

Solar geoengineering may lead to excessive cooling and high strategic uncertainty

Anna Lou Abatayo^a, Valentina Bosetti^{a,b}, Marco Casari^{c,d,1}, Riccardo Ghidoni^{e,f,g}, and Massimo Tavoni^{b,h}

^aBocconi University, Milan 20136, Italy; ^bResources for the Future-CMCC European Institute on Economics and the Environment, Milan 20144, Italy; ^cBologna University, Bologna 40126, Italy; ^dCenter for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305; ^eUniversity of Milano-Bicocca, Milan 20126, Italy; ^fCenter for European Studies, Milan 20126, Italy; ^gTilburg University, 5037AB Tilburg, Netherlands; and ^hPolitecnico di Milano, Milan 20156, Italy

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Climate engineering—the deliberate large-scale manipulation of the Earth's climate system—is a set of technologies for reducing climate-change impacts and risks. It is controversial and raises novel governance challenges [T. C. Schelling, *Climatic Change*, 33, 303–307 (1996); J. Virgoe, *Climatic Change*, 95, 103–119 (2008)]. We focus on the strategic implications of solar geoengineering. When countries engineer the climate, conflict can arise because different countries might prefer different temperatures. This would result in too much geoengineering: The country with the highest preference for geoengineering cools the planet beyond what is socially optimal at the expense of the others—a theoretical possibility termed “free-driving” [M. L. Weitzman, *Scand. J. Econ.*, 117, 1049–1068 (2015)]. This study is an empirical test of this hypothesis. We carry out an economic laboratory experiment based on a public “good or bad” game. We find compelling evidence of free-driving: Global geoengineering exceeds the socially efficient level and leads to welfare losses. We also evaluate the possibility of counteracting the geoengineering efforts of others. Results show that countergeoengineering generates high pay-off inequality as well as heavy welfare losses, resulting from both strategic and behavioral factors. Finally, we compare strategic behavior in bilateral and multilateral settings. We find that welfare deteriorates even more under multilateralism when countergeoengineering is a possibility. These results have general implications for governing global good or bad commons.

climate governance | geoengineering | multilateralism | inequality

Unless urgent and drastic policy measures are taken, climate change will have profound consequences on human societies, national economies, and Earth's ecosystems. Despite the scientific consensus on climate change, global CO₂ emission levels in 2019 are at their historical highest (1). Agreements on effective international measures for emissions reduction have been difficult because of the challenges posed by climate governance (2–4). Meanwhile, by procrastinating action, we have consumed the largest part of the carbon budgets compatible with climate stabilization at 1.5 and 2 °C, the targets defined in the Paris Agreement, with only a few years left at the current emission rates (5, 6). Because climate change is a stock externality (7), even if effective and timely actions to curb emissions occur, we will not completely halt the temperature increase resulting from the accumulation of past emissions. These emissions have modified the CO₂ content of the atmosphere far above any level within the past hundreds of thousands of years (8). Recent literature has highlighted negative economic impacts resulting from climate change (9) and the fast-approaching tipping point to be higher than previously expected (10).

In this context, climate-engineering options are increasingly being considered as a means of deliberately intervening in Earth's climate system (11). They comprise two fundamentally different strategies (12–14). CO₂ removal, which tackles the source of anthropogenic climate change, is similar to emission reduction. Solar geoengineering (henceforth, geoengineering), on the other hand, affects the amount of incoming radiation

from the sun and, thus, directly affects the planet's temperature. Geoengineering does not address the cause of anthropogenic alteration of the climate—namely, the atmospheric CO₂ concentration—and the direct damage it entails (e.g., ocean acidification). In this paper, we focus on the latter type of climate engineering.

Solar geoengineering has three notable characteristics. First, it is relatively effective. It has been shown to be able to offset temperature increase rapidly and well (15–19). Second, it is cheap. Cost estimates vary, but they are generally lower than those associated with mitigating CO₂ emissions (20, 21). Third, it is risky. The potential side effects include direct impacts on health (22–24) and agriculture (25), as well as other adverse effects that are not yet fully understood. Moreover, and most importantly for this paper, the nature of this technology sets the stage for new and serious governance challenges (26–29).

One such challenge stems from the possibility that one or more regions could deploy geoengineering to the detriment of others. Given its relatively low cost, a unilateral geoengineering effort would not have expense as a limitation, particularly in light of the potential geopolitical benefits of setting the world temperature at the ideal point for a specific region. This possibility might be particularly appealing to regions that would suffer the most from unabated global warming (30). However, uncoordinated unilateral actions could result in global geoengineering

Significance

Governing climate change and other global commons is challenging. Climate engineering has recently gained attention as a way to manage climate risks. Solar geoengineering is a technology that allows countries to unilaterally influence the world temperature. Solar geoengineering could trigger conflicting interventions by countries who prefer different temperatures; economic theory suggests that countries wanting a cooler climate impose it on others. Other countries may react through countergeoengineering interventions. We study the governance of solar geoengineering using a laboratory experiment in which participants engage in a public good-or-bad game. Results confirm that too much geoengineering can occur, leading to considerable economic losses and increased inequality. The experiment also highlights unforeseen governance risks associated with such technologies.

