

# 1 Reframing incentives for climate policy action

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## 15 Abstract

16 A key aim of climate policy is to progressively substitute renewables and energy efficiency for fossil  
17 fuel use. The associated rapid depreciation and replacement of fossil fuel-related physical and  
18 natural capital will entail a profound reorganisation of industry value chains, international trade, and  
19 geopolitics. Here, we present evidence confirming that the transformation of energy systems is well  
20 under way, and we explore the economic and strategic implications of the emerging energy  
21 geography. We show specifically that, given the economic implications of the ongoing energy  
22 transformation, the framing of climate policy as economically detrimental to those pursuing it is a  
23 poor description of strategic incentives. Instead, a new climate policy incentives configuration  
24 emerges where fossil fuel importers are better off decarbonising, competitive fossil fuel exporters  
25 are better off flooding markets, and uncompetitive fossil fuel producers – rather than benefiting  
26 from ‘free-riding’ – suffer from their exposure to stranded assets and lack of investment in  
27 decarbonisation technologies.

## 29 Main Text

### 30 Introduction

31 The adoption of the Paris Agreement in 2015 set a worldwide objective of keeping the global  
32 average temperature well below 2°C above pre-industrial times, with efforts to achieve 1.5°C,<sup>1</sup>  
33 calling for clearer scientific evidence of the impacts of a 1.5°C pathway.<sup>2</sup> New energy and climate  
34 scenarios have been developed to provide such evidence.<sup>2–6</sup> Net-zero emissions targets have  
35 since been adopted for 2050, notably in the EU, the UK, Japan and South Korea, and for 2060 in  
36 China, which together imply substantial reductions in global fossil fuel use, and large markets for  
37 low-carbon technology. Reducing emissions requires increased investment in low-carbon  
38 technology, with much debated macroeconomic implications.<sup>7–10</sup> Large quantities of fossil fuel  
39 reserves and resources are likely to become ‘unburnable’ or stranded if countries around the world  
40 implement climate policies effectively.<sup>11–13</sup> The transition is already underway, and some stranding  
41 will happen irrespective of any new climate policies, in the present trajectory of the energy system,  
42 with critical distributional macroeconomic impacts worldwide.<sup>10</sup> While concerns over peak oil supply  
43 have shaped foreign policy for decades, the main macroeconomic and geopolitical challenges may  
44 in fact result from peaking oil (and other fossil-fuel) demand.<sup>14–18</sup>

45 Climate action has traditionally been framed as economically detrimental to those pursuing it. From  
46 this perspective, climate action taken by a country is plagued by ‘free-riding’ by others not taking it,  
47 who nevertheless benefit from global mitigation, without the economic burden of environmental  
48 regulation.<sup>19–22</sup> However, this motive is not supported by the evidence.<sup>23,24</sup> More fundamentally, the  
49 nature of strategic incentives is misrepresented by this framing: incentives may now be more about

50 industrial strategy, job creation and trade success.<sup>25–27</sup> The costs of generating solar and wind  
51 energy, depending on location, have already or will soon reach parity with the lowest-cost  
52 traditional fossil alternatives,<sup>15,28,29</sup> while investment in low-carbon technologies is generating  
53 substantial new employment.<sup>30–32</sup>

54 The notion that a country should benefit from free-riding on other countries' climate policies can  
55 also be challenged. Incremental decarbonisation, increasing energy efficiency, and the economic  
56 impacts of COVID-19 have led oil and gas demand and prices to decline substantially. This has  
57 affected the viability of extraction in less competitive regions,<sup>15</sup> despite new fossil fuel subsidies in  
58 recovery packages,<sup>33</sup> although the recovery has been rapid, generating substantial market  
59 uncertainty. Fossil fuel exporters can be economically impacted by climate policy decisions of  
60 other countries through lower global demand and lower prices, and abandoning climate policies to  
61 boost domestic demand or maintain high prices is not sufficient to compensate for declining  
62 exports.<sup>10</sup>

63 In this article, we question the traditional framing of climate policy and explore the emergence of a  
64 new incentives configuration. We find that positive payoffs may arise for fossil energy importers  
65 reducing imports while negative payoffs arise for energy exporters losing exports, both being far  
66 larger than the actual costs of addressing climate change.

## 67 **Geopolitical context**

68 The transition to a low-carbon economy has raised major questions of geopolitics in the  
69 international relations literature<sup>16–18,34–36</sup>. Here we adopt Vakulchuk's definition of 'geopolitics', as  
70 the connection between geography, resources, space and the power of states.<sup>36</sup> It has become  
71 increasingly clear, with the pace at which renewables are growing, that traditionally fossil-fuel  
72 dominated energy geopolitics must be revisited. With the prospects of renewable energies  
73 capturing markets previously dominated by fossil fuels, energy commodity exporters, in some  
74 cases affected by the resource curse,<sup>37</sup> lose export markets. Concurrently, importers improve their  
75 trade balances.<sup>16,17</sup> Revenue losses could lead to political instability in fossil-fuel exporting  
76 economies and, although robust evidence indicates that climate change will increase conflict at all  
77 scales,<sup>38</sup> it is unclear whether the transition will increase or reduce conflict overall.<sup>16,35,36</sup>

78 Bazilian and Goldthau et al.<sup>34,39</sup> describe four scenarios of geopolitical evolution, based on whether  
79 successful climate action is taken and on how geopolitical rivalries in fossil fuels and renewables  
80 are addressed. They call for short to mid-term quantitative scenario creation that could describe  
81 the geopolitical dynamics and narrow down the possibilities. A key question is whether low-carbon  
82 technology development is globally cooperative or fragmented, and whether the emerging  
83 renewable energy geopolitics comes to replace fossil energy geopolitics.<sup>18,40</sup>

84 Most nations possess sizeable technical potentials for one or more types of renewable energy  
85 sources, reducing the likelihood of any state gaining significant control over future energy  
86 supplies.<sup>41</sup> However, the production of renewables technology is increasingly concentrated in a few  
87 regions, including China, Europe and the United States, generating new types of geopolitical  
88 rivalry.<sup>17,18</sup> Concerns over access to critical materials for manufacturing renewables technology  
89 have been raised<sup>41</sup>, and although debated, remain a concern for policy-makers. Lastly, the  
90 possibility of new resource curse situations linked to renewables has also been also raised.<sup>18</sup>

91 Scholarship in geopolitics thus paints a much more complex picture than the standard framing of  
92 climate action as an environmentally necessary but economically costly step. Despite this, the  
93 prevailing framing<sup>22,23,42</sup> underpins important debates such as those on 'carbon leakage' (the  
94 relocation of carbon-intensive industries to countries with no or limited climate policy), the historical  
95 'free-riding' of developed nations and the right to emit of developing nations. Hypotheses over  
96 geopolitics urgently need to be better supported by quantitative modelling evidence to help narrow  
97 down possibilities

## 98 **Global scenarios**

99 Understanding quantitatively the economic impacts of the ongoing low-carbon transition and their  
100 geopolitical implications requires modelling tools suitable for projecting socio-technical evolution.  
101 Here we use the E3ME-FTT-GENIE integrated framework<sup>10</sup> of disaggregated energy, economy  
102 and environment models based on observed technology evolution dynamics and calibrated on the

most recent time series available (Methods). Loosely consistent with Goldthau,<sup>34,39</sup> we create four scenarios from 2022 to 2070 depicting how future energy production, use, trade and income could either underpin expectations or actually materialise. We project changes in output, investment and employment in 43 sectors and 61 regions of industrial activity, coupled by bilateral trade relationships between regions and input-output relationships between sectors. We simulate endogenous yearly average oil and gas prices and production over 43,000 active oil and gas assets worldwide. We then use a simple game theory framework to identify possible geopolitical incentives.

**Technology Diffusion Trajectory (TDT)** – We simulate the current trajectory of technology and the economy, based on recently observed trends in technology, energy markets and macroeconomics, exploring the direction of technology evolution irrespective of new climate policies. This generates a median global warming of 2.6°C.

**Net-zero CO<sub>2</sub> globally in 2050 (Net-zero)** – We add new detailed climate policies by either increasing the stringency of what already exists or by implementing policies that may be reasonably expected in each regional context. The UK, EU, China, Japan and South Korea reach net-zero emissions independently in 2050. Moderate amounts of negative emissions are used to offset residual emissions in industry. This achieves a median warming of 1.5°C.

**Net-zero in Europe and East-Asia (EU-EA Net-zero)** – We use the same policies to achieve net-zero emissions for Europe and East Asia (China in 2060, Japan, the EU and South Korea in 2050) but assume TDT policies elsewhere. This achieves a median warming of 2.0°C.

**Investment Expectations (InvE)** – We replace our energy technology evolution model by exogenous final energy demand data from the IEA's World Energy Outlook 2019 current policies scenario,<sup>43</sup> in which energy markets grow over the simulation period, to reflect expectations of delayed or abandoned decarbonisation by a major subset of investors in energy systems. This generates warming of 3.5°C.

## Changes in energy systems

Figure 1 shows the evolution of technology globally for electricity generation, passenger road transport, household heating and steelmaking, as modelled using the FTT components, covering 58% of global final energy carrier use, and 66% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Global fuel combustion and industrial emissions in all sectors are also shown.

We observe that the InvE baseline sees coal and natural gas use dominate power generation, petrol and diesel use in road transport translate into a steady growth of oil demand, while technology remains relatively unchanged for heating and steelmaking and other parts of the economy. Note that the InvE scenario projection is not likely to be realised as it features substantially lower than already-observed growth rates in solar, wind, electric vehicles and heat pumps (Suppl. Note 1).

In stark contrast, the TDT scenario projects a relatively rapid continued growth, at the same rates as observed in the data, of some low-carbon technologies (solar, wind, hybrids and electric vehicles, heat pumps, solar heaters) while others continue their existing moderate growth (biomass, geothermal, hydroelectricity, CNG vehicles). Some technologies have already been in decline for some time, such as coal-based electricity and diesel cars (UK, EU, US), coal fireplaces and oil boilers in houses, and some inefficient coal-based steelmaking technologies (most countries).

Through a positive feedback of learning-by-doing and diffusion dynamics (Ext. Data Fig. 1), solar photovoltaics (PV) becomes the lowest cost energy generation technology by 2025-2030 in all but the InvE scenario, depending on regions and solar irradiation. Electric vehicles display a similar type of winner-takes-all phenomenon, although at a later period. Heating technologies evolve as the carbon intensity of households gradually declines. The trajectory of technology in the TDT scenario, as observed in recent data, suggests that primary energy consumed in the next three decades is substantially lower than what InvE suggests, as the relatively wasteful and costly thermal conversion of primary fossil fuels into electricity, heat or usable work stops growing even though the whole energy system continues to grow. In the Paris-compliant Net-zero scenario, technology transforms at a comparatively faster pace to reach global carbon neutrality, while in the

156 EU-EA Net-zero scenario, low-carbon technology deployment in regions with net-zero targets  
157 accelerates cost reductions for all regions, inducing faster adoption even in regions without climate  
158 policies.

159 We comprehensively model the global demand for all energy carriers in all sectors and regions  
160 (Figure 2; sectoral details are given in Ext. Data Fig. 2, regional details in Ext. Data Fig. 3-4; see  
161 Suppl. Dataset). We observe a peaking in the use of fossil fuels and nuclear by 2030 and  
162 concurrent rise of renewables in all but the InvE scenario (Fig. 2a,b). PV takes most of the market,  
163 followed by biomass, which serves as a negative emissions conduit, and wind, which in our  
164 scenarios is gradually outcompeted by PV. The growth of hydro is limited by the number of  
165 undammed rivers that can be dammed, while other renewables have lower potentials or lack  
166 competitiveness (geothermal and ocean-related systems). Cost trajectories are dictated by the  
167 interaction between diffusion and learning-by-doing.

