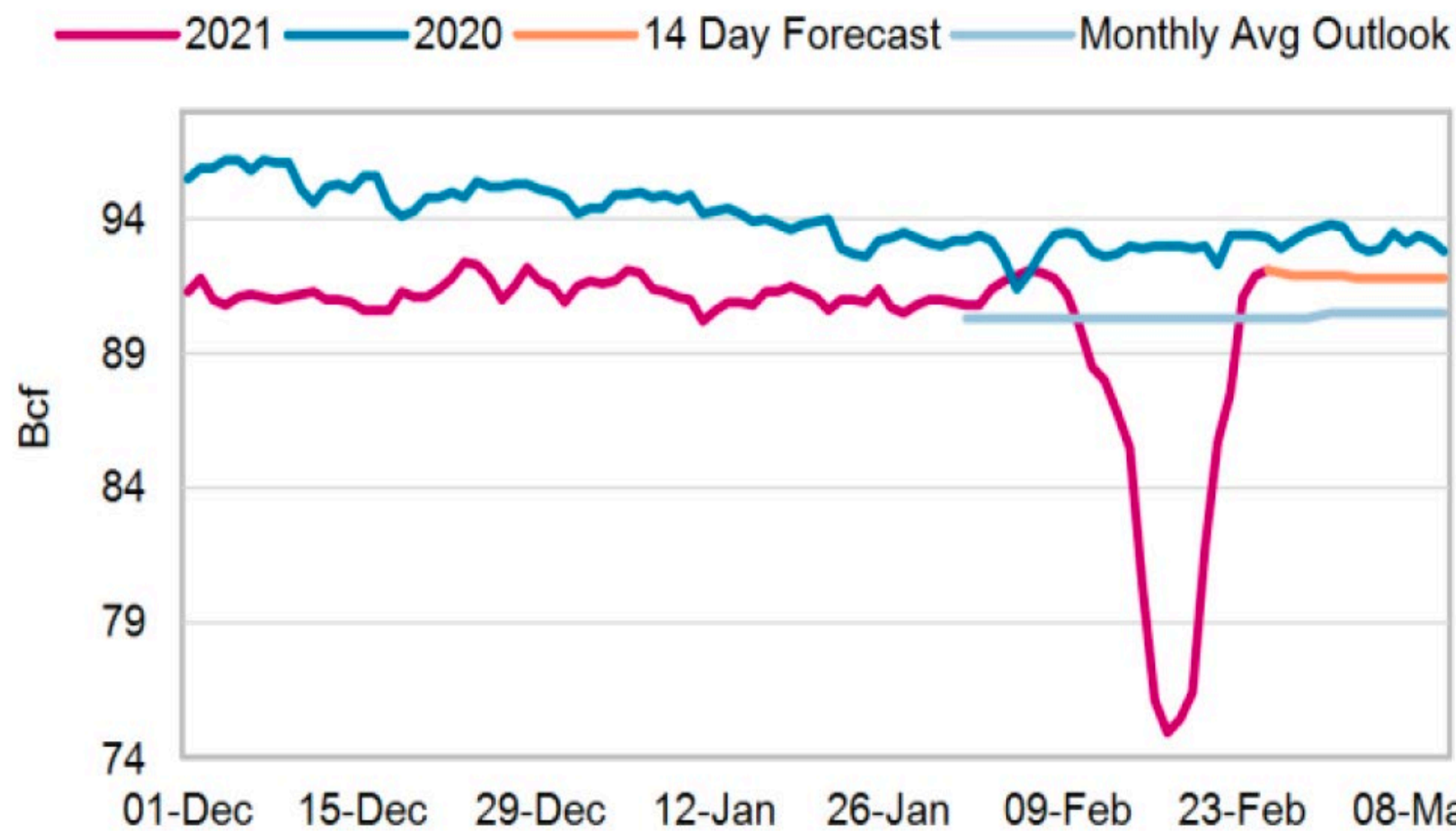
Sat. 13 Feb. 2021 04:02

ERCOT notes the first major thermal generator failure at 04:02. Frequency declines to 59.238 Hz, while load was at 55,391 MW.

Sun. 14 Feb. 2021

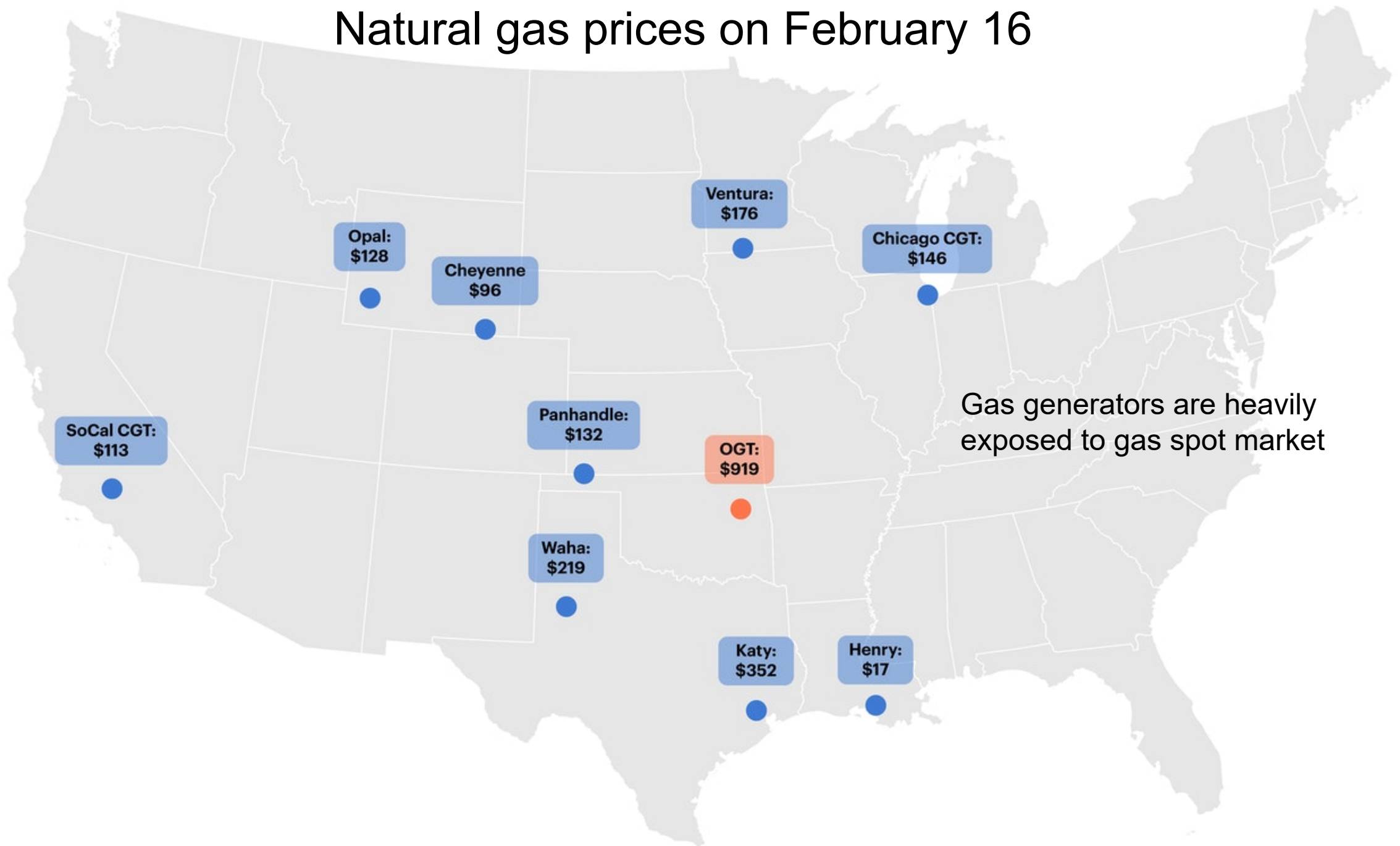
ERCOT issued a Watch for a projected reserve capacity shortage with no market solution available for HE 17:00-21:00, which causes a high risk for an EEA event.

