

Coal Exit Policy Must Confront Loopholes and Laggards for Political Momentum to Matter for Paris Targets

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1 Coal Exit Policy Must Confront Loopholes and Laggards for 2 Political Momentum to Matter for Paris Targets

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10 Abstract

11 The global phase-out of coal by mid-century is considered crucial to achieving the Paris Agreement and
12 keeping warming well-below 2°C above pre-industrial levels. Since the Powering Past Coal Alliance’s
13 (PPCA) inception at COP23, political ambitions to accelerate coal’s decline have mounted to become
14 the foremost priority at COP26. However, mitigation research lacks the tools to assess whether this
15 bottom-up momentum can self-propagate toward Paris-alignment. Here, we introduce Dynamic Policy
16 Evaluation (DPE), the first evidence-based approach for emulating real-world policymaking. Given
17 empirical relationships established between energy-economic developments and PPCA membership,
18 we endogenise national policy decision-making into the integrated assessment model REMIND via
19 iterative, multi-stage feedback loops with a political feasibility model. DPE finds the PPCA ~5% likely to
20 diffuse globally – indicative of baseline coal exit ambition – and exposes severe, unconventional risks
21 of current power-sector-specific action. Furthermore, PPCA evolution exhibits path-dependence to
22 Covid-19 recovery investments, illustrating DPE’s utility for exploring policy synergies.

23

24 Introduction

25 Under the Paris Agreement, 175 nations agreed to common-but-differentiated responsibilities toward
26 limiting global warming to 1.5-2°C above pre-industrial levels¹. While cost-effectiveness analyses (CEA)
27 by integrated assessment models (IAMs) derive techno-economically and geophysically feasible
28 pathways to achieve the climate targets^{2,3}, the political feasibility of these scenarios is under scrutiny<sup>4-
29 7</sup>. Socio-political barriers are well-acknowledged, typically analysed through exogenously-determined
30 ‘second-best’ scenarios, such as delayed action⁸, regionally-differentiated ambition⁹, or technological
31 skepticism¹⁰. However, these still presume global policy coordination, which appears infeasible in a
32 bottom-up international regime without credible enforcement mechanisms^{11,12}.

33 Whereas CEA explores the political ambition needed to achieve stated goals, stated policy evaluation
34 (SPE) illustrates the consequences of maintaining current ambition levels, e.g. already-implemented
35 national policies (NPI) or nationally-determined contributions (NDCs) to Paris. SPE scenarios are often
36 used as reference baselines for CEA and policy evaluation analyses (PEA), which assess subsequent
37 mitigation options for their potential contribution to specified targets (Table 1). Conspicuously, for all
38 the endogenous techno-economic dynamics represented in IAMs¹³, SPE and PEA rely on exogenous
39 assumptions to prescribe policies top-down across disparate societies. To portray realistic expectations
40 for baseline ambition and subsequent policy options, models should instead emulate the bottom-up
41 nature of climate politics^{14,15}. Two methodological innovations are necessary to achieve this: (i) to
42 objectively and dynamically quantify policy feasibility⁶ and diffusivity¹⁶, and (ii) to harness bidirectional
43 feedbacks between national policy adoption and the global energy economy⁷.

44 Here, we introduce dynamic policy evaluation (DPE), a novel IAM approach (Table 1) which fulfills both
 45 requirements to endogenise bottom-up policy coordination. Given that IAMs derive long-term energy
 46 system investment patterns consistent with empirical data and anticipated socioeconomic trends, it
 47 follows that observed policy developments can be coherently extrapolated in parallel. Recent empirical
 48 research has begun to codify causal links between national techno-economic contexts and real-world
 49 political decisions^{17–19}, and vice-versa²⁰. DPE merges⁷ this knowledge with SPE. To wit, SPE captures the
 50 global energy system impacts of an emerging policy initiative in the variables computed, which can be
 51 input to empirical models that then systematically define policy stringencies across model regions and
 52 periods for a subsequent scenario (Methods; Figure M2). This iterative feedback loop mimics the co-
 53 evolution of energy economics and energy politics; each government’s behavior can be influenced by
 54 the actions of any other nation(s) or perturbations to the system.

55

IAM Approach	Research Question	Coal Phase-Out Insight	Feasibility Focus
Cost-Effectiveness Analysis (CEA)	<i>What policy actions and ambition levels are <u>required</u> to achieve cost-optimal pathways toward an environmental goal (e.g. Paris climate targets)?</i>	Coal is often phased out by 2050 in cost-efficient, Paris-compliant, benchmark scenarios ^{21,22} .	Endogenous assessment of a target’s techno-economic feasibility given assumptions on future technology and socioeconomic developments that may include political feasibility constraints.
Stated Policy Evaluation (SPE)	<i>What are the long-term outcomes if <u>revealed</u> or <u>stated</u> ambition essentially remains static over time?</i>	Current PPCA members abate 2.5 GtCO ₂ of emissions from coal-fired electricity ¹⁸ .	Assessment of current policies or pledges assumed to be politically feasible but also to remain static. Often used as baseline reference scenarios.
Policy Evaluation Analysis (PEA)	<i>What could a given policy (or policy suite) accomplish towards a stated goal if adopted globally or in a predetermined coalition?</i>	A global coal exit by ~2050 can account for half the emissions reductions required for the 2°C Paris climate target ²³ .	Assessment of long-term impacts of hypothetical policy options with endogenous technological feasibility and exogenous prescription of political feasibility (or global policy adoption).
Dynamic Policy Evaluation (DPE)	<i>Given diverse and fluid national contexts, how does the <u>implied</u> global ambition toward a bottom-up initiative compare to its stated goals? How do the policy’s energy system impacts affect the coalition’s future growth?</i>	As global systems and national politics co-evolve, where will coal phase-out policies become politically feasible, and how much coal can be expected to phase-out by 2050?	Concurrent endogenous assessment of a policy’s techno-economic feasibility via IAM and political feasibility via empirical analysis of IAM scenario data. This interdisciplinary coupling captures reciprocal feedbacks between policy adoption and the energy system, improving realism of future policy uptake and thus emissions.

56 **Table 1. Approaches to IAM scenario analysis compared.** Dynamic policy evaluation merges the divide between
 57 energy-economy models (e.g. IAMs), which excel in depicting long-term techno-economic feasibility, and social
 58 science research, which excels at understanding today’s technology and policy landscape. DPE endogenises
 59 feedbacks between the two analytical approaches to embed socio-political dynamics into IAM scenarios,
 60 improving conventional SPE representations of baseline policy ambition and opening new doors for research on
 61 politically feasible mitigation strategies. The present study demonstrates DPE on the coal phase-out agenda.

62

63 CEA-derived mitigation strategies and international negotiations frequently prioritize the phase-out of
 64 coal^{21,22,24,25}, owing to its low economic value, high emissions factor, readier substitutes, and longer-
 65 lived capital relative to other fossil fuels^{26–29}. The aggregate desirability of abandoning coal is further
 66 underscored by PEA demonstrations of the health and environmental benefits²³. The socio-political
 67 feasibility, meanwhile, remains underexplored^{18,30,31}. As some nations continue to commission coal-
 68 fired power plants^{19,32–34} (Table 2), others have formed the Powering Past Coal Alliance (PPCA), an opt-
 69 in initiative aspiring to eradicate “unabated coal-fired electricity” by 2030 in the OECD and EU, and by
 70 2050 in developing and emerging economies³⁵.

71 Although the 41 current national PPCA membersⁱ comprise just 5.1% of global coal-fired electricity,
 72 this constitutes a doubling since Jewell et al. (2019). Despite grave uncertainty, SPE and PEA can
 73 essentially only depict all-or-nothing outcomes for the coal phase-out agenda (Table 1). Using DPE, we
 74 fill this exigent research gap and address the following research questions. Under standard baseline
 75 assumptions, which countries can be reasonably expected to accede, and what constitutes a plausible
 76 range of outcomes? Can the PPCA’s sector-specific policy foster Paris-consistent coal declines, or is
 77 economy-wide coverage necessary? What are the relative effects of carbon leakage and renewable
 78 technology spillovers on PPCA evolution? Finally, how path-dependent is PPCA growth and efficacy to
 79 near-term coal demand uncertainties after Covid-19³⁶?

80

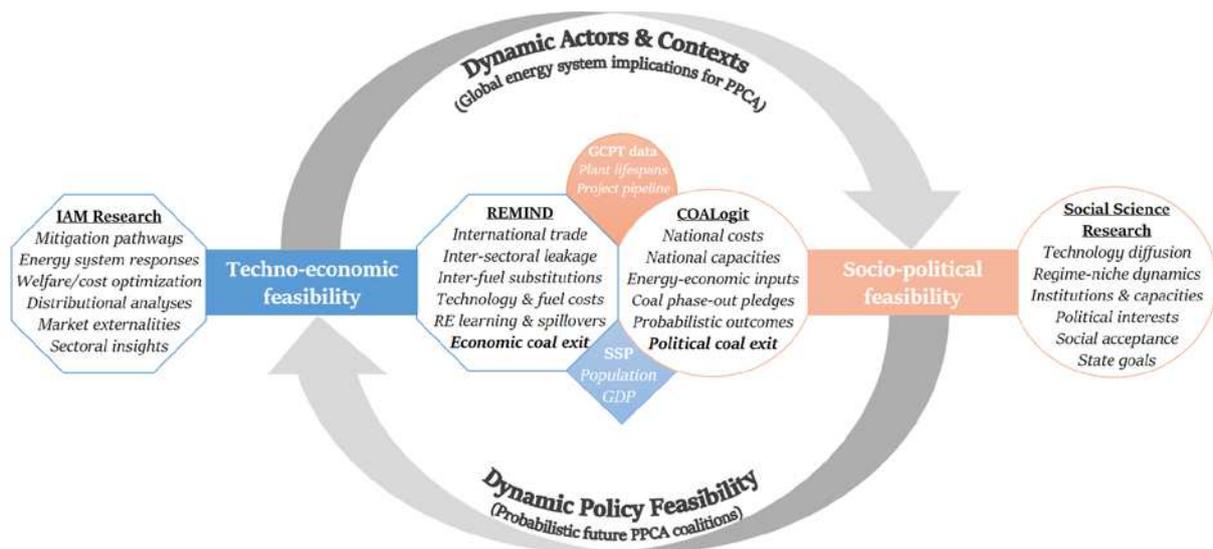
World Region	Operating Capacity (GW)	Mean Plant Age (yrs)	Mean Lifespan (yrs)	Capacity Pipeline (GW)	Project Completion Rates	Implied Emissions (GtCO ₂)
Canada, AUS, NZ	34.4	33.1	40.2	5.2	35.5%	1.96
China	1028.4	11.2	22.2	285.6	54.8%	78.25
EU-27 + UK	141.5	32.8	42.0	1.8	43.2%	8.26
Former Soviet Union	85.8	42.8	51.2	5.6	47.4%	4.57
India	225.7	12.3	38.9	102.7	35.8%	34.73
Japan	47.2	22.3	36.9	9.8	71.0%	5.68
Latin America	17.5	18.1	31.6	5.2	40.1%	2.19
MENA	9.2	21.3	36.9	19.9	43.2%	1.06
Non-EU Europe	26.4	22.2	48.0	29.5	41.8%	5.93
Other Asian States	129.2	11.7	35.0	154.9	58.8%	25.57
Sub-Saharan Africa	44.1	31.2	48.0	34.9	39.7%	2.21
USA	248.8	40.5	48.9	0.0	1.4%	13.89
World	2058.1	18.5	31.1	655.1	50.1%	184.3

81 **Table 2. Bottom-up coal power capacity statistics aggregated to REMIND’s 12 world-region level**, including the
 82 operating capacity in 2020, the capacity-weighted mean age of operating plants, the historical capacity-weighted
 83 mean lifespan, currently planned capacity, and the completion rate of pipeline projects from 2014-2020. The
 84 final column calculates the implied total emissions from operating and planned coal plants if these historical
 85 values are held constant in the future (*neutral* Covid recovery scenario). See Table A3 for implied emissions of
 86 other recovery scenarios, and Table A2 for planned capacity and completion rates of each project phase.

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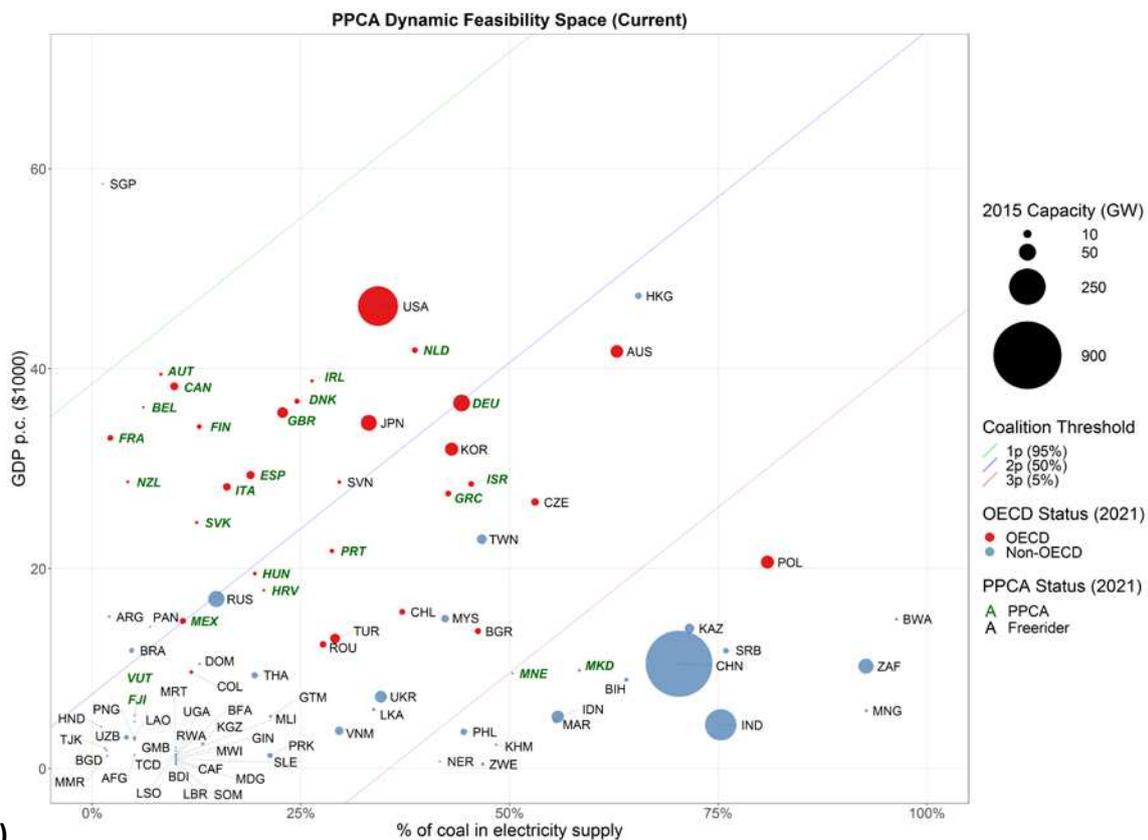
88 We define an outcome as socio-politically feasible if there are actors who have the capacity to realise
 89 it in a given context³⁷. Thus, a national energy and climate policy is feasible if it aligns with state
 90 imperatives and if the state has sufficient capacity to overcome vested interests⁶. For the coal phase-
 91 out arena, Jewell et al. (2019) defined a dynamic feasibility space⁶ (DFS) in terms of national likelihoods
 92 of joining the PPCA. Specifically, the study analysed a pool of 2,036 regression models, permuting
 93 eleven independent variables seeking to explain PPCA membership, and established that high per-
 94 capita GDP and low reliance on coal for electricity supply (coal-power-share) have particularly strong
 95 explanatory power (Figure 2a)¹⁸. In a first attempt to quantify future policy feasibility, we use the IAM
 96 REMIND¹³ to provide scenario data to the DFS via the novel COALogit model, which employs spatial
 97 downscaling routines and probabilistic thresholds, or ‘socio-political tipping points’³⁸⁻⁴⁰, within the
 98 PPCA-DFS to iteratively define country-level, evidence-based scenarios of PPCA growth for REMIND
 99 analysis (Figure 2; see Methods).