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¹To whom correspondence may be addressed. Email: marco.casari@unibo.it.

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125 levels well above the social optimum, a phenomenon known as
126 “free-driving” (31). Such an oversupply of geoengineering would
127 have clear winners—the regions with a low ideal temperature—
128 and almost everyone else would lose. The free-driving externality
129 could lead to significant welfare losses (32), which would exacer-
130 bate the already looming free-riding problem that affects
131 emission reductions. It could also lead to retaliatory actions,
132 including an escalation of geoengineering efforts. Specifically,
133 regions that are adversely affected by another region’s efforts
134 could countergeoengineer the climate by spraying particles that
135 absorb sunlight radiation and thus cause temperature to increase
(33, 34).

136 The general setup underlying free-driving is that of a public
137 good or bad (GoB). The GoB game differs from the canonical
138 public good games (35)—even those in which agents can
139 both give or take contributions (36)—in that 1) the provi-
140 sion cost is so low that agents can provide the good; and 2)
141 a conflict over the total provision is present because agents
142 are characterized by heterogeneous, single-peaked preferences.
143 Geoengineering is a commodity that has public consequences;
144 that is, it affects Earth’s temperature. Different parties have dif-
145 ferent ideal temperatures and, thus, potentially conflicting ideal
146 points in terms of global geoengineering effort. Any upward or
147 downward deviation from a region’s ideal point leads to econ-
148 omic losses for that region. This framework aligns with the
149 climate case, for which empirical evidence suggests a nonmono-
150 tonic relation between temperature and economic growth and
151 the existence of an optimum temperature for productivity growth
152 (30). Because of the heterogeneity in ideal points, different
153 regions will most likely disagree on their ideal level of geoengi-
154 neering. As a consequence, an overprovision by the country or
155 coalition with the highest ideal level of geoengineering would
156 result in global welfare losses and likely exacerbate inequality. A
157 GoB game with two countries resembles a dictator game where
158 roles are random and bargaining power asymmetric. Yet, the
159 country with low ideal point has choices and can punish the
160 other one.

161 The literature includes some experimental evaluations of
162 climate-change cooperation (37–39), but, to the best of our
163 knowledge, empirical evidence is lacking on the hypothesis of
164 free-driving in climate engineering. Further, no investigations
165 have been conducted regarding the consequences of possible
166 technological responses, such as countergeoengineering, that
167 could make climate governance even more challenging. Our
168 study is intended to bridge this gap in the literature and con-
169 tribute to the growing debate about climate engineering in
170 climate negotiations. Our methodology centers on a controlled
171 laboratory experiment to analyze behavior in a GoB game that is
172 carried out in a simple bilateral world with just two decision
173 makers and in a complex multilateral world with six decision
174 makers. In the experiment, decision makers with different ideal
175 points choose a level of geoengineering through a decentralized
176 effort decision with global consequences.

177 In our experiment, the basic decision-making unit is a team of
178 two persons. We did this because teams are generally considered
179 more rational than individuals making decisions in isolation (see
180 ref. 40 for a review) and because the design minimally captures
181 the collective process behind national choices generated by coun-
182 tries. The experiment is unframed, and climate change is never
183 mentioned, although we refer to it in what follows.

184 The experiment comprises two treatments, “baseline” and
185 “counter,” that differ according to whether or not decision
186 makers can exert effort in countergeoengineering (i.e., undo the
187 geoengineering efforts of other decision makers). We define
188 countergeoengineering as the use of technical means to negate
189 the change in radiative forcing caused by geoengineering deploy-
190 ment (34, 41). Each session has three parts (*SI Appendix, Fig. S1*). In part 1, all participants, regardless of the treatment, play

187 the baseline GoB game for five rounds under economies of two
188 decision makers ($N = 2$) that are characterized by distinct ideal
189 points. In part 2, participants remain in the same economies
190 of part 1 and play their treatment-specific game (baseline or
191 counter) for five rounds. In part 3, the treatment-specific game
192 is played for 15 rounds, but in economies of six decision makers
193 ($N = 6$), with each decision maker characterized by one of three
194 possible ideal points.