TOTAL U.S. DRY GAS PRODUCTION



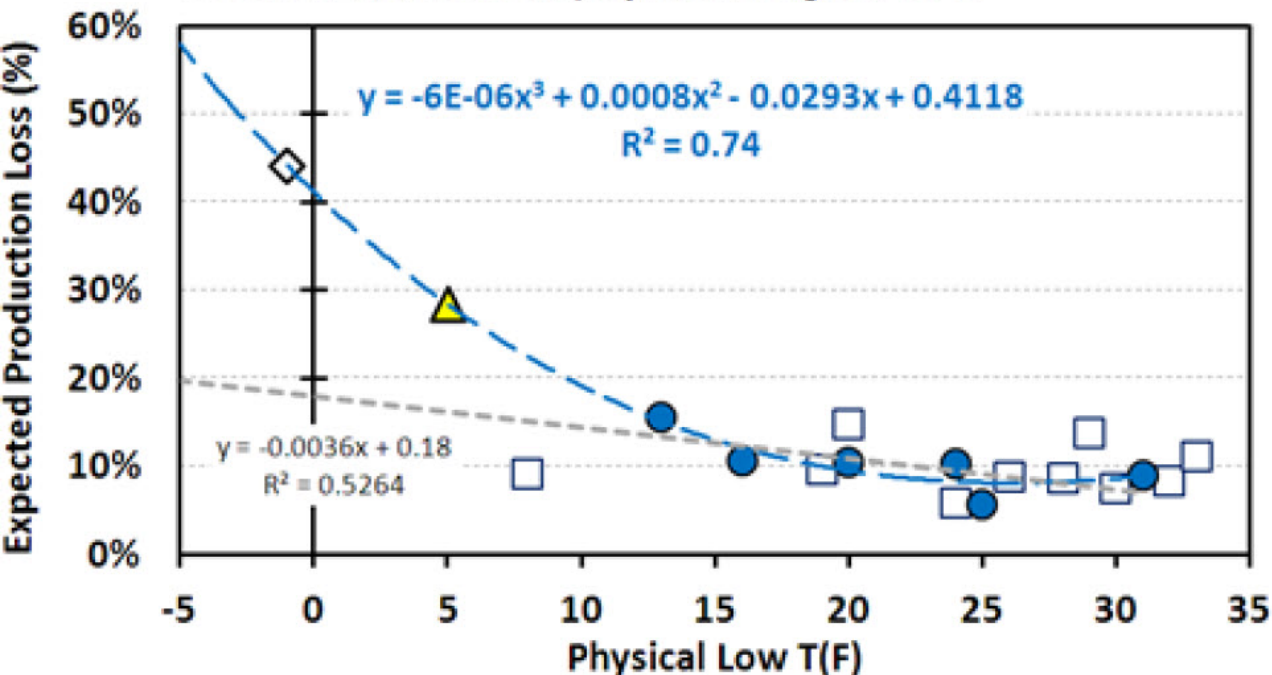
- US natural gas production drops 21%
- TX natural gas production drops 45%

Natural gas prices on February 16



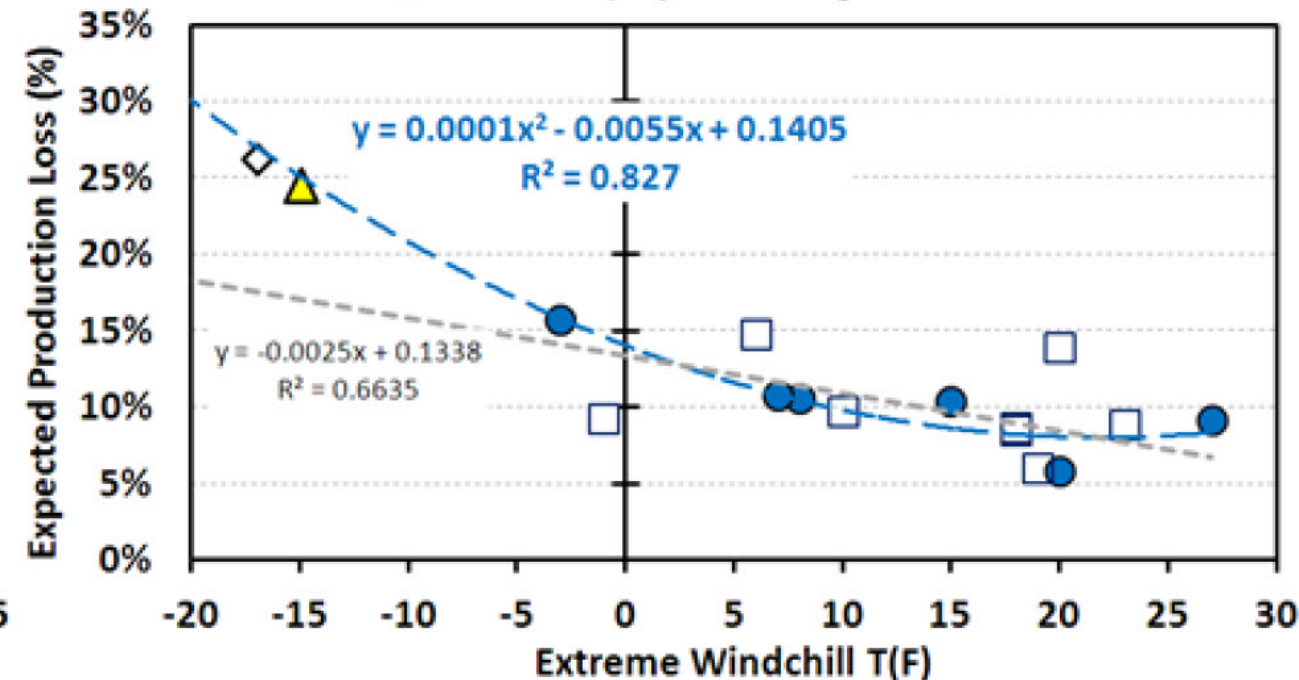
Barnett Shale Gas Production Loss: Freezing Temperature

