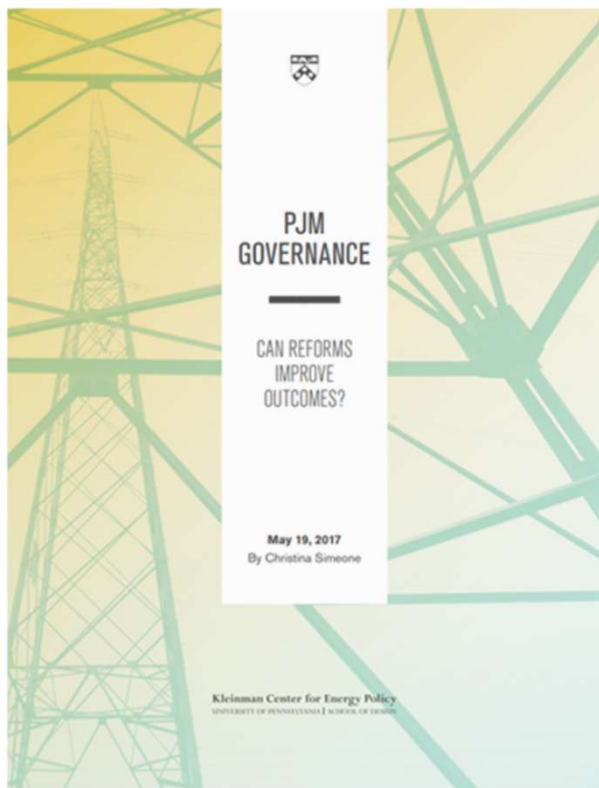
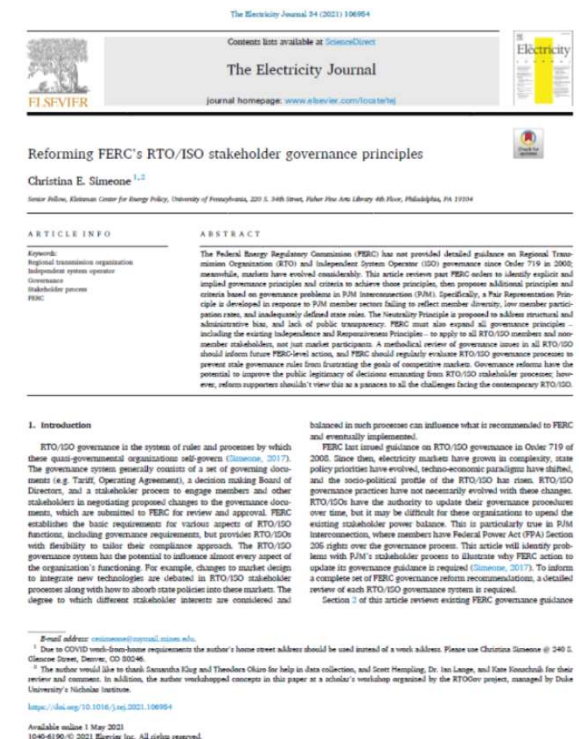


PJM GOVERNANCE: What is Going on Here?

“PJM Governance: Can Reforms Improve Outcomes?” – Kleinman Center for Energy Policy (2017)



“Reforming FERC’s RTO/ISO Stakeholder Governance Principles”
– The Electricity Journal (2021)



Christina E. Simeone, PhD
July 30, 2026

This presentation reflects the author's
views and not necessarily the views of
Governor Shapiro or any other office

Disclaimer

- Presenting to PIEOUG in my capacity as an independent researcher, not in my capacity as an employee of the Governor's Office.
- Perspectives and data are from research published in 2017 & 2021 and may require updates.
- Analysis in the research and opinions expressed in the presentation are my own and do not necessarily reflect the views of my employer, Governor Shapiro, or any other individual or office.

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Overview

- PJM stakeholder process basics
 - Quick run through
- Some PJM stakeholder process problems
 - Membership growth, sector stagnation, and vote dilution
 - Structural bias in voting rules
 - Low participation rates
- RTO/ISOs and the public interest
- Thoughts on FERC-level reforms

