
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

IO

SPRING 2025 VOLUME 79 NUMBER 2 ISSN 0020 8183

ARTICLES

Conflicts that Leave Something to Chance
Peter Schram

RESEARCH NOTES

SYMPOSIUM ON CLIMATE CHANGE

The Global Politics of Scientific Consensus: Evidence from the
Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
Zuhad Hai

From Gridlock to Ratchet: Conditional Cooperation on Climate
Change
Sam S. Rowan

Shaming Paris: A Political Economy of Climate Commitments
Justin Melnick and Alastair Smith

Apology Diplomacy: The International Image Effects of Interstate
Apologies
Michaela Mattes and Jessica L.P. Weeks

Civilian Harm and Military Legitimacy: Evidence from the Battle of
Mosul
Benjamin C. Krick, Jonathan B. Petkun, and Mara R. Revkin

Trade and the Politics of Electoral Reform
Michael Becher and Irene Menéndez González

ERRATUM

The Damocles Delusion: The Sense of Power Inflates Threat
Perception in World Politics - ERRATUM
Caleb Pomeroy

IO International Organization

Edited at the Department of Political Science, Rice University;
and the School of Public and International Affairs
and Department of Politics, Princeton University
Published quarterly by Cambridge University Press
Founded in 1947 by the World Peace Foundation

	Brett Ashley Leeds	<i>Editors</i>
	Layna Mosley	
	B. Peter Rosendorff	<i>Associate Editors</i>
	Ayşe Zarakol	
	Elana Matthews	<i>Managing Editor</i>
	Stephanie Rickard	<i>Editorial Board Chair</i>
	Edward D. Mansfield	<i>Editorial Board</i>
	Michaela Mattes	
	Megumi Naoi	
	Abraham Newman	
	Kai Quek	
	Dennis P. Quinn	
	Stephanie Rickard	
	Nita Rudra	
	Kenneth Scheve	
	Kenneth Schultz	
	Joel W. Simmons	
	Randall W. Stone	
	Jonas Tallberg	
	Dustin Tingley	
	Erik Voeten	
	James Raymond Vreeland	
	Stefanie Walter	
	Jessica L.P. Weeks	
	Jessica Chen Weiss	
Rebecca Adler-Nissen		
Michael Barnett		
Allison Carnegie		
David B. Carter		
Alexandre Debs		
Songying Fang		
Tanisha Fazal		
James Fearon		
Martha Finnemore		
Virginia Page Fortna		
Jeffrey Frieden		
Kristian Skrede Gleditsch		
Stacie Goddard		
Judith Goldstein		
Susan Hyde		
Judith Kelley		
Joshua Kertzer		
In Song Kim		
Sung Eun Kim		
Sarah E. Kreps		
David Lake		
Emanuel Adler	Lisa L. Martin	<i>Senior Advisors</i>
Benjamin J. Cohen	John Odell	
Peter Gourevitch	Louis Pauly	
Stephan Haggard	Thomas Risse	
Miles Kahler	Ronald Rogowski	
Peter Katzenstein	Kathryn Sikkink	
Robert O. Keohane	Janice Gross Stein	
Stephen D. Krasner		

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION invites the submission of original manuscripts on all aspects of international affairs. Authors should follow the guidelines found at <http://journals.cambridge.org>.

Address for submissions: <http://io.edmgr.com>

For all other inquiries:

International Organization

School of Public and International Affairs, Robertson 448, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544.

Statements and opinions expressed in *International Organization* are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the Board of Editors, the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation, Cambridge University Press, the Department of Political Science at Rice University, or the School of Public and International Affairs and Department of Politics at Princeton University.

For abstracting listing and price information, please refer to the back of this issue.

Periodicals postage is paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices.