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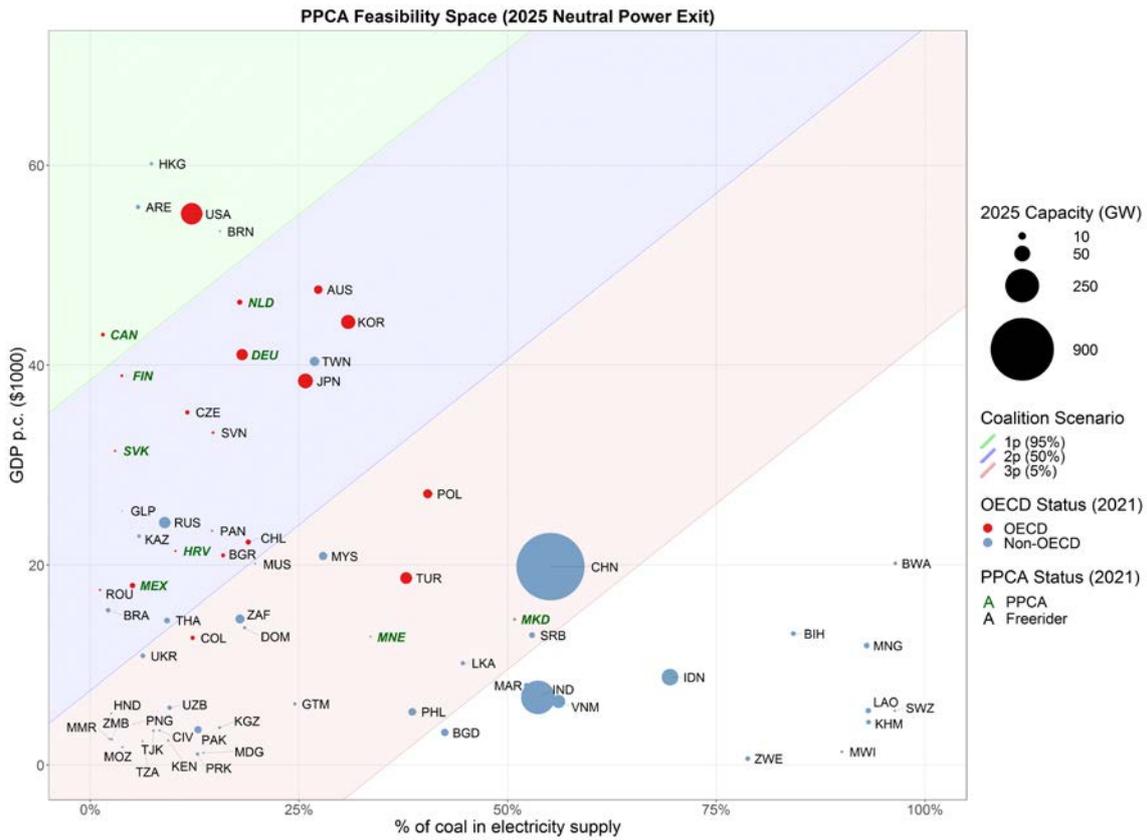


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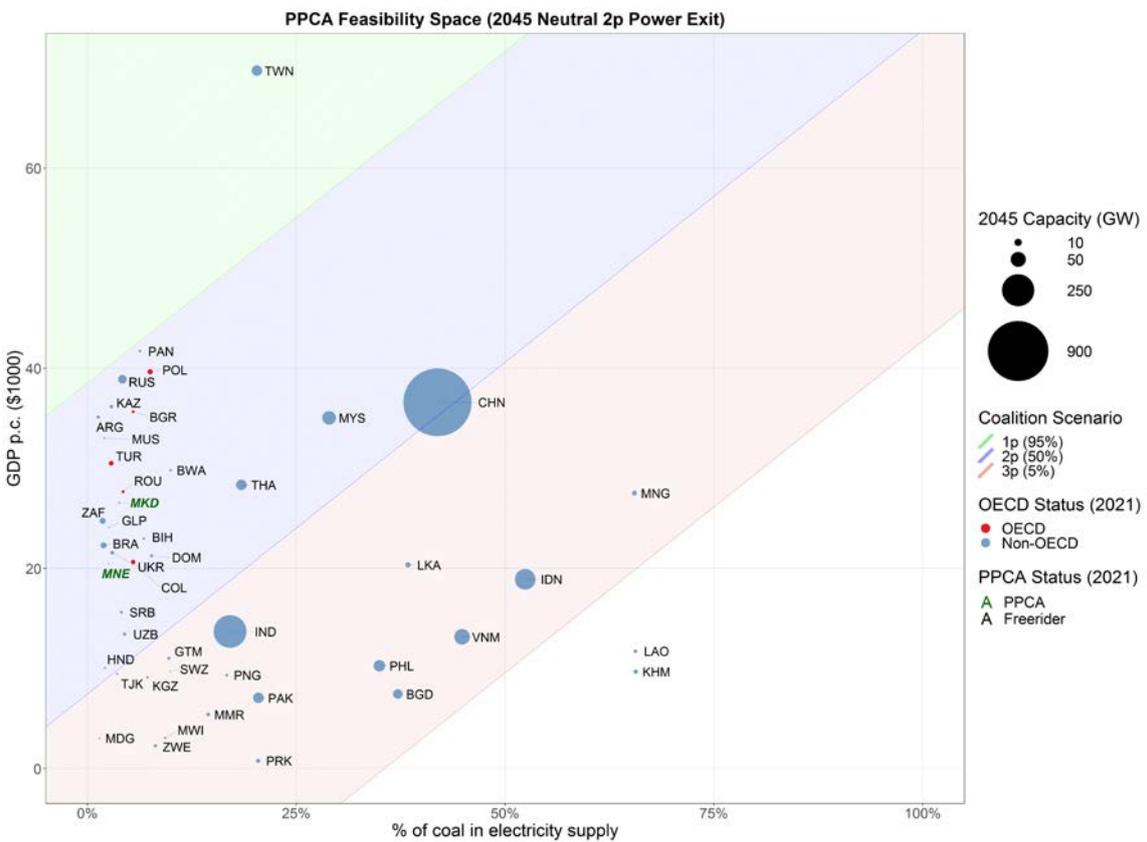
Figure 1. Dynamic Policy Evaluation depicted as a cyclical, iterative interface between techno-economic and socio-political analyses, both in the present study (inner circle and parentheses) and in the broader context of integrating IAMs and social sciences (outer circle). Policy feedbacks in this study begin with the impacts of currently legislated coal exits on national energy sectors, regional energy systems, and the global energy market, i.e. dynamic actors and contexts, via REMIND-endogenous effects (inner blue hexagon). REMIND feeds future per-capita GDP and coal-power-shares to COALogit, which infers national probabilities of PPCA accession. These political prospects are translated to coalition scenarios and policy stringency coefficients (Methods) which inform regionally-differentiated policy uptake in REMIND. Staged accession is simulated by repeating the cycle in different model time-steps.



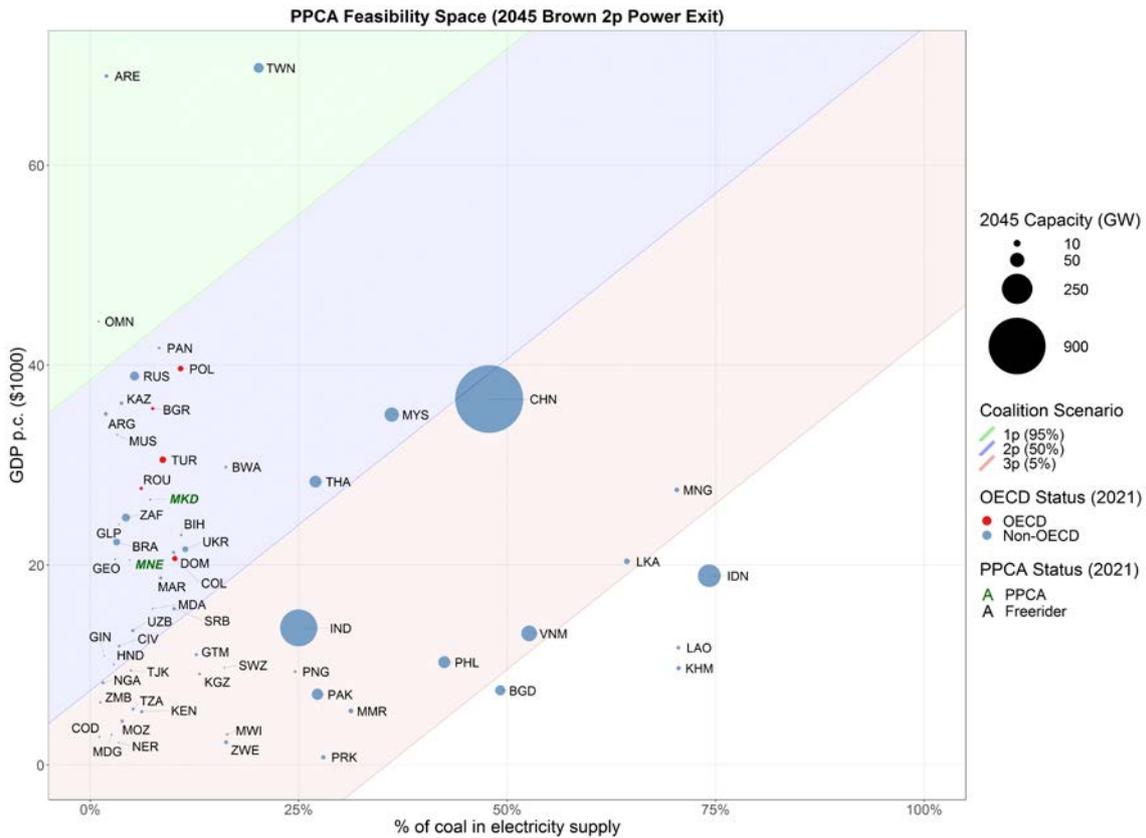
112 a)



113 b)



114 c)



115 d)

116 **Figure 2. Dynamic feasibility of PPCA adoption in each country according to COALogit.** Logistic regression of
 117 Alliance membership based on GDP per capita (indicator of state capacity) and coal-power-share (proxy for coal
 118 phase-out policy cost) in 2015 (a), 2025 (b) and 2045 (c & d), depicting all nations with >1% coal-power-share in
 119 the respective year. Bubble size indicates the operating coal capacity at that time, while ‘PPCA Status’ and ‘OECD
 120 Status’ reflect membership as of July 2021. The shaded areas show the probabilistic coalition scenarios: *proven*
 121 (*1p*), *proven + probable* (*2p*), and *proven + probable + possible* (*3p*). Panels (b) and (c) represent the *neutral Covid*
 122 *recovery* – (c) follows directly from a 2030 *power-exit* by *OECD-2p* coalition members in (b) – while (d) illustrates
 123 the *brown recovery*, following from Figure SF1a.

124

125 Results

126 Scenario Implementation

127 To address these questions, we model 18 scenarios investigating three dimensions: coalition
 128 expansion, policy ambition, and Covid-19 recovery (Table 3). The REMIND-COALogit model-coupling
 129 framework mimics the PPCA’s staged accession through an iterative cascade (Figure M4) which
 130 dynamically fragments policy stringency across model regions. We first analyse the energy system
 131 impacts of our ‘median-estimate’ *probable-neutral* scenarios alongside the analogous *probable-brown*
 132 scenarios, selected for the divergence in China’s behavior (Figure 2c+d):

- 133 1. *Power-2p-N* (*power-exit* policy – 50%-*probable* coalition – *neutral* recovery)
- 134 2. *Power-2p-B* (*power-exit* – 50%-*probable* – *brown*)
- 135 3. *Demand-2p-N* (*demand-exit* – 50%-*probable* – *neutral*)
- 136 4. *Demand-2p-B* (*demand-exit* – 50%-*probable* – *brown*)

137 Thereafter, we analyse sensitivities across each dimension using efficacy indices for coal phase-out and
 138 climate mitigation which compare scenarios on unit scales, where 0 represents reference (N_{Pi}) coal
 139 consumption or CO₂ emissions and 1 corresponds to 1.5°C levels.

140

	IAM Mode	Analysis Dimension	Scenario Name	Scenario Definition
PPCA Scenario Elements	DPE	Coalition Expansion <i>(endogenous)</i>	<i>1p (proven)</i>	Real-world PPCA members (Table SF1) and nations assigned $\geq 95\%$ probability of coalition accession by COALogit
			<i>2p (probable)</i>	1p plus nations above 50% coalition threshold
			<i>3p (possible)</i>	2p plus nations above 5% coalition threshold
	PEA	Policy Ambition <i>(exogenous)</i>	<i>Power-exit</i>	Unabated coal-fired electricity phase-out by 2030 in OECD+EU coalition members and 2050 in non-OECD+EU coalition members (verbatim PPCA declaration)
			<i>Demand-exit</i>	Unabated coal consumption phase-out along same timeline, except metallurgical coal is permitted a ten-year delay (2040 and 2060 deadlines) to reflect steel decarbonisation inertia and China's 2060 carbon neutrality pledge ⁴¹ .
		Covid-19 Recovery <i>(exogenous)</i>	<i>Neutral (N)</i>	Covid-19 recovery plans re-confirm national historical tendencies in terms of project completion rates and mean plant lifespans in the coal power sector until 2025.
			<i>Green (G)</i>	Completion rates fall 50% and all shelved pre-construction projects cancelled, but plant lifespans unaffected.
			<i>Brown (B)</i>	Project cancellation rates decline 50%, and plants operate 5 years longer than historical national average.
		External Scenarios	SPE	Reference Scenario
<i>NDC(-covid)</i>	Stated-ambition scenario assuming full compliance with the first-round 'nationally-determined contributions' to the Paris Agreement. We model three Covid-dependent variations (<i>NDC-N</i> , <i>NDC-B</i> , <i>NDC-G</i>).			
CEA	Benchmark Scenarios		<i>WB-2C</i>	'Well-below 2°C', a scenario with >67% likelihood of limiting global mean temperature rise to <2°C above pre-industrial levels throughout the century. Without Covid constraints.
			<i>Hi-1.5C</i>	'Higher 1.5°C', a scenario with >50% chance of achieving the 1.5°C target in 2100 with a moderate allowance of temporary mid-century temperature overshoot. No Covid constraints.
			<i>1.5C</i>	Scenario with >67% probability of achieving 1.5°C and a 50% chance of temporary overshoot by <0.1°C. Along with <i>NPi-default</i> , used to define efficacy indices (Figure 4). No Covid constraints.

141 **Table 3. Definition of each scenario within each dimension of analysis, including reference and benchmarks.**
142 The 18 total DPE-PPCA scenarios cover every unique combination of the three 'PPCA scenario elements'. The *2p*
143 coalition and *neutral* recovery represent our default set of assumptions, while the other scenarios are included
144 for sensitivity analysis. We consider the two policy options (or a mixture thereof) to be similarly probable, so
145 both are presented in detail as 'median-estimate' scenarios.

146 Power-Exit

147 OECD+EU *2p-N* Accession by 2025

148 Following a *neutral* Covid-19 recovery, operating coal power capacity in 2025 declines 10% from 2020
149 to 1850GW globally (Appendix I), corresponding to a 0.8EJ/yr reduction in coal-fired power generation.
150 The resulting trends in national coal-power-shares and the general upward movement of per-capita
151 GDP along the ‘Middle-of-the-Road’ SSP2⁴² development trajectory lead 45 of 48 OECD+EU nationsⁱⁱ to
152 exceed a 50% accession probability by 2025 (Figure 2b). COALogit assigns these nations to the *2p-N*
153 coalition, and the *power-2p-N* REMIND scenario applies the *power-exit* policy to them in 2030.