- Events not Captured in ERCOT Database, 1994-2009
- Events Captured in ERCOT Database (Deliverable 1), 2002-2011
- ▲ Dec 19-29, 1983 Event projected along loss curve
- ◇ Dec 11-28, 1989 Event projected along loss curve

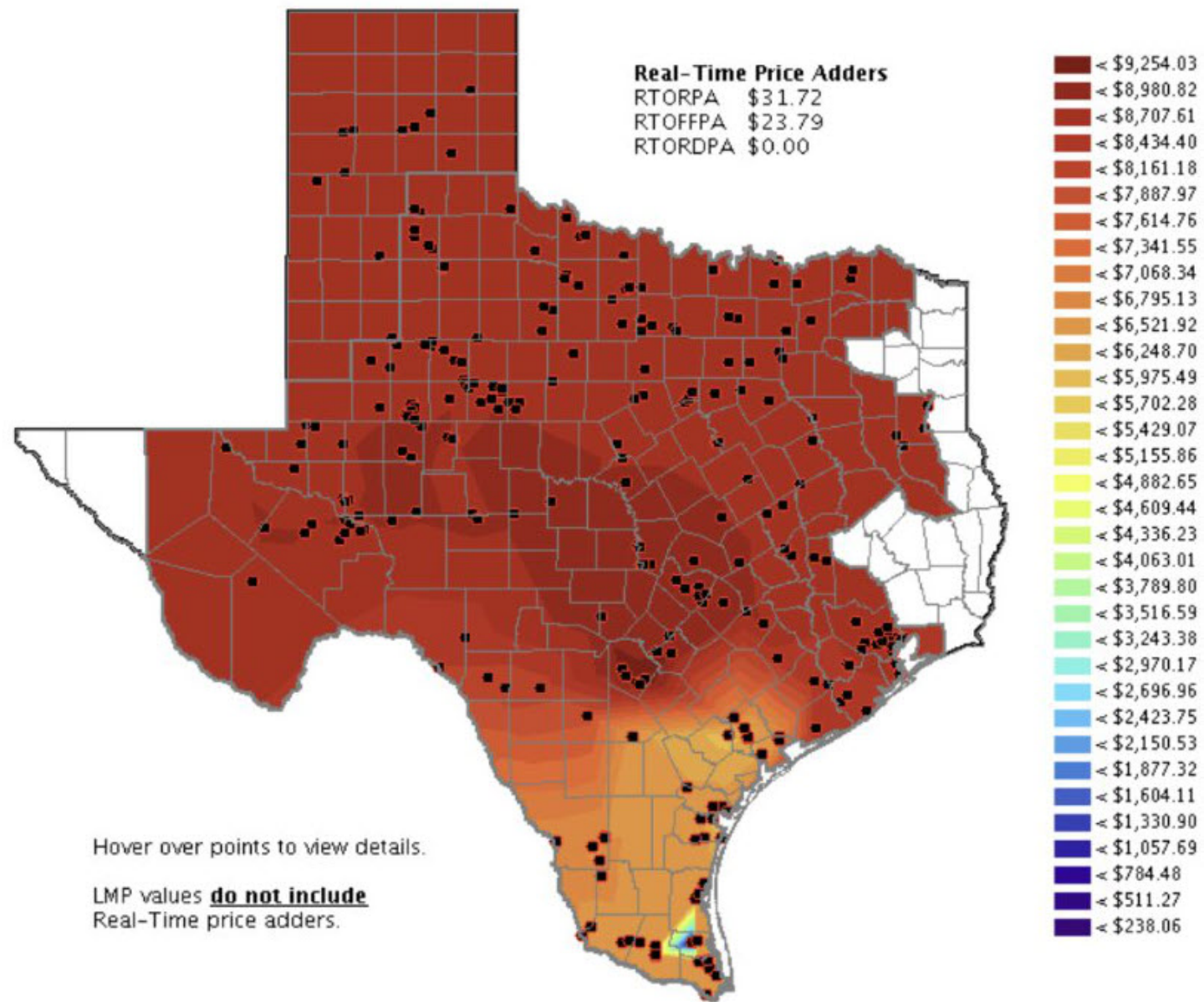


Barnett Shale Gas Production Loss: Wind Chill

- Events not Captured in ERCOT Database, 1994-2009
- Events Captured in ERCOT Database (Deliverable 1), 2002-2011
- ▲ Dec 19-29, 1983 Event projected along loss curve
- ◇ Dec 11-28, 1989 Event projected along loss curve

