

Prisoner's Dilemmas in Climate Protocols and Peace Agreements: An Annotated Bibliography

Generated Literature Review

September 3, 2025

Abstract

This bibliography examines the application of game theory, particularly prisoner's dilemma models, to understanding cooperation failures and successes in climate change mitigation and international peace processes. The literature spans theoretical foundations in game theory, empirical studies of international environmental agreements, peace treaty stability, and institutional design solutions to collective action problems.

Contents

1 Introduction

The prisoner's dilemma represents one of the most powerful analytical frameworks for understanding why individually rational actors often fail to achieve collectively optimal outcomes. This bibliography surveys key literature applying these insights to two critical domains of international cooperation: climate change mitigation and peace agreements.

Both domains exhibit the classic structure of n-player prisoner's dilemmas: countries benefit from others' costly efforts (emissions reduction, disarmament) while having incentives to free-ride on those efforts. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for designing effective international institutions and agreements.

2 Foundational Game Theory

2.1 Classical Works

Axelrod, Robert (1984). *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

The seminal work on how cooperation can emerge in repeated prisoner's dilemma games. Axelrod's computer tournaments demonstrated the effectiveness of the "tit-for-tat" strategy and provided insights into when cooperation can be sustained even among self-interested actors. Essential reading for understanding how repeated interactions can overcome the one-shot prisoner's dilemma.

Hardin, Garrett (1968). "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science*, 162(3859), 1243-1248.

While not explicitly game-theoretic, Hardin's influential essay describes the same underlying logic as n-player prisoner's dilemmas. His analysis of overgrazing common pastures provided a template for understanding environmental degradation and resource depletion as collective action problems.

Olson, Mancur (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Olson's analysis of why groups often fail to act in their collective interest remains foundational. His insights about free-riding in large groups directly apply to international climate and peace negotiations, where individual countries have incentives to let others bear the costs of cooperation.

2.2 N-Player Extensions

Dawes, Robyn M. (1980). "Social Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 31(1), 169-193.

Comprehensive review of multi-person prisoner's dilemmas and public goods games. Dawes synthesizes experimental evidence on factors affecting cooperation in groups, including group size effects, communication, and sanctioning mechanisms relevant to international negotiations.

Sandler, Todd (1992). *Collective Action: Theory and Applications*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Applies collective action theory to international relations, including detailed analysis of public goods provision, alliance formation, and international environmental agreements. Sandler's work bridges game theory and international relations theory.

3 Climate Change as Collective Action Problem

3.1 Theoretical Frameworks

Barrett, Scott (2003). *Environment and Statecraft: The Strategy of Environmental Treaty-Making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Comprehensive game-theoretic analysis of international environmental agreements. Barrett demonstrates why most climate treaties are either ineffective (if voluntary) or unstable (if binding), and explores potential solutions including issue linkage, side payments, and graduated sanctions.

Carraro, Carlo, and Domenico Siniscalco (1993). "Strategies for the International Protection of the Environment." *Journal of Public Economics*, 52(3), 309-328.

Formal game-theoretic model of international environmental cooperation. The authors show how environmental treaties can be modeled as coalition formation games and identify conditions under which stable coalitions can form.

Finus, Michael (2001). *Game Theory and International Environmental Cooperation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Detailed mathematical treatment of coalition formation in environmental agreements. Finus examines various game structures and solution concepts applicable to climate negotiations, including cooperative and non-cooperative approaches.

3.2 Empirical Studies

Nordhaus, William D. (2015). "Climate Clubs: Overcoming Free-riding in International Climate Policy." *American Economic Review*, 105(4), 1339-1370.

Proposes "climate clubs" as a solution to free-riding in international climate policy. Nordhaus models how countries can use trade penalties to enforce climate cooperation, essentially converting the prisoner's dilemma structure through punishment mechanisms.

Victor, David G. (2011). *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Critiques the Kyoto Protocol approach and argues for alternative strategies based on realistic assumptions about state behavior. Victor's analysis draws heavily on collective action theory to explain why comprehensive climate agreements typically fail.

Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor (2011). "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(1), 7-23.

Analyzes the fragmented landscape of climate governance through the lens of institutional design. The authors argue that regime complexes may be more effective than single comprehensive agreements for overcoming collective action problems.

4 Peace Agreements and Security Dilemmas

4.1 Theoretical Foundations

Jervis, Robert (1978). "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics*, 30(2), 167-214.

Classic analysis of how security dilemmas create prisoner's dilemma-like situations in international relations. Jervis examines when military preparations by one state threaten others, leading to arms races that leave all parties worse off than under mutual restraint.

Powell, Robert (2006). "War as a Commitment Problem." *International Organization*, 60(1), 169-203.

Formal analysis of why states sometimes cannot credibly commit to peace agreements. Powell's model shows how shifting power distributions create commitment problems that can lead to preventive war, even when peace would benefit all parties.