Purpose of Stakeholder Process

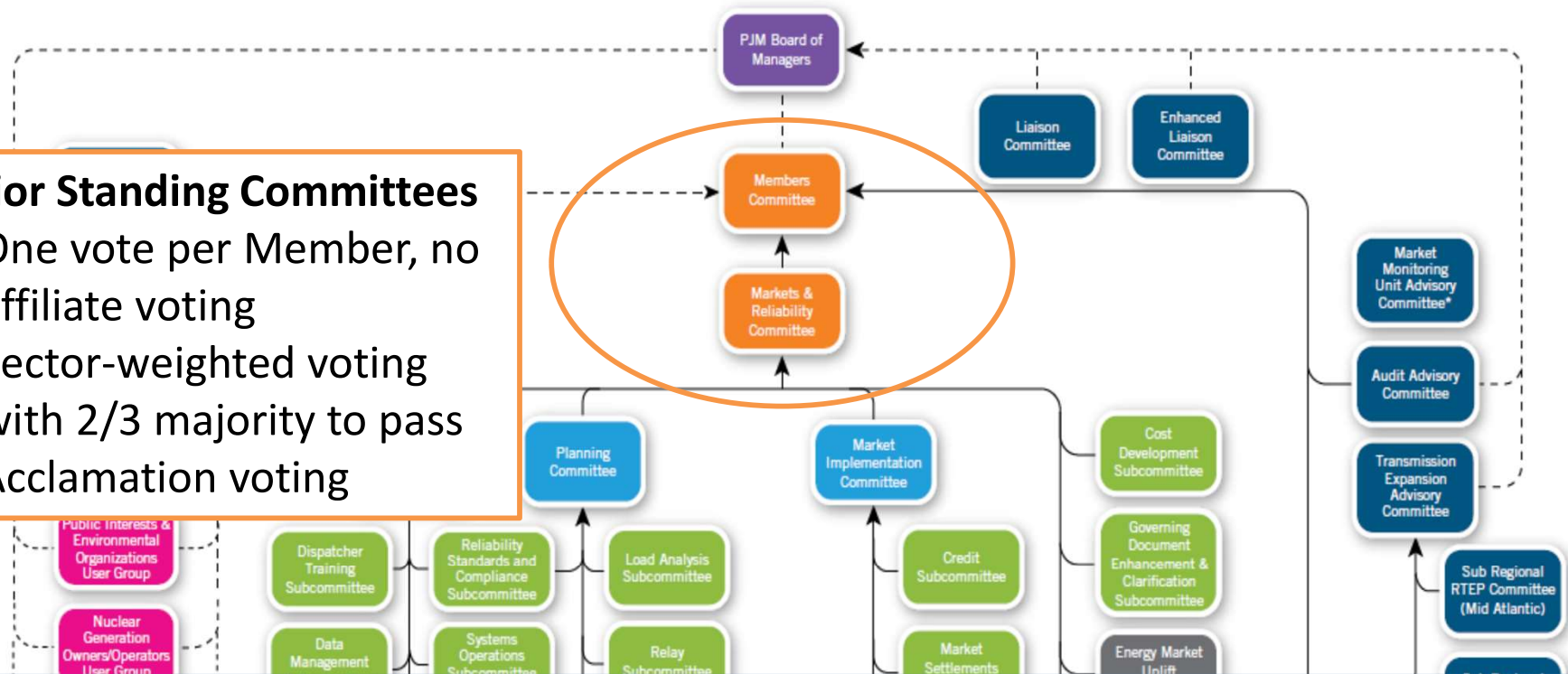
- PJM is a quasi-governmental organization that has its own set of FERC-overseen rules, referred to as governance documents
 - OATT, OA, RAA, CTOA
- The purpose of the stakeholder process is to negotiate (e.g. educate, develop, endorse) proposed changes to PJM's governance documents, for example:
 - Stakeholder driven - When PJM or stakeholders identify issues
 - Compliance filing - When FERC requires changes based on a rulemaking (e.g., FERC 1920)
- Federal Power Act Section 205/206
 - Open Access Transmission Tariff (The Tariff), RAA
 - Rates, terms of service, capacity market
 - **Board has FPA Section 205** authority over Tariff [STAKEHOLDER VOTE IS ADVISORY]
 - Operating Agreement (OA)
 - Governance, energy markets, RTEP
 - **Members have FPA Section 205** authority over OA [STAKEHOLDER VOTE IS BINDING]

Members have strong control over changes to stakeholder process

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Senior Standing Committees

- One vote per Member, no affiliate voting
- Sector-weighted voting with 2/3 majority to pass
- Acclamation voting



Lower-Level Committees

- Affiliate voting (one company may have many votes)
- Simple majority to pass



Five Member Sectors:

- Generation Owner
- Other Supplier
- Transmission Owner
- End Users
- Electric Distributor

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Exploring Issues and Solutions