168 Figure 2c,d,e shows the evolving geography of the global supply and demand of primary fossil  
169 energy and renewables. Since fossil energy is widely traded internationally but renewable energy  
170 is primarily consumed in local electricity grids (Suppl. Note 2), the geographies of demand and  
171 supply differ substantially for fossil fuels while they are essentially identical for renewables. The  
172 observed rapid diffusion of renewables substantially decreases the value of regional energy trade  
173 balances, without replacement by new equivalent sources of trade. While renewable technical  
174 potentials are mostly dependent on the landmass of nations, fossil fuel production and decline are  
175 concentrated in a subset of geologically suited regions.<sup>44</sup>

176 **Distributional impacts and geopolitics**

177 International fossil fuel trade relationships form a key source of economic power in the current  
178 geopolitical order.<sup>16,17</sup> The demise of fossil fuel markets is therefore unlikely to proceed without  
179 important changes in economic and political power, and it is critical to explore the various ways in  
180 which this could play out.<sup>34,39</sup> For that, it is necessary to first understand what comparative market  
181 power each producer region wields, and second, what macroeconomic and fiscal implications  
182 market strategies can have.<sup>45</sup>

183 We show in Figure 3 the cost distribution of global oil and gas resources according to the  
184 Rystad<sup>46,47</sup> database, which comprehensively documents over 43,000 active oil and gas assets  
185 covering most existing resources worldwide (Methods and Suppl. Dataset), aggregated here in  
186 eight key regions. In the TDT scenario, our model projects cumulative global oil and gas use up to  
187 2050 of 890 and 630 Gbbl respectively (480 and 370 Gbbl in the Net-zero scenario). Saudi Arabia  
188 and other OPEC countries together possess over 650 and 202 Gbbl of resources of oil and gas,  
189 characterised predominantly by substantially lower costs of production (below \$20 per barrel in  
190 many cases), compared to the resources left in the US, Canada and Russia, occurring at  
191 substantially higher production costs (between \$20 and \$80 per barrel). This suggests that, under  
192 the expectation of limited future oil and gas demand, OPEC countries would have a strong rational  
193 incentive, together or independently, to capture most future oil and gas demand by maintaining or  
194 increasing their production thereby pricing out other participants from fossil fuel markets.<sup>48</sup>

195 We define two scenario variants that represent two opposite OPEC courses of action delimiting a  
196 spectrum.<sup>49</sup> At one end of the spectrum, in a scenario of oil and gas asset fire-sale (denoted SO for  
197 ‘sell-off’), OPEC ramps its production to reserve ratio up to a sufficiently high level to gradually  
198 acquire a large fraction of global demand as it peaks and declines, effectively offshoring what  
199 would otherwise be production losses.<sup>16</sup> At the other extreme, in a scenario of strict quotas  
200 (denoted QU for ‘quotas’), OPEC limits production to maintain a constant share of the peaking and  
201 declining global demand, keeping its traditional role in stabilising markets.<sup>14</sup> Figure 4a shows  
202 changes in prices for all scenarios, and Figure 4b,c changes in quantities for the EU-EA Net-zero  
203 scenario originating from current technological trajectories and the existing net-zero pledges,  
204 relative to the expectations benchmark in InvE. We observe that, whereas in the QU EU-EA Net-  
205 zero scenario the production losses are more evenly distributed between nations, in the SO EU-EA  
206 Net-zero scenario, the US, Canada, South America, and to a lesser extent Russia,<sup>50</sup> are gradually  
207 excluded from oil and gas production as it concentrates towards OPEC countries (Methods).

208 The prices of fossil fuels are estimated in E3ME-FTT by identifying the marginal cost of the  
209 resource production that matches demand at every time point, which for oil and gas is based on

210 the Rystad data. Depending on production decisions, long-term oil prices could remain at values  
211 as low as \$35/bbl for extended periods as the expected economic viability of higher cost resources  
212 (such as tar sands, oil shales, arctic and deep offshore) deteriorates permanently.

213 Changes in oil and gas prices, combined with slumps in production, may therefore have disruptive  
214 structural effects on high-cost fossil fuel producers such as the US, Canada, Russia and South  
215 America. Meanwhile shedding expensive imports benefits GDP and employment in large importer  
216 regions such as the EU, China and India, as money not spent on expensive energy imports is  
217 spent domestically, while output is boosted by major low-carbon investment programmes. Figure  
218 4d,e,f shows this using percent changes in government royalties, GDP and total employment  
219 between the Net-zero and the InvE scenarios. These transformations arise from changes in fossil  
220 and energy production sectors, their dependent supply chains and other recipients of spending  
221 income in unrelated sectors, including government royalties. Losses of jobs and output in producer  
222 countries are in general not overcompensated by the job and output creation effect of renewables  
223 deployment, while in importer countries, net gains are observed. Supply chain effects amplify  
224 output changes that originate from the energy sector (manufacturing, construction, services). For  
225 clarity of analysis, we assume no compensatory effect from any deficit spending (Suppl. Note 3).

226 Economic changes implied by the new net-zero pledges (the EU-EA Net-zero scenario against  
227 InvE) are given in Figure 5, showing output, exports, investment and lost fossil fuel production  
228 discounted by 6% and cumulated over the next 15 years (see Ext. Data Fig. 5, Suppl. Tables 1-2  
229 and Suppl. Dataset for comparison variants). Stranded fossil fuel assets arise of between \$7-11tn.  
230 These findings largely corroborate earlier geopolitical scenario analysis.<sup>17,39</sup>

231 Using a simple two-by-two game theory framework applied to importers, OPEC and high-cost  
232 producer countries (Table 1, Suppl. Note 4, Ext. Data Fig. 6), we find that if strategic climate and  
233 energy policy decisions were taken solely on the basis of the GDP or employment outcomes, and  
234 that these were known in advance to policy-makers, the EU-EA Net-Zero SO would be a stable  
235 Nash equilibrium. The decision by importers to decarbonise is a dominant strategy, as is that of  
236 OPEC producers to flood markets. High-cost producers are left with the decision whether to  
237 decarbonise or not. Their fossil energy industry falls victim to low-cost competition, while the  
238 economic benefits of low-carbon investment do not necessarily compensate for high losses of  
239 output in high-carbon industries.

## 240 **Discussion**

241 A new incentives configuration, beyond the standard framing of climate policy as environmentally  
242 necessary but economically costly, emerges with the new energy geopolitics. Whether and how  
243 fast fossil energy markets peak and decline is primarily decided by the major energy importers  
244 (China, India, Japan, the EU). These have an economic incentive to decarbonise and their  
245 decisions impact producers in general. The magnitude of the re-organisation of high value oil and  
246 gas markets depends strongly on choices of energy output made by OPEC countries, a dimension  
247 of agency that other producers do not possess. Since the impact of the transition on their fiscal  
248 position, GDP and jobs of the transition can be largely overcompensated by their output strategy, a  
249 compelling narrative emerges in which OPEC countries choose to protect their national interests,  
250 fiscal position and geopolitical power, at the expense of economic, financial and political stability in  
251 the high-cost producers that their strategy affects (the US, Canada and Russia). Meanwhile, a lack  
252 of commitment or withdrawal from climate policy in high-cost producer countries does not maintain  
253 sufficient domestic demand to overcompensate export losses, the balance of power remaining in  
254 the hands of major importers. Since low-carbon transitions are under way in the UK, the EU, China  
255 and other nations, as evidenced in technology data, export losses for high-cost exporters are likely  
256 to be permanent. In its Net-Zero scenario, the IEA projects an increase of OPEC oil market share  
257 from 37% to 52% in 2050<sup>45</sup> (66% in our analysis), with comparable implications for energy markets  
258 and geopolitics. Our findings broadly support the qualitative scenarios<sup>34,39</sup> and regional political  
259 dynamics and drives<sup>17</sup> proposed in recent geopolitics literature, providing a crucial quantitative  
260 dimension.

261 The new energy geopolitics has further deep socio-economic implications also beyond the  
262 standard framing of climate policy. Firstly, in line with the literature on great waves<sup>51,52</sup> and the Just  
263 Transition,<sup>53,54</sup> the creative destruction effect of the low-carbon transition underway is likely to

264 generate localised issues of post-industrial decline in the US, Russia, Canada, Brazil and other oil  
265 producers. This suggests that comprehensive plans for regional redevelopment are likely needed  
266 along with economic diversification towards new technology sectors, including low-carbon  
267 technology exports.<sup>25-27</sup> Secondly, if economic diversification and divestment away from fossil fuels  
268 is not quickly addressed in those countries, the low-carbon transition could lead to a period of  
269 global financial and political instability,<sup>16,35</sup> due to the combination of deep structural change,  
270 widespread financial loss and re-organisation in financial and market power worldwide. Addressing  
271 economic diversification away from fossil fuels is complex but necessary to protect economies  
272 from the volatility characteristic of the end of technological eras.

273

## 274 **Methods**

275 Most integrated assessment models (IAMs) currently used for assessing climate policy and socio-  
276 economic scenarios are based on whole system or utility optimisation algorithms, while some are  
277 based on optimal growth<sup>55</sup>. IAMs have helped set the global climate agenda by identifying  
278 desirable energy system configurations. However, they are unsuitable for studying trends in energy  
279 system dynamics, since historical dependences are neglected, while systems optimisation  
280 assumes an empirically unsubstantiated degree of system coordination.<sup>55,56</sup>

281 Here we use the non-optimisation IAM E3ME-FTT-GENIE.<sup>10,57</sup> framework based on observed  
282 technology evolution dynamics and behaviour measured in economic and technology time series.  
283 It covers global macroeconomic dynamics (E3ME), S-shaped energy technological change  
284 dynamics (FTT),<sup>58–60</sup> fossil fuel and renewables energy markets,<sup>44,61</sup> and the carbon cycle and  
285 climate system (GENIE).<sup>6</sup> We project economic change, energy demand, energy prices and  
286 regional energy production.

287 The E3ME-FTT-GENIE integrated framework is described below. The full set of equations  
288 underpinning the framework is given and explained in [57]. Assumptions for all scenarios are also  
289 given.

### 290 **E3ME**

291 The Energy-Economy-Environment Macro Econometric model (E3ME) is a highly disaggregated  
292 multi-sectoral and multi-regional, demand-led macroeconomic and dynamic input-output model  
293 of the global economy. It simulates the demand, supply and trade of final goods, intermediate  
294 goods and services globally. It is disaggregated along harmonised data classifications worldwide  
295 for 43 consumption categories, 70 (43) sectors of industry within (outside of) the EU member  
296 states and the UK, 61 countries and regions including all EU member states and G20 nations  
297 covering the globe, 23 types of users of fuels and 12 types of fuels. The model features 15  
298 econometric regressions calibrated on data between 1970 and 2010, and simulates on yearly time  
299 steps onwards up to 2070. The model is demand-led, which means that the demand for final goods  
300 and services is first estimated, and the supply of intermediate goods leading to that supply is  
301 determined using input-output tables and bilateral trade relationships between all regions.

302 The model features a positive difference between potential supply capacity and actual supply (the  
303 output gap), as well as involuntary unemployment of the labour force. This implies that when  
304 economic activity fluctuates, short-term non-equilibrium changes in the employment of labour and  
305 capital can arise, and notably, unemployed resources can become employed. The model follows  
306 the theoretical basis of demand-led Post-Keynesian and Schumpeterian (evolutionary)  
307 economics<sup>8,62</sup> in which investment determines output, rather than output determining investment  
308 and capital accumulation as done in general equilibrium models. This implies that purchasing  
309 power to finance investment is created by banks on the basis of the credit-worthiness of investors  
310 and investment opportunities, and repaid over the long term. The model therefore possesses an  
311 implicit representation of banking and financial markets, in which the allocation of financial  
312 resources is not restricted by crowding-out from other competing activities, as the creation of  
313 money in the form of loans can accelerate during periods of optimism, and decline in periods of  
314 depression.<sup>8,62</sup> For that reason, E3ME is the ideal model to study the business cycle dynamically,  
315 as it does not assume money neutrality and is path-dependent.