195 For tractability, we introduce some simplifying assumptions.
196 First, the outcomes of geoengineering policies are deterministic.
197 We abstract from unknown effects of geoengineering, such as its
198 effect on rainfall patterns, ozone levels, and the political cost of
199 conflict over the level of geoengineering. Second, we consider a
200 repeated but static interaction: Geoengineering in a round does
201 not affect temperature in subsequent rounds. Third, apart from
202 their ideal points, we assume that all decision makers are identi-
203 cal: They have the same size, action space, geoengineering costs,
204 and losses incurred from deviations from their ideal points.

205 **Geoengineering Game.** In each round t , each decision maker i
206 chooses how much of their endowment, $E = 150$, they want
207 to invest in geoengineering effort, g_i . Participant earnings are
208 expressed in E\$ (2 E\$ = 0.01 euro [EUR]). These earnings
209 are converted to EURs at the end of the session, and partici-
210 pants are paid in cash. In baseline, $g_i \in [0, 15]$, while in counter,
211 $g_i \in [-15, 15]$. Every unit of geoengineering effort, $|g_i|$, costs
212 $\alpha = 4$. We leave out other climate strategies such as mitigation
213 and adaptation. We assume that the world has continued to
214 excessively produce greenhouse-gas emissions and that exten-
215 sive climate-related damage—in the form of rising sea levels,
216 altered ocean and atmospheric circulation patterns, and harm-
217 ful regional weather changes—are imminent unless we are able
218 to deliberately geoengineer the temperature. The global provi-
219 sion of geoengineering, $\sum_i g_i = G$, affects the payoffs of each
220 decision maker i :

$$\pi_i = E - \alpha|g_i| - \lambda|G - G_i^*|. \quad [1]$$

221 The decision makers are heterogeneous in their desired level
222 of global geoengineering, G , reflecting different geographical
223 locations. In the experiment, ideal points G_i^* could be either
224 two, six, or 10 (henceforth, IP2, IP6, and IP10, respectively).
225 Both underprovision or overprovision of G results in loss. More
226 specifically, any deviation of the global geoengineering effort G
227 from the decision maker’s ideal point, G_i^* , entails a loss, symmet-
228 ric on both sides, amounting to $\lambda = 10$ per unit. All parameter
229 values are public information. After each round, decision mak-
230 ers observe the global geoengineering level, as well as efforts of
231 others.

232 An economy of six always includes two each of IP2, IP6, and
233 IP10. Decision makers with IP10 will have a unilateral incentive
234 to geoengineer because $\alpha < \lambda$. Hence, theory predicts baseline
235 to be inefficient with global geoengineering equal to the highest
236 ideal point in the economy ($G = 10$) and social surplus at 86%
237 of the socially optimal level (Fig. 1, *Materials and Methods*, and
238 *SI Appendix, Proofs*). Theory predicts that IP2 and IP6 decision
239 makers will not produce anything, and IP10 decision makers will
240 divide a total production of 10 among themselves. The social
241 optimum is at $G = 6$, corresponding to the median ideal point
242 in the economy. Countergeoengineering is predicted to bring
243 the global effort down to the socially optimal level. However, a
244 “geoengineering war” would ensue as a result of the escalation
245 of efforts (33) and is expected to generate greater inefficiencies
246 than baseline (Fig. 1; see also *Materials and Methods*). The rea-
247 soning is similar for economies of two in parts 1 and 2, with the
248 caveat that there are three different types of economies of two: 1)
249 IP2 facing IP6, 2) IP2 facing IP10, and 3) IP6 facing IP10 (*Mat-
250 erials and Methods* and *SI Appendix, Table S1*). Under baseline

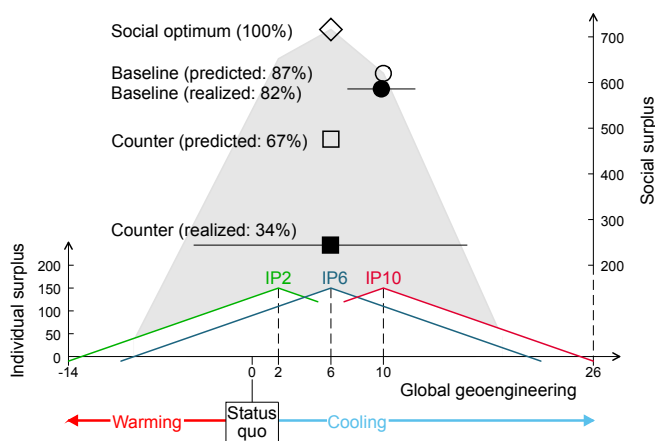


Fig. 1. Geoengineering in a multilateral world ($n = 6$). Global geoengineering is the sum of all effort levels. Relative to the status quo, geoengineering efforts reduce temperature, while countergeoengineering efforts increase it. Individual surplus refers to individual profits, while social surplus is the sum of individual profits in an economy. The lower part of the figure shows that individual payoffs from global geoengineering peak at a decision maker's ideal point. Losses, due to excessive cooling or warming, are symmetric. The shaded area in the upper part of the figure refers to the efficiency frontier in terms of social surplus. The diamond, circle, and square open symbols indicate the social surplus under social optimum, baseline prediction, and counter prediction, respectively, while their filled counterparts refer to the realized outcomes in the experiment. The horizontal lines on the filled symbols represent the average within-economy 95% CI for global geoengineering. Percentages in parentheses refer to the fraction of efficiency achieved. The unit of observation is an economy in a round (i.e., for each treatment $n = 90$).

