### EFFECT OF THE ERAM MECHANISM ON UTILITY INCENTIVES

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The Electric Rate Adjustment Mechanism (ERAM), adopted in 1982 by the California Public Utilities Commission (CPUC) for the major investor-owned electric utilities it regulates, represents a major departure from traditional ratemaking. ERAM removes a prior anti-conservation bias by ensuring that the utility will fully collect its authorized revenue requirement irrespective of its sales. Over or undercollections of revenues accrue to a balancing account and are amortized into future rates. This mechanism protects the utility from the risk of sales deviating from expectations for any reason. Shielding the utility in this way can confound other policy actions that assume the utility faces incentives other than those created by ERAM. In this paper, it is assumed that encouraging energy conservation and discouraging bypass are both established CPUC policies. A study of special sales contracts permitted between California utilities and their large industrial customers shows ERAM establishes utility incentives that render these two policies incompatible under normal regulatory practice. This conflict arises because ERAM guarantees that any revenue shortfall arising from a contract will be made up on sales to other customers: that is, the utilities are not hurt by signing contracts favorable to their industrial customers.

### INTRODUCTION

Revenue Decoupling. Since the adoption of the Electric Revenue Adjustment Mechanism (ERAM) by California, the introduction of ERAM-like mechanisms has been contemplated by other jurisdictions (Jones 1989; Moskovitz 1989; and Weil 1989). ERAM removes an anti-conservation bias of traditional rate-of-return (ROR) regulation by guaranteeing that a utility will collect its authorized revenue requirement, irrespective of unforeseen fluctuations in sales. Decoupling of utility earnings from sales was only one of the motives for the initial implementation of ERAM. Notably, ERAM was intended to bolster the financial health of the utilities. However, the decoupling motive is emphasized here because it concerns most jurisdictions currently considering ERAM.

Anti-Conservation Bias. ERAM tends to eliminate a recognized anti-conservation bias in prior California regulation. The bias results from the phenomenon that, under pre-1982 California regulation, utilities

gain when actual sales exceed those forecast, and vice-versa. This creates an anti-conservation incentive because conservation programs that prove more effective than anticipated hurt utility earnings, while ones that fail benefit the company. ERAM eliminates this incentive by automatically ensuring that utilities collect their exact authorized base revenue requirement over time, irrespective of the volume of sales. Consequently, ERAM reduces company risk and tends to keep profits more stable yet maintains the incentive to cut costs and improve productivity.

Status of ERAM. ERAM enjoys wide support in the industry in California being particularly enthusiastically endorsed by conservationists (Cavanagh 1988). The California utilities have opposed the removal of ERAM, and the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners Energy Conservation Committee stands on record as supporting ERAM-like ratemaking reforms (NARUC Bulletin 1988). However, some members of the California Public Utility Commission (CPUC) staff have recommended the elimination of ERAM, and a few policy analysts outside the State have also expressed reservations (Ziering 1986; Sissine 1989).

*Paper Goal.* In this paper, it is assumed that encouraging energy conservation and allowing special utility contracts to prevent bypass are both established CPUC policies, and the cases for and against these policies will not be argued. The goal here is twofold: first, to describe the mechanics of ERAM; and second, to examine the effect of ERAM's existence on the success of the CPUC's special contracts policy.

# CALIFORNIA CONTEXT

GRC's. Most ROR ratemaking uses a test year approach, but California is among the minority of states that use a future test year. All test year parameters used in regulatory proceedings are based on forecasts. However, whether or not ratemaking uses a forecast test year, ERAM is applicable because it corrects for inaccuracies in forecasts of actual sales. California regulation also deviates from the norm in that general rate cases (GRC's) are conducted at regular three-year intervals, the two intervening years being called the attrition years. In the GRC, the revenue requirements of the utility for the test year are forecast, and they are, essentially, divided by forecast sales to find the rate necessary to recover the approved utility costs, which includes the approved ROR. Electric utilities collect all non-fuel costs through this basic process. In California regulation, non-fuel costs cover all utility costs other than direct fuel and purchase power expenses.