316 The closed set of regressions includes estimating, as dependent variables, household  
317 consumption (by construction equal to supply), investment, labour participation, employment,  
318 hours worked, wages, prices (domestic and imports), imports and the expansion of industrial  
319 productive capacity. Endogenous growth is generated by the inclusion of technology progress  
320 factors in several equations, which represent sectoral productivity growth as the economy  
321 accumulates scale, knowledge and knowhow with cumulative investment.<sup>57</sup> Final energy demand  
322 and the energy sector as a whole is treated in detail similarly but separately in physical energy  
323 quantities.

### 324 **FTT**

325 E3ME estimates energy demand and related investment in all sectors and fuel users of the global  
326 economy with the exception of the four most carbon-intensive sectors (power, transport, heat,

steel), for which technological change is modelled with substantially higher definition using the Future Technology Transformations (FTT) family of models. FTT is a bottom-up representation of technological change that reproduces and projects the diffusion of individual technologies calibrated on recent trends. FTT:Power<sup>58</sup> represents the market competition of 24 power technologies including nuclear, coal/oil/gas-based fuel combustion (with carbon capture and storage (CCS) options), photovoltaic and concentrated solar (PV/CSP), onshore/offshore wind, hydro, tidal, geothermal and wave technologies. FTT:Transport<sup>59,63</sup> represents the diffusion of petrol, diesel, hybrid, compressed natural gas and electric vehicles and motorcycles in 3 engine size classes, with 25 technology options. FTT:Heat<sup>60</sup> looks at the diffusion of oil, coal, wood and gas combustion in households as well as resistive electric heating, electric heat pumps and solar heaters in 13 technology options. Lastly, FTT:Steel represents all existing steel-making routes based on coal, gas, hydrogen and electricity in 25 types of chains of production. Technologies not represented in FTT currently have very low market shares, which necessarily implies, in a diffusion framework, that their diffusion to such levels that would invalidate the present scenarios is highly unlikely within the policy horizon of 2050 (e.g. nuclear fusion, hydrogen mobility).

FTT is a general framework for modelling technology ecosystems that is in many ways similar to modelling natural ecosystems, based on the replicator dynamics equation.<sup>64</sup> The replicator equation (or Lotka-Volterra system) is an ubiquitous relationship that emerges in many systems featuring non-linear population dynamics such as in chemical reactions or ecosystem populations.<sup>64,65</sup> It is related to discrete choice models and multinomial logits through adding a term in the standard utility model representing agent interactions (e.g. technology availability limited by existing industry sizes, social influence) that gives it the distinctive S-shaped diffusion profile.<sup>65</sup>

The direction of diffusion in FTT is influenced by the economic and policy context on the basis of suitable sector-specific representations of decision-making, by comparing the break-even (levelized) cost of using the various technology options, in a discrete choice model weighted by the ubiquity of those technology options. The various levelized costs include a parameter representing the comparative non-pecuniary costs and advantages of using each technology. This parameter is used to calibrate the direction of diffusion to match what is observed in recent trends of diffusion, notably important for PV, wind, EVs and heat pumps (see <sup>59</sup>).

A key recent innovation in FTT:Power is a detailed representation of the intermittency of renewables through the introduction of a classification of generators along 6 load bands, following the method of Ueckerdt et al.,<sup>66</sup> with the addition of an allocation of production time slots to available generators according to intermittency and flexibility constraints. This ensures that the level of grid flexibility to allow the introduction of large amounts of renewables are respected, maintaining model results within a range deemed to represent a stable electricity grid. Intermittency, optimal intermittent renewable curtailment and energy storage parameters are estimated by Ueckerdt based on solar and wind data and optimisation modelling results. The result in FTT is that the main obstacle for solar and wind penetrating grids is the rate at which the required flexibility can be accommodated. The addition of this electricity market model has implied, in comparison to earlier work<sup>10</sup> based on cruder and more restrictive stability assumptions, that renewables can penetrate the grid more rapidly and effectively.

368

## 369 **GENIE**

GENIE, an intermediate complexity earth system model, simulates the global climate carbon cycle to give the future climate state driven by CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, land-use change and non-CO<sub>2</sub> climate forcing agents. It comprises the GOLDSTEIN (global ocean linear drag salt and temperature equation integrator) 3-D frictional geostrophic ocean model coupled to a 2-D energy moisture balance atmosphere, a thermodynamic-dynamic sea-ice model, the BIOGEM ocean biogeochemistry model, SEDGEM sediment module, and the ENTSML (efficient numerical terrestrial scheme with managed land), dynamic model of terrestrial carbon storage and land-use change. GENIE has the resolution of 10° x 5° on average with 16 depth levels in the ocean and has here been applied in the configuration of <sup>67,68</sup> (see references therein).

The probabilistic projections are achieved through an ensemble of simulations for each emissions scenario using an 86-member set<sup>69</sup> that varies 28 model parameters in order to produce an

estimate of the full parameter uncertainties. Each ensemble member simulation is continued from an AD 850 to 2005 historical transient spin-up. Post-2005 CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are provided by E3ME, scaled by 9.9/X to match actual emissions in 2019<sup>70</sup> (where X=9.3 GtC is E3ME 2019 emissions), to correct for missing processes in E3ME. The emissions trajectories are then extrapolated to 2100 (InvE, TDT and EU-EA Net Zero scenarios) or until they reach net-zero (Net-Zero scenario). The Net-Zero scenario reaches zero emissions during the E3ME simulation in 2050. Trace gas radiative forcing and land-use-change maps and land-use emissions are taken from Representative Concentration Pathway (RCP) 2.6 (EU-EA Net Zero and Net-Zero scenarios) and RCP 6.0 (InvE and TDT scenarios). GENIE results for exceedance likelihoods for climate thresholds and median peak warming for each scenario are given in Suppl Table 3.

The GENIE ensemble has been validated<sup>69</sup> through comparing the results of 86-member ensemble simulations for the RCP scenarios with CIMIP5 (coupled model intercomparison project phase 5) and EMIC (Earth system model of intermediate complexity) ensembles.

394

### 395 **The energy market model using Rystad data**

The geographical allocation of oil and gas production is estimated by integrating to the model data from the substantial Rystad Ucube<sup>46</sup> dataset in the form of breakeven cost distributions (as in Figure 3, aggregated into 61 regions). The Rystad dataset documents over 43,000 existing and potential oil and gas production sites worldwide, covering the large majority of current global production and existing reserves and resources. It provides each site's breakeven oil and gas prices, reserves, resources and production rates. However, Rystad projected rates of asset production and depletion<sup>47</sup> are not used in our model, which does not rely on Rystad assumptions.

The energy market model<sup>61</sup> assumes that each site has a likelihood of being in producing mode that is functionally dependent on the difference between the prevailing marginal cost of production and its own breakeven cost. The marginal cost is determined by searching, iteratively with the whole of E3ME, for the value at which the supplies matches the E3ME demand, which is itself dependent on energy carrier prices. Dynamic changes in marginal costs are interpreted as driving dynamic changes in energy commodity prices.

The regional production to reserve ratios are exogenous parameters representing producer decisions. Initial values are obtained from the data to reproduce current regional production according to the reserve and resources database. Future changes in production to reserve ratios for each regions are determined according to chosen rules for the QU and SO scenarios. Changes are only imposed to production to reserve ratios of OPEC countries, in order to either achieve a production quota that is proportional to global output (QU scenario, thereby reducing production to reserve ratios accordingly), or attempting to maintain constant absolute production while global demand is peaking and declining (SO scenario, thereby increasing production to reserve ratios). Only oil and gas output in OPEC are thus affected by these parameter changes, which affects the allocation of the overall markets.

Renewables are limited through resource costs by technical potentials determined in earlier work.<sup>44</sup>

420

### 421 **Scenarios and choices of regional decarbonisation policies**

**TDT** – All policies are implicit through the economic, energy and technology diffusion data, with the exception of an assumed explicit carbon price for the EU-ETS region and other carbon markets covering the projection period, covering all industrial but not consumer, mobility, household nor agriculture emission sources, following current policy. Regulations are applied in some regions such as on coal generation in Europe, which cannot increase due to the Large Combustion plant directive. Hydro, comparatively resource-limited, is regulated in many regions to avoid large expansions that could otherwise be politically sensitive.

**Net-Zero** – To the implicit policies of the TDT are added explicit policies as follows, with the exception of the carbon price, which is replaced by more stringent values. Emissions reach net-zero independently in the UK, the EU, South Korea and Japan by 2050, and China by 2060, following current legally binding targets, as well as in the rest of the World as a whole.

433 Power generation:

- 434 - Feed-in tariffs for onshore and offshore wind generation, but solar PV does not benefit from  
435 additional support policies beyond what is already in place.
- 436 - Subsidies on capital costs for all other renewables (geothermal, solar CSP, biomass, wave  
437 and tidal) with the exception of hydro and solar PV.
- 438 - Hydro is regulated directly in most regions to limit expansion, given that in most parts of the  
439 world the number of floodable sites is limited and flooding new sites faces substantial  
440 resistance from local residents.
- 441 - Coal generation is regulated such that no new plants not fitted with CCS can be built but  
442 existing plants can run to the end of their lifetimes. However, all remaining coal plants are  
443 shut down in 2050.
- 444 - Public procurement is assumed to take place to install CCS on coal, gas and biomass  
445 plants in many developed and middle income countries where this does not already exist,  
446 notably in the US, Canada, China and India.
- 447 - The use of BECCS is supported by existing policies and the introduction of further public  
448 procurement policies to publicly fund the building of BECCS plants in all countries endowed  
449 by solid biomass resources.

450 Road transport:

451 Policy portfolios were designed tailored to five major economies characterised by different vehicle  
452 markets (UK, US, China, India, and Japan), according to what policies are already in place and the  
453 composition of local vehicle markets. Policies in other countries were designed by using proxies to  
454 the most similar of the five markets above. Portfolios include combinations of the following:

- 455 - Regulations on the use of inefficient petrol and diesel vehicles, with increasing efficiency  
456 targets over time.
- 457 - Capital cost subsidies on EVs
- 458 - Taxes on petrol and diesel and/or on the purchase price of high carbon vehicles.
- 459 - Public procurement programs for supporting the diffusion of EVs.
- 460 - Yearly vehicle taxes linked to emissions

461 Household heating:

- 462 - Taxes on household use of fuels for heating (coal, oil, gas)
- 463 - Capital cost subsidies for heat pumps and solar water heaters
- 464 - Public procurement policies to increase the market share of the heat pump industry
- 465 - Regulations on the sale of new coal, oil and inefficient gas boilers

466 Steelmaking

- 467 - Regulations on the construction of new inefficient coal-based steel plants
- 468 - Capital cost subsidies on new lower carbon plants such as biomass and hydrogen-based  
469 iron ore reduction and smelting, and to fit CCS to existing high-carbon plants
- 470 - Subsidies on the consumption of low-carbon energy carriers
- 471 - Public procurement to build new low-carbon steel plants in order to develop markets where  
472 they do not exist.

473 Cross-sectoral policies

- 474 - Energy efficiency: the energy efficiency of non-FTT sectors are assumed to change in line  
475 with the IEA<sup>71</sup>, with corresponding investments in the respective sectors.
- 476 - Carbon price: applied to all industrial fuel users with the exception of road transport,  
477 household heating, agriculture and fishing, which are covered by other sector-specific fuel  
478 taxes, and are not expected to participate in emissions trading schemes. The carbon price  
479 is exogenous and increases in the EU from its 2020 value, in nominal EUR, until €1955/tC  
480 in 2033 and remains there thereafter. Deflating these values using E3ME's endogenous  
481 price levels into 2020USD (since E3ME operates in nominal EUR) and converting to CO<sub>2</sub>,  
482 these carbon prices are equivalent to between \$300-500/tCO<sub>2</sub> in 2033, going down  
483 thereafter following different country inflation rates to \$250-350/tCO<sub>2</sub> in 2050 and \$150-  
484 200/tCO<sub>2</sub> in 2070.

485

486 **EU-EA Net-zero** – The net-zero scenario was designed by creating a cross between the TDT and  
487 the Net-Zero scenario in which the EU, UK, Japan, South Korea and China adopt the Net-Zero  
488 policies as defined above and achieve their respective targets, while every other country follows  
489 the TDT. Note that technology spillovers (e.g. learning) in the model imply that this scenario is not  
490 a simple linear combination of the parent scenarios, since low-carbon technology adoption in  
491 countries without net-zero policies is higher than in the TDT.