economies of two, the predicted effort equals the higher ideal point, while the social optimum equals the lower ideal point. Additional details on the experimental design can be found in *Materials and Methods* and *SI Appendix*.

Results

Free-Driving Confirmed. The experimental evidence* strongly supports the hypothesis of free-driving behavior when each decision maker chooses its geoengineering effort. In a multilateral scenario ($N = 6$), global geoengineering is near the predicted level (average 9.8 vs. predicted 10 in baseline: WSR test, $P > 0.10$, $n = 6$). This level brings excessive cooling and lowers social surplus, which is computed as the sum of the earnings of all decision makers in an economy in a round. The realized total surplus is significantly below the socially optimal level (82%; Fig. 1; total surplus actual vs. social optimum: WSR test, $P < 0.05$, $n = 6$), but very close to the predicted value of 87%. The social optimum prescribes a level of geoengineering that yields the median of all ideal points in the economy, not the highest one. Also in line with the predictions, the geoengineering effort in baseline is overwhelmingly undertaken by the decision makers with the highest ideal point (86% with $N = 6$; *SI Appendix, Figs. S2A and S3*). In a multilateral scenario, the two IP10 decision makers roughly split the cost of effort to reach the desired global geoengineering level—in 37% of cases, the split was exact—and the other decision makers contribute a negligible amount (*SI Appendix, Fig. S3*). Additional support for the free-driving hypothesis comes from the data generated under the economies of two scenarios ($N = 2$). At the economy level, global geoengineering was close to the preferred level of the decision maker

with the highest ideal point (*SI Appendix, Figs. S4 and S5A*), who exerted most of the effort (91%; part 2). Prosocial behavior is lower than in many dictator games, most likely because 1) decision makers are teams rather than individuals (42); 2) initial endowments are equal and substantial (43); and 3) interaction is repeated (44).

Dramatic Effects of Countergeoengineering. Theory predicts a strategic shift when decision makers are able to countergeoengineer the climate. One effect is a geoengineering war, which occurs as those with high ideal points boost their geoengineering efforts in anticipation of those with lower ideal points counteracting them with (negative) efforts to warm temperatures. In a multilateral scenario ($N = 6$), such escalation of efforts is expected to reduce social surplus to 67% of the socially optimal surplus. In terms of effort, positive and negative efforts would counteract each other, and the predicted outcome of the experiment is a temperature at the socially optimal level. The observed average global geoengineering in counter is very close to this prediction (actual of 5.97 vs. predicted of 6.00) and is significantly lower than the level of aggregate geoengineering in baseline (WMW test, $P < 0.01$, $n = 12$; see also regressions in *SI Appendix, Table S3*). But this average hides a variability that has massive implications for welfare. Indeed, countergeoengineering induces a significant welfare loss: The realized social surplus in the multilateral scenario of counter is only 34% of the socially optimal level, half the predicted level of 67% (Fig. 1; total surplus vs. social optimum: WSR test, $P < 0.05$, $n = 6$). This outcome is not, as would be expected, the result of a geoengineering war. This is less severe than predicted (Fig. 2A), with a welfare loss of only 22% of the socially optimal surplus. Rather, the driver of the poor performance is the frequent undershootings and overshootings of global geoengineering levels (Fig. 2B). Although the average global effort was close to the predicted level of six, this level was exactly achieved in only 4.4% of the cases (*SI Appendix, Fig. S2B*). In about 23% of cases, global geoengineering was at or below zero, and in about 16% of the cases, it was at or above 15 (*SI Appendix, Fig. S2B*). The variability in global geoengineering is also evident from the 95% CI shown in Fig. 1, which spans from -4.5 to 16.4 and is four times as wide as the corresponding interval in baseline (7.3 to 12.4). In counter, oscillations of effort in an economy across rounds were present in all economies and were wider than in baseline (average [ave.] baseline deviation from prediction is 1.8 vs. ave. counter deviation from prediction is 8.3; WMW test, $P < 0.01$, $n = 12$; *SI Appendix, Figs. S6 and S7*). Thus, in counter, inefficiencies due to temperature undershooting and overshooting are greater than the inefficiencies due to the escalation of effort (44% vs. 22%; Fig. 2B and *SI Appendix, Fig. S8*). The first ones diminish over rounds as experience accumulates, but never vanishes.