ECAC and ARA. Since fuel costs are considered more volatile, regulators separately calculate a fuel component to rates in annual Energy Cost Adjustment Clause (ECAC) proceedings. A third California mechanism, the Attrition Revenue Adjustment (ARA, or simply, *attrition*) also prevents a wedge from developing between a utility's costs and its authorized revenue requirement between general GRC's. Attrition takes account of several specific sources of such a wedge, notably, inflation, changes in plant costs, and fluctuations in the cost of capital. ARA and ERAM work together; ARA adjusts the revenue requirement and ERAM guarantees its collection.

History of ERAM. Beginning in 1982, a troubled time for California's electric utilities, the CPUC introduced ERAM for the major companies, Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E), Pacific Power and Light (PP&L), San Diego Gas and Electric (SDG&E), Sierra Pacific Power (SPP), and Southern California Edison (Edison). During the mid-1980's California utilities achieved comfortable reserve margins as the San Onofre and Diablo Canyon nuclear stations came on-line, non-utility generation appeared in unexpectedly large amounts, and fuel prices fell precipitously. These factors considerably weakened the conservation imperative (Calwell and Cavanagh 1989; Messenger 1989; and CEC/CPUC 1988). Further, some troublesome aspects of ERAM surfaced and, as part of an extensive review of California electric ratemaking, the elimination of ERAM was recommended by the CPUC staff. California utilities and various lobbyists, however, vigorously opposed ERAM's elimination, and the Commission elected to retain it.

# ARGUMENTS FOR ERAM

The complexity of the California regulatory process has led to rather convoluted arguments for and against ERAM that are not easily unwound into a neat list, however, following are seven of the key pro ERAM claims.

1. ERAM eliminates the disincentive to conservation. The conservation argument holds that without ERAM, California utilities would face two perverse incentives with adverse implications for achieving conservation policy goals. First, once the costs of a conservation program have been added to base rates, the utility's best interests are served by making the program fail to deliver the conservation promised. In this way, the utility recovers the costs of the program yet avoids the revenue loss its success implies. Second, between GRC's, the utility further faces an incentive to sell as much power as possible, virtually irrespective of the costs of generating it. In both cases, the revenue gained from selling a kWH above the forecast level represents an almost direct contribution to the company bottom line. Conversely, however, ERAM does not reward successful conservation programs. It simply tends to make the utility indifferent to conservation.

- 2. ERAM retains the efficiency incentive. Under ERAM, utilities can still exceed their authorized ROR by cost cutting. Thus, their incentive to be efficient remains.
- 3. ERAM removes the incentive to game in forecasting. The incentive to under forecast sales before a GRC and promote sales after it particularly concerned regulators during the late 1970's and early 1980's. By guaranteeing that the utility will recover its revenue requirement, the incentive to game with sales forecasts disappears.
- 4. ERAM encourages the financial health of the utilities. The guaranteeing of revenue collections contributes to the financial health of the utilities by reducing the variability of earnings. ERAM not only eliminates the potentially adverse effects of losses of sales from conservation, it also automatically adjusts for many other sources of sales perturbations, including weather and the business cycle.
- 5. ERAM permits innovative ratemaking. One potential source of revenue variability merits special mention, namely, the consequences of imperfect or experimental ratemaking. Notice that if the base rate set in the GRC is incorrect, the subsequent miscollection of revenues will accrue in the ERAM balancing account together with any other miscollections. That is, the utility is not hurt by ratemaking inaccuracy. As a result, the CPUC has more latitude with ratemaking innovations that it did prior to ERAM.
- 6. ERAM contributes to regulatory efficiency. With regard to both the elimination of the incentive to game with forecasts, and the elimination of fear of inaccurate ratemaking, it merits repeating that the presence of ERAM reduces the contentiousness of regulatory proceedings, resulting in some savings of administrative effort.
- 7. *ERAM comes cheap*. ERAM is a bureaucratic mechanism. While being far from free to

administer, this approach costs considerably less than alternative methods of monitoring utility behavior.

### **ERAM MECHANICS**

#### **Basic Principle**

ERAM periodically adjusts the non-fuel part of rates, base rates, to ensure that the utility actually collects its full authorized revenue requirement. ERAM achieves this parity by maintaining a balancing account in which miscollections of revenues accrue. This accounting procedure mimics the conduct of the California Energy Cost Adjustment Clause (ECAC), the fuel cost adjustment proceeding. Both ERAM and ECAC balancing account mechanisms address the problem of actual revenues straying from authorized levels between GRC's. ECAC adjustments attempt to account for unanticipated fluctuations in fuel costs, while ERAM accounts for unanticipated fluctuations in sales volume. The existence of these mechanisms together considerably reduces utility risk exposure.