492

493 **SO and QU scenario variants** – These scenarios were generated by varying the exogenous  
494 production ratio to reserve ratio of OPEC countries including Saudi Arabia (given that OPEC is  
495 disaggregated between Saudi Arabia, OPEC countries in Africa and the rest of OPEC), assuming  
496 that only OPEC has the freedom and incentive to do so. Production in the model is proportional to  
497 existing reserves in each producing region, the proportionality factor being determined by the data  
498 such that production data is consistent with reserve data. The production to reserve ratios in the  
499 three OPEC regions are modified by applying the values that achieve either production quotas that  
500 remain proportional to global oil and gas outputs (QU scenario) or constant in absolute value (SO  
501 scenario). In the central scenarios, production to reserve ratios are maintained constant.

502 SO scenarios could be defined for other regions, notably the US and Russia; however, we  
503 consider those unlikely to materialise without SO response from OPEC, which, due to its higher  
504 competitiveness according to Rystad data, in the model, always wins price wars. Thus such SO  
505 scenarios for regions other than OPEC add little information to what is already shown here. In  
506 reality, SO strategies could be plagued by refining capacity bottlenecks or strategic stockpiling  
507 behaviour. We assume that refining and fuel transport capacity remains undisrupted (e.g. by  
508 regional conflict), and that current capacity outlives peak demand. This is reasonable given  
509 existing capacity, and the fact that demand growth declines. We furthermore assume that  
510 incentives for stockpiling drastically decline in situations of peak demand, as overproduction is  
511 likely, reducing opportunities for arbitrage. Trade tariffs on oil and gas could be imposed to protect  
512 domestic industries, notably in the US, decoupling them from global markets, but are not modelled  
513 here.

514

515 **InvE scenario** – This scenario involves no other assumptions than policies present in the TDT and  
516 replacing all FTT outputs (energy end-use and energy sector investment) with exogenous data  
517 consistent with the IEA's WEO 2019 current policies scenario. This scenario, qualitatively similar to  
518 RCP8.5,<sup>72</sup> sees growth in all fossil fuel markets, and was chosen over the newer IEA's WEO 2020  
519 scenarios which are qualitatively different. The InvE scenario cannot be reached under any  
520 realistic set of assumptions in E3ME-FTT projections, as it would violate the model premise of  
521 near-term continuity in observed technology diffusion trajectories. This scenario was chosen as a  
522 proxy for recent past expectations for the future of fossil energy markets, of investors who may still  
523 entertain beliefs of indefinite growth in future fossil fuel markets. Since it is not possible to  
524 determine which investors entertain which expectations, the realism of the InvE scenario as a  
525 proxy for expectations cannot be assessed; therefore, it is used only to develop a what-if  
526 comparative narrative.

527

528

529

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543 **Author contributions**

544 J.-F.M. designed, coordinated and performed the research, with contributions from G.S., P.S.,  
545 P.B.H. and H.P.. J.-F.M. wrote the article with support from N.R.E., G.S., J.E.V., H.P., P.S., P.B.H.  
546 and N.V.. J.-F.M. and P.V. ran the E3ME-FTT simulations, with support from U.C. and H.P.. J.-  
547 F.M. and P.S. developed the updated FTT:Power and the fossil resource depletion model, and  
548 integrated the Rystad dataset to the framework. A.L. developed the updated FTT:Transport model,  
549 its data and the policy assumptions. P.S. and J.-F.M. developed and applied the game theory  
550 model. N.V. ran the GENIE simulations with support from P.B.H.. J.E.V. contributed geopolitical  
551 expertise. N.R.E. coordinated the overall FRANTIC NERC project.

552 **Competing interests**

553 The authors declare no competing interests.

554 **Data Availability**

555 The data needed to replicate and interpret the study are included in a supplementary data file with  
556 this article. Additional data from the various models used in this study for variables not included in  
557 the supplementary data file can be obtained from the authors upon reasonable request. Original  
558 data from Rystad and the IEA are licensed by these owners, but the datasets derived by the  
559 authors from these datasets and used in the study are included in the supplementary data file.

560 **Code Availability**

561 The computer code and algorithm needed to replicate the study for the E3ME-FTT model is  
562 licensed and not publicly available, but can be obtained from the authors upon reasonable request.

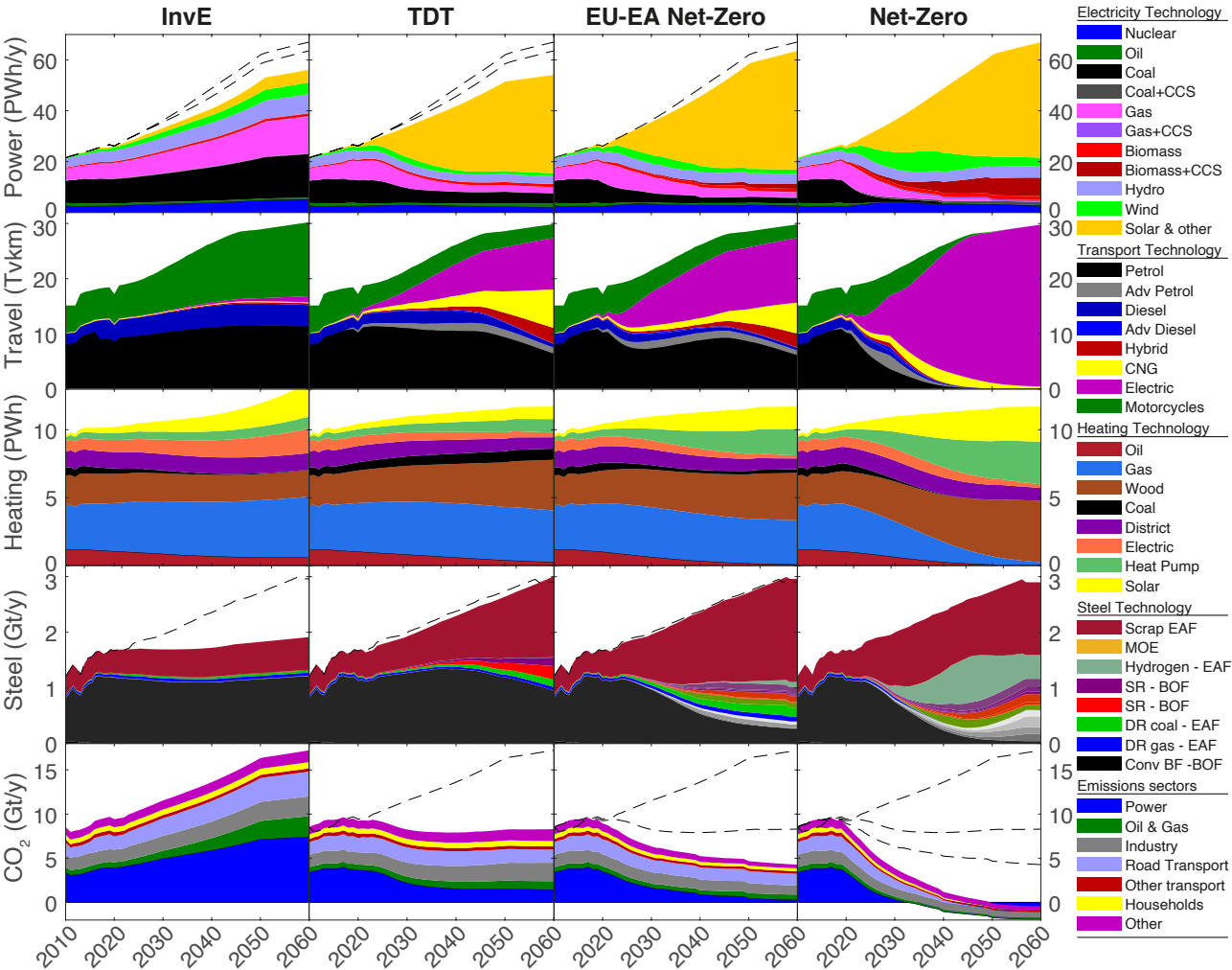
563 **Tables**  
564

**Table 1 | GDP payoffs matrices**

Importers vs OPEC		OPEC		SO	
		QU			
		Importers	OPEC	Importers	OPEC
Importers	EU-EA-NZ	26889	243	<b>26521</b>	<b>1182</b>
	TDT	8367	-40	8171	410
OPEC vs High-Cost exporters		High-cost exporters (HCE)			
		EU-EA Net-Zero		Net-Zero	
		HCE	OPEC	HCE	OPEC
OPEC	QU	-2590	243	-4595	1551
	SO	<b>-4042</b>	<b>1182</b>	-6350	2748

565 *GDP is measured in \$2020bn (cumulated between 2022 and 2036, discounted by 6%; positive values are GDP*  
566 *increases with respect to the InvE scenario). Cells in **italics bold** indicate probable outcomes. The game has a Nash*  
567 *equilibrium in the EU-EA Net-Zero SO scenario combination.*