The origin of temperature undershooting and overshooting is the strategic uncertainty characterizing the multilateral scenario of counter. The first factor generating uncertainty is the presence of many decision makers all putting nonzero effort (472 times in counter vs. 223 times in baseline; Fig. 3 and *SI Appendix, Fig. S9*). The second factor is the strategic interdependency of choices in counter, which is absent in baseline. Assume that some decision makers systematically deviate from the theoretical equilibrium behavior because of mistakes or in an attempt to restrain the escalation in efforts. In baseline, IP10 decision makers should react to small deviations of others, while the best reply of IP2 and IP6 decision makers would be unaffected. In counter, all decision makers need to adjust their effort level in response to others' deviations. In the experiment, such responses played a larger role in early rounds because IP2 and IP10 were not exerting efforts at the bounds (-15 and 15 , respectively), as theory would predict (*SI Appendix, Fig. S8*). Paradoxically, the losses generated by the strategic uncertainty caused by this behavior early on

* All nonparametric tests conducted are either Wilcoxon–Mann–Whitney (WMW) or Wilcoxon signed rank (WSR) two-tailed exact tests.

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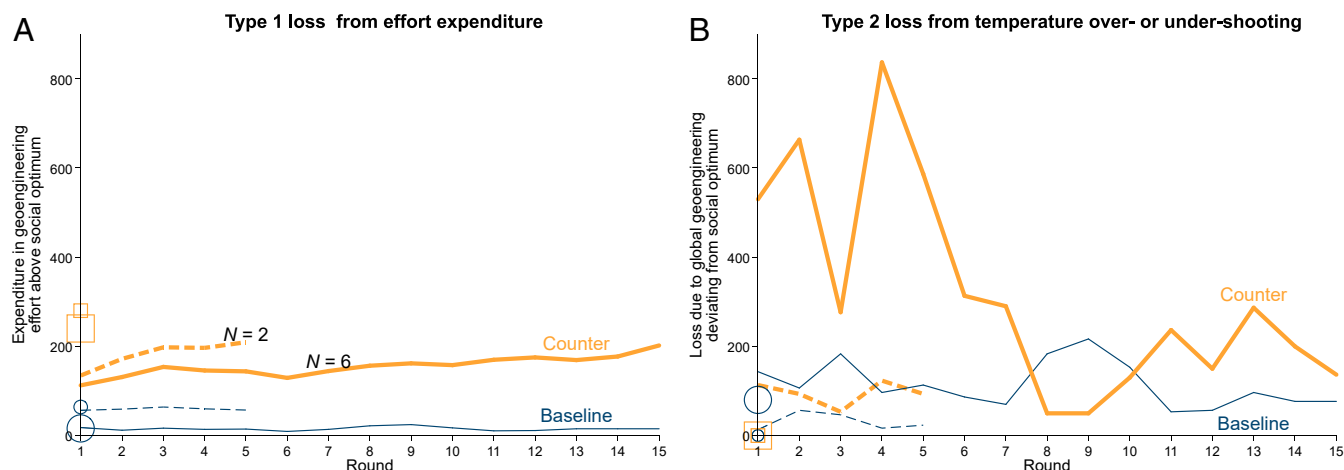


Fig. 2. Drivers of inefficiency over time. Losses to social surplus can come either from the escalation in geoengineering effort expenditures (type 1 loss; *A*) or overshooting and undershooting the social optimum level of global geoengineering (type 2 loss; *B*). In a multilateral scenario ($N = 6$), baseline shows a low type 1 loss (as predicted) and a medium type 2 loss (as predicted), while counter shows a high type 1 loss (as predicted) and an even higher type 2 loss (not predicted). The type 2 loss in counter heavily affected realized surplus. Open symbols on the vertical axes indicate the predicted values for $N = 2$ (small symbols) and $N = 6$ (large symbols). Circles refer to baseline and squares to counter. In both treatments, type 1 losses were higher under $N = 2$ than under $N = 6$, while type 2 losses were lower under $N = 2$ than under $N = 6$. For $N = 6$, the unit of observation is an economy in a round ($n = 90$ for each treatment). For $N = 2$, the unit of observation is the sum of three different economy types of part 2 ($n = 90$ for each treatment).

overshadow the potential losses from effort escalation that they were trying to avoid. Further support for this interpretation comes from the bilateral scenarios, which exhibit a drastically lower loss from overshooting and undershooting (8% in counter and 3% in baseline; Fig. 2*B*).