#### Numerical Example

Introduction. The following description leads the reader through a simple ERAM spreadsheet model. The example shows how effective base rates might evolve over time and how ERAM controls a utility's ROR. The starting point loosely represents applicable numbers for the Southern California Edison company, but, beyond the first year, the example is totally fictitious.

Model Assumptions. In this simplified example, the ratemaking for year t takes place precisely at the end of year t-1, and all actual data for year t-1 are known. In addition, the following important assumptions are made:

- 1. The ERAM rate is adjusted just once a year and is effective for the entire following year, as are the GRC and attrition adjustments to base rates.
- 2. All customers on the system are on a tariff whose base rate and ERAM balance rate are identical.

- 3. Base operating costs are insensitive to sales. That is, an increase in sales does not imply an increase in base operating costs. This is equivalent to assuming that the only incremental cost of generating another kWh is the fuel burned.
- 4. The model is concerned only with base rates.

**Results.** The full example appears in the two parts of Table 1. The upper part demonstrates the ratemaking done at the end of year t-1, and the lower part reflects the events that actually occurred in year t. In other words, what appears in the upper area reflects what is known or forecast at the end of year t-1, and what appears below reflects what is known at the end of year t.

Space does not permit a full description of the model here, but the salient features of ERAM are easily identified. The easiest way to understand Table 1 is to work backwards. Focus first on the company's bottom line. In each of the three years shown, the authorized ROR on rate base is 12.5% (line 5). Line 36 shows that without ERAM this utility would have actually reported the authorized rate in only one of the three years, 1990. Everything works out as planned in 1990 because both sales (lines 2 and 21) and costs (lines 7 and 27) were exactly as forecast. If all years turned out so perfectly, clearly, ERAM would not be necessary.

Look now at the same lines for 1989. In this year, sales exceed forecasts. Exactly as ERAM proponents claim, a significant benefit accrues to the company as the return on rate base is more than two points above authorized (lines 5 and 36). This represents a dramatic effect on the company's performance, given that sales were only 2.9% (line 23) above the forecast. ERAM is designed to eliminate exactly this powerful effect, and line 38 shows how well ERAM works. The reported ROR with ERAM in place in 1989 is precisely the 12.5% authorized. Further, ERAM operates symmetrically. If sales fall below forecast, reported ROR would still be exactly as authorized in this year.

Finally, consider the results in 1991. In this year, the company suffers badly. First, sales are lower than forecast, and second, operating costs exceed those forecasts. Without ERAM, the company ROR falls a devastating 5 points below authorized (line 36). In

this case, the ROR is not fully restored by ERAM (line 38). The discrepancy results from the failure of ERAM to make the company whole for the excess operating costs (lines 7 and 27). While the ROR on rate base is not affected by the sales shortfall, it remains sensitive to deviations in operating costs. Hence the claim that ERAM removes the disincentive to conservation while allowing the company to be punished for inefficiency.

**ERAM Operation.** To understand how ERAM achieves these results, consider the activity in the ERAM balancing account (lines 30 34). Collections above or below authorized accrue in this account. After proper allowance for interest on the balance, an adjustment to future rates, called here the ERAM balance rate (line 18) is calculated and added to the base rate to form an *effective base rate* (line 19), which is the tariff the customer actually sees. The intent is to zero out the account in the upcoming period, although this goal is never actually achieved because of the ongoing inaccuracy of forecasts.

# SPECIAL CONTRACTS

## Introduction

ERAM was, in part, intended to protect utilities from the between-GRC revenue loss resulting from successful conservation programs, yet in practice it protects utilities from sales deviations resulting from any cause. The all-encompassing nature of ERAM protection portends potential conflicts with CPUC policy in some areas, where the CPUC would prefer to see the utilities bear sales risk. The emergence of special customer contracts, which are used in California to discourage bypass, provides an illuminating example.