568  
569

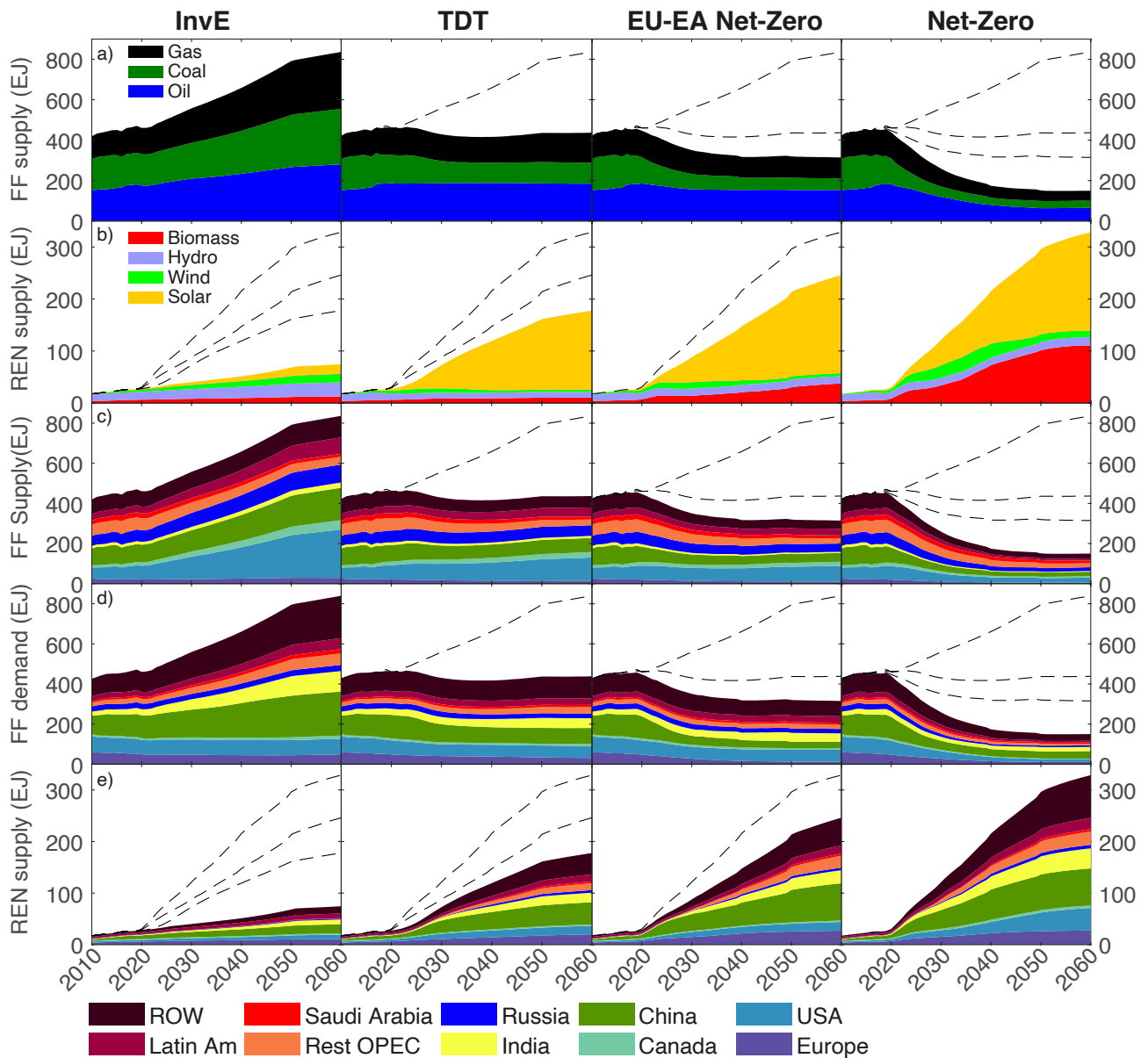


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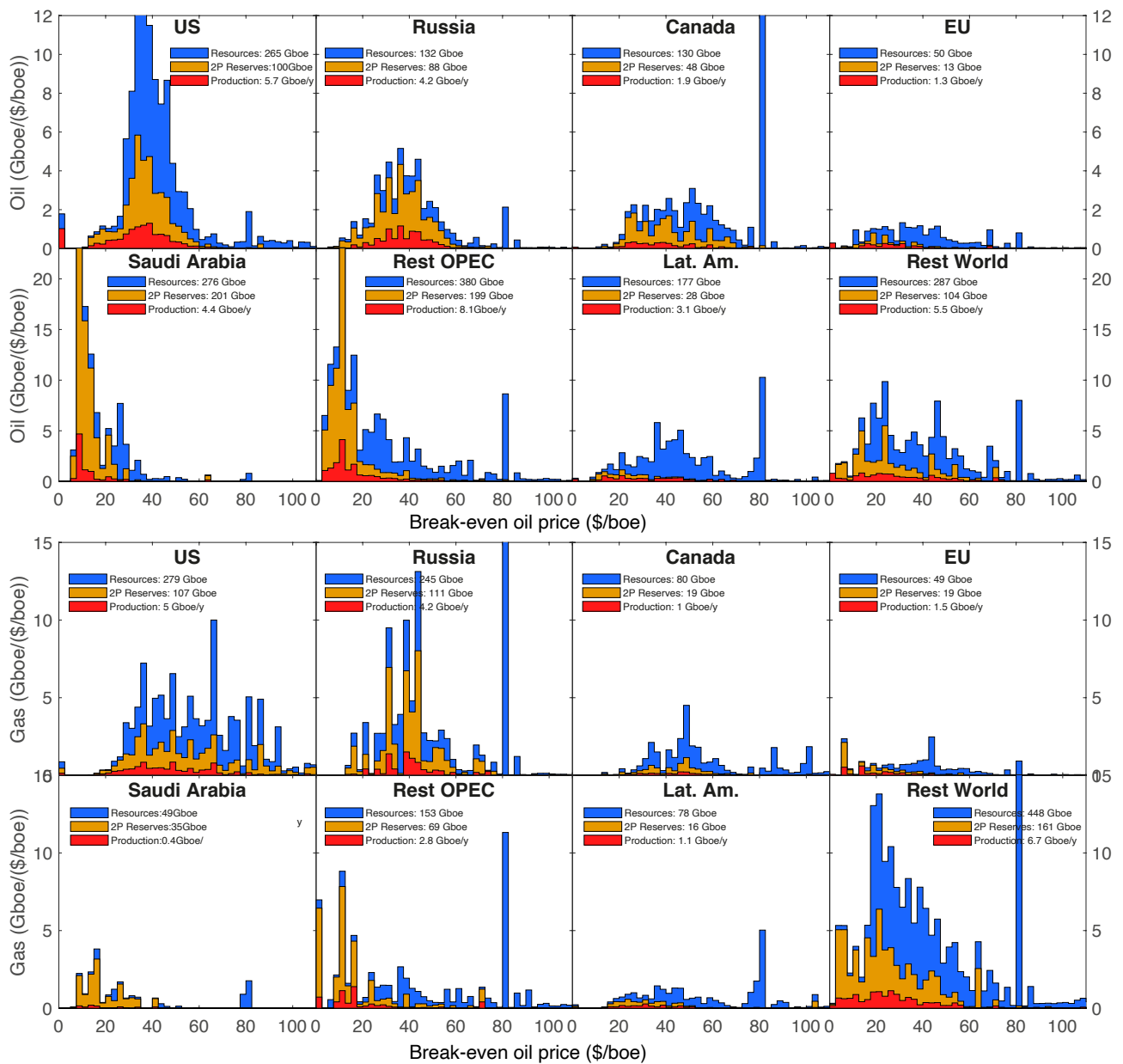
572 **Fig. 1 | Diffusion of technology and evolution of energy use and emissions in key sectors.**

573 The evolution of 88 key power generation and final energy use technologies and emissions in four  
574 scenarios. Contributions are aggregated for clarity. CCS stands for Carbon Capture and Storage,  
575 CNG for Compressed Natural Gas, EAF for Electric Arc Furnace, MOE for Molten Oxide  
576 Electrolysis, SR for Smelt Reduction, BOF for Basic Oxygen Furnace, DR for Direct Reduction, BF  
577 for Blast Furnace.

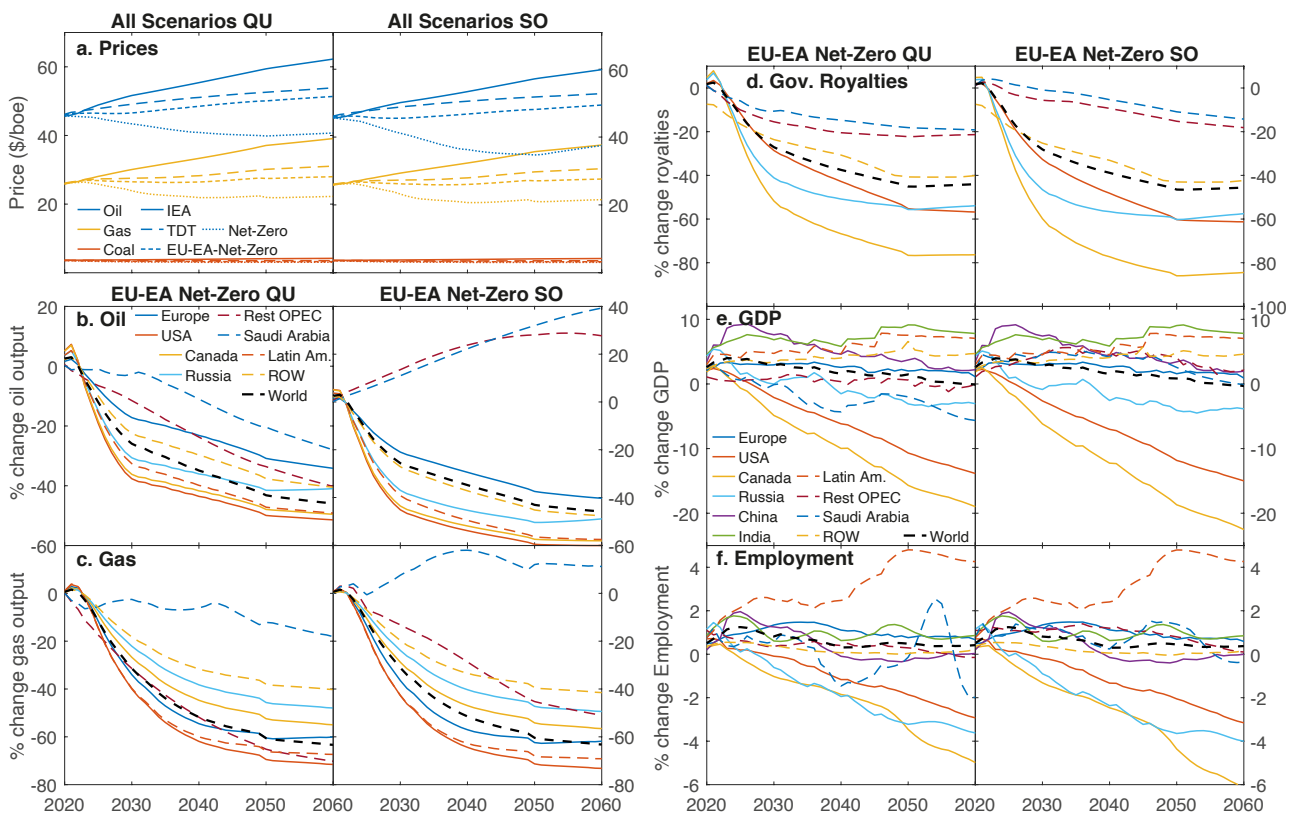
578



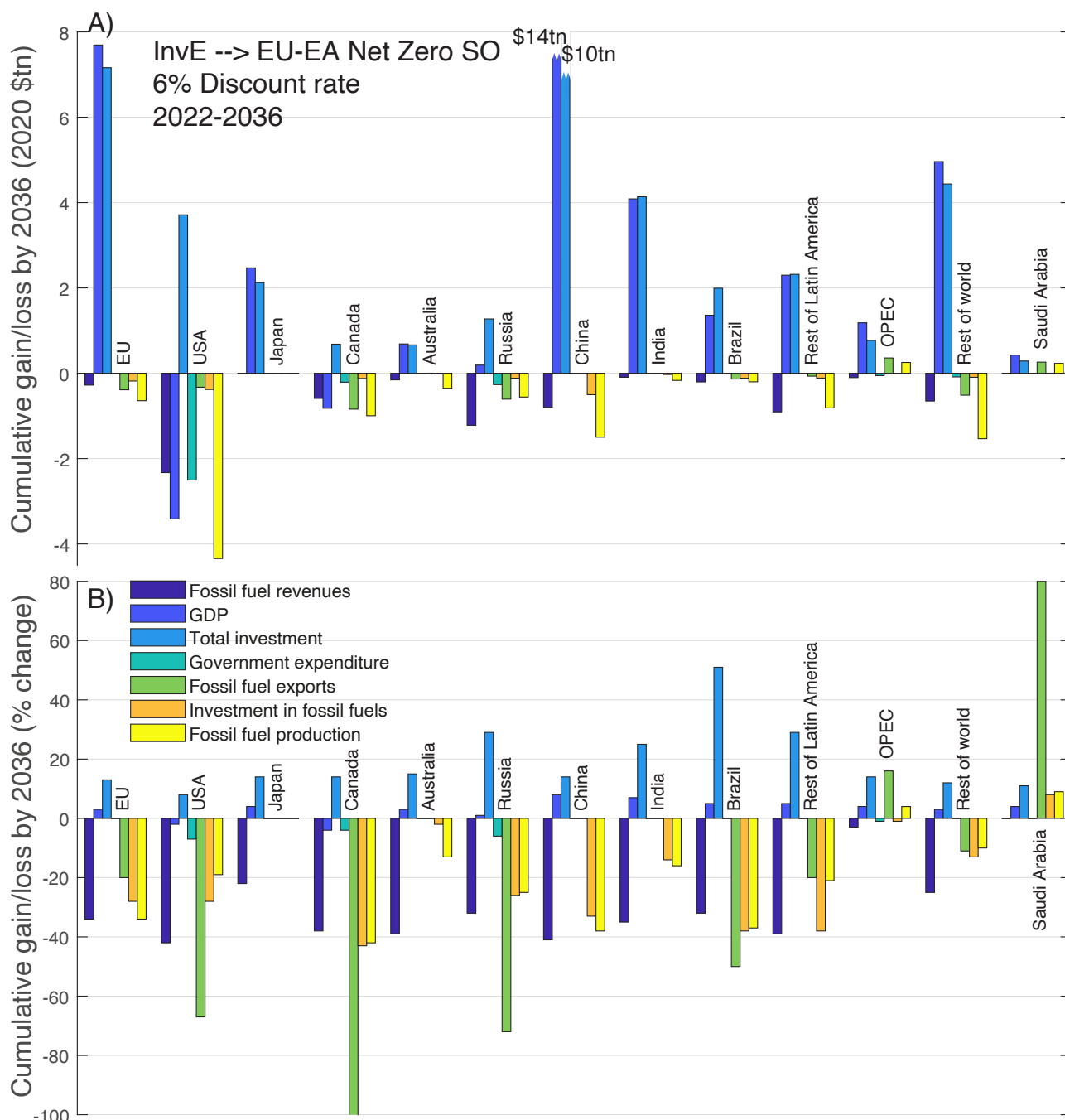
**Fig. 2 | The evolving geography of energy demand and supply.** The geography of (a) fossil energy supply by fuel, (b) supply of renewable electricity by source, (c) fossil energy supply in 6 aggregate regions, (d) fossil energy demand in six aggregate regions, (e) supply of renewable electricity in six aggregate regions. Colours in the legend for regions follow the same order as in the panels.