Finally, the counter condition generated a high inequality in payoffs among decision makers. The Gini index in counter was higher than in baseline (*SI Appendix, Table S2*), but also higher than predicted (actual of 0.31 vs. predicted of 0.25). As predicted, IP2 and IP10 decision makers had lower profits in counter compared to baseline (counter: 33 [IP2], 23 [IP10] vs. baseline: 70 [IP2], 115 [IP10]). Contrary to predictions, IP6 decision makers in counter also had lower profits than those in baseline (67 in counter vs. 109 in baseline).

Complexity in a Multilateral World. Our experiment also highlights the importance of studying geoengineering in a multilateral setup. Theoretical and empirical reasons exist for going beyond a bilateral setup. In theoretical models, the strategic incentives to exert effort can substantially change, depending on the number and preferences of decision makers. Going from a bilateral to a multilateral scenario has consequences for the complexity of the coordination problem and for the equilibrium structure. For instance, our GoB game has a unique equilibrium in the bilateral scenarios and multiple equilibria in the multilateral scenario.

Experimental evidence shows that decision makers understood the change in game incentives well (Fig. 3 and *SI Appendix, Tables S4–S7*). First, consider baseline. In a bilateral setting, the IP10 decision maker is expected to provide the entire global geoengineering effort, while in a multilateral setting, two decision makers coordinate efforts to reach the same global geoengineering level of 10. In the experiment, the average effort of IP10 decision makers was 8.4 under $N = 2$ and 4.2 under $N = 6$ (significantly different at $P < 0.001$ according to Tobit regressions in *SI Appendix, Table S64*; Fig. 3*A*). Next, consider counter. In a bilateral setting, the IP6 decision maker is predicted to provide an effort level of 15 if paired with IP2 or -9 if paired with IP10, while in a multilateral setting, two decision makers coordinate efforts to provide a global geoengineering level of six. In the experiment, the average effort of IP6 was 9.5 and -4.7 ,

respectively, under $N = 2$, and it was 1.1 under $N = 6$ (significantly different at $P < 0.01$, according to Tobit regressions in *SI Appendix, Table S6B*; Fig. 3*B*). Experimental evidence also shows that moving from a bilateral to a multilateral setting in counter resulted in unexpectedly large losses stemming from the frequency of temperatures overshooting and undershooting with respect to the socially optimum level, as discussed above.

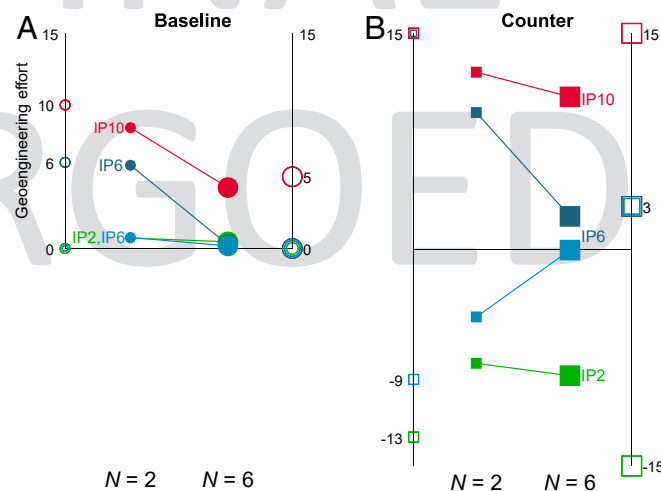


Fig. 3. Strategic behavior in a bilateral ($N = 2$) vs. multilateral ($N = 6$) scenario. (*A*) Baseline. (*B*) Counter. All decision makers were initially placed in a bilateral setting ($N = 2$) and then in a multilateral setting ($N = 6$). If decision makers were together in economies of two, they remained together in economies of six. A decision maker's ideal point remained the same within the session. In the experiment, decision makers were able to adjust their effort level in the predicted direction. Open symbols on the vertical axes represent the predictions for each ideal point under $N = 2$ (left axis) and $N = 6$ (right axis). Filled symbols show the average geoengineering effort for each ideal point. The unit of observation is a decision maker in a round; that is, for each treatment and economy type, $n = 540$ for $N = 6$ and $n = 60$ for $N = 2$. More about bilateral scenarios is in *SI Appendix, Fig. S10*, part 1 vs. part 2).

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497 In other words, the shift in complexity affected treatments
498 differently. In baseline, the difference in aggregate variability
499 between the bilateral and the multilateral setups was minimal:
500 The number of times that global geoengineering fell outside the
501 ideal points' range was similar in the two setups (16% vs. 22%,
502 probit regression: $P = 0.11$, $n = n_{pt2} + n_{pt3} = 720$ with $n_{pt1} = 180$,
503 $n_{pt1} = 540$). For counter, the multilateral scenario exhibited a
504 much higher variability in outcomes, although experience pro-
505 gressively reduced variability (26% vs. 52%, probit regression:
506 $P < 0.01$, $n = n_{pt2} + n_{pt3} = 720$ with $n_{pt1} = 180$, $n_{pt1} = 540$).