154 Non-OECD+EU *2p-N* Accession by 2045

155 Using results from these intermediate REMIND scenarios (Table M2), COALogit assesses the propensity
156 of non-OECD+EU countries to adopt a 2050 power-exit based on their per-capita GDP and coal-power-
157 shares in 2045. We find that 137 of 201 non-OECD nations cross the *2p-neutral* threshold, so the full
158 *power-2p-N* coalition comprises 182 members representing 82% of 2020 coal power generation, of
159 which 70% was in non-OECD members.

160 *2p-B* Accession

161 The *brown* recovery, meanwhile, increases coal-fired capacity by 13% (to 2320GW) and generation by
162 0.8EJ/yr globally from 2020-2025. Coal-power-shares thus deviate from the *neutral* recovery, but per-
163 capita GDP develops identically. This leads Chile and China to abstain from accession (Figure 2d), so
164 the *power-2p-B* scenario consists of 44 OECD and 136 non-OECD members, representing 36% of 2020
165 coal-fired electricity, 70% of which was generated by OECD nations.

166 Coal Market Response

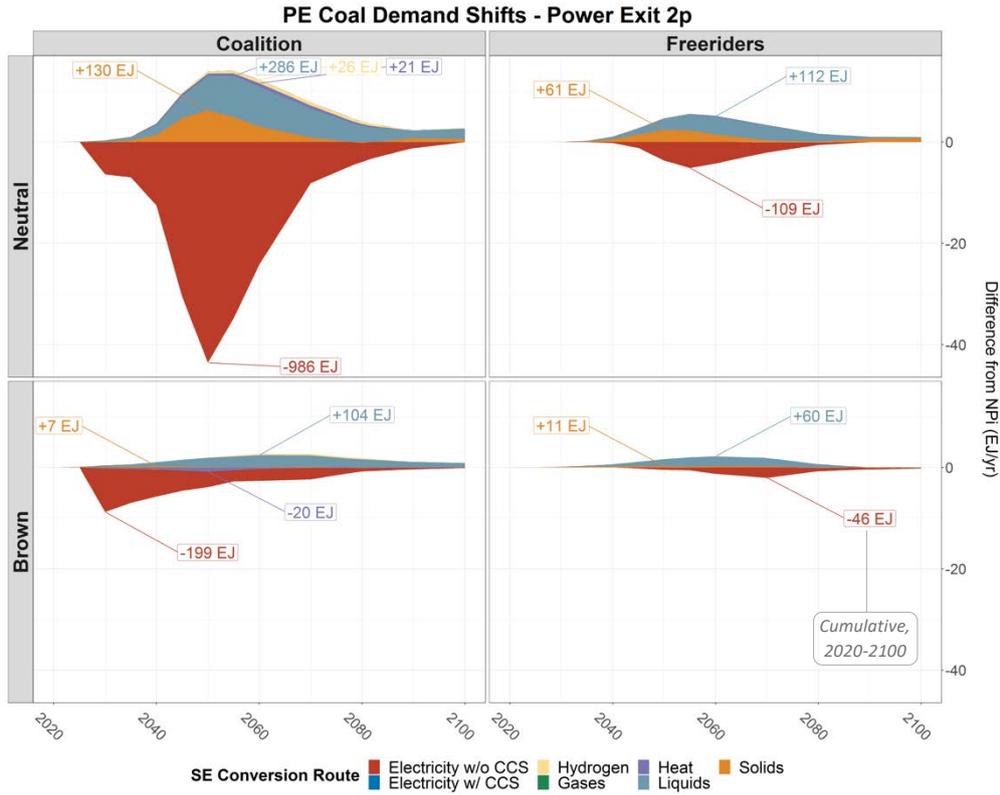
167 The *power-2p-N* coalition reduces their cumulative 2020-2100 unabated coal-fired electricity by 38%
168 compared to *NPi-neutral* (*NPi-N*) (Figure 3a). Depression of global coal market price reaches 8% by
169 2050, leading to a 54% global coal leakage rate – i.e. each joule of coal phased-out incentivises 0.54J
170 of coal use in another sector or country. Meanwhile, *power-2p-B* coalition members reduce their
171 reference coal electricity 24% – viz. China’s abstention decreases the magnitude of the first-order
172 effect by 80% – while coal leakage rises to 63% globally. Extra-coalition coal power demand
173 counterintuitively declines in both scenarios, complemented by increased coal-to-liquids (CTL) and
174 solids consumption. In either case, coalition members contribute 80% of the global coal leakage, vastly
175 exceeding the conventional free-rider problem.

176 Energy System Response

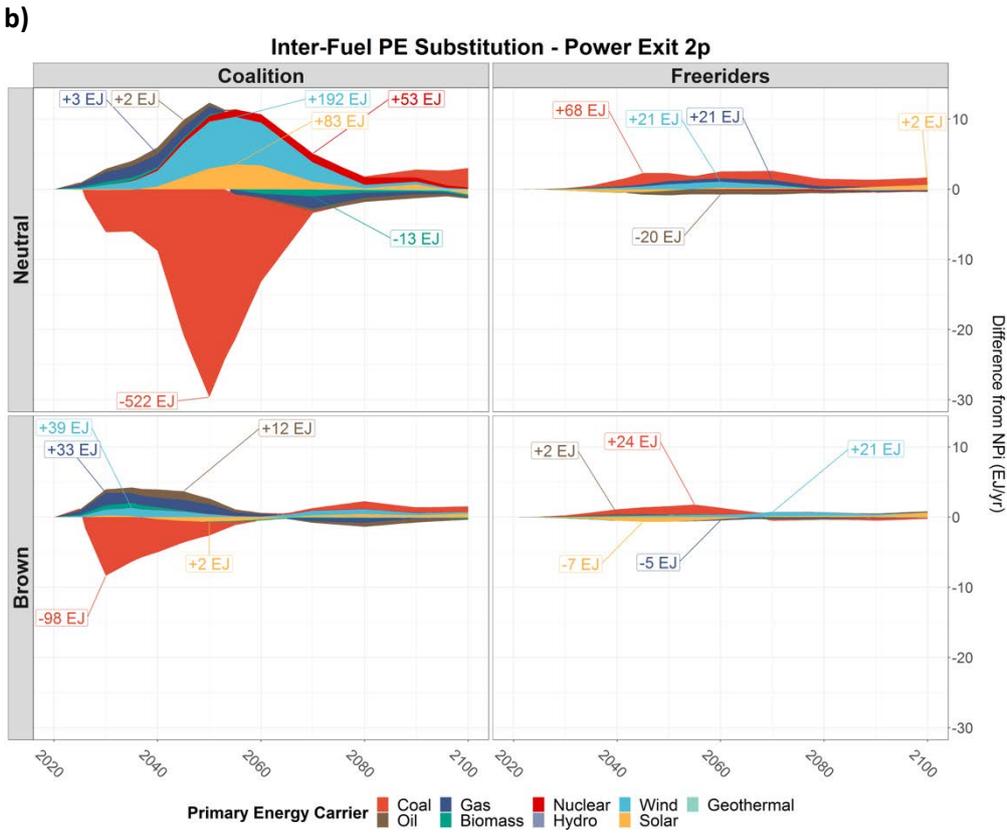
177 Figure 3b illustrates the overall primary energy (PE) demand impacts of these *power-2p* scenarios. Oil
178 and gas (O&G) account for two-thirds of the fuel switching during the OECD stage (2020-2035; see
179 Figure M4) of *power-2p-N*. After the non-OECD phase-out commences in 2035, VRE dominates 93% of
180 the energy system response. The latter phenomenon is not evident in the *power-2p-B* coalition,
181 illustrating China’s importance for VRE penetration and learning-by-doing spillovers. The benefits
182 remain within the coalition, however, as VRE diffusion into free-riders increases minimally (<0.5%) in
183 either scenario. A global scale-back of end-use electrification across all sectors (Figure SF3b), dually
184 disincentivised by higher power system capital costs and cheaper coal-based solids and liquids, is an
185 apparent limiting factor of additional VRE deployment. Globally, we calculate carbon leakage rates of
186 54% in *power-2p-N* and 76% in *power-2p-B*, over 85% of which occurs intra-coalition in both cases.

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188 a)

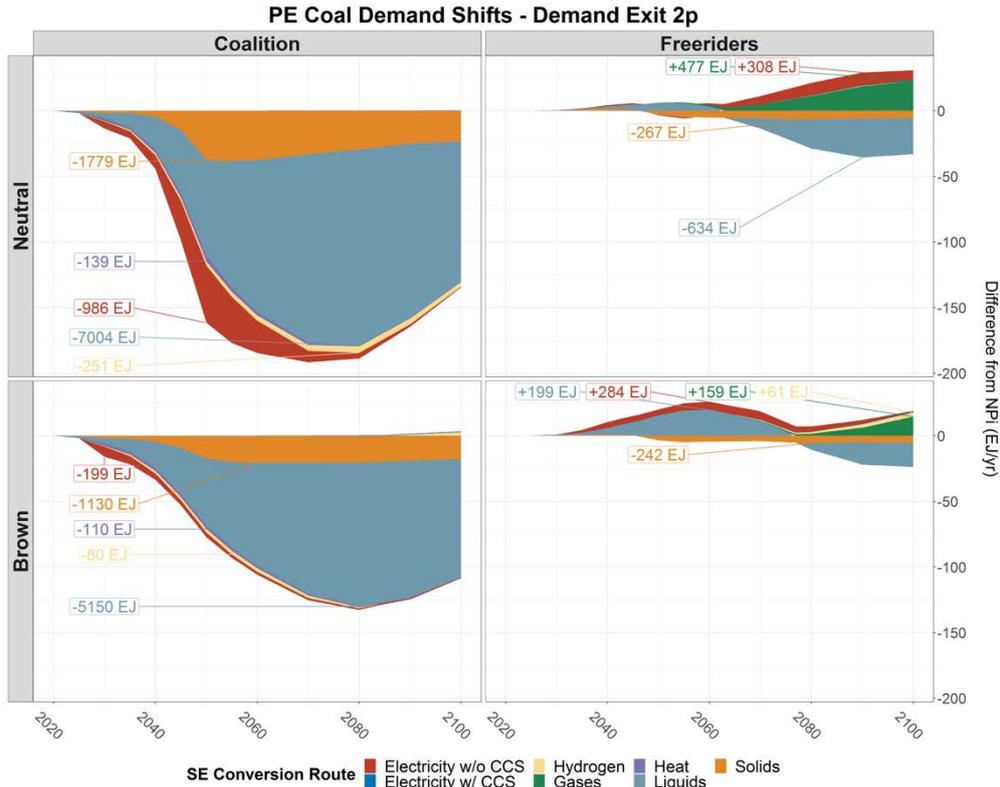


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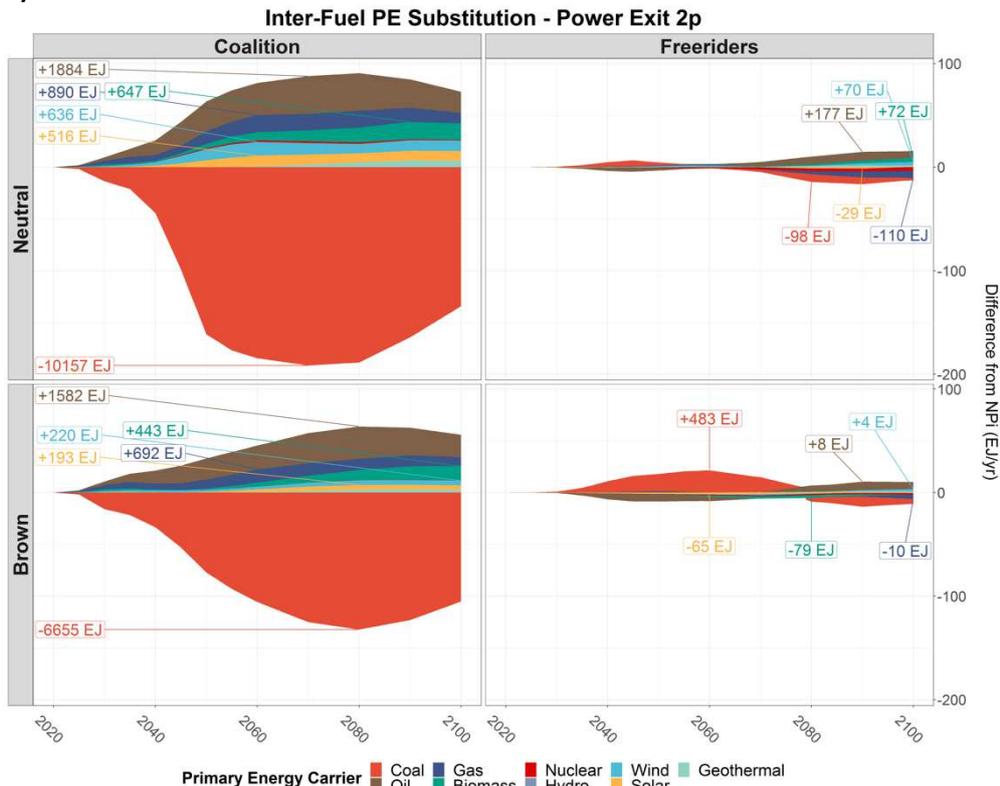


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192 c)



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194 d)



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Figure 3. Annual differences in coal (a + c) or primary energy (b + d) demand from NPI in probable power-exit (a-b) and demand-exit (c-d) scenarios, with the cumulative differences denoted by labels. Columns distinguish between coalition members and free-riders in the Covid recovery scenario represented by each row. Coal demand is given in primary energy (PE) values and categorised by secondary energy (SE) conversion route. Generally, negative areas in the 'Coalition' column reflect the intended policy effect, while all other differences indicate system feedbacks.

202 Power-exit Policy Evaluation

203 At the global level, the *power-2p-N* policy-coalition scenario reduces coal use by 450EJ compared to
204 *NPi-N*. Indexed to *NPi-default*, this achieves just 1.2% of the cost-efficient coal phase-out derived in
205 the 1.5°C scenario. Thus, the median-estimate *power-exit* scores just .01 on the coal-exit efficacy index
206 (Figure 4). The climate mitigation efficacy is even lower, scoring .01 (saving 6GtCO₂). Still, these are
207 considerably better outcomes than *power-2p-B*, which underperform *NPi-default* on both indices (-.02
208 and -.01, respectively), implying that a global brown recovery from the Covid-19 recession may
209 outweigh the PPCA’s long-term coal and emissions reduction prospects. In any event, the verbatim
210 *power-exit* contributes negligibly toward Paris-consistent abatement, assuming weak strengthening of
211 global carbon pricing and non-electric sector regulations.

212 Demand-Exit

213 Coalition Expansion

214 For the *demand-exit*, COALogit returns a *2p-neutral* coalition scenario identical to *power-2p-N*. These
215 182 members comprise 81% of global coal demand in 2020, 25% of which was from OECD frontrunners.
216 The *demand-2p-brown* coalition contains just one fewer member than *power-2p-B* (Serbia), totaling
217 179 nations which comprise 32% of 2020 coal demand. OECD members represent a 60% share.

218 Alliance Members

219 From 2020-2100, both *demand-2p-N* and *demand-2p-B* coalition members phase-out over three-
220 quarters of their respective NPi coal consumption. CtL accounts for 68% of this decline in *2p-neutral*
221 (77% in *2p-brown*) and solids for 18% (17%), while unabated electricity only constitutes 10% (3%)
222 (Figure 3c). Intra-coalition oil demand surges 25% in both scenarios due to an oil-for-CtL swap in
223 transport (Figure 3d), and gas demand increases 9% (8%), as industry’s coal transition is divided
224 between gasification and electrification (Figure SF4e). Cumulative VRE deployment increases 12% in
225 *2p-N* members but just 4% in *2p-B*, 99% (96%) of which occurs post-2035 as the OECD again substitutes
226 their phased-out coal primarily with O&G (~75%). Biomass deployment rises ~15% in either scenario,
227 suggesting China is particularly important for VRE penetration.