**Fig. 3 | World oil and gas reserves and resources.** Oil and gas world resources, reserves and production distributed along their breakeven oil and gas prices, prices at which they are profitable to extract, processed by the authors using Rystad (2020). Production bar heights were scaled up by a factor of 5 in order to be visible in the graphs. Vertical axes have units of energy quantities per unit cost range, such that their integral between two limits yields energy quantities. Legends indicate totals. Note that the region 'Rest of OPEC' excludes Saudi Arabia while 'Rest World' aggregates all countries globally that are not included in other panels, for visual clarity.



**Fig. 4 | Evolution of key energy and macroeconomic variables.** (Left panels) Absolute price changes, production losses in oil and gas markets in the 'Quotas' (QU) and 'Sell-off' (SO) scenarios, expressed as a % change from the IEA scenario. (Right panels) Changes in government revenues from oil and gas activities through royalties, changes in GDP and employment, all expressed as % changes from the IEA scenario. Saudi Arabia is separated from the rest of OPEC for clarity, 'ROW' stands for Rest of the World for regions and countries not otherwise included, while 'World' refers to changes at the global level. Government revenues are assumed deficit-neutral for clarity of analysis (Suppl. Note 3).



**Fig. 5 | Cumulated macroeconomic gains and losses by country.** Changes in the value of fossil fuel assets, GDP, investment and fossil fuel production across chosen economies, for both QU and SO scenarios, relative to the IEA scenario, expressed in absolute (a) and as percent change (b). Gains are positive and losses negative. Values are cumulated over 15 years, between 2022 and 2036, using a 6% discount rate. Note that stranded fossil fuel assets are stocks of financial value, while GDP and investment are cumulated economic flows, and thus are not to be compared or added. A cumulation to 2050 is available in Ext. Data Fig. 5.

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775

## 776 Reframing incentives for climate policy action

### 777 Supplementary Information

778

#### 779 Suppl. Note 1:

780 The data on observations of technological trends is an integral part of our database parameterising  
781 the FTT model, in which historical trends of technological diffusion are carefully documented.  
782 Notably, power generation data are obtained from the IEA and augmented by data gathered from  
783 other sources where gaps exist (IRENA, renewables associations, government websites). Data on  
784 cars were obtained by merging numbers from Marklines with data obtained from a large number of  
785 manufacturer websites for most regions featured in E3ME-FTT.<sup>59,63</sup> Data on heating systems and  
786 steelmaking were obtained from similar combinations of resources.<sup>60</sup> Technological data for power  
787 generation and transport were updated recently up to 2018 or 2019 for this modelling exercise,  
788 while heat technology data dates from 2016. Time series cover at least 5 years in each case.  
789 Trends in diffusion of electric vehicles, heat pumps and solar PV are readily observable and  
790 different in each region.

791 COVID-19 is however changing the picture further, by altering energy use behaviour. However,  
792 while energy use has changed drastically during the pandemic,<sup>73</sup> the evidence remains insufficient  
793 to make reliable predictions regarding which way COVID-related changes in fossil energy use will  
794 evolve. Evidence suggests that current reductions in demand may be temporary as the drivers of  
795 fossil energy use have not yet changed substantially due to the illiquidity of industrial and end-use  
796 capital.<sup>74</sup>

#### 797 Suppl. Note 2:

798 Before the COVID crisis, OPEC members collectively produced 19% (34% of oil, 17% of gas) but  
799 consumed 9% of global primary energy, accounting for 0.73% of their combined national  
800 employment and 19% of their industrial output. The US (Russia, Canada), with a recent surge in oil  
801 and gas production, contributed 15% (14%, 5%) of global energy, while they also consumed 15%  
802 (6%, 2%). This corresponds to 0.13% (0.72%, 0.62%) of regional employment and 8% (8%, 7%) of  
803 industrial output situated in oil, gas and coal-related activities.

804 With changes in output and oil and gas prices, a multiplier effect arises as intermediate and final  
805 output directly and indirectly related to fossil fuel production, transportation and refining are  
806 affected. The US has only recently become a net exporter of oil and gas, following the shale  
807 revolution, but it also plays an important role in the global oil refining industry, importing crude and  
808 exporting manufactured fuels. Thus changes in oil and gas prices affect the US at various points in  
809 its intermediate and final production and exports. These data are obtained from our E3ME  
810 economic database. Economic data in E3ME originate from a combination of IEA data, national  
811 accounts, World Bank data, Comtrade, OECD, Rystad and national datasets.

#### 812 Suppl. Note 3.

813 At the onset of recessions, financial crises and exogenous economic shocks (e.g. COVID-19),  
814 government spending generally automatically increases on the basis of deficit and an expansion of  
815 the national debt to cover expenses such as unemployment benefits, poverty relief and various  
816 types of support to individuals and ailing businesses. Including such mitigation measures would be  
817 extremely complicated and would unnecessarily obscure the analysis presented in this work.  
818 Notably, the impacts of the new energy geography would to some degree have to be measured on  
819 the back of the expansion of the deficit and national debt instead of GDP and employment.  
820 Furthermore, it is not possible to determine the levels of credit-worthiness that various nations  
821 would be perceived to have and the lending terms that they would be facing in domestic and  
822 international credit markets, nor the exact size of sovereign wealth funds where they exist (e.g.  
823 Saudi Arabia, Norway). Thus, while the employment impacts of loss of economic activity in fossil  
824 fuel sectors and dependent industries could likely be substantially mitigated by deficit spending in  
825 fossil producer regions (e.g. Canada, US, Russia, OPEC), thus making the absolute economic  
826 impacts presented here unrealistic, we must stress that deficit spending decisions are inherently

827 political, and that the results presented are contingent on an assumption of government budget  
828 neutrality, for the sake of clarity.

#### 829 **Suppl Note 4:**

830 We take the InvE scenario as a reference, and use estimated GDP losses against InvE for each  
831 E3ME region as the criteria upon which political decisions are taken in the climate policy game  
832 (GDP is also a reasonable proxy for employment in the present context, thus using employment  
833 generates the same results). We cluster nations within three broad groups facing similar economic  
834 incentives from low-carbon transition dynamics, and assume collective decisions in each group,  
835 namely the Importers (here the EU, China, Japan, South Korea), the High-Cost Exporters (here  
836 mainly the US, Canada, Russia) and the Low-Cost Exporters (OPEC).

837 Taking the triplet of scenarios TDT, EU-EA Net-Zero and Net-zero, we describe the incentives  
838 faced by Importers whether or not to decarbonise, by OPEC to either ramp-up production of fossil  
839 fuels (SO) or implement strict quotas (QU), and High-Cost Exporters (HCE) whether or not to  
840 follow importers in decarbonising. We assume that it is not possible for Importers to force HCE to  
841 decarbonise against their will, nor for HCE to impose onto Importers to cancel their net-zero plans,  
842 and therefore not one group can unilaterally decide the overall scenario.

843 We use a simple two-by-two game theory framework in two stages. This is illustrated in Suppl. Fig.  
844 6. A decision is made by Importers whether to decarbonise or not, which is linked to a decision by  
845 OPEC whether to observe quotas (QU) or flood markets (SO). Given this, the High-Cost Exporters  
846 decide whether to decarbonise or not. This can be summarised in two simple two-by-two payoff  
847 matrices between Importers, High-Cost Exporters and Low-Cost Exporters, given in Table 1.

848 In the Importers vs OPEC game, Importers have an incentive to decarbonise, while OPEC have an  
849 incentive to flood markets with oil and gas. Both strategies are dominant. This leaves HCE to  
850 decide, given the decisions of Importers and OPEC, whether or not to follow Importers in  
851 decarbonising, since in decarbonising, they can in principle generate activity in the low-carbon  
852 sectors despite that they lose out in the high carbon sectors. However, we find that in the OPEC vs  
853 HCE game, HCE do not decarbonise, and this is dominant. The interpretation therefore is that EU-  
854 EA Net-Zero SO is a Nash equilibrium.

855 This analysis is descriptive and its purpose is to explain the strategic incentives of nations under  
856 short term economic expectations. This Nash equilibrium should not be interpreted in a normative  
857 sense (i.e. as a prescription), since it is ultimately in the advantage of every nation to take steps to  
858 avoid damages from climate change, which are not studied here, and to further diversify their  
859 economies towards new successful industries.

860 In an earlier report<sup>10</sup> we stated that if the World decarbonises, the US is better off decarbonising as  
861 well, in terms of GDP, as otherwise it becomes an importer of oil and gas while it forgoes low-  
862 carbon investment benefits. This result remains true, however it critically depends on how many  
863 other countries do decarbonise, and here in the EU-EA Net-Zero, some fossil fuels remain in use,  
864 maintaining some level of activity in US production and fuel transformation, whereas in the Net-  
865 Zero scenario US fossil fuel-related activity shuts down entirely. In other words, if none of the High-  
866 Cost Exporters decarbonise, they all have an incentive to maintain that status quo. However, if the  
867 whole world decarbonises, each High-Cost Exporter has an incentive to decarbonise as well.

868

Total		N			QU				SO			
		TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z
N	InvE	3.92	7.17	11.44	-0.32	3.86	7.11	11.15	0.21	3.95	7.33	11.68
	TDT	0.00	3.25	7.52	-4.24	-0.06	3.18	7.23	-3.71	0.03	3.41	7.76
	EU-EA		0.00	4.27	-7.49	-3.31	-0.07	3.98	-6.96	-3.22	0.16	4.51
	N-Z			0.00	-11.76	-7.58	-4.33	-0.28	-11.23	-7.48	-4.11	0.24
QU	InvE				0.00	4.18	7.43	11.47	0.53	4.27	7.65	12.00
	TDT					0.00	3.24	7.29	-3.65	0.09	3.47	7.82
	EU-EA						0.00	4.05	-6.89	-3.15	0.23	4.58
	N-Z							0.00	-10.94	-7.20	-3.82	0.53
SO	InvE								0.00	3.74	7.12	11.47
	TDT									0.00	3.38	7.73
	EU-EA										0.00	4.35
	N-Z											0.00

869 **Suppl. Table 1 | Total global loss of fossil fuel revenues.** Cumulated between 2022 and 2036  
870 discounted by 6% for all possible pairs of scenarios, assuming that investors expect either of the  
871 vertical left-hand side scenarios, and that either of the horizontal top scenarios are realised.