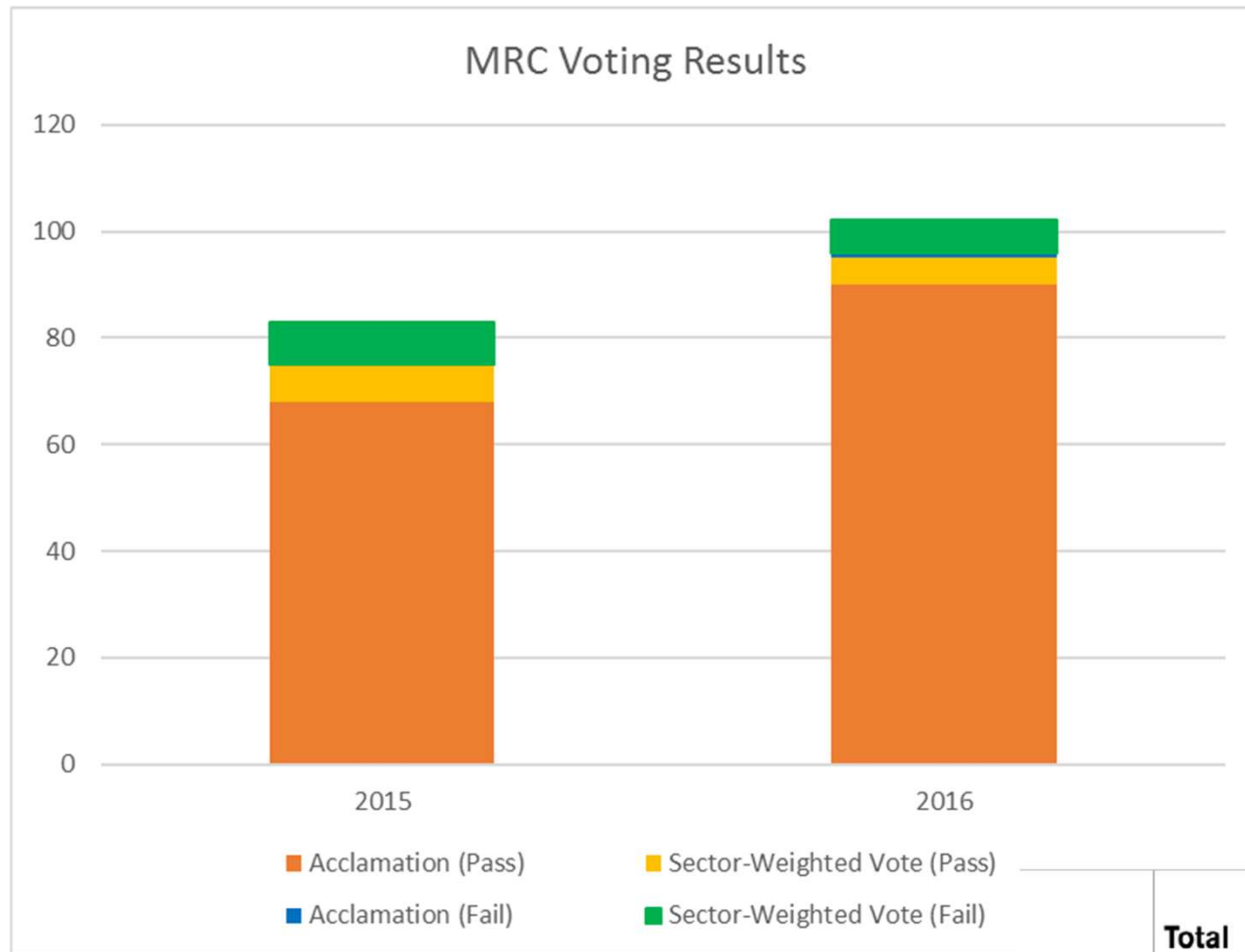
- **Identify Issue** - via drafting “Problem Statement”
- **Set Issue Agenda** - “Problem Statement” and related docs must be approved by higher level committee first through sector weighted (or acclamation) vote limited to voting members

Develop Solutions – Then, solutions are explored at lower level committees and advanced to higher level committees via simple majority vote that includes voting members and affiliates.

- **Endorse/Reject Solution**– supermajority vote at Senior Standing Committees

★ **PJM Files with FERC** – (need board approval if a Tariff/RAA change)

Stakeholder Process Remarkably Effective When Issues Less Contentious



Acclamation vote = less contentious

Sector-weighted vote = more contentious

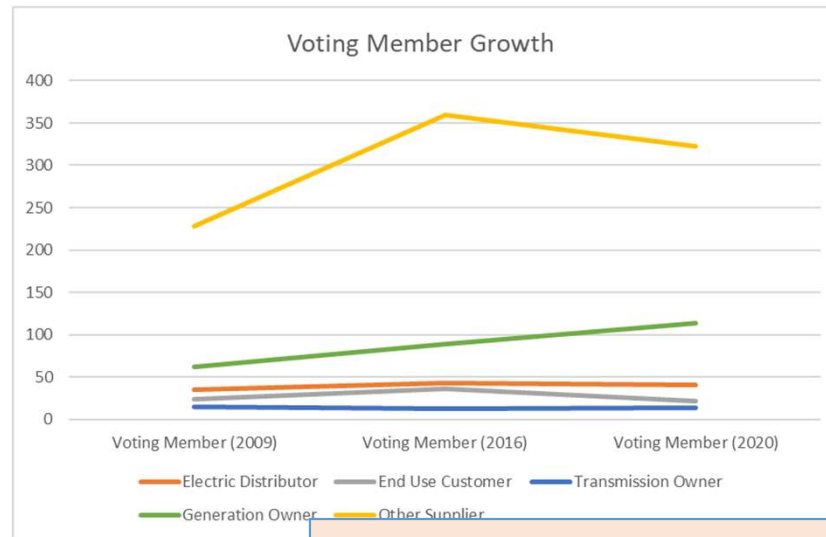
Not a remarkable conclusion, and typical of multi-stakeholder processes.