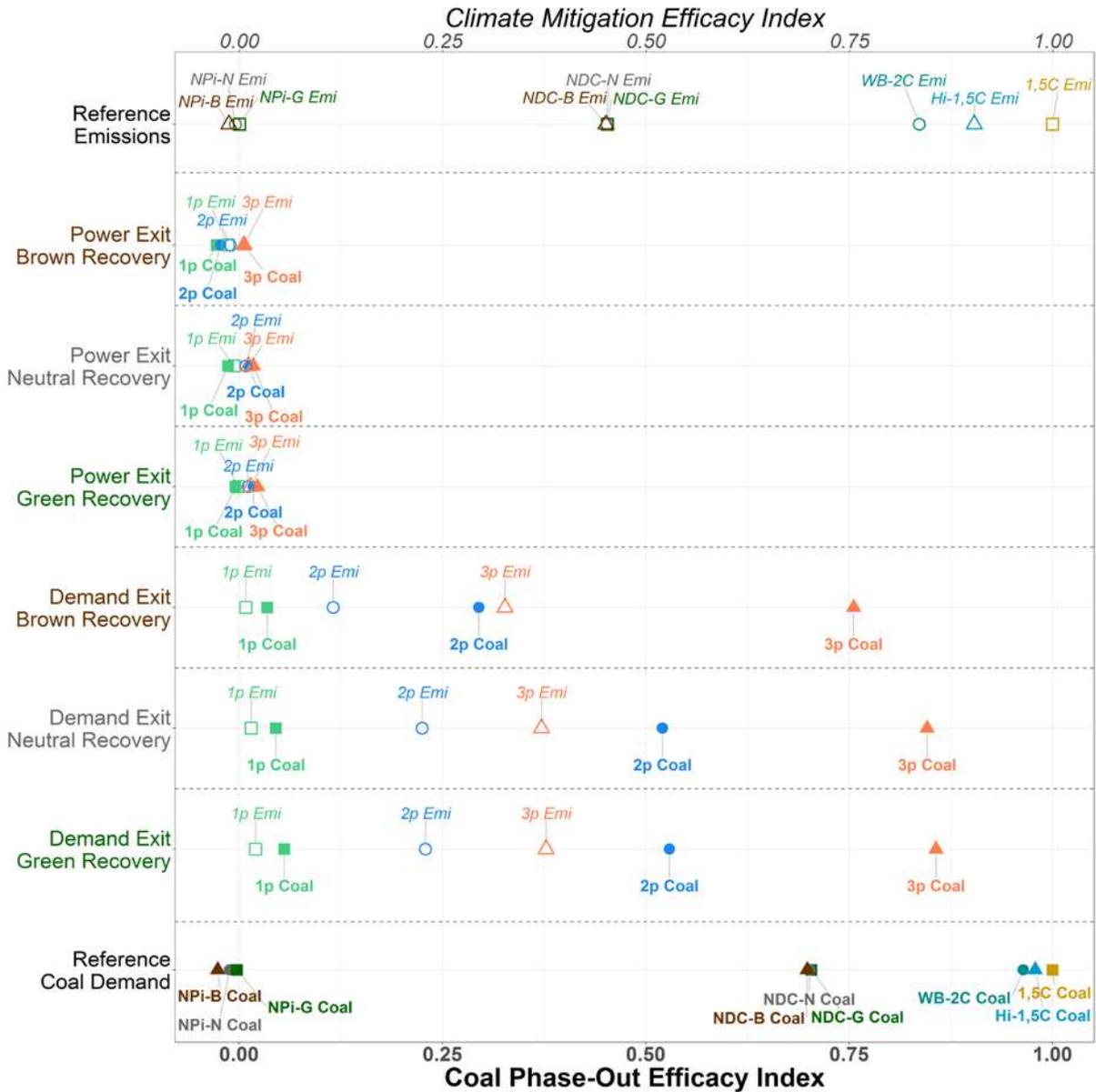
228 Free-riders

229 The response of free-riding nations in *demand-2p-N* and *demand-2p-B* follow similar temporal profiles,
230 albeit with high variance in magnitudes (Figure 3c+d). Free-riders also increase industry electrification
231 and gasification (Figure SF4e), but fuel it with coal (Figure 3c). A knock-on coal-for-oil swap in extra-
232 coalition transport liquids is evident following the OECD phase-out – much stronger when China
233 freerides in the *brown* recovery – but inverts after non-OECD adoption. Coal drives the entirety of
234 extra-coalition carbon leakage in *demand-2p-B* (7% rate), which is just 24% of global carbon leakage
235 (30% rate). In *demand-2p-N*, free-rider leakage rates are slightly net-negative (-1% coal, -0.4% carbon),
236 so intra-coalition emissions are the sole driver of the 18% global carbon leakage rate.

237 Demand-exit Policy Evaluation

238 Globally, the *demand-2p-N* scenario results in a coal phase-out of 10,300EJ from 2020-2100 compared
239 to *NPi-N*. Isolated from other policies, this 50%-probable Alliance leads to a cumulative 3040GtCO₂
240 globally, saving 790Gt compared to *NPi-N*. Hence, moderate growth of a *demand-exit* coalition leads
241 to efficacy indices of .52 for coal phase-out and .22 for mitigation. China’s abstention is highly
242 detrimental, as *demand-2p-B* scores .29 and .12, respectively. In both cases, the adverse effect of O&G
243 leakage is evidenced by the ~250% spread between coal and emissions abatement efficacies.

244



245

246 **Figure 4. Compilation of all 18 scenarios, assessed for their efficacy relative to 1.5°C pathways** in terms of coal
 247 phase-out (indicated by the lower x-axis, solid points, and bold font) and CO₂ emissions reductions (upper x-axis,
 248 hollow points, italic font). Each scenario is scored on an index between 0 and 1, where 0 represents the NPI
 249 reference scenario (without Covid considerations) and 1 corresponds to 1.5°C. For each row, the 2p points can
 250 be considered the DPE median estimate, and the range between 1p and 3p indicates the uncertainty range.

251

252 [Sensitivity Analyses](#)

253 [Coalition Growth](#)

254 [Efficacy Indices](#)

255 The 95%-probable 1p and 5%-probable 3p coalition scenarios embody the considerable uncertainty
 256 inherent to estimating future political decisions. For the *demand-neutral* case, the 1p-3p range of coal
 257 phase-out efficacy is .05–.85, and .02–.37 for emissions mitigation (Figure 4). *Power-neutral* scenarios
 258 have an uncertainty range of -.01–.02 for coal and -.01–.01 for emissions. Therefore, while the *demand-*
 259 *exit* is highly sensitive to coalition size, the *power-exit* is robustly inconsequential.

260 *Carbon Leakage*

261 Carbon leakage primarily emerges through coal markets in *power-exit* scenarios and through inter-fuel
262 substitutions in *demand-exit* simulations. We find *power-1p* scenarios to be extraordinary cases which
263 exhibit >100% leakage rates (237% in *power-1p-N*). Figure SF4a suggests that the *power-exit* retards
264 electro-mobility learning, leading to lock-ins of inefficient CtL and oil. This (small-magnitude) feedback
265 is robust to coalition size but becomes overshadowed by other responses, resulting in a 56% carbon
266 leakage rate in *power-3p-N*.

267 Comparatively, the *demand-exit* tempers leakage: 72% in *demand-1p-N* and 17% in *demand-3p-N*.
268 Irrespective of policy choice, we find that global carbon leakage rates decrease as the coalition grows,
269 and intra-coalition leakage dwarfs extra-coalition leakage with sufficiently large policy uptake (all 2p
270 and 3p). These findings are all robust across Covid recovery scenarios.

271 *Low-Carbon Substitution*

272 The impact of the *power-exit* on VRE ranges from -3EJ in *1p-N* to 348EJ in *3p-N*. The decline in *1p* VRE
273 penetration is another consequence of the negative electro-mobility feedback. Bioenergy and other
274 low-carbon energy (Bio&LCE) deployment experiences marginal upticks of 2-55EJ (*1p-3p*). Under a
275 *demand-exit-neutral* regime, these second-order effects range from 112-2070EJ for VRE and 63-1320EJ
276 for Bio&LCE.

277 *Sectoral Ambition*

278 We demonstrate that the *demand-exit* policy is 38x as effective at phasing out coal and 27x as potent
279 at CO₂ abatement as the *power-exit* in our most optimistic scenarios – *green* Covid recovery with
280 virtually global participation (*3p*). Figure 5 compares the PE trajectories of *demand-3p-G* and *power-*
281 *3p-G* against *NPi-green*, *NDC-green*, and 1.5°C to visualise their aggregate effects and illuminate the
282 remaining transformations necessary. The most glaring divergence between *NPi-G* and 1.5°C pathways
283 is the 17-fold difference in non-electric coal consumption, which the *power-exit* further exacerbates.

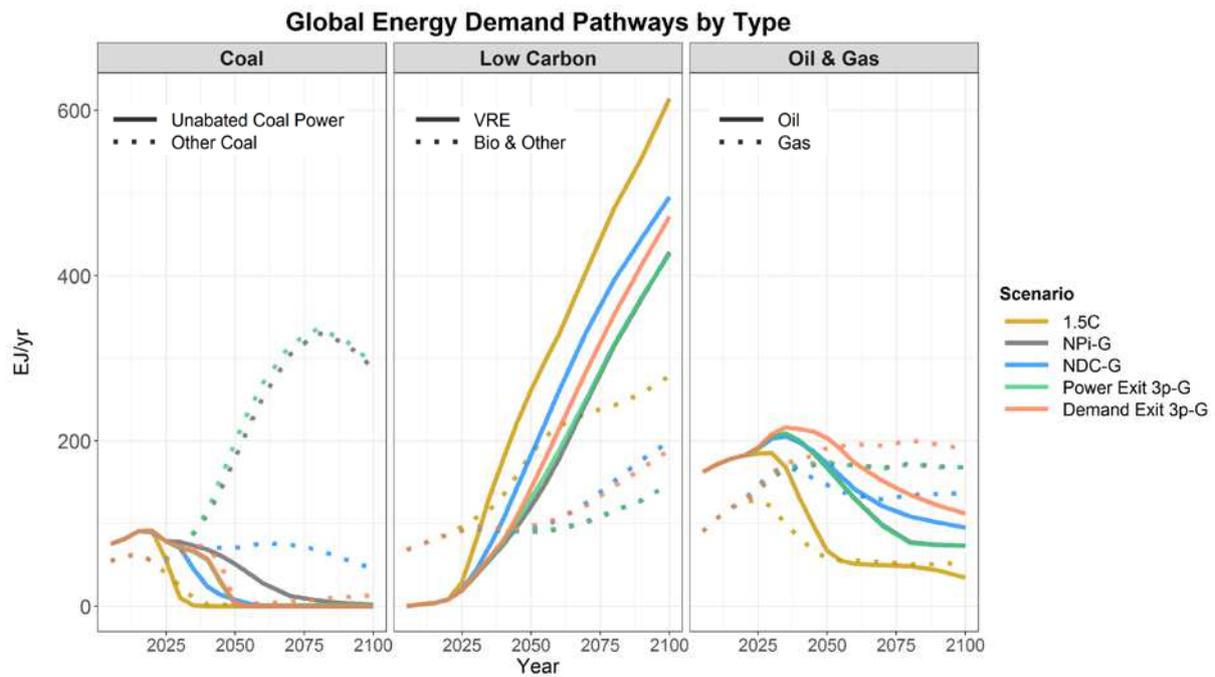
284 Figure 5 suggests that natural gas restrictions and bioenergy support are the most urgent priorities
285 after coal, given the sharp, immediate bifurcation between their 1.5°C trajectories and all other
286 pathways. Moreover, *demand-3p-G* incentivises an additional 780EJ gas and 2100EJ oil (Figure SF2),
287 which can be avoided with immediate and sustained investment in renewable industry and transport
288 fuels.

289 *Covid-19 Recovery and Path Dependency*

290 Our three data-driven scenarios of post-Covid infrastructure (Appendix I) span a range of 1670GW-
291 2320GW of coal power capacity in 2025ⁱⁱⁱ. DPE demonstrates the path-dependence of PPCA expansion
292 to these near-term uncertainties. Most notably, China accedes in *neutral-2p* (1070GW national 2025
293 capacity) and *green-2p* (980GW) scenarios but abstains in *brown-2p* (1310GW). Figure 3 illustrates the
294 dynamic impacts of China's decision while Figure 4 shows the disparities in long-term prospects.

295 We report coal efficacy indices (*1p-3p* range) of .29 (.03–.76) for *demand-brown* and .53 (.06–.86) for
296 *demand-green*, and mitigation efficacy scores of .12 (.01–.33) and .23 (.02–.38), respectively. *Power-*
297 *exit* scenarios exhibit minimal overall sensitivity all analysis dimensions, meanwhile, with coal efficacy
298 scores ranging between -.03 (*brown-1p*) and .02 (*green-3p*), and mitigation efficacies between -.01 and
299 .01. Nevertheless, these results suggests a robust negative correlation between near-term coal power
300 capacity and long-term PPCA efficacy. Greener public investment and regulatory decisions at this
301 critical juncture not only reduce immediate emissions but also have legacy effects that facilitate future
302 feasibility of coal phase-out policies. Myopic brown recovery packages, meanwhile, would impose
303 substantial strain upon future generations to mobilise the necessary transition.

304



305
 306 **Figure 5. Maximum potential impact of power- and demand-exit policies on global PE demand trajectories**
 307 from 2005-2100, in comparison with key benchmark scenarios. The green Covid recovery (-G) results in the most
 308 CO₂ and coal abatement in NPi, NDC, and demand-exit scenarios. Although the power-exit is found, against
 309 expectations, to be most effective after a brown recovery, its membership rate is highest in the 3p-G coalition
 310 scenario, which captures 99.9% of 2020 coal consumption in both policy scenarios. The *power-3p-G* and *demand-*
 311 *3p-G* scenarios are thus akin to conventional policy evaluation analyses which assess global policy potential.

312
 313 **Discussion**

314 **Interdisciplinary Linkage**

315 The integration of socio-political and techno-economic analyses is an emerging endeavor in climate
 316 mitigation research^{4,7}. Thus far, attempts to *merge* empirical social science research on energy
 317 transitions with energy-economy models^{43,44} have not robustly improved the realism of mitigation
 318 pathways⁵. Our work confronts this challenge by focusing on political dynamics on a global, relative
 319 scale, and by narrowing our independent variable pool to IAM-native techno-economic factors,
 320 effectively building on a tradition of validating and improving model assumptions through empirical
 321 data^{16,45-47}. We concede that behavioral, institutional, and cultural factors may hold greater predictive
 322 potential, but these fuzzier variables have not yet been prospectively quantified.

323 **The Powerless Power-exit**

324 The PPCA's *power-exit* declaration cites Rocha et al., an ex-post ensemble analysis of coal-fired
 325 electricity in Paris-consistent CEA pathways of select IAMs and energy system models (ESMs)⁴⁸.
 326 However, coal power phases out in these scenarios amidst rapid coal and emissions declines economy-
 327 wide. The power-sector bias, evident throughout the coal phase-out discourse^{24,29,32}, may be explained
 328 in part by data accessibility barriers. The only open-access, comprehensive, coal-asset-level datasets^{iv}
 329 were power-plant-specific⁴⁹ until comparable data on mines^v and steel plants^{vi} were published in 2021.
 330 We therefore surmise that the PPCA's sector-exclusivity was motivated by politics – e.g. to encourage
 331 maximum participation – and by under-contextualised scientific messaging.

332 The inadequacy and myopia of the verbatim PPCA is evidenced by the future coal demand profile in
 333 REMIND's NPi scenarios; while electricity accounted for ~60% of 2015 coal use⁵⁰, it represents just 16%
 334 cumulatively from 2020-2100 (Figure 5). Moreover, the *power-exit* generally decreases free-rider coal
 335 electricity while CtL and industrial coal use universally increase. Other model baselines robustly
 336 corroborate coal demand growth in industry⁵¹ and transport⁵². A recent review suggested that model

337 scenarios are often overly-dependent on coal, but some power sector bias was evident and it found
338 that coal phases-out most readily in REMIND's CEA simulations²⁴. The present study does not dispute
339 the urgency of power sector decarbonisation, as electrification is vital to myriad mitigation strategies⁵³,
340 but it provides grounds for the *coalition-of-the-willing* to explicitly cover non-electric sectors.