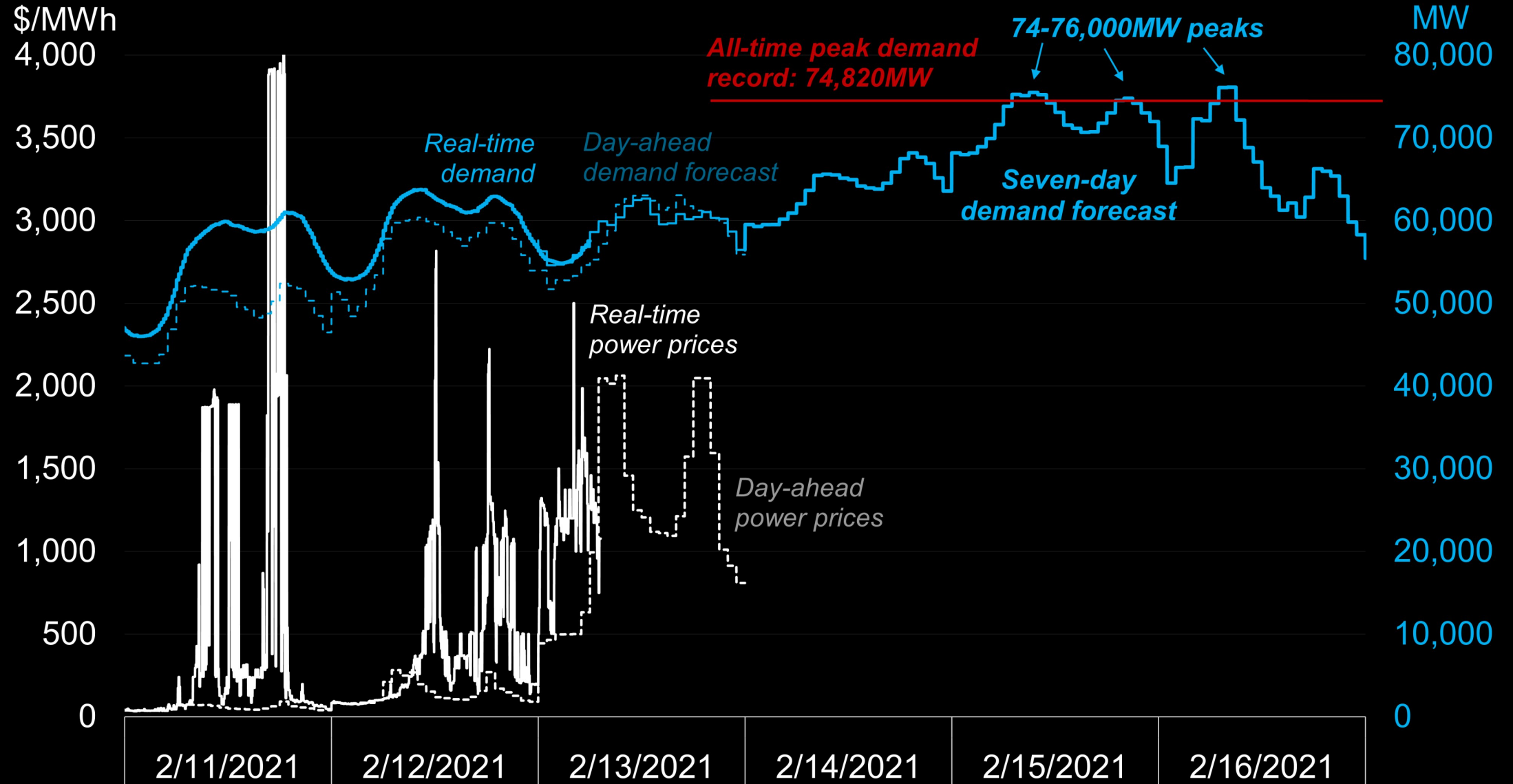


Last Updated: Feb 13, 2021 09:10

Download KML: [Contours and Points](#) / [Points Only](#) / [TX Counties](#) / [ERCOT Region](#)