	Total Votes	Acclamation (Pass)	Acclamation (Fail)	Sector-Weighted Vote (Pass)	Sector-Weighted Vote (Fail)
2015	83	68	0	7	8
2016	102	90	1	5	6

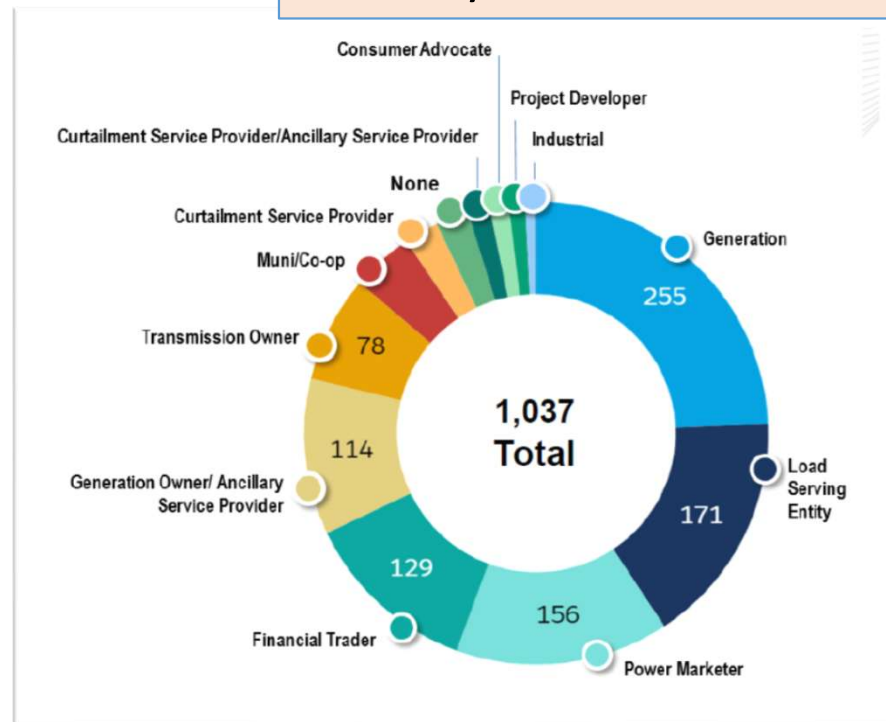
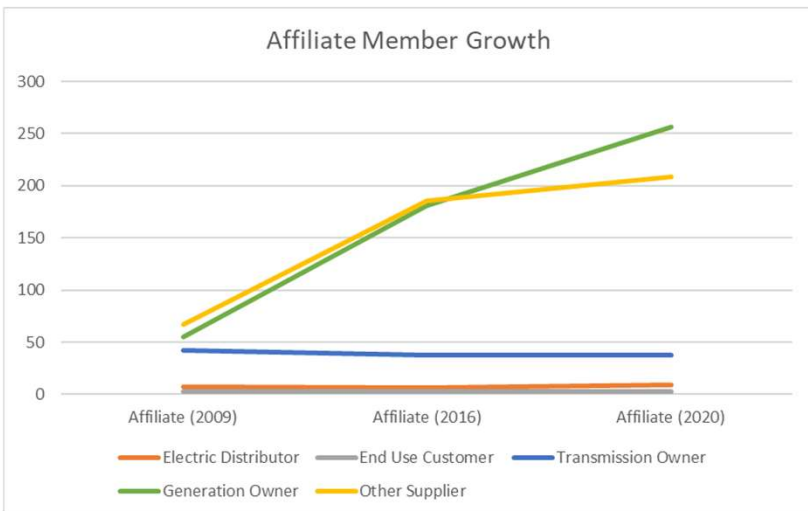
PJM STAKEHOLDER PROCESS ISSUES