341 The Demanding Demand-exit

342 We acknowledge that COALogit cannot accurately estimate *demand-exit* feasibility since *power-exit*
343 PPCA pledges form our empirical basis. Our analysis assumes perfect interchangeability to directly
344 compare the two policy options, but a real-world trade-off is anticipated between policy ambition and
345 coalition growth. Stated political ambition, as insinuated by the first-round NDCs, supports this theory.
346 Relative to 1.5°C-consistent levels, the NDC scenario leaves 10x as much residual non-electric coal use
347 as unabated coal power, which is phased-out faster than any PPCA scenario modeled here (Figure 5).

348 Nevertheless, the least effective *demand-exit(-1p-B)* outperforms the most optimistic *power-exit(-3p-*
349 *G)*, and our median-estimate *demand-exit-2p* coalitions effect 30x more coal phase-out on average
350 than the virtually-global *power-exit-3p* scenarios. These outcomes strongly indicate that the PPCA
351 should prioritise sectoral coverage over coalition expansion. Still, expanding the policy to new
352 countries is ultimately essential, and a *demand-exit* along currently proposed timelines is ultimately
353 insufficient, as even the most optimistic *demand-3p-green* cannot replicate the coal use pathways of
354 our least-optimistic Paris-compliant benchmark, well-below 2°C (Figure 4)^{vii}.

355 The Policy Feedback Loop

356 The evolving coalitions derived by COALogit are largely insensitive to policy choice, i.e. for a given Covid
357 recovery, *power-exit* and *demand-exit* coalitions are nearly indistinguishable. This is an artefact of
358 COALogit's parsimonious dependence on coal-power-shares and the fact that the *power-exit* is simply
359 a subdivision of the *demand-exit*. Generally, we observe an inverse relationship between OECD
360 coalition size and non-OECD accession probabilities due to extra-coalition leakage of coal electricity,
361 best illustrated by Figure SF1b-d.

362 Although *demand-2p* scenarios trigger net-negative extra-coalition coal leakage, free-rider coal power
363 consumption actually increases, discouraging their accession. *Power-2p* scenarios are also unique, in
364 that extra-coalition coal-fired electricity decreases. However, the root cause is a hindrance of end-use
365 electrification globally, notably exacerbating liquid-fueled transport, the most notoriously challenging
366 end-use to decarbonise across IAM scenarios⁵⁴. Hence, PPCA members must counteract the negative
367 feedbacks provoked by their demand-side efforts and mobilise self-perpetuating policy uptake by
368 ramping up electrification, VRE, and knowledge transfer to maximise technological spillovers.

369 A Supplementary Supply-exit

370 Furthermore, recent literature highlights the importance of complementing demand-side policies with
371 supply-side action⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷, e.g. through mining or export restrictions. This counteracts price depression
372 and leakage, increasing the potential for self-propagation. Given bilateral trade partnerships and
373 spatial variance in coal quality, however, policy efficacy depends upon the specific adopters.

374 Crucially, the largest anticipated coal consumers in 2045 – China, India, and ASEAN members (Figure
375 2c) – can each sustain a self-sufficient coal supply. However, finance for their coal infrastructure largely
376 flows from the OECD⁵⁸, where divestment campaigns are historically commonplace⁵⁷. Granted, Chinese
377 banks are the world's largest overall coal financiers⁵⁸ and may insulate the domestic industry from
378 foreign politics, but OECD legislatures can conceivably induce coal declines through cross-border
379 financial mechanisms, e.g. debt-for-nature swaps⁵⁹. China's historical 22-year mean plant lifetime
380 (Table 2) and its 2060 carbon neutrality pledge⁴¹ breed cautious optimism.

381 Averting the Next Crisis

382 These coal-rich nations also exhibit the highest path-dependence of accession probability to near-term
383 investment decisions. Most glaringly, China falls below the *2p* threshold^{viii} and Indonesia below *3p*
384 probability in *brown* recovery scenarios. Additionally, we observe that numerous highly-probable

385 coalition members within the OECD continue to commission coal power plants in *brown* and *neutral*
386 Covid recoveries^{ix}. PCCA accession then forces a sudden mass exodus of unamortised capital – a 100%
387 rate of early retirement^x from 2025-2030. Thus, to protect the health of their economy²⁹, power grid⁶⁰,
388 citizenry²³, and global-leader status, OECD governments must cancel their entire coal pipelines⁶¹.

389 Future Research

390 DPE presents a way forward for inter-disciplinary climate policy research seeking to understand the
391 intersection of techno-economic, socio-political, and climate target feasibility. To enable similarly
392 evidence-based simulations of policy uptake in future studies, empirical research must identify robust
393 correlations between revealed ambition, viz. domestic legislation, and energy-economic variables
394 computed endogenously by forward-looking models. As the remaining window to respect the 1.5°C
395 target dwindles², we invite the data science community to contribute their expertise in large-scale
396 regression exercises^{16,62}. As more DFS models are derived, they can be merged with IAMs as nested or
397 sequential feedback loops to portray a cohesive, inter-reactive landscape of baseline climate ambition.

398 Furthermore, parallel research needs to examine supplementary policy options for frontrunners (‘early
399 entry points’⁶³) that best augment global mitigation efficacy. We offer our median-estimate scenarios
400 as ‘living’ baselines upon which subsequent DPE and PEA studies can be performed. By capturing the
401 global policy interactions that other real-world developments and policy candidates can have with the
402 PCCA and each other, researchers can identify high-synergy, low-risk policy suites for willing-and-able
403 nations to facilitate energy transitions in less capable economies. Supply-side fossil fuel regulations
404 and carbon pricing are prime candidates given their uptake frequency⁵⁷ and anticipated efficacy⁵⁶.
405 Finally, future work should strive to fully endogenise policy formation and feedback, with maximal
406 temporal resolution, into IAM optimization routines.

407

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550 Methods

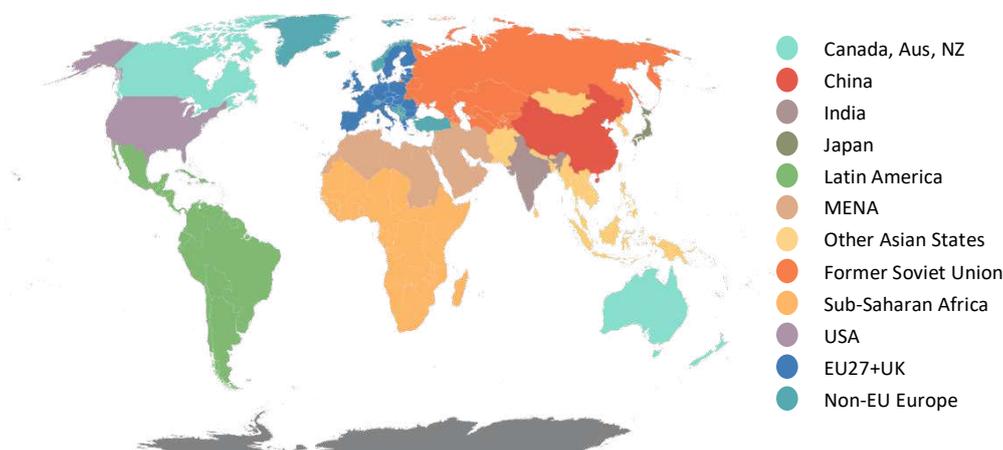
551 The foundational question of dynamic policy evaluation (DPE) concerns the coevolution of domestic
552 energy politics with global energy systems. We emulate this interdependency in the context of the coal
553 phase-out by coupling REMIND, a multi-regional, forward-looking, deterministic global energy systems
554 model, with COALogit, a country-level, empirical, probabilistic coalition-forming logistic regression
555 model. The soft-linkage enables simulation of bottom-up policy adoption with staged accession and
556 inter- and intra-regionally-fragmented ambition in long-term energy-economy scenarios. A detailed
557 model description is available in Baumstark et al. (2021)¹.

558 Based on national coalition accession, COALogit informs coal phase-out adoption and stringency in
559 each REMIND region (Figure M1) in a given period, effecting global energy sector transformations in
560 that REMIND scenario. Policy feedback effects on future policy uptake are quasi-endogenised by
561 iterating the REMIND-COALogit sequence (Figure M4) in successive periods. In the context of coal
562 phase-out policies, REMIND captures feedbacks through its representation of international, inter-
563 sectoral, and inter-fuel leakage effects, as well as changes in technological learning (Figure 1).

564 REMIND-COALogit integration (Figure M2) is made possible by the latter's reliance on energy-economic
565 variables – GDP and the share of coal in electricity generation (coal-power-share) – computed
566 endogenously by the former. Generally, a limiting factor of modeling co-evolutionary transformation
567 pathways is the dearth of historical climate policy observations upon which empirical models can be
568 constructed. The PPCA provides a real-world policy basis which enables logit model calibration and
569 precise policy timing in REMIND. The REMIND-COALogit model and DPE are described in detail below.

570 REMIND Model

571 REMIND is a global, multi-regional energy-economy general equilibrium model linking a Ramsey-type
572 macroeconomic growth model with a bottom-up technologically-detailed energy system model¹ which
573 accounts for greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from all human activities, including land use and forestry
574 (Figure M2). The model is implemented in GAMS and solved by CONOPT. The model configuration in
575 this study considers twelve world regions (Figure M1) and solves for interdependent regional and
576 global equilibria. Regions individually optimize intertemporal welfare by allocating economic output to
577 capital investments, consumption, energy system costs, and inter-regional trade of energy resources
578 and composite goods. However, these solutions are contingent upon global market prices, which are
579 adjusted between each iteration of the Nash solution algorithm until an international economic
580 equilibrium is found, i.e. all trade markets are balanced in all periods of the model horizon 2005-2150
581 (5-year periods until 2060, 10-year until 2110, 20-year until 2150; henceforth, any mention of years
582 refer to these time-steps unless otherwise specified).



583
584

Figure M1. REMIND world regions in the default 12-region configuration used in this study.

585 *Coal Demand Representation*

586 Final energy is demanded by REMIND regions as a factor of production in accordance with
587 macroeconomic assumptions (e.g. GDP and population) given by the Shared Socioeconomic Pathway
588 (SSP) convention². To satisfy final energy needs, regions demand coal based on cost competition with
589 other energy carriers and the existing energy capital stock¹. Coal primary energy (PE) can be converted
590 into electricity, solid energy, liquids, gases, heat, and hydrogen through various transformation
591 technologies with disparate conversion efficiencies. In the electricity sector, coal power plants are
592 categorized into pulverized coal (PC), coal-fired combined heat and power (CCHP), and integrated
593 gasification combined-cycle (IGCC) technologies. Additionally, carbon capture and storage (CCS) is
594 possible for PC (PCC) and IGCC (IGCCC) plants, as well as oxy-fuel combustion (PCO). Other secondary
595 energy conversion routes are only represented by a single technology, e.g. coal-to-hydrogen or coal-
596 to-liquids (Ctl) via Fischer-Tropsch, which are the only other processes with CCS available.

597 *Coal Supply Representation*

598 Regions are endowed with coal deposits graded by extraction costs, which increase within each grade
599 as reserves are depleted according to a cumulative extraction cost curve³. In the original formulation,
600 these parametric curves are grade-specific and time-dependent – viz. costs decline with fossil fuel
601 sector investment and the associated technological change – but for typical REMIND simulations,
602 resource extraction dynamics are simplified using an emulator. The representation used in the present
603 study is parametrized in accordance with the complex model’s behavior given SSP2 assumptions⁴. Coal
604 grades are not differentiated by physical properties, i.e. metallurgical coal (met-coal) is indistinct from
605 high-cost thermal coal at the PE level. Emissions accounting has greater sectoral granularity, e.g. the
606 emissions from steel or cement manufacturing are derived based on the assumption that each
607 subsector in each region maintains its historical mix of final energy carriers.

608 Fossil extraction is also subject to short-term decline and increase rates between time-steps,
609 representative of geophysical, infrastructural, and institutional inertia⁴. Extracted resources not
610 consumed within the producing region are exported to the world market, a global pool of quantities
611 with price vectors that reflect the aggregate supply and demand and are adjusted between iterations
612 until a Walrasian equilibrium is achieved¹. Thus, a phase-out of demand in one region increases the
613 supply available for other regions in the near-term, as the equilibrium solution requires the surplus in
614 each resource market to fall below a negligible threshold in each period, but also shifts the long-run
615 equilibrium price downward.

616 **Policy Representation and Analysis**

617 *Policy Evaluation*

618 In policy evaluation mode, climate and energy policies can be prescribed to REMIND with uniform or
619 differentiated stringency across regions, periods, sectors, etc., to analyse the energy, climate and
620 economic impacts. Any comprehensive or piecemeal combination of carbon pricing instruments,
621 technology- or fuel-specific taxes or subsidies, or activity-specific constraints or incentives can be
622 implemented through a variety of levers. DPE and SPE are subcategories of PEA, as policies and their
623 stringencies are prescribed – albeit objectively and grounded in real-world developments – rather than
624 endogenously derived by the model. DPE then relies on the assumption that strong empirical models
625 of policy feasibility remain valid over time to endogenise the fragmentation and staggering of policy
626 prescription as a function of prospective variables computed by REMIND.

627 In the present analysis, the reductions of total CO₂ emissions and coal use in various SPE and DPE
628 scenarios are compared with the optimal and necessary levels derived by CEA benchmark scenarios.
629 Coal phase-out policies and their timing, as defined by the PPCA, are implemented by constraining
630 secondary energy (SE) production in *power-exit* scenarios and emissions variables in *demand-exit*

631 scenarios. Each region is permitted up to a certain share of its total cumulative SE electricity production
632 or CO₂ emissions that can come from coal during each PPCA phase-out stage (i.e. 2030-2050 when only
633 OECD nations are constrained, and 2050-2100 when all coalition members must implement the policy).
634 The share is defined by COALogit and reflects the specific countries which adopt the policy within each
635 REMIND region. We constrain cumulative rather than annual variables to afford the model flexibility
636 as to the speed of phase-outs and the timing of leakage.

637 *Cost-effectiveness analysis*

638 CEA scenarios begin with a known environmental goal, viz. a climate stabilization target, and translate
639 it to a model constraint. Most typically in REMIND, the Paris temperature targets are converted into
640 cumulative carbon budgets which must be satisfied by the welfare-optimal solution⁵. This can be
641 achieved through any mitigation strategy, and the model has full flexibility as to when, where and how
642 to abate, barring any additional exogenous constraints. Cost effectiveness implies that marginal
643 abatement costs are equalised across time, countries, and sectors⁶. The CEA scenarios in this study are
644 implemented by assigning each region a starting carbon price level and date, then allowing the prices
645 to endogenously converge over time up to the level of marginal abatement cost to adhere to the
646 remaining budget. By default, inter-regional emissions permit trading is enabled.

647 *Reference and Benchmark scenarios*

648 The baseline reference for our analyses imposes only currently implemented national policies (NPi) on
649 the energy system, such as the European Union's emissions trading scheme (EU ETS) and various
650 technology-specific efficiency mandates, energy consumption taxes, and minimum share
651 requirements, e.g. the EU Energy and Climate package for 2030^{xi}. To emulate weak yet dynamic climate
652 policy ambition⁷, carbon prices begin at zero in non-EU regions and increase gradually to reach a global
653 convergence point of \$12.50 per ton of CO₂ in 2100. The PPCA-DPE scenarios described below
654 implement the coal exit policies on top of this weak policy backdrop, hence free-riders follow the same
655 modest carbon price trajectory and technological policies as the reference case. For purposes of
656 comparison, we also compute a scenario that implements the NDCs via the conventional PEA mode,
657 as well as three scenarios with carbon budgets imposed in the conventional CEA mode.