Extreme Cold Could Push Texas Electricity Demand to All-time Highs

ERCOT load and power prices



Source: ERCOT

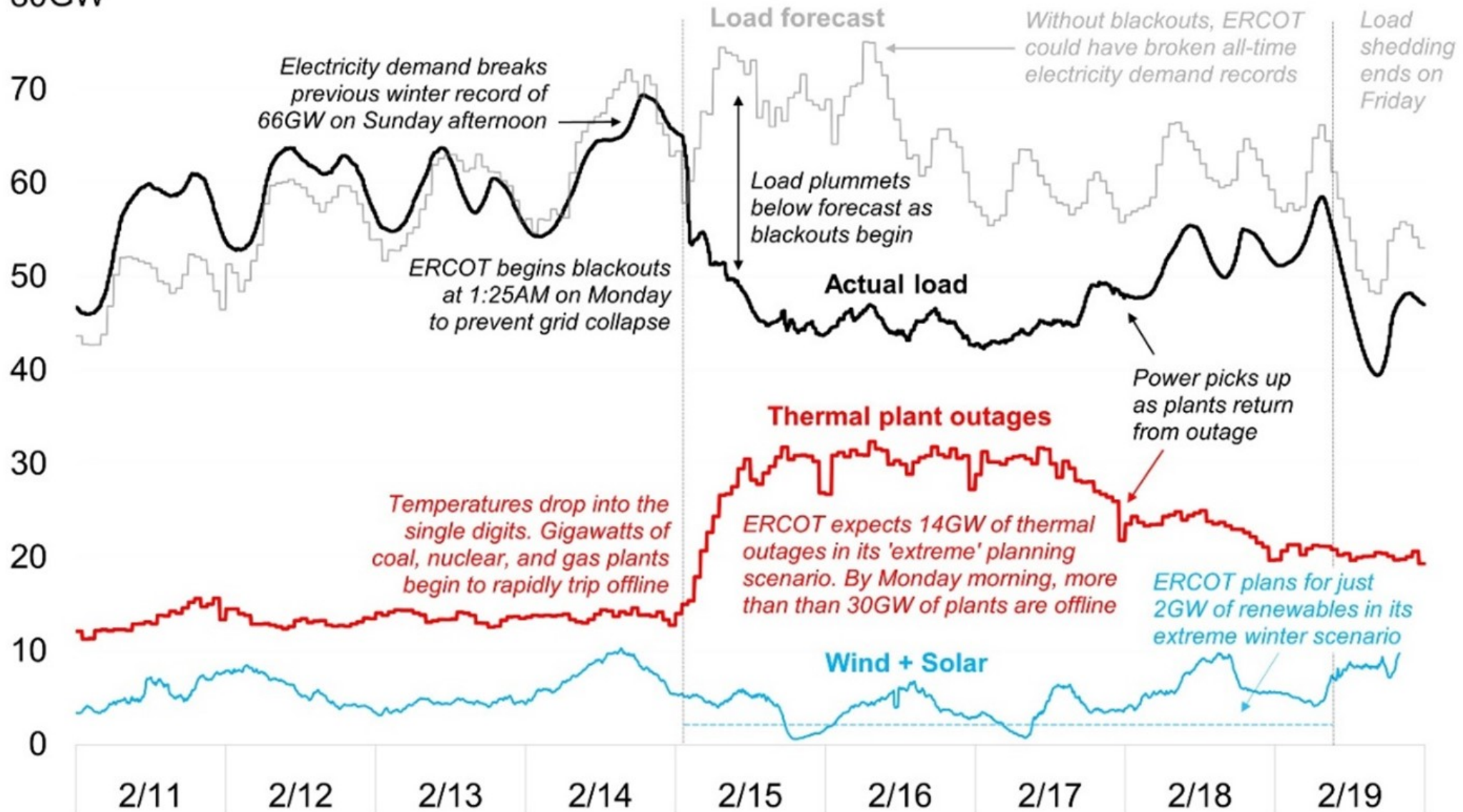
Note: As of February 13, 8am EST

Source: Brian Bartholomew

Extreme Weather, Extreme Outages Pushed Texas into Blackouts