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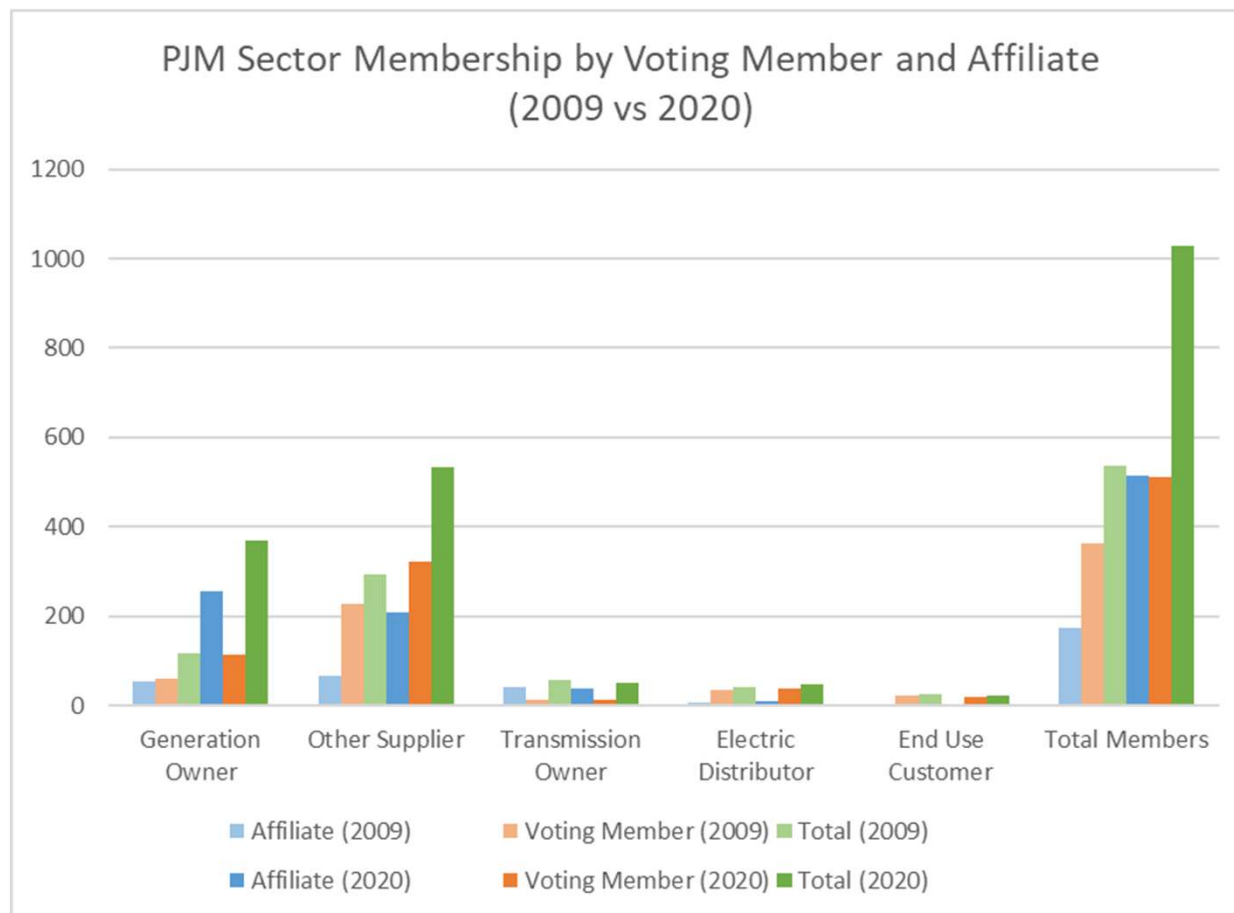
Existing Member Sector Growth



Diversity of PJM Lines of Business



Do Sectors Still Represent Stakeholders?



New Market Entrants in growth sectors:

- Renewable Energy (G.O.)
- EE (E.D./T.O./O.S.)
- DR (O.S.)
- Marketers/Traders (O.S.)

Some Key Issues

- Same 5 sectors since ~2000
- **GO and OS** - vote dilution, complicates caucusing, reduces the impact of each firm
- **OS** – not pure “supply”, financials, broker/marketers, curtailment
- **ED** – not pure load due to muni/coop generation interests

Sector Weighted Voting Power by Voting Member (2020)					
	Electric Distributor	End Use Customer	Transmission Owner	Generation Owner	Other Supplier
Sector Vote Weighting	1	1	1	1	1
Total Voting Members per Sector	40	21	14	114	323
Sector Share of Vote per Voting Member	2.5%	4.8%	7.1%	0.9%	0.3%

Structural Bias as Inefficiency

- Higher and lower-level Committees use different voting rules
 - Higher level – SWV, no affiliates, supermajority, transparency
 - Lower level – No SWV, affiliates allowed, simple majority, no transparency



Based on July 3, 2020 membership numbers, the introduction of affiliate voting results in 88 % of total lower-level votes being from supply-side sectors.

“Legacy Deals” split structural advantage in decision making process. This enabled agreement on process, but did it compromise long-term viability of process outcomes?

Existing “Legacy Deal” Structure

Splitting Power - Supply-side bias at lower-level committees leads to supply-biased solutions advancing to higher-level committees, only to be blocked by load-side interests.

Affiliate Votes at Lower-Level Committees

- Historic example: Top 15 companies control 198 affiliate votes (41% of total affiliate votes).
 - 9 GOs (121 votes); 4 TOs (60 votes); 2 OS (17 votes)

Buy-Side Voting Blocking Power at Higher Level Committees

- Empirical measurement of buy-side vote blocking power at higher level committees on capacity market issues.
- *“Can Capacity Markets Be Designed by Democracy?”* Blumsack, Yoo & Johnson, Penn State University.

PJM Affiliate Votes by Affiliate Sector (2020)				
Electric Distributor	End-Use Customer	Transmission Owner	Generation Owner	Other Supplier
9	3	38	256	209
PJM Affiliate Votes by Parent Company's Sector (2020)				
5	2	90	228	166