507 Discussion

508 Geoengineering is a potential additional strategy for combat-
509 ing the detrimental effects of climate change that is increasingly
510 being considered in scientific and policy discourses (45). While
511 it may be inexpensive and effective in immediately reducing
512 temperature levels, it may also generate risks that outweigh
513 those it is intended to reverse. In particular, we focus on risks
514 and challenges associated with its governance. Countries whose
515 optimal level of geoengineering is highest, such as those that
516 will suffer the most from climate change, can free-drive and
517 thereby propel geoengineering efforts beyond what is socially
518 optimal. In an experimental assessment, we confirm the theo-
519 retical predictions of free-driving: Under baseline, the total
520 surplus of economies of six is 82% of what would be the social
521 optimum, slightly worse than theoretically predicted (86%). The
522 lion's share of geoengineering efforts is borne by those with the
523 highest desire to cool the planet, at the expense of the others.
524 Countries with the highest ideal level of geoengineering earn,
525 on average, 65% more than those with the lowest ideal level of
526 geoengineering.

527 We also study a technology that can place the global tem-
528 perature at the socially optimal level by counterbalancing exces-
529 sive efforts in geoengineering. While countergeoengineering can
530 theoretically offset global cooling, neutralizing the free-driving
531 inefficiency, one can also expect retaliatory efforts that increase
532 inequality and generate deadweight losses. The empirical results
533 are even higher than theoretically predicted and confirm the
534 onset of a geoengineering war, but not to the extent predicted
535 by theory. However, the experiment reveals that the greatest
536 inefficiency of countergeoengineering does not come from effort
537 escalation, but rather from the instability in global effort, which
538 theory did not predict. Many rounds are needed before the
539 variability in outcomes is smoothed out. A plausible explana-
540 tion is that decision makers at lower and higher ideal points
541 do not exert extreme efforts, as theory predicts, in an attempt
542 to avoid escalation. This behavior, however, creates high strate-
543 gic uncertainty. The resulting variability in outcomes ends up
544 being more detrimental to the economy in terms of economic
545 surplus than the losses that would be incurred from effort
546 escalation.

547 These results hold regardless of economy size ($N = 2$ or $N =$
548 6). However, multilateralism complicates coordination. This
549 complication is particularly relevant for countergeoengineering,
550 especially in the field, where policing investments in geoengi-
551 neering efforts is difficult, and group sizes and compositions are
552 uncertain and possibly change in each round. This possibility has
553 implications for the governance of geoengineering, which is likely
554 to take place in a context of multiple countries. Communication
555 may likely improve outcomes, and this could certainly also be
556 studied experimentally.

557 The setup used in this paper makes a series of simplifying
558 assumptions, such as assuming geoengineering is the only strat-
559 egy and abstracting from the indirect effects of geoengineering.
560 The presence of costly side effects from geoengineering would
561 further weaken the attractiveness of a world with countergeo-
562 engineering. The possibility of further retaliatory actions, such
563 as military intervention, might also limit free-driving. On the

564 other hand, inequality in decision makers' endowments, which
565 is a proxy for variable welfare of countries, might exacerbate
566 free-driving, given that the regions that will suffer the most from
567 global warming are also the poorest.

568 Regardless of these shortcomings, which we hope to address
569 in future work, our paper provides a serious warning of the
570 consequences of strategic as well as behavioral factors for geo-
571 engineering. Both contribute to lowering welfare and increasing
572 inequalities. The set-up, and the experimental results we derived,
573 apply more generally to the class of public GoB games, which are
574 relevant for the management of economic and natural resources.

575 Materials and Methods

576 A total of six sessions were conducted on the campus of Bologna University,
577 with exactly 24 participants per session (SI Appendix, Table S8), who were
578 recruited from the undergraduate student population by using ORSEE (46).
579 Each session was randomly assigned to be either a baseline treatment or a
580 counter treatment, and it comprised 25 rounds of interaction. Each partici-
581 pant participated in only one session. Average earnings were about 20 EUR,
582 inclusive of the 6 EUR of the show-up, for sessions that lasted for 2 h on
583 average.