Regulatory changes, improvements in cogeneration technology, low prices of natural gas and other light fuels, and cross-subsidies by the industrial rate class of the residential class all tend to make bypass an attractive option to large California customers. However, bypass, it is argued, adversely affects the capacity utilization and fuel mix of utilities, increases the State's dependence on imported fossil fuels, wastefully duplicates the State's generating capacity, confounds industry planning, and has Table 1. Base Case

ıble I.	Base Case			(M\$ unless n	oted)	
8 #	year	(t)	-> 1988	1989	1990	1991
	RATEMAKING FOR YEAR t AT THE END OF YEAR t-1		848 D 248 D 249 A	*****	60 to that is to the <b>ad ad ad ad</b> ad add ad	
	BASE RATE					
	forecast sales change forecast sales for year t: (GWh) authorized interest rate rate base authorized rate of return			4.0% 68640 77 8.0% 6000 12.5%	3.0% 70699 8.0% 6304 12.5%	2.0% 72113 8.0% 6430 12.5%
7 8 9	target earnings : $(4 \times 5)$ forecast base operating costs including attrition adjustments authorized revenue requirement : $(6 + 7)$ base rate in t-1 : $(c/kWh)$ forecast revenues at current rates : $(2 \times 9)/100$			750 3500 4250 6.170 A 4235	788 3623 4411 6.192 4378	804 3749 4553 6.238 4499
11 12 13			6.170	15 6.192 0.4%	33 6.238 0.8%	54 6.314 1.2%
16	ERAM BALANCE RATE ERAM balance end of t - 1 ERAM balance rate in t-1 : (¢/kWh) forecast ERAM revenues at current billing factor : (15 x 2)/100 forecast ERAM revenue shortfall : (14 - 16) ERAM balance rate in t : ((14/2) x 100) : (¢/kWh)		-0.304	-178 7-0.304 7-209 31 -0.259	-131 -0.259 -183 53 -0.185	-5 -0.185 -133 128 -0.007
19 20	EFFECTIVE BASE RATES effective base rate : (12 + 18) change in effective base rate over year t-1		5.866	5.932 1.1%	6.054 2.0%	6.307 <u>4.2%</u>
23 24 25 26 27	actual ERAM revenues in t : $((18 \times 21)/100)$ total revenues in t : $(24 + 25)$ actual base operating costs		66000	70640 higher 2.9% 4374 -183 4191 3500	70699 equal 0.0% 4411 -131 4280 3623	70113 lower -2.8% 4427 -5 4422 3937
29 30 31 32 33	actual base operating costs relative to forecast error in operating cost forecast $EFFECT \ ON \ ERAM \ ACCOUNT$ initial ERAM balance at beginning of t miscollection in t : (8 - 26) ending balance at end of t : (30 + 31) interest accrued during t : (avg(30, 32) x 3) closing ERAM Balance at end of t : (32 + 33)		-178	equal 0.0% -178 59 -119 -12 -131	equal 0.0% -131 131 0 -5 -5	higher 5.0% -5 131 126 5 131
	EFFECT OF ERAM ON EARNINGS					
36	actual earnings : (24 - 27) actual rate of return : ((35/4) x 100) <i>vith ERAM</i>			874 14.6%	788 12.5%	490 7.6%
	actual earnings : (26 + 31 - 27) actual rate of return : ((37/4) x 100)			750 12.5%	788 1 <b>2.5%</b>	616 9.6%

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negative environmental consequences. The most strident argument against bypass, however, is that the tariffs of customers remaining on the system rise because the burden of fixed cost recovery falls more heavily on a reduced customer base (MacAvoy, Spulber, and Stangle 1989).

CPUC policy regarding bypass in the mid-1980's was, in general, to disfavor it. The CPUC allowed utilities to write special contracts with customers that threaten to bypass as long as the revenue gained from the contract exceeds the variable cost of serving the customer. In other words, as long as keeping the customer by means of a contract could result in a positive contribution to base revenue requirements, the bypass was considered *uneconomic* and the contract approved.

This question to be addressed in the test case is the following. Since the California electric utilities are allowed, or even encouraged, to make individual contracts with large customers that threaten bypass, how does the existence of ERAM change the effectiveness of the contracts policy.