Parent Company	Parent Voting Sector	Total Affiliates	Generation Owner	Transmission Owner	Electric Distributor	End User	Other Supplier	Total MW (non-renewable) w/Access to PJM as of 2015
Appalachian Power Company	Transmission Owner	17	1	12			4	6,167
Dayton Power and Light	Transmission Owner	6	5			1		2,690
Exelon Business Services	Transmission Owner	14	5	3	3		3	20,580
FirstEnergy Solutions Corp.	Transmission Owner	15		15				14,975
Public Service Gas and Electric	Transmission Owner	6	4				2	9,790
Virginia Electric Power Company	Transmission Owner	4	4					18,644
Calpine Energy Service, L.P.	Generation Owner	6	2				4	5,036
Dynegy Marketing and Trade LLC	Generation Owner	9	8				1	10,546
NRG Power Marketing, LLC	Generation Owner	12	6				6	15,250
Talen Energy Marketing, LLC	Generation Owner	19	18				1	7,187
								110,864
			PJM Regional Summer Peak Capacity (2015)					143,698

Table 6: Sample of PJM Members, Affiliates and MWs, by Sector⁴⁸

Hypothetical Example: SCRSTF (2016-2017) proposal voting had 190 votes through 34 unique respondents, where 10 companies could have prevented anything from passing the lower level.

Existing Participation Rates

- Stakeholder process participation is part of member responsibilities in OA, but participation is very low in some sectors...why?
- Are participation rates (17% - 28%) reasonable and appropriate?
- Here, participation means Members that attend and vote.

Table 2

Average PJM Member Voting Participation at the Higher-Level Committees.

Average Voting Participation in PJM Senior Standing Committees				
	Total Votes	Sector Weighted Votes	Average Total Voting Members	Voting %
Members Committee (MC)				
2018	38	16	544	18%
2017	25	4	534	17%
2016	26	0	—	
2015	21	2	528	25%
2014	26	3	455	18%
2013	13	8	455	28%
Markets and Reliability Committee (MRC)				
2018	105	36	544	20 %
2017	80	18	534	18%
2016	81	11	528	18%
2015	70	12	528	20 %
2014	105	32	455	23%
2013	11	1	455	

Source: Voting data was taken from meeting minutes and voting reports for the respective committees from PJM's website. Total votes include sector-weighted and acclamation votes.

Existing Participation Rates

Table 3
Average PJM Member Voting Participation by Sector and Committee.

Average Voter Participation by Sector at the Members Committee										
Ave. Eligible Members (2018)	Generation Owner		Other Supplier		Trans. Owner		End User		Electric Dist.	
	101		354		15		31		43	
	Ave. Votes Cast	Participation %	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%
2018	18	19%	32	9%	11	76%	15	45%	22	52%
2017	16	17%	33	9%	10	70%	12	43%	17	40%
2016	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
2015	18	22 %	55	15%	12	88 %	18	57%	28	61 %
2014	14	20 %	22	7%	11	75%	12	43%	24	64%
2013	18	26%	54	18%	13	93%	15	54 %	31	81%
5-Year Ave.	21 %		12 %		80 %		48 %		60 %	
Average Voter Participation by Sector at the Markets and Reliability Committee										
	Generation Owner		Other Supplier		Trans. Owner		End User		Electric Dist.	
	Ave. Votes Cast	Participation %	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%	Ave. Votes Cast	%
2018	22	22 %	33	9%	12	81%	17	55%	28	65%
2017	22	24%	37	10%	13	90%	15	52%	25	59%
2016	18	23%	29	8%	12	93%	16	53 %	21	45%
2015	17	21 %	33	9%	11	86%	16	52%	29	62 %
2014	16	23%	32	10%	13	86%	14	52%	27	72%
2013	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
5-Year Ave.	22 %		9%		87 %		53 %		61 %	

Source: Voting data was taken from meeting minutes and voting reports for the respective committees from PJM's website. Average per sector votes cast is the average number of votes cast per issue per year, divided by the average number of eligible members per sector per year. Years with zeros indicate no sector weighted votes occurred.

RTO/ISOs and the Public Interest

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necessarily the views of Governor Shapiro or any other office

Quasi-Governmental Organizations

Have legal characteristics of both government and private sectors

Benefits

- Avoids expanding federal bureaucracy
- Develops new revenue sources to fund operations
- Exempt from federal central management laws (e.g. compensation limits)
- Economic-focused values (e.g. use of markets)
- Entity-specific laws and regulations for flexibility

Drawbacks

- Accountability?
 - More difficult to control, less responsive to preferences of political superiors (compared to traditional government agencies)
 - To whom are these orgs accountable?
- How is the public interest being protected over private interests?

Quasi-Governmental Organizations: Accountability and Public Interest

- **Political Accountability** – Compared to traditional government agency
 - Unlike FERC leadership, RTO/ISO leadership is not politically appointed.
 - FERC cannot appoint board members to RTO/ISOs.
- **Stakeholder Accountability**
 - Stronger Accountability over RTO/ISOs
 - Transmission Owners – participation in RTO/ISO is voluntary but foundational.
 - Members – have 205 rights over the Operating Agreement, but must reach supermajority
 - States – can implement legally acceptable policies that impact RTO/ISO markets
 - Weak Accountability over RTO/ISOs
 - All other stakeholders, unless they are a T.O. affiliate
- Reduced political accountability enables pursuit of organizational interest, which may or may not be consistent with public interest.