584 At the beginning of the experiment, individuals were randomly matched
585 in teams of two members, and a team was assigned an ideal point that they
586 kept for the entire experiment. In each round, a team could have a 1- or
587 2-min discussion and had to reach a unanimous decision. Decisions were
588 made individually, but had to be identical within a team. In cases of dis-
589 agreement, individuals were asked to re-enter their decisions. Unresolved
590 disagreements occurred in between 2% and 4% of all choices, depending on
591 the session, affecting on average 10% of economies (SI Appendix, Fig. S11).
592 In part 3, though, the impact was larger on counter than baseline economies
593 (16% vs. 3%, WMW test, $P < 0.05$, $n = 12$).

594 Before the first round, teams were randomly matched in economies of
595 two and remained in a fixed matching for 10 rounds under a bilateral set-
596 ting. After round 10, three economies of two with different ideal point
597 combinations were merged to form an economy of six under a multilateral
598 setting. This matching remained fixed for 15 rounds. Each participant was
599 assigned a computer station with partitions blocking their view of all other
600 stations. Participants were not allowed to communicate with one another
601 for the duration of the experiment, except when the chat window opened
602 for communicating with their team member. The experiment was conducted
603 by using z-Tree (47). An experimenter read the instructions aloud, after
604 which the participants answered a quiz to ensure that they understood
605 them. At the end of the session, participants were asked to complete an
606 unpaid survey questionnaire, which included socio-demographic questions
607 as well as questions on individual preferences following ref. 48. Copies of
608 the full experimental instructions and the questionnaire are provided in SI
609 Appendix, Instructions.

610 In the same experiment, we collected data on two additional treatments,
611 treaty and transfers. We will report about these treatments in a separate
612 paper.

613 The experiment was neutrally framed and involved no deception. We
614 never mentioned climate change, and decision makers were referred to as
615 "teams," economies were referred to as "groups," and geoengineering was
616 referred to as "production." The experiment was granted ethics (Institu-
617 tional Review Board) approval by Bocconi University on December 4, 2013.
618 Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

619 **Theoretical Considerations.** For both baseline and counter treatments, the
620 optimal level of global geoengineering in $N = 2$ was equal to the lowest
621 ideal point and in $N = 6$, to the median ideal point. Under $N = 2$, this yielded
622 a total surplus of 252 (IP2 and IP6), 212 (IP2 and IP10), and 236 (IP6 and IP10),
623 and, under $N = 6$, a total surplus of 716 (IP2, IP6, and IP10). Under $N = 6$, the
624 predicted Gini index of inequality reaches a minimum of 0.07 if effort is
625 equally split by the two IP6 decision makers.

626 In baseline, all types of economies admit a unique subgame perfect
627 Nash equilibrium outcome: Global geoengineering equals the highest ideal
628 point in the economy. Under $N = 2$, the decision maker with the highest
629 ideal point contributes all of the effort, and the other decision maker puts
630 in zero. Under $N = 6$, the two IP10 decision makers put in a total effort
631 equal to 10. The predicted outcome is suboptimal relative to the total sur-
632 plus from the social optimum: 94% for economy (IP2 and IP6), 85% for
633 economy (IP2 and IP10), 93% for economy (IP6 and IP10), and 87% for
634 economy of six. Inequality, as measured by the Gini index, is 0.03 for econ-
635 omy (IP2 and IP6), 0.11 for economy (IP2 and IP10), 0 for economy (IP6 and
636 IP10).

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IP10), and 0.13 for the economy of six (when IP10 decision makers produce five each).

In counter, global geoengineering equals the lowest ideal point of the decision makers in $N = 2$ and the median ideal point of the decision makers in $N = 6$. In $N = 2$, the decision maker with the higher ideal point contributes the maximum amount of effort, while the decision maker with the lower ideal point counteracts this effort and brings it down to its own ideal level. In $N = 6$, IP10 decision makers put in 15, IP2 decision makers put in -15 , and IP6 decision makers put in a total of six. Counter leads to a level of global geoengineering equivalent to the socially optimal one, but the resulting total surplus is not the same; that is, countries' efforts are wasted, as $\sum_{j \neq i} |g_{j,i}| \gg G$. In $N = 2$, this sum is 26 for economies (IP2 and IP6) and (IP2 and IP10) and 24 for (IP6 and IP10). In $N = 6$, this sum is 66, resulting in a total surplus of just 66% of the socially optimal surplus and an inequality of 0.25 (when IP6 decision makers produce three each).

A summary of these theoretical predictions is available in *SI Appendix, Table S1*. The formal proofs for a general N is available in *SI Appendix, Proof of Theoretical Predictions*. We also report theoretical analyses of two model

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extensions in *SI Appendix, Robustness of Theoretical Results to Variations of the Model Assumptions*): allowing quadratic instead of linear damages and taking away the upper bound of effort. Predictions are qualitatively similar.

Data Availability. All relevant data and code are included in the manuscript, *SI Appendix*, and *Datasets S1–S4*.

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