ERCOT electric load, load forecasts, thermal plant outages, and renewables

80GW

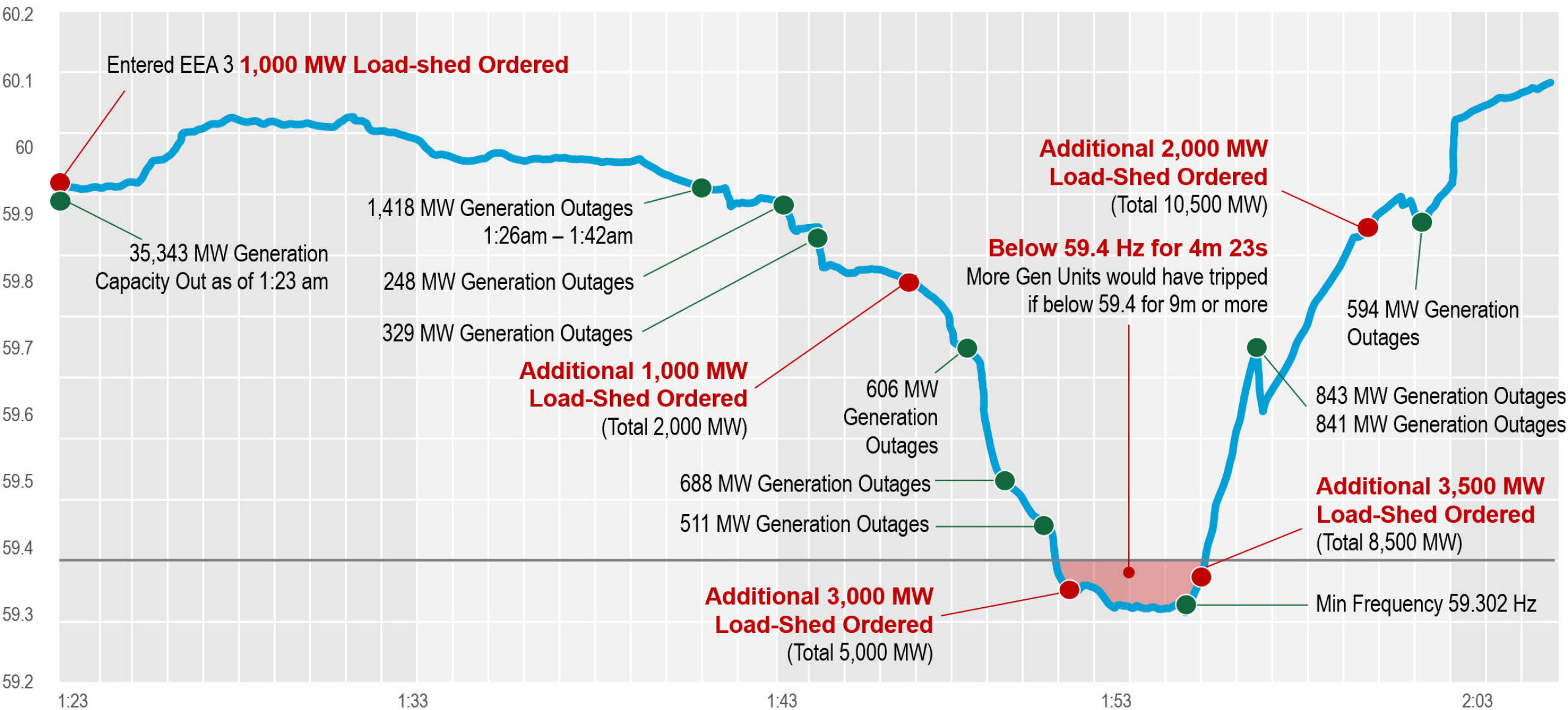


Data source: ERCOT

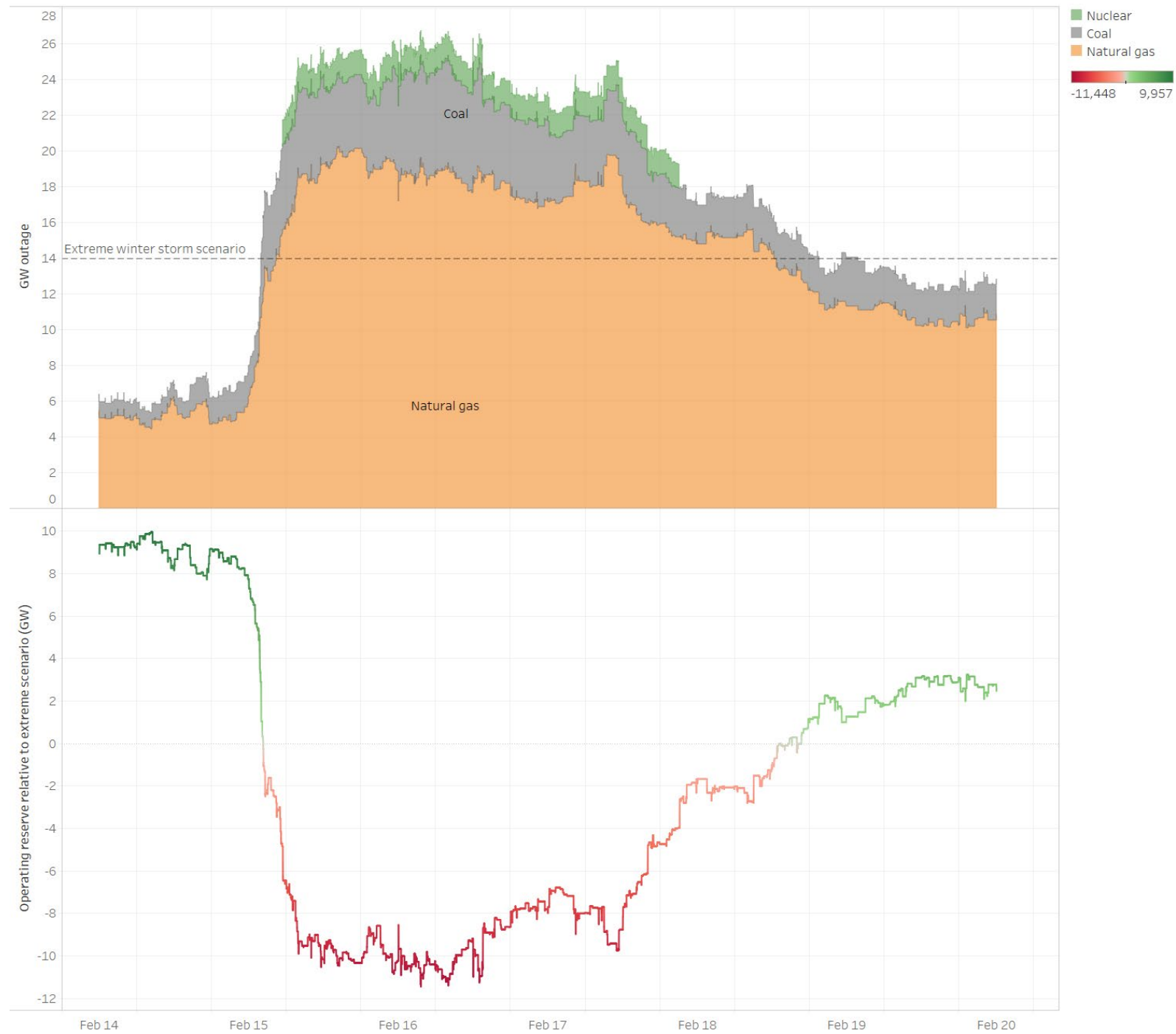
Note: 'Thermal plant outages' is non-renewable generator outages reported by ERCOT