658 These budgets are standardized to values reported in the IPCC's Special Report on Global Warming of
659 1.5°C⁸. The 1.5°C scenario imposes a cumulative 2011-2100 carbon budget of 900 GtCO₂,
660 corresponding to a 67% probability of staying below 1.5°C in 2100 and a 50% likelihood of remaining
661 below 1.5°C in the time-step of peak emissions (2045). The Hi-1.5C scenario limits emissions to 1100
662 GtCO₂ and leads to a 50% likelihood of global mean temperature below 1.5°C in 2100 but allows a small
663 overshoot such that the peak period temperature may slightly exceed 1.6°C. The well-below 2°C (WB-
664 2C) scenario constrains REMIND to 1350 GtCO₂ and implies a >67% probability of remaining below 2°C
665 throughout the century.

666 *Interactions between policies and energy system*

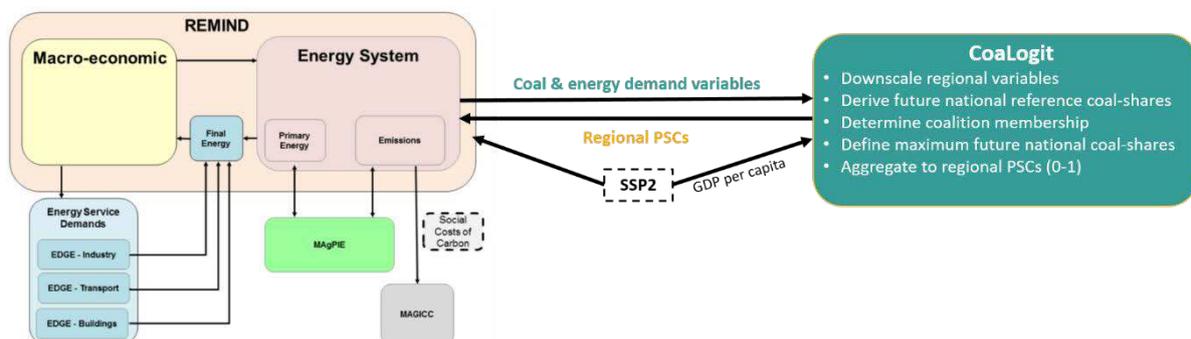
667 The REMIND model endogenously represents important feedback mechanisms which can be induced
668 by coal phase-out policies. The feedback mechanisms relevant to the present study are those where
669 the coal phase-out policies lead to changes in coal use in unregulated countries or sectors and
670 therefore have an impact on emissions or change a country's decision with regards to coalition
671 accession. For one, decreased coal demand elicits downward price pressure in coal markets and
672 greater cost-competitiveness of coal-fueled technologies, provoking carbon leakage effects through
673 international trade of coal, a well-studied consequence of freeriding⁹. The present study deems this
674 extra-coalition coal leakage, and furthermore examines intra-coalition coal leakage, referring to
675 increased coal-based emissions from unregulated sectors of coalition members in response to
676 piecemeal policy adoption. A heavy emphasis is placed on shifts of coal into non-electric applications,

677 which we deem inter-sectoral coal leakage. Both intra- and extra-coalition coal leakage undermine the
 678 effectiveness of coal phase-out policies, and the latter also reduces the likelihood with which free-
 679 riders ultimately accede.

680 Technological learning – particularly of solar photovoltaics (costs decline 20.7% per doubling of
 681 cumulative capacity), wind turbines (10.8%), electric vehicles (10%), and grid storage (10%) – mediates
 682 two additional feedback mechanisms. First, there is a potential positive technological spill-over effect.
 683 Coal phase-outs in PCCA countries can trigger increased domestic renewable energy deployment to
 684 substitute the short-fall of coal-fired electricity, accelerating learning-by-doing effects of renewable
 685 alternatives. This lowers costs globally, promoting diffusion into non-member countries and potentially
 686 displacing coal in their power sectors.

687 Second, there is a potential negative spillover effect. Coal phase-outs may cause electricity prices to
 688 increase in some regions due to restrained electricity supply. This can discourage end-use
 689 electrification and, consequently, retard technological learning of burgeoning technologies such as
 690 electric vehicles. This negative feedback may, in turn, decelerate learning-by-doing in renewable
 691 energy generation and storage technologies, improving the prospects for fossil-fueled technologies.
 692 Depending on the relative strength of positive and negative spillover effects, global coal use can
 693 increase or decrease, thus affecting the effectiveness of phase-out policies. Furthermore, DPE
 694 completes the policy feedback loop by capturing the effect of these endogenous system responses on
 695 the propensity of free-riders to adopt the policy.

696



697 **Figure M2. Depiction of the REMIND-COALogit coupled-model framework with a brief description of COALogit**
 698 **functions, inputs, and outputs.** Table M4 lists all the specific variables passed from REMIND to COALogit, which
 699 vary by scenario. PSC derivation is also scenario-dependent, as shown in equations 1-2 and 5-11. The REMIND
 700 schematic (from Baumstark et al.¹) includes some pre-existing interfaces for context and illustration of model
 701 structure. The coupling routines vary from iterative co-optimization (REMIND-MAGPIE) to ex-post calculations
 702 (MAGICC), but none are identical to the REMIND-COALogit soft-link.
 703

704

705 COALogit Model

706 *Determinants of PCCA Feasibility*

707 Jewell et al. (2019) performed a multi-variate statistical analysis to investigate the significance of
 708 eleven independent variables from prior coal phase-out literature in explaining national accession to
 709 the PCCA¹⁰. The study reported a best-fit parsimonious logistic regression explaining current PCCA
 710 membership with (low) domestic coal-power-shares, a proxy for policy cost, and (high) Functioning of
 711 Government Index (FoG) scores, indicative of a state’s relative institutional capacity¹⁰. The overall best-
 712 fit model described three additional factors^{xii}, including a positive correlation to GDP per capita
 713 (GDPpc), which had high covariance with FoG^{xiii}. The authors thus deemed GDPpc, which is, like coal-

714 power-shares, prospectively quantifiable via accepted methods², highly suitable for our dynamisation
 715 of their findings. This dynamic feasibility space (DFS) of the PPCA represents the core of COALogit.

716 *Coalition Accession Probabilities*

717 The logit model is trained by providing the *glm* function of the *stats* R package¹¹ with real-world PPCA
 718 adoption among countries with at least a 1% coal-power-share in 2015 as the observed outcome
 719 variable and their GDPpc and coal-power-shares in 2015 as the independent variables. Eq. (1) defines
 720 the empirical relationship modeled between a nation's likelihood of PPCA membership and the
 721 predictor variables.

722
$$(1) p(Y = 1) = \frac{e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 x + \beta_2 y}}{1 + e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 x + \beta_2 y}}$$

723 *where:*

724 $p(Y=1)$ = probability of PPCA membership,

725 β_i = fitted model parameters (Table M1),

726 x = coal-power-share,

727 y = GDP per capita.

728

Parameter	Estimate	Std. error	Z-score	p-value	95% CI
β_0	-0.896	0.390	-2.298	0.021577	[-1.660; -0.132]
β_1	-5.747	1.726	-3.329	0.000872	[-9.131; -2.363]
β_2	0.095	0.022	4.257	2.08e ⁻⁵	[0.051; 0.138]

729 **Table M1. Estimates and uncertainty ranges of the logit model coefficients** corresponding to Equation (1). β_1
 730 and β_2 describe the linear correlation of the log-odds of PPCA accession to coal-power-share and GDPpc,
 731 respectively, while β_0 is the intercept, i.e. H_0 . The 103 observations (2015 data) used for model calibration are
 732 shown in Table SF1, along with the predicted accession probabilities of those countries.

733

734 Table M1 reports the estimates of the parameters – which are of the expected sign and significant in
 735 comparison to the null model H_0 – that describe the proportionality between each independent
 736 variable and the log-odds (logit) of any nation becoming a member. The calibrated model, represented
 737 by Eq. (2), is then used to infer the probability of each of the 249 ISO 3166-1 countries joining the
 738 coalition in a given period.

739
$$(2) \ln \frac{p_{\hat{n}}(t)}{1 - p_{\hat{n}}(t)} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{c,\hat{n}}(t) + \beta_2 y_{\hat{n}}(t)$$

740 *where:*

741 \hat{n} = nation of analysis,

742 $p_{\hat{n}}$ = national probability of coalition accession,

743 t = time (refers to REMIND time-steps in our analyses),

744 $x_{c,\hat{n}}$ = national coal-power-share,

745 $y_{\hat{n}}$ = national GDP per capita.

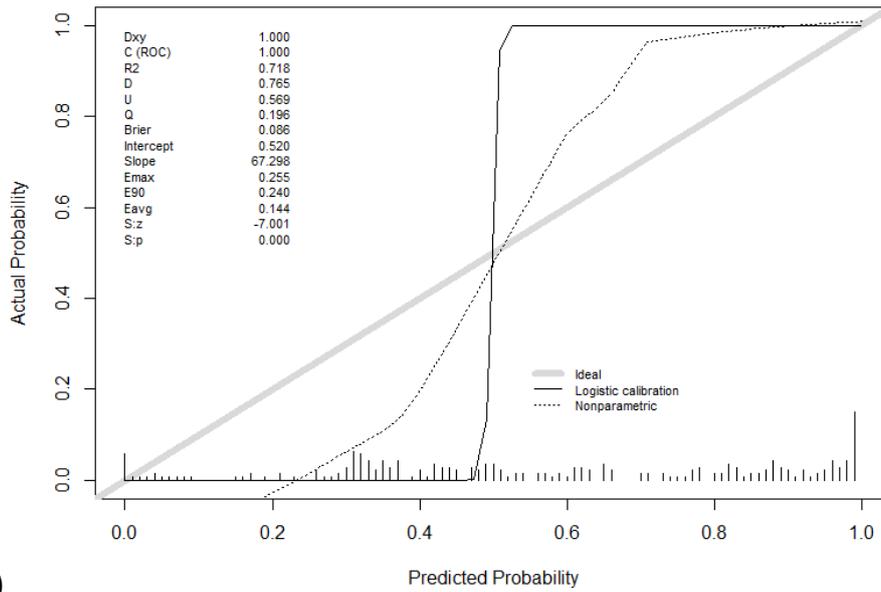
746

747 In order to preserve consistency with REMIND v2.1¹, the present study does not use identical historical
 748 databases¹²⁻¹⁴ as those used in Jewell et al. (2019). The data vintage is also one year prior to the original
 749 model's, and eleven more countries have acceded to the PPCA since the previous study (Table SF1).
 750 Nonetheless, we find a statistically significant, well-fitting^{xiv} and accurately predictive relationship
 751 between dependent and independent variables, suggesting that the model is reasonably robust. Table

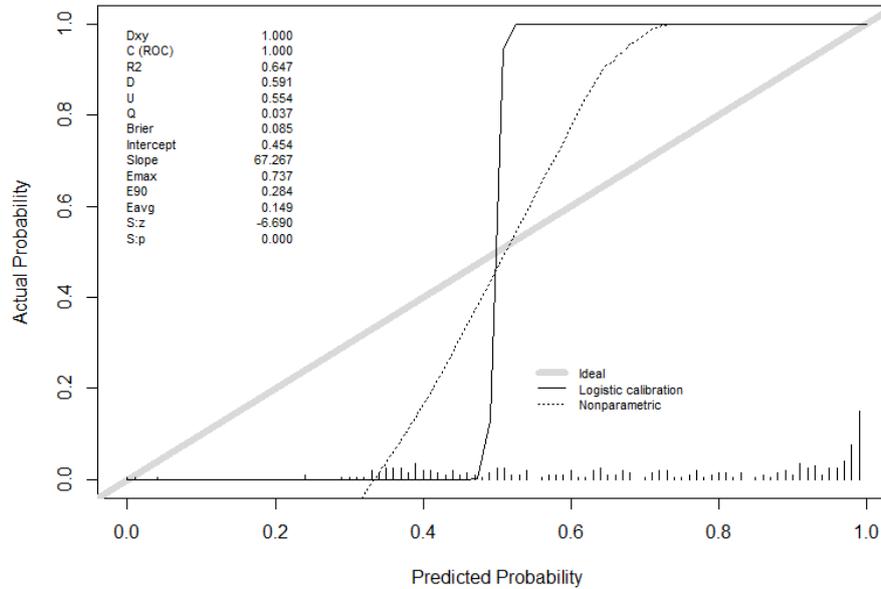
752 M2 displays several measures of model performance, and Figure M3 shows the logistic calibration
 753 curves and various fit metrics describing the predictive performance in future periods.

Model Performance Metric	Value
p-value	4.45e ⁻⁹
Pseudo R ² (adj. McFadden)	0.271
Residual standard error	0.980
Log Loss	0.466
Predictive accuracy (bootstrap AUC)	87.71% (SE=3.72%)

754 **Table M2. Statistical metrics describing the logit model's significance, goodness-of-fit, and prediction quality.**
 755



756 a)



757 b)

758 **Figure M3. Logistic calibration curve for the validation of predicted national accession probabilities** in 2025 (a)
 759 and 2045 (b). Generated using the *val.prob()* function of the *rms* R-package¹⁶. Dxy = Somers' D, R2 = Nagelkerke-
 760 Cox-Snell-Maddala-Magee pseudo-R² index, D = discrimination index, U = unreliability index, Q = quality index,
 761 E_{max}/90/avg = maximum/0.9 quantile/average absolute difference in predicted and loess-calibrated
 762 probabilities, S:z = Spiegelhalter's Z-score for calibration accuracy, S:p = two-tailed p-value for S:z. Both (a) and
 763 (b) are specific to the *neutral* Covid recovery.

764 *Coalition Scenarios*

765 In this study, we translate this output into operational assumptions for REMIND policy scenarios by
766 defining probability thresholds of coalition accession. The three thresholds, as defined in Table M3, are
767 represented as linear relationships in Figure 2 between GDPpc and coal-power-share, along which the
768 probability of coalition accession is constant. In a given scenario, the postulated threshold can be
769 interpreted as a socio-political ‘tipping point’^{17–19}. That is, any country which reaches a sufficiently high
770 GDPpc and sufficiently low coal-power-share – and thus an accession probability above the threshold
771 value – before the PPCA-imposed phase-out deadline is considered an irreversible member of the
772 coalition. The coal exit policy is then exclusively applied to these nations in the subsequent (or
773 ‘downstream’) REMIND scenario.

Coalition Threshold	Probability	Slope	Intercept
1p	95%	60.6	40.5
2p	50%	60.6	9.4
3p	5%	60.6	-21.6

774 **Table M3. Definition of the linear relationships between GDPpc and coal-power-share at the coalition**
775 **threshold probabilities.** These lines, as seen in Figure 2, have the general form $y = mx + b$, where y is GDPpc and
776 x is coal-power-share.

777
778 Coalition membership in this study only implies that a country imposes a national coal phase-out policy
779 along the lines prescribed by the PPCA. Membership is not subject to a monitoring and sanctioning
780 mechanism, hence there are no issues with compliance and enforcement. Furthermore, the coalition
781 is not a club because membership does not provide exclusive access to a club good from which non-
782 members are excluded.

783 *REMIND-COALogit Model Coupling*

784 *PPCA Declaration*

785 Here, we define the soft-link created between REMIND and COALogit to model the PPCA coal phase-
786 out with the DPE approach. The PPCA declaration, though non-binding, defines clear targets for its
787 members: OECD and EU (OECD henceforth) member nations are expected to observe a 2030 phase-
788 out of unabated coal-fired electricity while all other countries (non-OECD henceforth) are afforded
789 until 2050. For the purposes of this study, we assume that all PPCA signatories will comply with the
790 prescribed deadlines, despite e.g. Germany’s domestic plans for a delayed phase-out by 2033-2038.