Walter, Barbara F. (2002). *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Examines why civil war peace agreements often fail and identifies credible commitment problems as a key factor. Walter's analysis applies game-theoretic insights to understand when third-party security guarantees can overcome commitment problems.

4.2 Arms Control and Disarmament

Schelling, Thomas C. (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Foundational work on strategic interaction and bargaining theory. Schelling's analysis of coordination games, commitment strategies, and focal points provides crucial insights for understanding arms control negotiations and deterrence relationships.

Downs, George W., David M. Roake, and Peter N. Barsoom (1996). "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization*, 50(3), 379-406.

Challenges optimistic assessments of international agreement compliance by distinguishing between deep and shallow cooperation. The authors argue that high compliance rates often reflect agreements that ask little of participants, consistent with prisoner's dilemma logic.

5 Institutional Design Solutions

5.1 Enforcement Mechanisms

Keohane, Robert O. (1984). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seminal work on how international institutions can facilitate cooperation among states. Keohane explains how institutions reduce transaction costs, provide information, and create incentives for compliance, helping to overcome collective action problems.

Martin, Lisa L. (1992). *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Analyzes multilateral economic sanctions as a form of decentralized enforcement in international cooperation. Martin shows how sanctions can help overcome free-rider problems in international agreements by creating costs for defection.

5.2 Side Payments and Issue Linkage

Haas, Peter M., Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy (Eds.) (1993). *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Collection of case studies examining successful international environmental agreements. The volume identifies design features that help overcome collective action problems, including side payments, issue linkage, and graduated sanctions.

Tollison, Robert D., and Thomas D. Willett (1979). "An Economic Theory of Mutually Advantageous Issue Linkage in International Negotiations." *International Organization*, 33(4), 425-449.

Early theoretical treatment of how linking separate issues can create gains from trade in international negotiations. The authors show how issue linkage can transform prisoner's dilemma situations into coordination games with mutually beneficial outcomes.

6 Experimental and Behavioral Evidence

6.1 Laboratory Studies

Ostrom, Elinor, James Walker, and Roy Gardner (1992). "Covenants with and without a Sword: Self-Governance is Possible." *American Political Science Review*, 86(2), 404-417.

Experimental study of how communication and sanctioning institutions affect cooperation in common pool resource games. The results provide insights into when self-governing institutions can overcome collective action problems without external enforcement.

Milinski, Manfred, et al. (2008). "The Collective-Risk Social Dilemma and the Prevention of Simulated Dangerous Climate Change." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105(7), 2291-2294.

Laboratory experiment modeling international climate negotiations as a collective-risk social dilemma. The study finds that groups often fail to contribute enough to prevent catastrophic outcomes, consistent with free-riding predictions.

6.2 Field Studies

Ostrom, Elinor (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nobel Prize-winning analysis of how communities successfully manage common pool resources. Ostrom's detailed case studies identify design principles that enable self-governing institutions to overcome collective action problems.

7 Contemporary Applications

7.1 Paris Agreement and Climate Policy

Keohane, Robert O., and Michael Oppenheimer (2016). "Paris: Beyond the Climate Dead End Through Pledge and Review?" *Politics and Governance*, 4(3), 142-151.

Analyzes the Paris Agreement's "pledge and review" approach as a response to collective action problems in climate policy. The authors assess whether this bottom-up approach can overcome the enforcement problems that plagued earlier top-down agreements.

Green, Jessica F. (2014). *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Examines the role of private actors in global environmental governance. Green analyzes how private certification schemes and standards can complement public agreements and help overcome collective action problems.

7.2 Contemporary Security Challenges

Jervis, Robert (2017). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. New edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Updated edition of Jervis's classic work on how psychological factors affect strategic interaction. The analysis remains relevant for understanding how misperceptions can exacerbate security dilemmas and complicate peace negotiations.

8 Methodological and Theoretical Extensions

8.1 Evolutionary Game Theory

Nowak, Martin A. (2006). *Evolutionary Dynamics: Exploring the Equations of Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Comprehensive treatment of evolutionary game theory, including analysis of how cooperation can evolve in population settings. Nowak's work provides insights into the long-term dynamics of cooperation and defection in repeated interactions.

8.2 Network Effects

Jackson, Matthew O. (2008). *Social and Economic Networks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Analysis of how network structure affects strategic behavior and collective outcomes. Jackson's work has implications for understanding how patterns of international interaction affect cooperation in climate and security issues.

9 Conclusion

The literature surveyed here demonstrates the power of prisoner's dilemma models for understanding cooperation failures in international relations. Both climate change mitigation and peace agreements exhibit the fundamental tension between individual and collective rationality that characterizes these games.

The most promising solutions identified in this literature involve institutional design features that alter the underlying game structure: creating enforcement mechanisms, enabling issue linkage, facilitating side payments, and building reputation systems. However, the persistent challenges in both domains suggest that overcoming collective action problems remains one of the central challenges of international cooperation.

Future research directions include better understanding of how domestic politics affects international cooperation, the role of non-state actors in facilitating collective action, and the application of behavioral insights to improve institutional design.