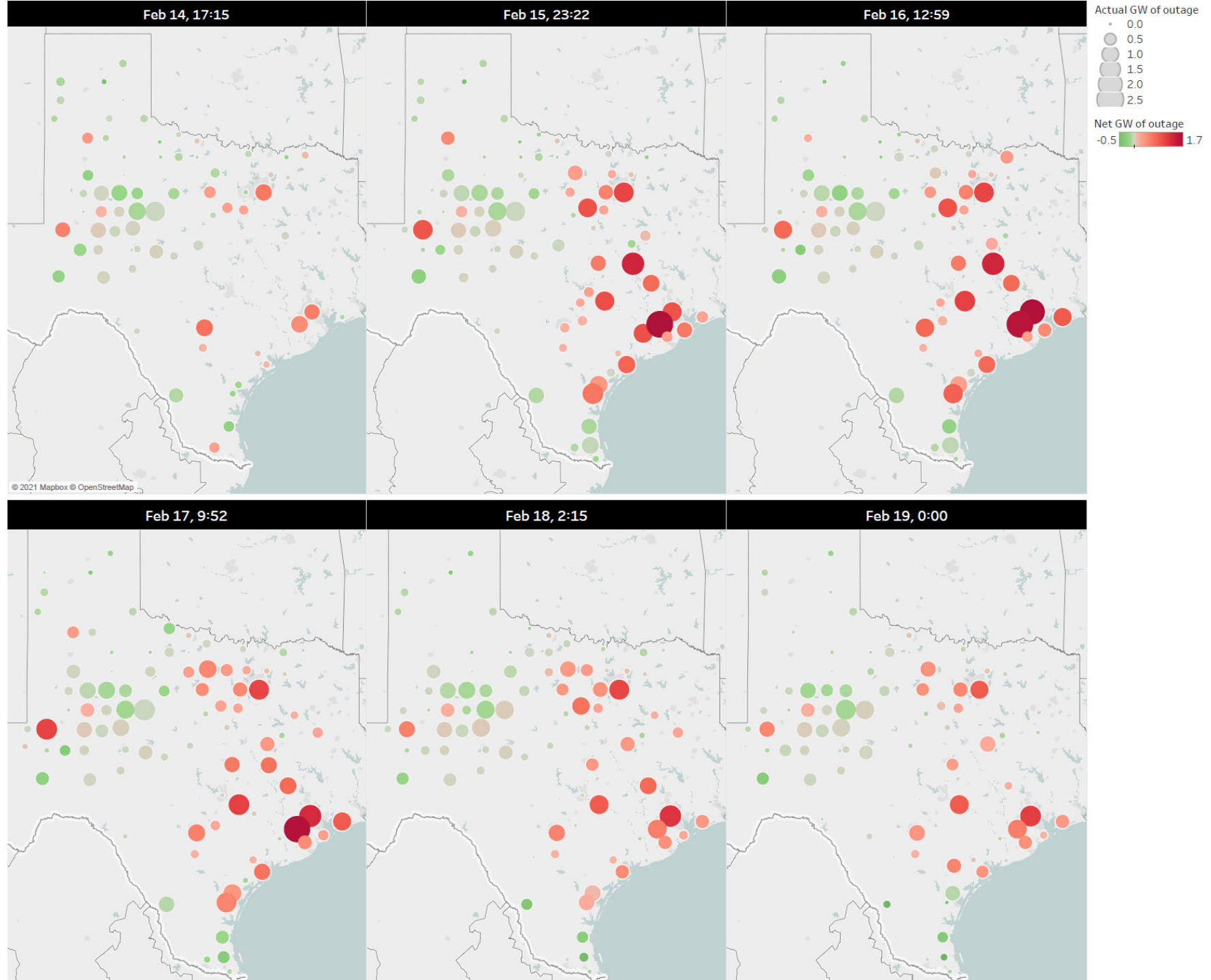
Source: Brian Bartholomew

ERCOT control room 1 am, Monday, February 15

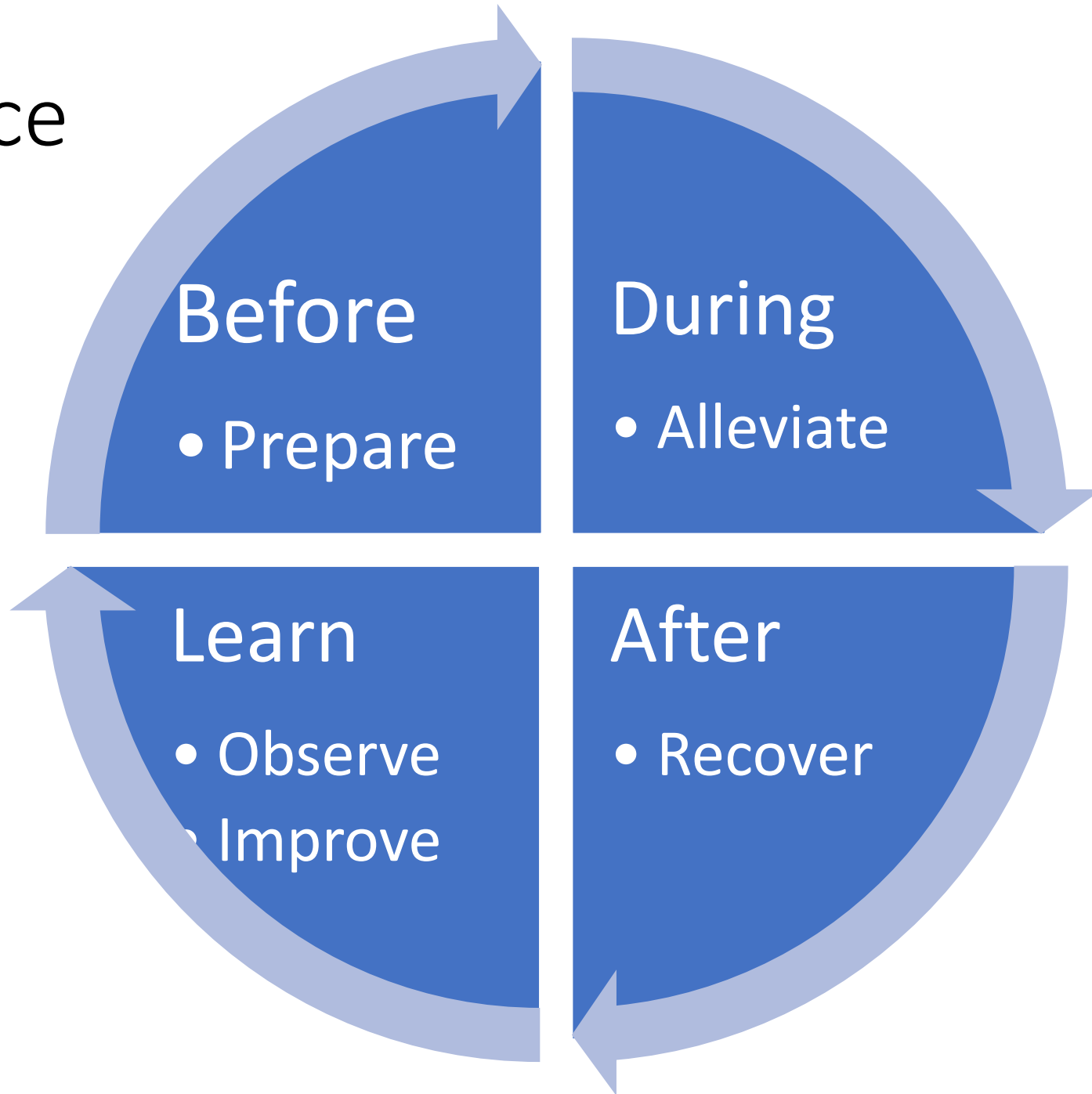


Thermal outages





Resilience



Improve communications

Governor and regulator

System operator

Public

Generators

Distribution
companies

Retail
service
providers

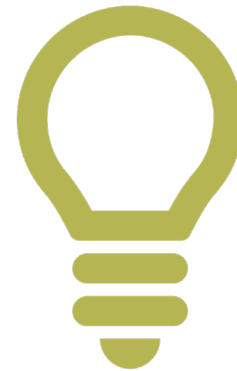
Customers

It is likely that many Texans will lose power because of the storm, some for multiple days. The number of Texans who must experience a long outage in freezing temperatures depends on your actions. I ask and plead with all Texans who have power: *Please put your sweaters and coats on and turn the thermostat down to 55° F or lower.* Each kilowatt-hour you conserve enables more Texans to have power. Let's stand together and defeat this storm.

Improve critical infrastructures essential for a resilient grid



Reform the natural gas market to assure a reliable supply of gas in sub-zero temperatures



Use standards and grants to promote energy efficiency in new and existing homes



Electricity market design matters

First fix your spot market

Financial day ahead market for scheduling

- Co-optimize energy & reserves to maximize as-bid social welfare subject to constraints
- Allow simple expression of unit characteristics and economics (3-part bids for fossil)
- Allow virtual bids and offers to arbitrage between day ahead and real time markets
- Automatically mitigate market power if it appears due to local constraints

Physical real time market for dispatch and settlement

- Co-optimize energy & reserves to maximize as-bid social welfare subject to constraints
- Automatically mitigate market power if it appears due to local constraints

Result: Day-ahead and real-time prices that induce efficient behavior!

Improve ERCOT market rules and systems to embrace the future

Improve forecasting

Improve the analysis
of resilience and
reliability

Encourage price-
responsive demand

Integrate battery
storage

Accommodate
distributed
generation

Add a winter circuit
breaker

Avoid repricing,
especially of forward
markets

Facilitate liquid and
efficient trade of
forward energy

Add a forward-
energy market for
simple, transparent,
and efficient trade up
to 48 months ahead

Consider a 24-hour
rolling settlement
that is more flexible
and efficient than the
day-ahead market

Improve the real-
time market with a
60-minute rolling
look ahead

Is reliability a public good?

Absent demand response, yes.

But an effective market encourages demand response with

- Demand curves for reserves that reflect the value of avoiding shortage (\$9000 shortage price)
- Rate plans that let the consumer see and feel the real-time price on the margin (it is fine if most consumers select a flat rate plan!)
- Emergency demand response that pays customers to reduce in emergency
 - ERCOT has 2 GW
 - Pay-for-performance is key (e.g., ERCOT Aug 2019 vs CA Aug 2020)

Result: reliability is no longer a problem (and is not a public good)

Capacity market: Buy enough in advance

- Buy: capacity is bought on behalf of load
 - Capacity = energy and reserves during shortage [vs anytime]
 - Capacity is a derivative of the real time market = *pay for performance* [vs exceptions, missing money]
- Enough:
 - Capacity demand curve to guarantee physical capability [vs vertical]
 - Capacity value = ability to provide energy during shortage [vs nameplate, EFORd]
- In advance:
 - Three years ahead for price formation [vs spot]

Learning to ride a bike: does a capacity market help or hurt?

