Annual internal market congestion costs rose significantly in 2022, after nearly doubling from 2020 to 2021 across the Regional Transmission Organizations/Independent System Operators (RTOs/ISOs). ISOs and RTOs serve around 58% of U.S. electricity load. Costs in RTO regions, apart from California ISO (CAISO), were $12.1 billion. Extrapolated to the rest of the U.S., including CAISO, congestion costs totaled $20.8 billion.

Congestion costs are incurred on the U.S. electric transmission grid when there is inadequate capacity to deliver the lowest-cost generation to load (consumers). Higher cost generation is dispatched instead, raising prices that are then charged to consumers. Various financial products exist that may partially or fully hedge congestion costs to individual loads (essentially providing insurance) and the associated risk, but the cost of congestion is ultimately paid by electricity customers.

All analysis not directly cited is based on the market monitor reports, linked in the appendix. CAISO has not published congestion data comparable to the other RTO regions for each year of the period analyzed in this report. CAISO has not yet released their 2022 market monitor report and is excluded from this edition.

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**FIGURE 1. FERC — RTO/ISO Regions**

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As shown in Table 1, total reported congestion costs increased by 100% from 2020 to 2021, and by about 56% from 2021 to 2022. 2022 congestion costs double the 2021 five-year average and triple the five-year averages from 2016 to 2019. This trend reflects the greater frequency and higher cost of thermal generators running in place of renewables curtailed due to inadequate transmission capacity, among other factors discussed on page 4.

### Table 1. Total Transmission Congestion Costs ($ millions) for RTOs from 2016–2022

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERCOT</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISO-NE</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISO</td>
<td>1,402</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>2,849</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYISO</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJM</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPP</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3,771</td>
<td>4,214</td>
<td>5,090</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>3,878</td>
<td>7,745</td>
<td>12,051</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 NYISO does not report both real-time and day-ahead congestion values in their market monitor report. These numbers are based on day-ahead market congestion.
Non-RTO regions do not have transparent congestion data, but if operating within the same wholesale context as RTOs, it can be assumed that congestion outside of these transparent markets is similar to congestion within them\textsuperscript{3}. The price transparency and generally more favorable transmission expansion policies in the RTO regions tend to reduce congestion in those areas relative to non-RTO regions. Scaling the annual congestion costs totals from Table 2 approximates the nation-wide values shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congestion Costs ($ millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>$6,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>$7,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>$8,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>$6,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>$6,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>$13,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2022</td>
<td>$20,777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The best way to reduce transmission congestion is to increase transmission capacity. However, very little of transmission spending is on new large-scale, high-voltage transmission lines. Yet, the need for new lines has only increased, largely due to (1) increased system vulnerability to the effects of extreme weather; (2) increasing electricity demand; (3) increasing customer demand of variable and clean energy that is often located far from the customer’s location\textsuperscript{4}. In addition, few U.S. utilities have adopted dynamic line ratings, advanced power flow control or topology optimization (together known as Grid Enhancing Technologies or GETs) to make more efficient use of existing grid infrastructure.

\textsuperscript{3} In the absence of a wholesale market, congestion costs would be measured as higher production costs and the distribution of those costs is a function of local retail ratemaking.

Some regions, such as New England, may have relatively little internal congestion but there is significant congestion between New England with their neighbors, such as at the New York-New England interface.

**Insufficient regional and interregional transmission capacity**

Congestion is first and foremost an effect of insufficient transmission capacity. Congestion occurs when the cheapest generation cannot be delivered to customers, so higher-cost generation is dispatched instead, raising prices. Construction of new high-voltage transmission lines has significantly decreased since 2010 – the average installations going from 1700 miles from 2010-2015, to 645 miles from 2015-2020\(^5\).

**Fuel Prices**

Every RTO region’s market monitor report cited volatility in fuel prices, particularly for natural gas and coal, as a contributor to high congestion. The average cost of wholesale natural gas in the U.S. was the highest it had been since 2008 and increased by over 53% from 2021\(^6\).