872

Oil		N			QU				SO			
		TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z
N	InvE	1.83	4.21	7.10	-0.24	1.79	4.17	6.83	0.15	1.85	4.35	7.28
	TDT	0.00	2.38	5.27	-2.07	-0.03	2.34	5.00	-1.68	0.02	2.53	5.46
	EU-EA		0.00	2.89	-4.45	-2.42	-0.04	2.62	-4.06	-2.36	0.14	3.07
	N-Z			0.00	-7.34	-5.31	-2.93	-0.27	-6.95	-5.25	-2.74	0.19
QU	InvE				0.00	2.04	4.41	7.07	0.39	2.10	4.60	7.53
	TDT					0.00	2.37	5.03	-1.64	0.06	2.56	5.49
	EU-EA						0.00	2.66	-4.02	-2.31	0.19	3.12
	N-Z							0.00	-6.68	-4.98	-2.47	0.46
SO	InvE								0.00	1.70	4.20	7.13
	TDT									0.00	2.50	5.43
	EU-EA										0.00	2.93
	N-Z											0.00

873

Coal		N			QU				SO			
		TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z
N	InvE	0.18	0.30	0.37	0.00	0.18	0.30	0.37	0.00	0.18	0.30	0.37
	TDT	0.00	0.12	0.19	-0.18	0.00	0.12	0.19	-0.18	0.00	0.12	0.19
	EU-EA		0.00	0.07	-0.30	-0.12	0.00	0.07	-0.30	-0.12	0.00	0.07
	N-Z			0.00	-0.37	-0.19	-0.07	0.00	-0.37	-0.19	-0.07	0.00
QU	InvE				0.00	0.18	0.30	0.37	0.00	0.18	0.30	0.37
	TDT					0.00	0.12	0.19	-0.18	0.00	0.12	0.19
	EU-EA						0.00	0.07	-0.30	-0.12	0.00	0.07
	N-Z							0.00	-0.37	-0.19	-0.07	0.00
SO	InvE								0.00	0.18	0.30	0.37
	TDT									0.00	0.12	0.19
	EU-EA										0.00	0.07
	N-Z											0.00

874

Gas		N			QU				SO			
		TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z	InvE	TDT	EU-EA	N-Z
N	InvE	1.74	2.37	3.61	-0.08	1.72	2.34	3.59	0.07	1.75	2.38	3.67
	TDT	0.00	0.62	1.87	-1.82	-0.03	0.60	1.85	-1.68	0.01	0.64	1.92
	EU-EA		0.00	1.24	-2.44	-0.65	-0.02	1.23	-2.30	-0.62	0.02	1.30
	N-Z			0.00	-3.69	-1.89	-1.26	-0.01	-3.54	-1.86	-1.23	0.06
QU	InvE				0.00	1.79	2.42	3.67	0.14	1.83	2.46	3.74
	TDT					0.00	0.63	1.88	-1.65	0.03	0.67	1.95
	EU-EA						0.00	1.25	-2.28	-0.60	0.04	1.32
	N-Z							0.00	-3.53	-1.85	-1.21	0.07
SO	InvE								0.00	1.68	2.32	3.60
	TDT									0.00	0.64	1.92
	EU-EA										0.00	1.28
	N-Z											0.00

875 **Suppl. Table 2 | Global loss of fossil fuel revenues by fuel type.** Cumulated between 2022 and  
876 2036 discounted by 6% for all possible pairs of scenarios, assuming that investors expect either of  
877 the vertical left-hand side scenarios, and that either of the horizontal top scenarios are realised.

878

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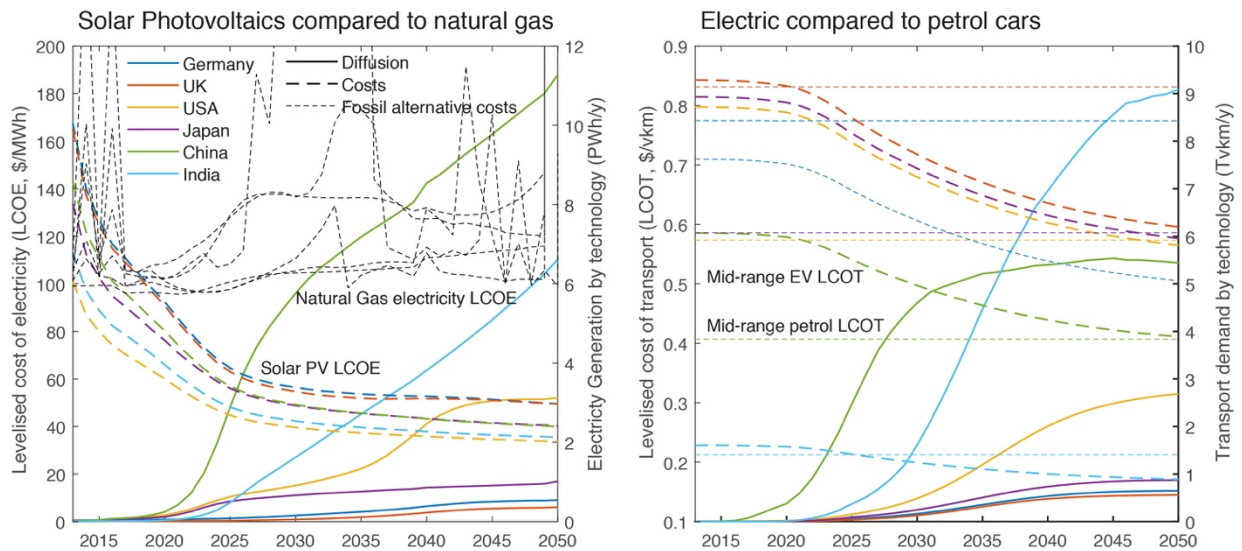
Scenarios	Probability of warming not exceeding X°C (%)				Median of the peak warming (°C)
	4 °C	3 °C	2 °C	1.5 °C	
IEA	80.2	8.1	0	0	3.49
TDT	98.8	77.9	1.2	0	2.63
EU-EA Net-Zero	100	98.8	47.7	1.2	2.02
Net-zero	100	100	94.2	52.3	1.49

880 **Suppl. Table 3 | Likelihoods of exceeding various climate thresholds and median peak**  
881 **warming.** Calculated for each E3ME-FTT scenario using the climate model GENIE.

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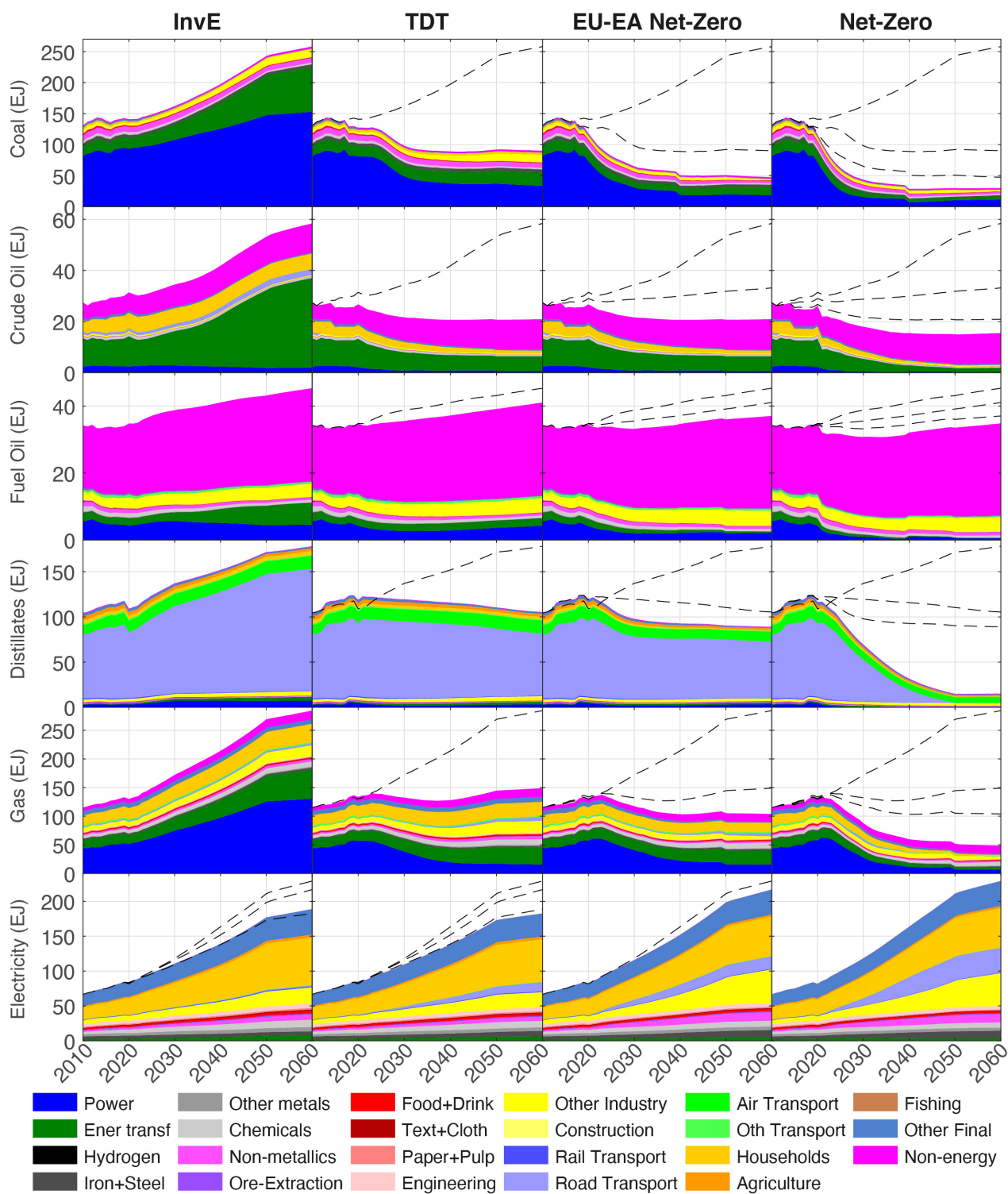
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**Ext. Data Fig. 1 | Technology dynamics for solar photovoltaic and electric vehicles.** The dashed and dotted lines, associated with the left-hand side vertical axes, show technological costs for chosen regions given in the legend. The dashed lines show PV and EV levelised costs (the break-even service costs for one unit of electricity or transport), while the dotted lines show the levelised costs of the best fossil alternative, gas turbines and petrol vehicles (for vehicles, the mid-range class was used). The solid lines, associated with the right-hand side vertical axes, show the diffusion of solar PV and EVs. The dynamics show that costs going down incentivise more technology uptake, which generates cost reductions, in a positive reinforcing cycle. Fossil technologies are mature, without substantial learning, their cost dominated by resource costs. In the case of gas turbine costs, the fluctuations are related to variations in capacity factors (or load hours) that vary according to how the plants are used to balance the electricity grid.

885

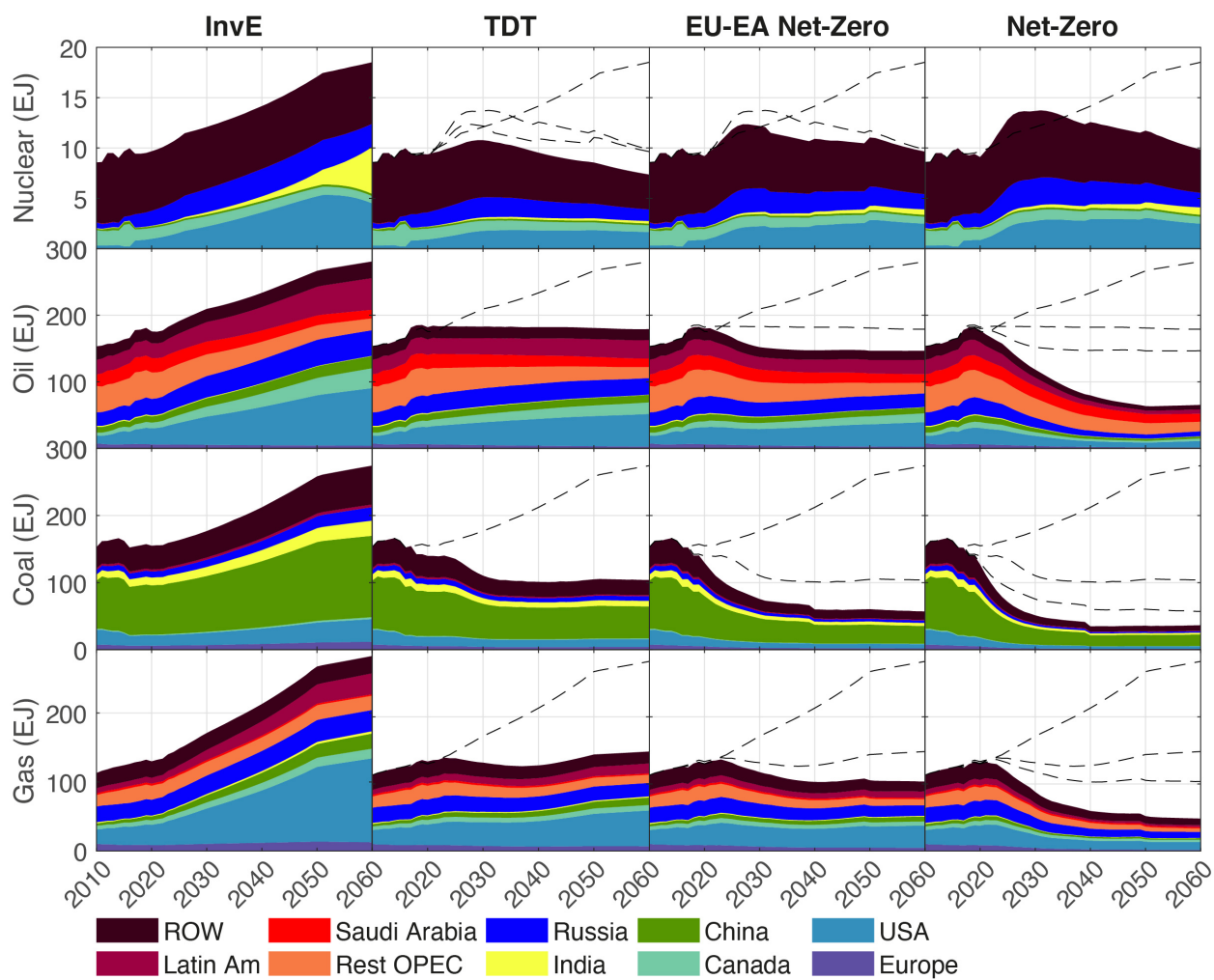
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**Ext. Data Fig. 2 | Projections for all scenarios of all major energy vectors in the economy.** Dashed lines are guide to the eyes indicating totals of other scenarios in the same quantity.