Theory of Potential RTO/ISO Bias

- **Organizational Bias** - Self-interested behavior not associated with profit motivation.
 - Reliability bias – pursuit of reliability at any cost
- **Cultural Bias** – Impact of workforce beliefs
- **Principal-Agent Problem** – Agent advantage
 - Principals (i.e., stakeholders, ratepayers) rely upon Agent (i.e., PJM) to act on their behalf.
 - Problem exists when priorities of the agent and the principles begin to conflict.
 - Agent has information advantage, different incentives, etc.
- **Moral Hazard** – Party managing financial risk (PJM) does not bear financial risk

Greater Participation of States

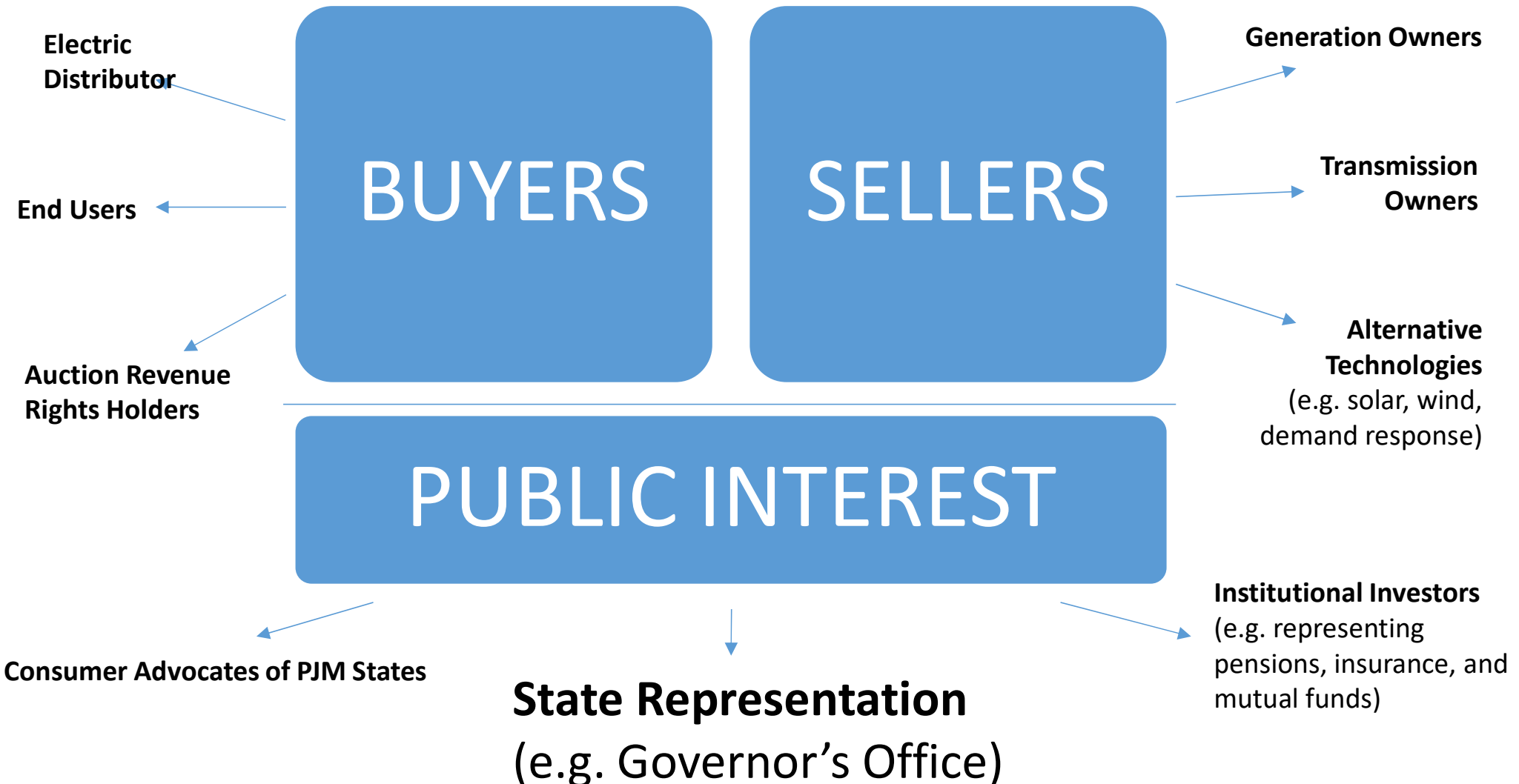
- **When?** Specifically, on high-controversy issues
 - Including some method of voting where non-conflicted, elected representative of state (e.g. governor's office) participates.
- **Why?** States help define and represent public interest
 - Definition is Dynamic – different over time, location.
 - Lowest cost? Price stability? Reliability? Environmental? Jobs?
 - Elections and political accountability.
- **How?** The questions isn't "whether" increased state involvement is needed, rather what is the best "method" to enhance state involvement?