**Transmission outages**

SPP, NYISO, and ERCOT all cited transmission outages due to scheduled maintenance and/or upgrades as a major contributor to high congestion in 2022.

**Extreme weather**

Extreme weather events, notably Winter Storm Elliott in December of 2022, also contributed heavily to congestion in the U.S. RTOs. Winter Storm Elliott affected most of the continental U.S. from December 22-26th. MISO’s market monitor report estimates that Winter Storm Elliott contributed to more than $350 million in congestion costs within just two days. PJM’s market monitor report estimates that over 50% of the total congestion costs in December can be attributed to the winter storm alone.

**Increases in electricity demand**

The U.S. Department of Energy’s (DOE) National Transmission Needs Study Draft found that to meet demand growth, almost all regions of the country will need to increase transmission capacity.\(^7\) For instance, ERCOT’s market monitor report stated that they broke the all-time peak demand record eleven times in the summer of 2022.


ACTUAL CONGESTION IS MUCH HIGHER THAN JUST THE INTERNAL RTO/ISO CONGESTION NUMBERS

A study by the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory (LBNL)\(^8\) found that regional and interregional transmission links reduce congestion; and that interregional links have even greater value than regional links ($24/MWh vs. $11/MWh). LBNL estimates that only 5% of hours contribute to 50% of transmission’s value, noting the outsized role that extreme weather events play in the value of transmission. The role that extreme weather events play in power outages and congestion will only continue to grow, as extreme weather events have increased 67% since 2000\(^9\).

**FIGURE 2. LBNL — Marginal Value of Transmission in Relieving Congestion**

Greater transfer capability could have alleviated price spikes in electricity and saved lives during Winter Storm Uri in February of 2021. An analysis\(^10\) found massive potential savings per gigawatt of transmission capacity between regions during Uri:

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The importance of the ability to transfer electricity between regions will only continue to grow as electricity demand, colder and hotter than normal seasonal temperatures continue to raise issues for grid infrastructure, and as the occurrence of extreme weather events continue to rise.
WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY IS MANAGING CONGESTION?

Unfortunately, in the U.S., the responsibility for reducing congestion on behalf of consumers is unclear. In other countries such as the UK, part of the grid operator’s job is to reduce congestion, and they earn more or less money based on how well they do that. That is one reason why solutions such as Grid-Enhancing Technologies have been much more widely deployed in the UK.

In the U.S., transmission owners often consider reducing congestion cost to be outside of their responsibilities. RTO/ISOs minimize congestion on the existing regional transmission system through security constrained economic commitment and dispatch. RTO/ISOs also play a role in transmission expansion planning, but do not uniformly use regional transmission congestion cost reduction as a criteria when identifying potential new transmission. Moreover, RTO/ISO transmission planning does not consider opportunities to reduce interregional congestion cost.

State and federal regulators have an opportunity to assign responsibility for managing congestion.
SHORT, MEDIUM, AND LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS FOR CONGESTION

In the long-term, large-scale, high-voltage transmission lines are needed to address the causes and effects of congestion. However, major transmission projects can take more than a decade to develop. This is a lengthy time horizon to address an issue that needs to be resolved sooner rather than later.

In the short-term, solutions such as Grid-Enhancing Technologies (GETs) are able to increase transmission capacity on existing wires to relieve 40% of congestion or more in many cases. In the medium term, reconductoring with advanced conductors involves replacing traditional steel and wire cores for conductors with carbon and/or composite cores on the same or new towers and on existing rights of way, allowing the lines to carry more capacity.

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APPENDIX A.
RTO/ISO MARKET MONITOR REPORTS


TRANSMISSION CONGESTION COSTS RISE AGAIN IN U.S. RTOS
APPENDIX B.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS NOT LINKED TO MARKET MONITOR REPORTS