### **Test Example**

In this example, special contracts are signed that result in lost sales of 500 GWh/y. It is assumed that the contracts ensure that ECAC costs are covered, and, further, that no rate effects result from the ECAC side. In other words, the full impact of the contracts appears in the base rate calculations. The contracts are assumed to provide 2.0  $\varphi/kWh$  of revenue, instead of the full effective base rates.

Bypass Case. First consider Table 2. In this table, the rate consequences of allowing the bypass to proceed are presented. Notice that no change in revenue requirement has been made (line 8), in keeping with assumption 3. Note that the forecast does take the contract into account (line 2). Clearly, under these simple assumptions, the remaining customers must be worse off because a fixed burden of the revenue requirement is spread more thickly across the reduced sales. Comparing the effective base rates in Tables 1 and 2, the rates in the bypass case are higher in 1990 in 1991.

Contract Case. Now consider the contract case presented in Table 3. In this case, contracts are

successfully negotiated with the bypassers and they agree to remain on the system, but at a preferential rate. Comparing line 19 of Tables 2 and 3 shows customer rates are lower if the bypassers are kept on the system. This comparison demonstrates the key argument in favor of permitting contracts. By keeping the bypassers on the system, even at afavorable rate, the other customers benefit vis-a-vis the situation that would result from bypass.

# CONCLUSIONS

ERAM works as expected and does indeed shelter the utility from sales fluctuations, thereby removing the anti-conservation bias of pre-1982 California regulation. However this result is achieved in a rather heavy handed manner that achieves the conservation policy goal while potentially confounding the attainment of others.

Ironically, ERAM appears to have come full circle with regard to special contracts. The utility's best strategy, it seems, is to mount a costly effort to negotiate sales contracts and ensure that these costs are safely embedded in rate base. The costs embedded in revenue requirement will be collected by the utility whatever sales ultimately prove to be. After the GRC establishing revenue requirement, the utility should dramatically cut its negotiating effort. Whether or not contracts are actually signed, and at what rates, appears irrelevant. The utility should just make the minimum effort that will prevent a later prudence disallowance of the contracts sales effort. This is exactly the utility behavior towards conservation programs that ERAM was intended to avoid.

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# Table 2. Bypass Case

line #		year	<u>(t) -&gt; 1989</u>	1990	1991
RATEMAKING F	OR YEAR t AT THE END OF YE	AR 1-1			
	BASE RATE				
1 forecast sales ch	ange		4.0%	2.3%	2.0%
2 forecast sales for 3 authorized interes			68640 8.0%	70199 8.0%	71613 8.0%
4 rate base	STALE		6000	6304	6430
5 authorized rate of	f return		12.5%	12.5%	12.5%
6 target earnings : (			750	788	804
	rating costs including attrition adjustm	tents	3500	3623	3749
	ie requirement: (6 + 7)		4250	4411	4553
9 base rate in t-1			6.170	6.192	6.283 4499
10 forecast revenues 11 forecast revenue	at current rates : (2 x 9)/100		4235 15	4347 64	4499 54
12 base rate in t : ((8			6.192	6.283	6.358
13 change in base ra	te over year t-1		0.4%	1.5%	1.2%
	ERAM BALANCE RATE				
14 ERAM balance er	nd of t - 1		-178	-131	26
15 ERAM balance ra			-0.304	-0,259	-0.186
	venues at current billing factor : (15 x )	2)/100	-209	-182	-133
	venue shortfall : (14 - 16)		31	52	160 0.037
18 ERAM balance ra	te in t : ((14/2) x 100) : (24/2)		-0.259	-0.186	0.037
10 the third have not	EFFECTIVE BASE RATES		5 000	6 007	6 205
19 effective base rate 20 change in effective	e base rate over year t-1		5.932	6.097 2.8%	6.395 4.9%
4 maintenne - 10 control an	CTUAL EVENTS IN YEAR t	an a		*****	
يۇ					
🗯 20.a base case sales i	GENERAL RESULTS		70640	70199	69613
➡ 20.b sales loss due to			0	500	500
21 actual sales in t			70640	69699	69113
22 actual sales relati			higher	lower	lower
23 error in sales fore			2.9%	-0.7% 4379	-3.5% 4394
	evenues in t : ((12 x 21)/100) enues in t : ((18 x 21)/100)		4374 -183	4379 -130	4394 26
26 total revenues in t			4191	4250	4420
27 actual base opera			3500	3623	3937
28 actual base opera	ting costs relative to forecast		equal	equal	higher
29 error in operating			0.0%	0.0%	5.0%
	EFFECT ON ERAM ACCOUNT				
30 initial ERAM balar	nce at beginning of t		-178	-131	26
31 miscollection in t :	(8 - 26)		59	161	133
32 ending balance at			-119	30	160
	uring t : (avg(30, 32) x 3)		-12	-4	7
34 closing ERAM Bal	ance at end of t : (32 + 33)		-131	26	167
	FFECT OF ERAM ON EARNINGS				
without ERAM	04 07)		074	767	A = 7
35 actual earnings : (			874 14.6%	757 12.0%	457 7.1%
36 actual rate of retur with ERAM	11 . ((35/4) X 100)		14.0%	12.070	7.170
37 actual earnings : (	26 + 31 - 27)		750	788	61 <b>6</b>
38 actual rate of retur			12.5%	12.5%	9.6%
	, ,				