Theory – *will greater involvement increase state understanding of issues, reduce impacts of political offensive, and reduce distortionary state policy?*

Idea: Public interest can be buy and sell side balanced

Exploring an Enhanced Stakeholder Construct

Realigned Sectors and Enhanced Public Interest and Accountability Mechanisms



Concepts for FERC-Level Reforms

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Top Issues of Concern

- **Stakeholder Process Issues**
 - **Fair Representation**
 - Voting sector do not reflect stakeholder diversity
 - Low participation rates a reflection of high participation cost and vote dilution?
 - **Neutrality**
 - Structural bias – rule changes between lower and higher-level committees afford advantage to large, incumbent firms.
 - Setting the solution agenda
 - Lack of lower-level transparency
- **Public Interest Protection and the Role of States**
 - this issue also goes beyond stakeholder process reform and to broader governance issues.

Table 5
Framework for Existing and Proposed FERC Guidance for RTO/ISO Governance Principles and Criteria.

FERC RTO/ISO Governance Principles and Criteria			
The Independence Principle	The Fair Representation Principle	The Neutrality Principle	The Responsiveness Principle
ISO should be [operationally and financially] independent of any individual market participant or any one class of participants (Order 888)	"A governance structure that includes fair representation of all types of users of the system would help ensure that the ISO formulates policies, operates the system, and resolves disputes in a fair and non-discriminatory manner." (Order 888)	Governance should be structured in a fair and non-discriminatory manner. The ISO's rules of governance...should prevent control, and appearance of control, of decision-making by any class of participants. (Order 888)	RTOs and ISOs must provide an avenue for customers and other stakeholders to present their views on decision-making to the board, and to have those views considered. (Order 719)
Criteria			
RTO/employees/directors - no financial interest in market participants (Order 2000)	<i>Voting Sectors Should Reflect Stakeholder Diversity</i>	"The business practices and procedures must ensure that the interests of customers or other stakeholders are equitably considered and that deliberation and consideration of RTO and ISO issues are not dominated by any single stakeholder category." (Order 719, originally referred to as criteria #2 for responsiveness)	"The business practices and procedures must ensure that any customer or other stakeholder affected by the operation of the RTO or ISO, or its representative, is permitted to communicate its views to the RTO's or ISO's board of directors." (Order 719)
Decision-making [Board] process that is independent of control of market participants or class of market participants (Order 2000)	<i>Participation Rates Should be Monitored and Per Sector Minimums Achieved</i>	<i>Enhance Public Transparency</i>	"The business practices and procedures must provide for stakeholder input into the RTO's or ISO's decisions as well as mechanisms to provide feedback to stakeholders to ensure that information exchange and communication continue over time." (Order 719)
RTO must have exclusive Federal Power Act 205 rights over tariff (Order 2000)	<i>Greater Clarity Provided About the Role of the States (i.e. who speaks for the state, how to give the state a unique voice, how often to consult with the state, when to relay perspectives to the Board).</i>	<i>Structurally Neutral Process Design</i>	"The business practices and procedures must ensure that, in instances where stakeholders are not in total agreement on a particular issue, minority positions are communicated to the RTO's or ISO's board of directors at the same time as majority positions." (Order 719)
		<i>Monitor Administrative Neutrality</i>	Post mission statement and charter on website (Order 719)
			<i>Establish Issue Prioritization Procedures</i>
			<i>Establish Issue Expedition Procedures</i>
Regular = Explicit	Underlined = Implied	Italicized = Proposed	

Areas of Improvement in FERC Regulation

FERC ISO/RTO Governance Principles			
Independence	Fair Representation	Neutrality	Responsiveness
Principle - Financially and operationally independent from market participants. (Order 888)	Governance structure must include fair representation of all types of users of the system. (Order 888)	Governance structure should be fair and non-discriminatory, prevent control or appearance of control over decisions by any class of market participants. (Order 888)	RTOs and ISOs must provide an avenue for customers and other stakeholders to present their views, and to have those views considered. (Order 719)
(1) RTO/employees/directors - no financial interest in market participants (Order 2000)	SECTORS REFLECT STAKEHOLDER DIVERSITY	Fairness in balancing diverse interests (Order 719)	Consumer and Stakeholder Inclusiveness (Order 719)
(2) Decision-making process that is independent of control of market participants or class of MPs (Order 2000)	PARTICIPATION RATES	Publicly post mission/charter, guiding principles, and commitment to consumers/stakeholder responsiveness (Order 719)	Ongoing responsiveness (Order 719)
(3) RTO must have exclusive 205 rights over tariff (Order 2000)	ROLE OF THE STATES	TRANSPARENCY	Representing Minority Positions (Order 719)
		STRUCTURALLY NEUTRAL	PRIORITIZATION
		ADMINISTRATIVELY NEUTRAL	EXPEDITION

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Rational actions, but not likely...

- **FERC unlikely to reform governance rules that apply to all RTO/ISOs.**
- **PJM could launch an evaluation and reform process**
 - Also, PJM user group could recommend development of a “special team” on governance
 - Highly unlikely to lead to significant reforms unless PJM is prepared to file FPA section 206.
- **FERC should require PJM (& other RTO/ISOs) to review and evaluate governance process, implement beneficial changes.**
 - Should require future evaluations at regular intervals.
 - Refine rules - “ongoing responsiveness” principle of FERC Order 719

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QUESTIONS

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