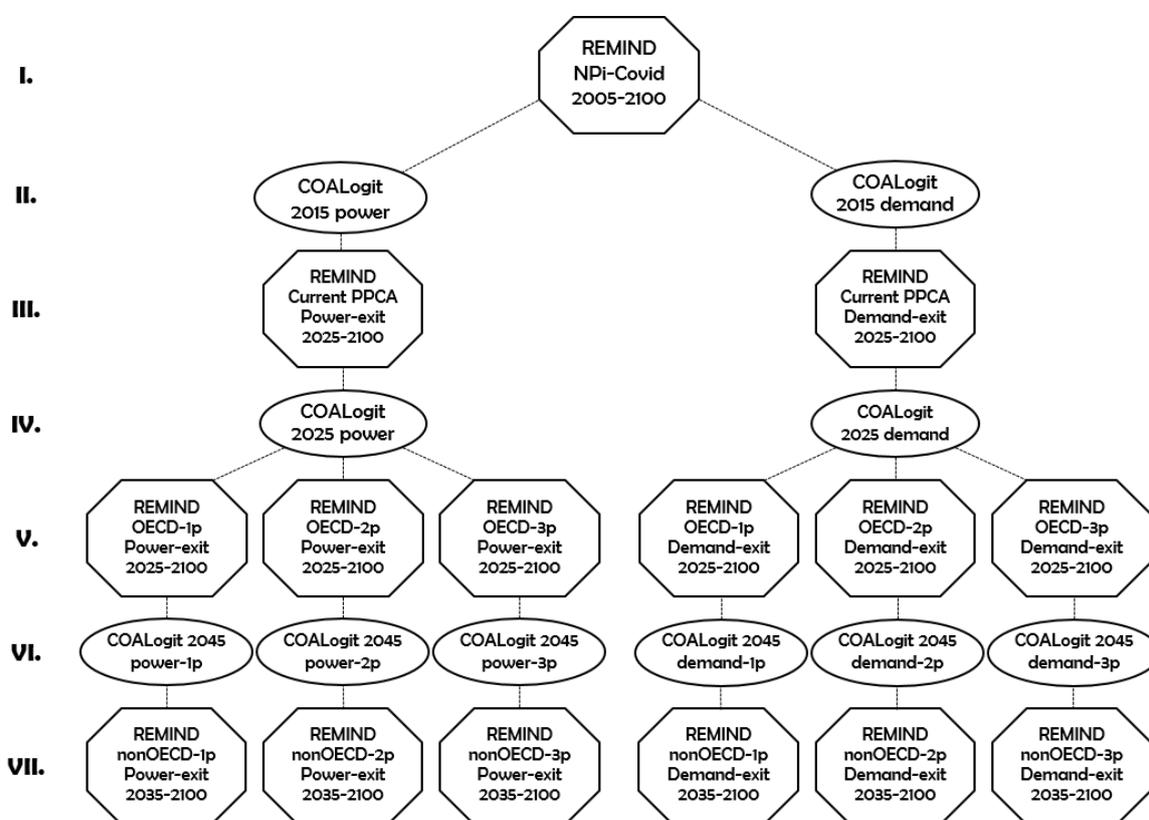
791 To simulate coalition accession of OECD countries, we use COALogit to identify which OECD nations lie
792 above each threshold in the 2025 REMIND time-step, representing a five-year period ending in June
793 2027. Any prospective member is assumed to have decided by then whether they will observe the
794 2030 phase-out. Similarly, we define non-OECD coalition scenarios by comparing non-OECD countries
795 to the thresholds in the 2045 model period, 6/2042–6/2047. Table M4 details how the logit model
796 receives its country-level independent variables in either case.

797 *COALogit inputs and outputs*

798 The implementation of REMIND-COALogit requires the downscaling of the relevant variables in Eq. (2),
799 as derived by REMIND simulations, for all countries in future periods. Downscaling here means that,
800 for instance, the future development of coal use in REMIND regions must be disaggregated to the
801 country level so that the COALogit model can derive the accession of individual nations to the PPCA
802 coalition. The country-level results are later re-aggregated to the level of REMIND regions in order to
803 define constraints that are used in a subsequent, downstream REMIND run.

804 Consequently, COALogit performs three core functions: (i) reading in REMIND results and downscaling
 805 them to the national level, (ii) logit analysis to define coalition membership scenarios, and (iii)
 806 derivation of regional *policy stringency coefficients* (PSCs) that are used as constraints in REMIND
 807 (Figure M2). First, COALogit intakes regional variables for total energy demand as well as coal-fired and
 808 total electricity generation from the ‘upstream’ REMIND scenario, i.e. a preceding counterfactual
 809 scenario in which the coalition was either only partially formed or not yet modeled (Figure M4).
 810 COALogit then downscales and divides the variables to derive country-level coal-power-shares.

811 Second, the logit model determines coalition scenarios for the specified time-step using the derived
 812 national coal-power-shares and GDPpc from the SSP2 projections¹⁴. Third, the cumulative coal-power-
 813 shares from the PPCA-defined phase-out year until 2100 are calculated for all countries and set to zero
 814 in coalition members. PSCs are derived by aggregating the cumulative coal-power-shares to the
 815 regional level, and these are exported to a REMIND-readable file for use in the downstream scenario.
 816 Figure M4 illustrates the sequential iterations between REMIND and COALogit required to model each
 817 DPE-PPCA scenario.



818
 819 **Figure M4. Flow chart of simulations with REMIND-COALogit.** Each instance of the automated REMIND-
 820 COALogit DPE cascade flows along a dotted line from the NPi scenario (upstream) to one of six possible
 821 downstream PPCA scenarios. The Roman numerals here correspond to each step in the sequence, and numerals
 822 are used throughout the text refer back to this figure. The year displayed in each instance of COALogit indicates
 823 the time-step in which the logit analysis is performed to determine the policy-adopting coalition in the
 824 downstream REMIND scenario. The range of years shown in each REMIND run denotes the optimization horizon
 825 for that scenario (all prior periods are fixed to the upstream scenario). This simulation cascade is run for each
 826 Covid recovery scenario, giving a total of 18 DPE-PPCA scenarios.

827 [Power-exit scenario cascade](#)

828 A single PPCA scenario consists of four REMIND runs with a COALogit run between each, all executed
 829 in an automated sequence (Figure M4). (I.) The starting point of a PPCA scenario cascade is always an
 830 NPi reference case. (II.) COALogit regionally downscales the relevant NPi variables (Table M4) to derive

831 the PSCs for current real-world OECD and non-OECD PPCA members, respectively. (III.) These PSCs are
832 read into the downstream ‘Current PPCA’ REMIND scenario, which is the SPE scenario of the PPCA (see
833 Table 1). Historical developments (2005-2020) in all scenarios of the cascade are fixed to NPi. The
834 optimization horizon then begins in the 2025 time-step for ‘Current-PPCA’ and ‘OECD-*xp*’ – where ‘*xp*’
835 is a placeholder for the *1p*, *2p*, and *3p* coalition scenarios – and in the 2035 period for ‘nonOECD-*xp*’.

836 (IV.) ‘COALogit 2025’ derives *1p*, *2p*, and *3p* OECD coalition scenarios (Figure 2b) based on accession
837 probabilities calculated by Eq. (2) using historical data extrapolation and 2025 variables computed by
838 the ‘Current PPCA’ simulation (now the upstream scenario). Logically, the near-term actions of the
839 current PPCA may influence the energy landscape in freeriding OECD nations and increase or decrease
840 their probabilities of acceding. Likewise, analysis of non-OECD countries is forestalled because the
841 actions of the OECD coalitions may, in turn, affect their decisions in the following two decades.
842 ‘COALogit 2025’ then returns OECD PSCs for each coalition scenario. (V.) These are fed downstream to
843 the ‘OECD-*xp*’ REMIND scenarios, which enforce the 2030 phase-out policy.

844 (VI.) Each ‘OECD-*xp*’ scenario calls a separate instance of ‘COALogit 2045’, such that each coalition
845 scenario represents a unique and consistent degree of optimism, e.g. the 50%-probable OECD-*2p* can
846 only lead to nonOECD-*2p* and not the 5%-probable nonOECD-*3p*. Each of these non-OECD coalitions is
847 formed by logit analysis of 2045 ‘OECD-*xp*’ variables (Table M4) and assigned a PSC accordingly. (VII.)
848 The ‘nonOECD-*xp*’ scenarios are fixed to ‘OECD-*xp*’ through 2030, preventing premature anticipation
849 of the policy by the newly-defined non-OECD members but also affording them sufficient lead-time for
850 adherence. Both the OECD and non-OECD phase-outs are enforced during this final scenario’s 2035-
851 2100 optimization horizon. The ‘nonOECD-*xp*’ REMIND runs are therefore complete DPE-PPCA
852 scenarios containing all the information accrued throughout the cascade.

853 *Demand-exit cascade*

854 Additionally, we consider an alternate interpretation of PPCA accession: a commitment by national
855 governments to phase all unabated coal consumption out of the economy in accordance with the
856 PPCA’s timeline. This reflects the assumption that PPCA members truly represent a *coalition-of-the-*
857 *willing*, or are at least predisposed to accept further responsibilities. This *demand-exit* policy scenario
858 extends the PPCA phase-out timeline to all coal-consuming technologies in all economic sectors except
859 the iron and steel industry, which is permitted a 10-year grace period. This is intended to represent
860 techno-institutional inertia, given that steelmaking is considered a particularly difficult industrial
861 process to decarbonize²⁰, and that high-grade metallurgical coal is a significantly higher-value
862 commodity than thermal coal. Hence, the *demand-exit* scenario with only current coalition
863 membership (i.e. ‘Current-PPCA’) is a hypothetical PEA rather than a SPE.

864 (I.) The same starting point (NPi) and sequence progression applies to *demand-exit* policy scenarios,
865 but the coal phase-out constraints and the variables exchanged between REMIND and COALogit (Table
866 M4) differ. (II.) ‘COALogit 2015’ provides (III.) ‘Current-PPCA’ with six PSCs – three for the OECD phase-
867 out and three for the non-OECD phase-out. (IV.) ‘COALogit 2025’ generates three PSCs for each (V.)
868 ‘OECD-*xp*’ scenario, and (VI.) ‘COALogit 2045 *xp*’ feeds three more PSCs to its corresponding (VII.)
869 ‘nonOECD-*xp*’ scenario. The relevant calculations performed throughout both the *power-* and *demand-*
870 *exit* cascades are detailed below.

871 REMIND-COALogit Interface

872 This section provides a full technical account of the procedures and assumptions, and the rationales
873 for each, involved in our coupling routine. Each subsection presents the general logic and formulae as
874 they pertain to particular steps of the flow chart in Figure M4, and Table M4 details the sourcing and
875 flow of information exchanged along the cascade.

876 *OECD national coal-power-shares derivation (IV.)*

877 In the 2025 COALogit instance, country-level coal-fired power generation is calculated based on the
 878 coal power capacities extrapolated from GCPT data¹³ (Appendix I). These are multiplied by the national
 879 2025 utilization rates, which are in turn extrapolated from historical data¹² such that all countries^{xv}
 880 linearly converge to a long-term assumption of 50% utilization by the 2035 period. Eq. (3) describes
 881 the linear extrapolation starting from 2015, the base period of our analyses.

882

$$883 \quad (3) \quad \mu_{\hat{n}}(t) = \mu_{\hat{n}}(t_0) + \frac{0.5 - \mu_{\hat{n}}(t_0)}{2035 - t_0} (t - t_0)$$

$$884 \quad \text{for } t_0 < t < 2035$$

885 *where:*

886 $\mu_{\hat{n}}$ = national utilization rate,

887 $t_0 = 2015$.

888 Some regions in REMIND are equal to countries (India, Japan, and the USA). For these countries, total
 889 electricity generation in all periods is taken directly from the upstream scenario. Other REMIND regions
 890 are aggregates of 3 to 54 nations, hence projected electricity generation must be downscaled.
 891 Disaggregation weights for total power generation are assigned to each nation according to the ratio
 892 of its base-period electricity generation¹² adjusted for population change¹⁴ to the region's, generally
 893 assuming constant per-capita electricity demand in the future^{xvi}. National coal-power-shares in 2025
 894 are thus calculated as the ratio of extrapolated bottom-up coal power generation values and
 895 disaggregated top-down total electricity production figures.

896 *Non-OECD national coal-power-shares derivation (VI.)*

897 To extrapolate national coal-power-shares from multinational REMIND regions in the 2045 instance of
 898 COALogit, we employ a different downscaling routine, grounded in the assumption that the relative
 899 difference between a region's coal-power-share and those of its member nations remains constant.
 900 First, national coal-power-shares in 2030 are downscaled from the upstream REMIND scenario (*OECD-*
 901 *xp*, see Figure M4) by assuming its percentage above or below its region's coal-power-share remains
 902 unchanged from 2025. This is represented by Eq. (4).

903

$$904 \quad (4) \quad x_{\hat{n}}(t) = \begin{cases} x_{\hat{n}}(t - \Delta t) + \frac{x_{\hat{n}}(t - \Delta t) - x_R(t - \Delta t)}{1 - x_R(t - \Delta t)} \cdot (1 - x_R(t)), & \text{if } x_R(t) \geq x_R(t - \Delta t) \\ x_{\hat{n}}(t - \Delta t) - \frac{x_R(t - \Delta t) - x_{\hat{n}}(t - \Delta t)}{x_R(t - \Delta t)} \cdot x_R(t), & \text{if } x_R(t) < x_R(t - \Delta t) \end{cases}$$

$$908 \quad \text{for } t \geq 2030$$

905 *where:*

906 $t - \Delta t$ = previous period analysed (Δt varies between 5 and 15 years),

907 R = REMIND region containing nation \hat{n} .

909 Country-level coal power generation in 2030 is then calculated by multiplying total national electricity
 910 generation by coal-power-share. However, OECD coalition members, as defined in the 2025 COALogit
 911 instance, must have zero coal electricity generation. Their just-derived coal electricity values are thus
 912 counterfactual and must be redistributed to other nations in the region. Eq. (5) describes this process.

913

$$(5) \widehat{seel}_{C,\hat{n}}(t) = \begin{cases} 0, & \text{if } \hat{n} \in M_R \\ \widehat{seel}_{C,\hat{n}}(t) + \frac{\widehat{seel}_{G,\hat{n}}(t)}{\sum_{n \in F_R} \widehat{seel}_{G,n}(t)} \cdot \sum_{n \in M_R} \widehat{seel}_{C,n}(t), & \text{if } \hat{n} \in F_R \end{cases}$$

922 for $t \geq 2030$

923 where:

924 $\widehat{seel}_{C,\hat{n}}$ = national coal electricity after accounting for OECD phase-out,

925 $\widehat{seel}_{C,\hat{n}}$ = counterfactual national coal electricity downscaled from upstream REMIND scenario,

926 $\widehat{seel}_{G,\hat{n}}$ = total national electricity generation downscaled from upstream REMIND scenario,

927 n = each nation within region R ,

928 M_R = OECD coalition members in region R ,

929 F_R = freeriding nations in region R .

930 Finally, with the OECD phase-out reflected in the national coal power generation values, coal-power-
931 shares are recalculated for 2030. National coal-power-shares in 2045 can then be derived through Eq.
932 (4) using 2030 as the previous period, and these values are used in Eq. (2) to derive non-OECD coalition
933 accession probabilities.

934 *Power-exit Policy Stringency Coefficients (IV. & VI.)*

935 The need for PSCs is also to address the spatial mismatch between REMIND and COALogit. Not only
936 are multinational REMIND regions often divided between coalition members and free-riders, but some
937 contain both OECD and non-OECD countries, so policy adoption is likely staggered and non-uniform
938 within a single region. These coefficients encode the country-level granularity of coalition membership
939 as a maximum share of electricity generation which can come from unabated coal power plants in each
940 region from (i) 2030-2100 for the OECD coal exit and (ii) 2050-2100 for the non-OECD PPCA target in
941 the downstream REMIND scenario.

942 Policy enforcement within REMIND – and thus PSC derivation by COALogit – is conditional upon the
943 coalition members' proportion of the region's future coal power demand and energy market in the
944 counterfactual upstream REMIND scenario. Hence, Eq. (4) is repeated for all time-steps between 2030
945 and 2100 to derive counterfactual national coal power generation, and total PE must be downscaled
946 to the national level for the same periods. An analogous principle is used in the PE disaggregation
947 procedure as in the electricity downscaling routine, except weights are anchored by base-year PE
948 consumption rather than electricity production.