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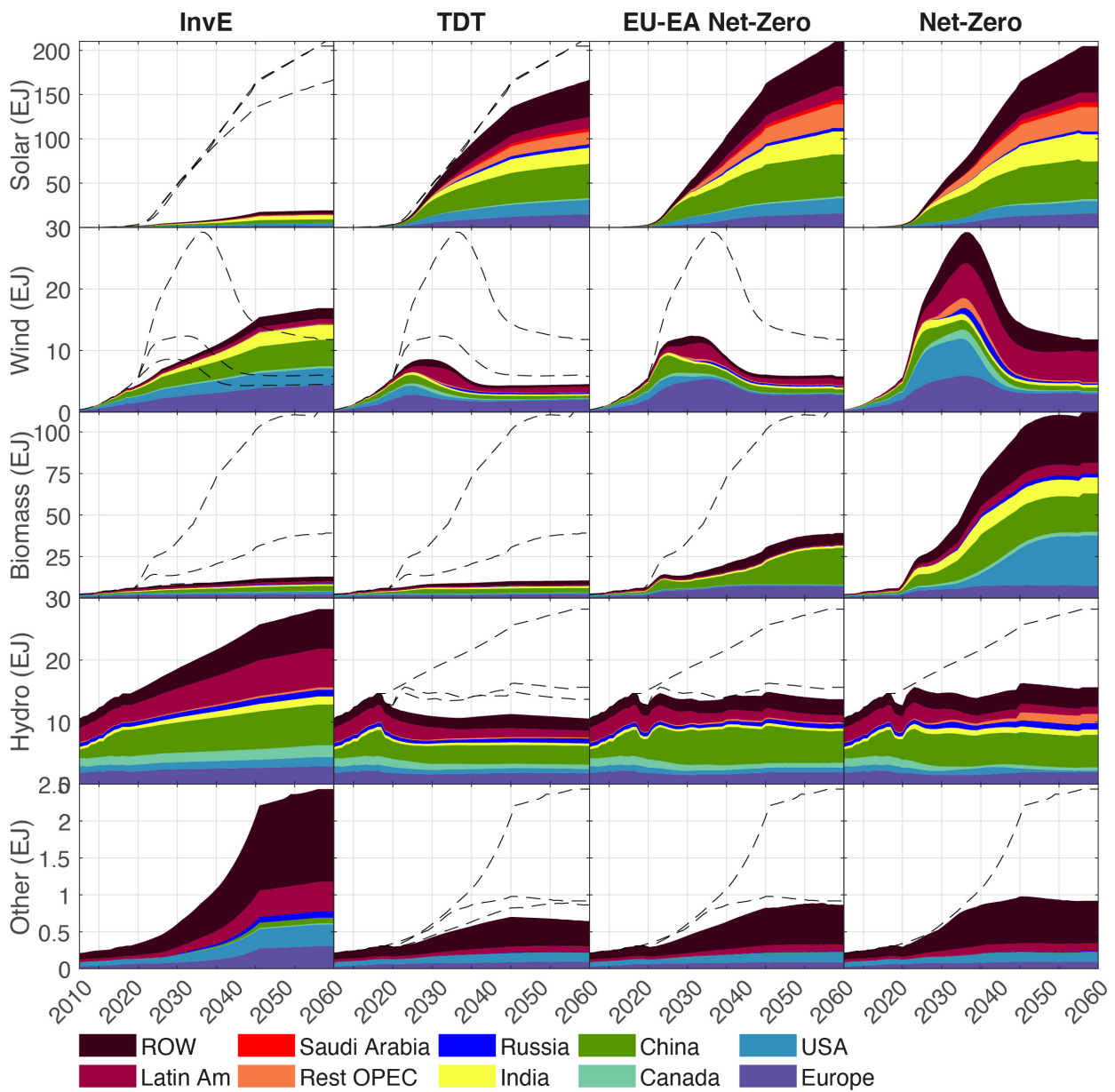
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**Ext. Data Fig. 3 | Projections for all scenarios of non-renewable energy use by region.**

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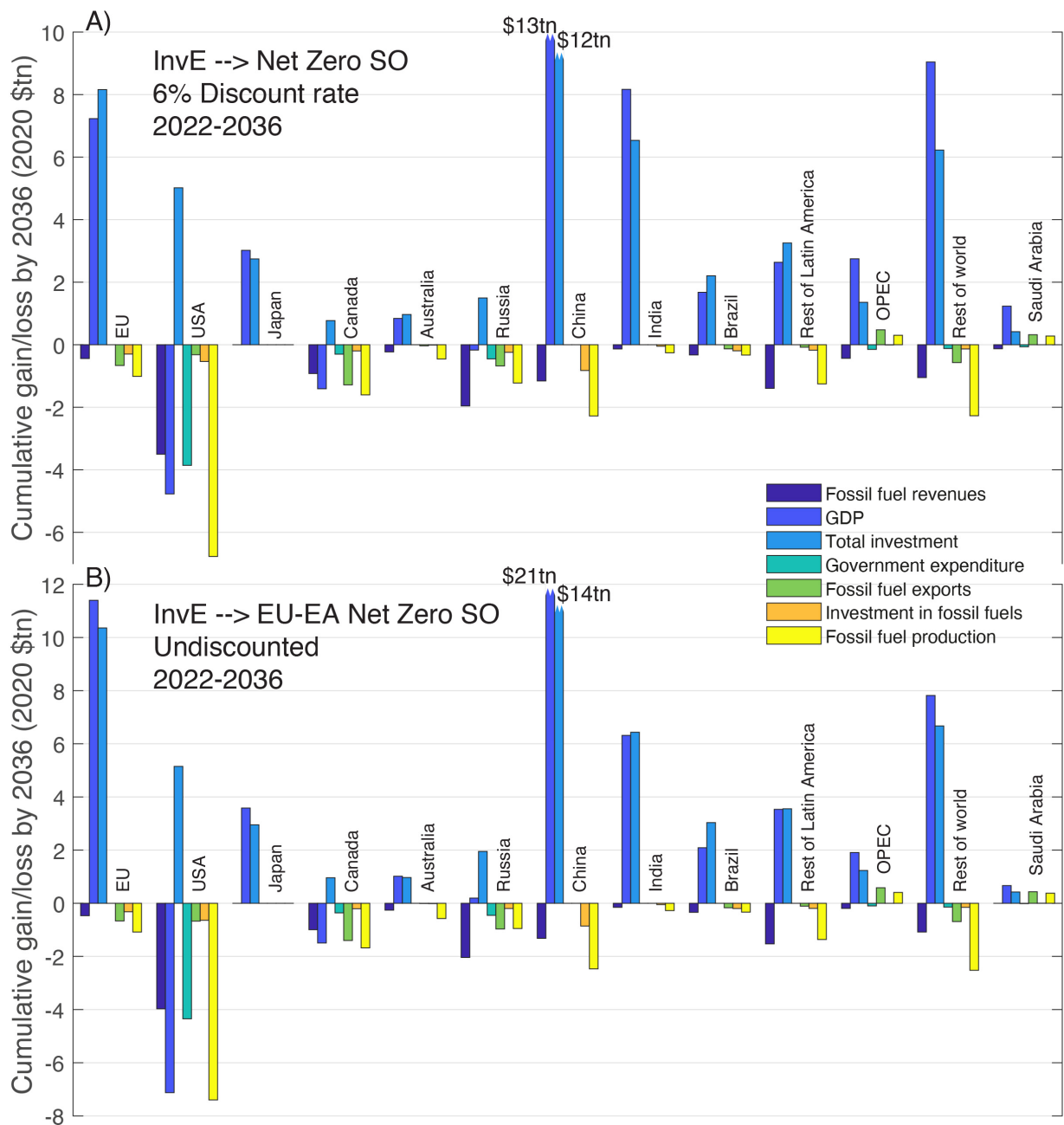
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**Ext. Data Fig. 4 | Projections for all scenarios of renewable energy use by region.**

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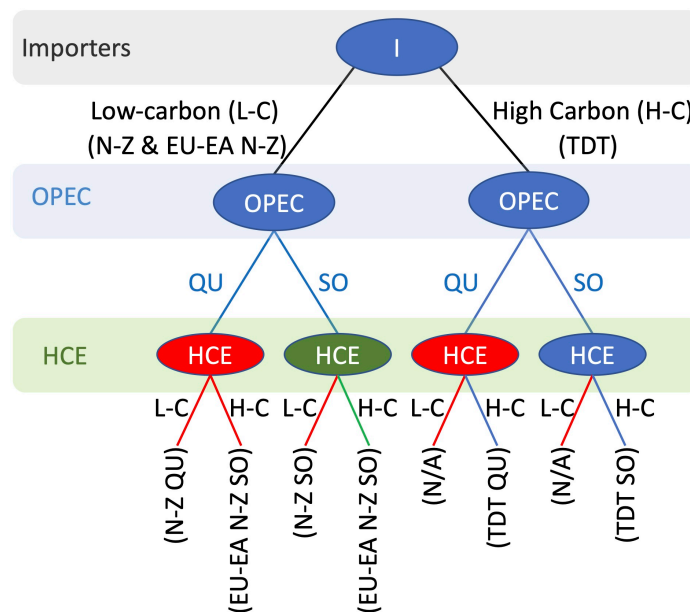
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Ext. Data Fig. 5 | Cumulated gains and losses in the value of fossil fuel assets, GDP, investment and fossil fuel production across chosen economies. A) for the Net-zero SO scenario, relative to the InvE scenario, expressed in absolute, and (B) for the EU-EA Net-zero SO scenario relative to the InvE undiscounted. Gains are positive and losses negative. Values are cumulated over 15 years, between 2022 and 2036, using a 6% discount rate.

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894



**Ext. Data Fig. 6: Structure of the game and possible scenario outcomes.** Importers can decide between a high or low-carbon energy system. OPEC can decide between observing quotas or flooding fossil fuel markets. High-Cost Exporters (HCE) can choose between high or low-carbon energy systems. The combinations of decisions leading to overall scenarios are shown at the bottom. N/A are infeasible scenarios, where HCE deciding unilaterally to decarbonise is ruled out by existing low-carbon policy in importer countries.