### Table 3. Contracts Case

line #	a a fai de la companya de la company La companya de la comp	year	<u>(t)</u>	-> 1989	1990	1991
	RATEMAKING FOR YEAR t AT THE END OF YEAR	₹ t-1				
1	BASE RATE			4.0%	3.0%	2.0%
	forecast sales for year t			68640	70699	72113
	authorized interest rate rate base			8.0% 6000	8.0% 6304	8.0% 6430
	authorized rate of return			12.5%	12.5%	12.5%
	target earnings : (4 x 5)			750	788	804
7	forecast base operating costs including attrition adjustmen	its		3500	3623	3749
	authorized revenue requirement : (6 + 7)			4250	4411	4553
	base rate in t-1			6.170	6.192	6.238
	forecast revenues at current rates : (2 x 9)/100 forecast revenue shortfall: (8 - 10)			4235 15	4378 33	4499 54
12	base rate in t : ((8/2) x 100)			6.192	6.238	6.314
	change in base rate over year t-1			0.4%	0.8%	1.2%
	ERAM BALANCE RATE					
14	ERAM balance end of t - 1			-178	-131	16
	ERAM balance rate in t-1			-0.304	-0.259	-0.185
	forecast ERAM revenues at current billing factor : (15 x 2)/1	100		-209	-183	-133
	forecast ERAM revenue shortfall : (14 - 16)			31	53	149
18	ERAM billing factor in t : ((14/2) x 100) : (24/2)			-0.259	-0.185	0.022
	EFFECTIVE BASE RATES					
	effective base rate : (12 + 18)			5.932	6.054	6.336
20	change in effective base rate over year t-1			*****	2.0%	4.7%
	ACTUAL EVENTS IN YEAR t					
•	GENERAL RESULTS			700.40	70000	20110
21				70640	70699	70113
	actual sales relative to forecast error in sales forecast			higher 2.9%	equal 0.0%	lower -2.8%
	sales at the contract rate			2.5 %	500	500
	contract base rate			•	2.000	2.000
\Rightarrow 23.c	contract revenues : ((23.a x 23.b)/100)			0	10	10
	sales at the full effective base rate : (21 - 23.a)			70640	70199	69613
	actual base rate revenues in t : ((12 x 23.d)/100)			4374	4379	4395
25	actual ERAM revenues in t : ((18 x 23.d)/100) total revenues in t : (23.c + 24 + 25)			-183 4191	-130 4260	15 4421
20				3500	3623	3937
28				equal	equal	higher
29	error in operating cost forecast			0.0%	0.0%	5.0%
	EFFECT ON ERAM ACCOUNT					
30	a sa sama sa			-178	-131	16
31				59	151	133
32				-119	20	148
33 34	interest accrued during t : (avg(30, 32) x 3)			-12 -131	-4 16	7 155
34				-131	OI	155
	EFFECT OF ERAM ON EARNINGS without ERAM					
	actual earnings : (24 - 27 + 23.c)			874	767	468
	actual rate of return : ((35/4) x 100)			14.6%	12.2%	7.3%
	with ERAM					
	actual earnings : (26 + 31 - 27)			750	788	616
38	actual rate of return : ((37/4) x 100)			12.5%	12.5%	9.6%

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