949 The specific conditions upon which policy enforcement depends are that a region must contain at least
950 two coalition members in the current accession stage, and these acceding nations must comprise over
951 20% of each of the region's cumulative PE and coal-fired electricity demand from the phase-out date
952 until 2100 in the upstream scenario. These conditions are based on cumulative values to properly
953 weight the expected future significance of emerging economies.

954 For the multinational regions that meet these criteria, PSCs are formulated by dividing the free-riders'
955 counterfactual coal power generation by the region's total electricity generation in the upstream
956 REMIND scenario. Eq. (6) shows how PSCs are derived for regions that meet the criteria but still contain
957 free-riders. To enable leakage into the region's freeriding contingent during the downstream REMIND
958 simulation, we include a multiplier which exogenously permits these free-riders to generate 50% more
959 coal-fired electricity than they did in the upstream scenario.

960

954

$$(6) PSC_{R,\alpha} = \frac{\sum_{t=t_\alpha}^{2100} \sum_{n \in F_R} \widehat{seel}_{C,n}(t)}{\sum_{t=t_\alpha}^{2100} \sum_{n \in R} \widehat{seel}_{G,n}(t)} \cdot L$$

955

$$\text{for } t_\alpha = \begin{cases} 2030, & \text{if } \alpha = OECD \\ 2050, & \text{if } \alpha = nonOECD \end{cases}$$

956 *where:*

957 $PSC_{R,\alpha}$ = policy stringency coefficient for region R in the current accession stage α ,

958 L = intra-regional coal leakage allowance = 1.5.

959 Meanwhile, in regions consisting primarily of free-riding countries, and thus do not fulfill the minimum
 960 membership criteria, the potential for coal leakage is unbounded; they are assigned a PSC of one, i.e.
 961 100% of their electricity generation in the subsequent REMIND scenario can be coal-fired in theory. On
 962 the other hand, if all countries in a region enter the coalition, then the region is assigned a PSC of zero,
 963 signaling a full-fledged phase-out in the downstream REMIND scenario. Only this phase-out case and
 964 the unconstrained case may apply to single-nation regions. Any region which consists solely of OECD-
 965 PPCA nations is assigned a PSC of 0 in both the OECD and non-OECD phases, while a region whose
 966 member states all accede during the non-OECD stage are assigned $PSC_{OECD} = 1$ and $PSC_{nonOECD} = 0$.

967 *Power-exit policy implementation (V. & VII.)*

968 We model the verbatim PPCA declaration (i.e. *power-exit* policy) in REMIND by restricting the share of
 969 total electricity production from coal-fired power plants without CCS. The sum of electricity generated
 970 by REMIND's unabated PC, IGCC, and CCHP plants from the policy start year until 2100 in each region
 971 is constrained to a PSC-defined fraction of the total regional electricity generated in that timespan.
 972 Equation (7) describes this constraint, unique to *power-exit* scenarios.

973

974

$$(7) \sum_{t=t_\alpha}^{2100} \widetilde{seel}_{R,U}(t) \leq PSC_{R,\alpha} \left(\sum_{t=t_\alpha}^{2100} \widetilde{seel}_{R,G}(t) \right)$$

975 *where:*

976 $\widetilde{seel}_{R,U}$ = unabated coal-fired electricity generation in downstream scenario,

977 $\widetilde{seel}_{R,G}$ = electricity generation in downstream (relative to PSC derivation) scenario.

978 Note that REMIND scenarios which model the non-OECD phase-out include both the OECD and non-
 979 OECD constraints on regions with nonzero PSCs for both stages. Coal power generation from 2050-
 980 2100 is ultimately bounded by the more stringent of the two, but a region is theoretically free to
 981 deplete its entire 2030-2100 allowance within the 2030-2050 timespan.

982 *Demand-exit PSCs (IV. & VI.)*

983 The *demand-exit* policies are implemented for qualifying regions (based on analogous criteria to
 984 *power-exit* enforcement) through a three-step process. First, the share of total CO₂ that can be emitted
 985 by non-solid coal conversion technologies are assigned a PSC by COALogit from 2030 (2050) through
 986 2100 in the OECD (non-OECD). Second, CO₂ emissions from coal solids used for non-metallurgical
 987 purposes, e.g. cement production, are restricted by a separate PSC over the same periods. Third, CO₂
 988 emissions from coal-based metallurgy are assigned a third PSC, applicable from 2040 (2060) to 2100.

989 First, the relevant numerators are downscaled by the same technique as introduced by Eqs. (4)-(5);
 990 simply replace *seel* with the *emi* variables of interest (Tables M4+5). Next, total regional CO₂ emissions
 991 from the upstream REMIND scenario are downscaled according to the same disaggregation weights as
 992 used for PE downscaling. The PSCs are derived according to Eqs. (8)-(10) for qualifying regions.

993

$$994 \quad (8) \text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_c} = \frac{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_c}}^{2100} \sum_{n \in FR} (\widehat{eml}_{n,\bar{c}}(t) - \widehat{eml}_{n,\bar{s}}(t))}{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_c}}^{2100} \widehat{eml}_{R,E}(t)} \cdot L$$

$$995 \quad (9) \text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_s} = \frac{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_s}}^{2100} \sum_{n \in FR} (\widehat{eml}_{n,\bar{s}}(t) - \widehat{eml}_{n,m}(t))}{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_s}}^{2100} \widehat{eml}_{R,E}(t)} \cdot L$$

$$996 \quad (10) \text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_m} = \frac{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_m}}^{2100} \sum_{n \in FR} \widehat{eml}_{n,m}(t)}{\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_m}}^{2100} \widehat{eml}_{R,E}(t)} \cdot L$$

$$997 \quad \text{if } \alpha = \begin{cases} \text{OECD,} & \text{then } t_{\alpha_c}, t_{\alpha_s} = 2030, t_{\alpha_m} = 2040 \\ \text{nonOECD,} & \text{then } t_{\alpha_c}, t_{\alpha_s} = 2050, t_{\alpha_m} = 2060 \end{cases}$$

998 *where:*

999 $\widehat{eml}_n = CO_2$ emissions of each nation in R , downscaled from the upstream scenario,

1000 $E =$ all energy end-use activities,

1001 $c =$ non-solids coal end-uses,

1002 $\bar{c} =$ all coal end-uses,

1003 $s =$ non-metallurgical coal solids end-uses,

1004 $\bar{s} =$ coal solids end-uses,

1005 $m =$ metallurgical coal solids end-uses (i.e. iron and steel manufacturing).

1006

1007 The criteria for PSC derivation apply to each of the *demand-exit* PSCs individually, and regions that do
 1008 not satisfy the condition(s) are assigned PSC(s) of zero. This implies that there may be scenarios in
 1009 which, for example, a region's met-coal emissions are constrained (i.e. $\text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_m} > 0$) but its non-solids
 1010 coal emissions are not (i.e. $\text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_c} = 0$), because its members constitute over 20% of the region's steel
 1011 production but under 20% of the overall coal consumption. Regions that exclusively contain coalition
 1012 members are assigned ε for all three PSCs, meanwhile.

1013 *Demand-exit policy implementation (V. & VII.)*

1014 The PSCs enter REMIND in a series of corresponding equations that enforce the *demand-exit* policy.
 1015 Eq. (11) illustrates how the non-solids coal and non-metallurgical coal solids elements of the policy are
 1016 implemented by controlling different sets of technologies, just like the *power-exit*. Eq. (12) shows the
 1017 additional assumption used to isolate the emissions from metallurgical coal, namely that the share of
 1018 coal in a region's solid energy consumption is uniform across all sectors.

1019

$$1020 \quad (11) \sum_{t=t_{\alpha_j}}^{2100} \widetilde{eml}_{R,j}(t) \leq \text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_j} \left(\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_j}}^{2100} \widetilde{eml}_{R,E}(t) \right)$$

$$1021 \quad (12) \sum_{t=t_{\alpha_m}}^{2100} \left(\widetilde{eml}_{R,m}(t) \cdot \frac{\overline{FE}_{R,\bar{s}}(t)}{\overline{FE}_{R,S}(t)} \right) \leq \text{PSC}_{R,\alpha_m} \left(\sum_{t=t_{\alpha_m}}^{2100} \widetilde{eml}_{R,E}(t) \right)$$

1022 *where:*

1023 $j = \{c, s\}$,

1024 $\widetilde{eml}_R =$ regional CO_2 emissions variable in downstream scenario,

1025 $\overline{FE}_R =$ regional final energy production variable in downstream scenario,

1026 $S =$ all solid final energy production.

		<i>COALogit Instance</i>		
COALogit Input <i>(usage)</i>		Current/2015 (II.)	OECD/2025 (IV.)	Non-OECD/2045 (VI.)
<i>All Scenarios</i>	GDP per capita <i>(logit)</i>	2015 data, Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) ²¹	2025 SSP2 projections ¹⁴	2045 SSP2 projections
	Coal-fired power generation <i>(logit)</i>	2015 data, IEA ¹²	Extrapolated data from 2021 GCPT ¹³ (capacity) & 2015 IEA (utilization rates)	2045 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by routine (a)
	Total electricity generation <i>(logit)</i>	2015 data, IEA	2025 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (b)	2045 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (b)
	Population <i>(weighting)</i>	2020-2100 SSP2 projections	2020-2100 SSP2 projections	2020-2100 SSP2 projections
	Total PE demand <i>(weighting)</i>	2015 data, IEA	2015 data, IEA	2015 data, IEA
	Total PE demand <i>(PSC condition)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (c)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (c)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (c)
<i>Power-exit</i>	Coal-fired power generation <i>(PSC)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (d)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (d)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (d)
	Total electricity generation <i>(PSC)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (b)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (b)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (b)
<i>Demand-exit</i>	Total CO₂ emissions <i>(PSC)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (c)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (c)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (c)
	Coal CO₂ emissions <i>(PSC)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (e)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (e)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (e)
	Coal solids CO₂ emissions <i>(PSC)</i>	2030-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (f)	2030-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (f)	2050-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (f)
	Met-coal CO₂ emissions <i>(PSC)</i>	2040-2100 NPi variable, downscaled by (g)	2040-2100 Current-PPCA variable, downscaled by (g)	2060-2100 OECD-PPCA-xp variable, downscaled by (g)

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Table M4. Delineation of input variables to each COALogit instance and their sources. Roman numerals refer to Figure M4. Bold text indicates the upstream REMIND scenario which computed the variable. The ‘xp’ in OECD-PPCA-xp is a placeholder for the coalition scenarios 1p, 2p, and 3p, which each initiate a unique COALogit run. See Table M5 for the definition of downscaling routines (a)-(g).

Downscaling routine description	
(a)	Eqs. (4)-(5) – i.e. assume all countries' coal-power-shares remain a constant % above or below regional level from 2025 forward, then account for the OECD coal phase-out.
(b)	Assume per-capita electricity generation remains constant at historical levels ⁱⁱⁱ .
(c)	Assume per-capita PE demand remains constant at historical levels ^{xvii} .
(d)	Eq. (4) only – i.e. counterfactual coal power generation, indicative of reference demand.
(e)	Eqs. (4)-(5), except [$seel_C := emi_C$]; [$seel_G := emi_E$]; and $x = \frac{emi_C}{emi_E}$
(f)	Eqs. (4)-(5), except [$seel_C := emi_S$]; [$seel_G := emi_E$]; and $x = \frac{emi_S}{emi_E}$
(g)	Eqs. (4)-(5), except [$seel_C := emi_m$]; [$seel_G := emi_E$]; and $x = \frac{emi_m}{emi_E}$

1033 **Table M5. Delineation of all downscaling routines required for the REMIND-COALogit coupling interface.** The
1034 lettered rows correspond to the letters in Table M4.

1035

1036 Covid-19 recovery programs

1037 The final dimension of our scenario analysis considers the near-term uncertainties associated with the
1038 Covid-19 shock²². This interruption of electricity demand and project construction cycles is an
1039 opportune moment for governments to reassess power sector investment options, and to wield their
1040 power as a financier, underwriter, and/or regulator. These decisions have wide-ranging near- and long-
1041 term consequences, including severe respiratory health implications²³ which may be of greater
1042 sociopolitical relevance than before the pandemic. We assess the potential path-dependencies²⁴⁻²⁶ of
1043 PPCA dynamics and outcomes to different near-term trajectories of coal power capacity. These are
1044 derived by first calculating detailed national-level historical statistics using plant-level data, and then
1045 applying stylized global assumptions (Table A1) to extrapolate future trend scenarios (Figure A1).

1046 We name these scenarios *green (G)*, *neutral (N)*, and *brown (B)* Covid recoveries, in ascending order of
1047 the global coal power generation in 2025. The *neutral* recovery assumes that the Covid crisis has no
1048 effect on the average lifespans of coal plants nor the historical completion rates of projects in each
1049 phase of the development pipeline. The green and brown recoveries, meanwhile, are designed to
1050 capture the ‘reasonable’ – not the maximum – range of Covid-induced changes to those statistics.

1051 Unlike the other two dimensions, these stylized exogenous constraints are independent of the PPCA
1052 and thus also apply to the reference NPi and NDC scenarios. Hence, each of the three *NPi-Covid*
1053 baselines (*NPi-G*, *NPi-N*, and *NPi-B*) initiates its own two scenario cascades, one for each policy
1054 interpretation (Figure M4), and all scenarios within these two cascades are fixed to the same 2025 coal
1055 power generation level. Importantly, the Covid-19 dimension can have direct impacts on the energy
1056 system as well as feed-forward effects on the growth of the coalition, indirectly affecting scenario
1057 outcomes.

1058

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1112

ⁱ The participating subnational governments and private sector organisations are not considered in our study.

ⁱⁱ Countries are defined according to the ISO 3166-1 convention (249 total).

ⁱⁱⁱ For reference, we estimate 2160GW when extrapolating with globally-uniform 40-year lifespans and 100% project completion as assumed in prior literature (see Figure A1)²⁷.

^{iv} Global Energy Monitor. Global Coal Public Finance Tracker July 2020. *EndCoal.org*.

^v Global Energy Monitor. Global Coal Mine Tracker January 2021. *EndCoal.org*.

^{vi} Global Energy Monitor. Global Steel Plant Tracker January 2021. *EndCoal.org*.

^{vii} This may well be an artefact of REMIND-COALogit’s low temporal resolution, as more ‘reasonable’ pathways could be modeled by allowing coalition accession and policy enactment along a rolling horizon, i.e. in each REMIND period, which would be highly resource-intensive. Future DPE implementations may explore reducing the IAM optimisation horizon in each iteration to enable this.

^{viii} China did not breach the 2p coalition in any scenario until after COALogit was re-calibrated to account for the accession of Spain, Croatia, Albania, North Macedonia, and Montenegro in July 2021, illustrating the dynamism of the DFS, i.e. the sensitivity of COALogit to relatively minor developments.

^{ix} Japan and South Korea in the *green* recovery as well.

^x Under default REMIND assumptions, early retirement is limited to 9% p.a. (45% per 5-year time-step). Several regions were thus mathematically infeasible without removing this constraint.

^{xi} As of its status in 2018, viz. we do not model here the 2021 ‘Fit for 55’ proposal by the EU Commission.

^{xii} Along with GDPpc, the other two were coal production per capita and the share of coal in total final energy consumption. The latter was found to have high covariance with coal-power-share (~0.6 correlation factor).

^{xiii} Likelihood-ratio test results showed a correlation factor of ~0.8 between GDPpc (on a purchasing power parity basis) and FOG, the highest found for any two variables.

^{xiv} An adjusted McFadden pseudo-R² value between 0.2 and 0.4 is considered an excellent fit¹⁵.

^{xv} Countries with zero coal power capacity in the base year are assigned their REMIND region’s aggregate utilization rate.

^{xvi} Special cases of countries with low base-year electrification and a declining population are instead assumed to keep their total electricity generation constant at base-year levels. This prevents negative weights.

^{xvii} Special cases of countries with low base-year PE and a declining population are instead assumed to keep their total PE constant at base-year levels.

Supplementary Files

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- [NCCappendixDPEPPCA.pdf](#)
- [NCCsupplementDPEPPCA.pdf](#)