\$125



\$55



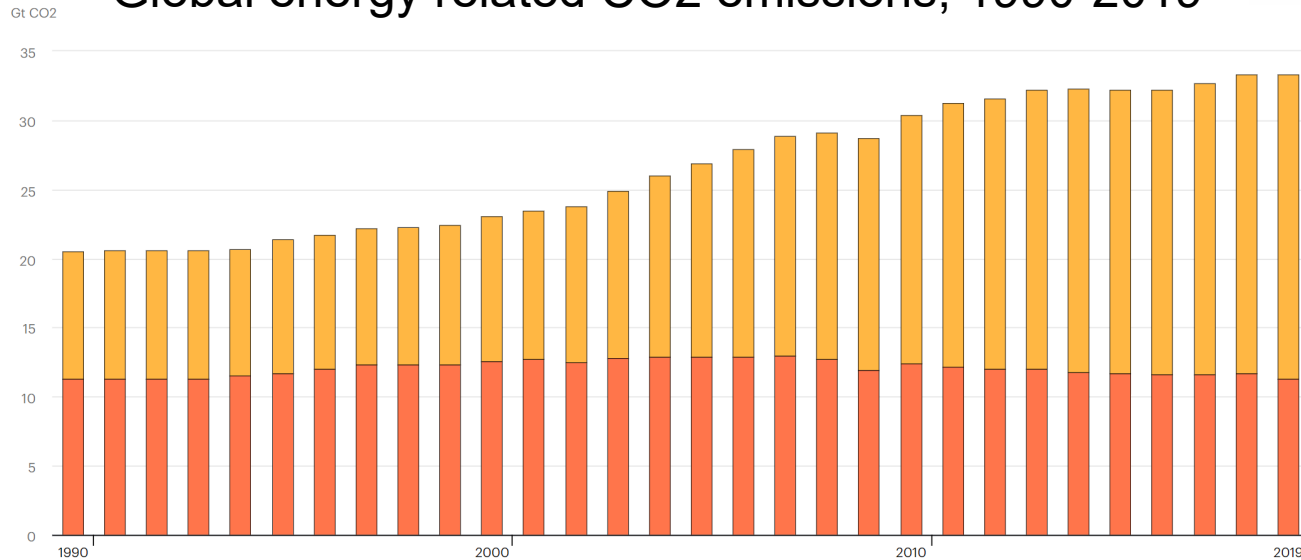


Forward energy market

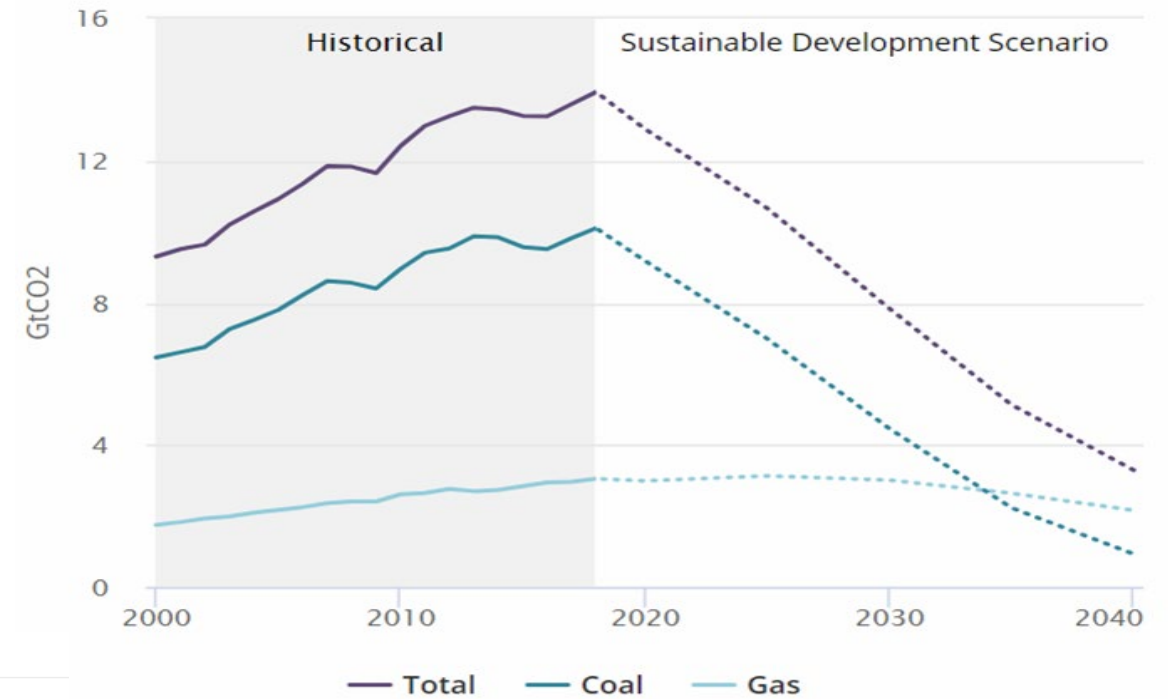
- Simple, transparent, and efficient trade up to 48-months ahead
- Single foundational product: monthly forward energy by months ahead, hour of day, weekday or weekend, load zone ($2 \times 24 \times 48 = 2304$ products per zone, e.g. August 2022, 5 pm, weekday, Houston)
- Preferences: Each participant submits a piecewise linear demand curves for one or more linear combination of products (shifting from current position to a new target position) in quantity flows expressing the rate at which you move to new position based on prices (Budish-Cramton-Kyle-Lee-Malec, ["Flow Trading"](#))

Climate policy matters

Global energy related CO2 emissions, 1990-2019



Power sector CO2 emissions



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⌚ Last updated Tuesday, May 28, 2019

Electricity Markets in Transition

A forty-year model of entry and exit

Peter Cramton, Emmanuele Bobbio,
David Malec and Pat Sujarittanonta

July 2021

We are grateful to PJM Interconnection for funding and expert help. Funding also from Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2126/1– 390838866 and by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under grant agreement No 741409.

Multi decade analysis of energy transition

Goal:

- Understand drivers of energy transition
 - Policy (market design, climate policy, ...), technology, input prices, consumer behavior

Approach:

- Market dynamics driven by private investment decisions (entry-exit)
- Investors are sophisticated (rational, forward looking)
- Profits and performance from detailed model of energy market
- Train econometric model on synthetic data from energy model to obtain global approximation

Storage



Batteries are fundamentally different

Marginal cost (benefit) is opportunity cost (benefit)

Opportunity cost depends on price expectations and capabilities

Approach

Day ahead: directly model battery characteristics and schedule optimally

Real time: optimally dispatch based on linear program

Price responsive demand

Portion of load is traditional

Portion of load is price responsive

Constant elasticity (a 1% increase in price, decreases quantity by 0.1%)

Demand curve for price responsive demand explicitly modeled





Distributed energy resources: solar + battery

Federal action to improve the resilience of critical infrastructures

- Use standards and grants to foster energy efficiency
- Strengthen the ties between the major interconnections in the United States