© 2025 by The IO Foundation. ISSN 0020-8183

International Organization

Volume 79, Number 2, Spring 2025

Article

Conflicts that Leave Something to Chance *Peter Schram* 199

Research Notes

Symposium on Climate Change

The Global Politics of Scientific Consensus: Evidence from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change *Zuhad Hai* 233

From Gridlock to Ratchet: Conditional Cooperation on Climate Change *Sam S. Rowan* 257

Shaming Paris: A Political Economy of Climate Commitments *Justin Melnick and Alastair Smith* 281

Apology Diplomacy: The International Image Effects of Interstate Apologies *Michaela Mattes and Jessica L.P. Weeks* 306

Civilian Harm and Military Legitimacy: Evidence from the Battle of Mosul *Benjamin C. Krick, Jonathan B. Petkun, and Mara R. Revkin* 332

Trade and the Politics of Electoral Reform *Michael Becher and Irene Menéndez González* 358

Erratum

The Damocles Delusion: The Sense of Power Inflates Threat Perception in World Politics – ERRATUM *Caleb Pomeroy* 380

Reviewers

In addition to our board members' contributions, *International Organization* gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the following reviewers in 2024:

Kenneth Abbott	Andy Baker	Christopher Blair
Lamis Abdelaaty	Laia Balcells	Robert Blanton
Alexei Abrahams	Lisa Baldez	Cristina Bodea
Yehonatan Abramson	Cameron Ballard-Rosa	Tanja Boerzel
Scott Abramson	Thierry Balzacq	Derek Bolton
Amitav Acharya	Navin Bapat	Jonathan Bonnitcha
Fiona Adamson	Corinne Bara	Nils-Christian Bormann
Claire Adida	Tarak Barkawi	Sandra Botero
Christine Agius	Tiffany Barnes	Aaron Brantly
John Ahlquist	Tim Bartley	Deborah Brautigam
Emma Aisbett	Ida Bastiaens	Samuel Brazys
Michaël Aklin	Genevieve Bates	Ryan Briggs
William Akoto	Sarah Bauerle Danzman	Stephen Brooks
Deniz Aksoy	Matthew Baum	Owen Brown
Justin Alger	Samuel Bazzi	Chris Browning
Bentley Allan	David Bearce	Jutta Brunnee
Todd Allee	Paul Beaumont	Ryan Brutger
Susan Allen	Michael Bechtel	Labeeb Bsoul
Tim Allen	Andreas Behnke	Mark Buntaine
Joshua Alley	Duncan Bell	Jonas Bunte
Jamie Allinson	Michelle Benson	Sarah Bush
Dan Altman	Brett Benson	Barry Buzan
Maxim Alyukov	Daniel Berliner	Zoltan Buzas
Benjamin Ansell	Sarah Bermeo	Susanna Campbell
Amnon Aran	Alexander Betts	Justin Canfil
Vincent Arel-Bundock	Timm Betz	Xun Cao
Lucian Ashworth	Stephen Biddle	Gulsah Capan
Philip Ayoub	Glen Biglaiser	R. Charli Carpenter
Sarah Babb	Helga Malmin	Robert Carroll
Leonardo Baccini	Binningsbo	Austin Carson
Benjamin Bagozzi	James Bisbee	Jeff Carter
Stefanie Bailer	Robert Blair	Benjamin Cashore
William Bain	Graeme Blair	Donald Casler

Lars-Erik Cederman	Cassy Dorff	Amélie Godefroidt
Raphael Ch	Daniel Drezner	Kerry Goettlich
Terrence Chapman	Thad Dunning	Michael Goldfin
Suparna Chaudhry	Andreas Dür	Benjamin Goldsmith
Stephen Chaudoin	Allard Duursma	Kristi Govella
Jeffrey Checkel	Christoph Dworschak	Erin Graham
Frederick Chen	Sean Ehrlich	Julia Gray
Muyang Chen	Mette Eilstrup-	Elliott Green
Wilfred Chow	Sangiovanni	Kelly Greenhill
Olga Chyzh	Manfred Elsig	Michael Greig
Deniz Cil	Andrew Enterline	Sheena Greitens
Menevis Cilizoglu	Chelsea Estancona	Sharan Grewal
Richard Clark	Theo Farrell	Ryan Griffiths
Ronen A. Cohen	Henry Farrell	Tyrone Groh
Italo Colantone	Benjamin Faude	Guy Grossman
Jeff Colgan	Lauren Ferry	Janis Grzybowski
Luke Condra	Michael Findley	Anna Grzymala-Busse
Justin Conrad	K. Orfeo Fioretos	Andrew Guess
Ben Cormier	Hanne Fjelde	Alexandra Guisinger
Julia Costa Lopez	Trine Flockhart	Robert Gulotty
Christina Cottiero	Michael Flynn	Stefano Guzzini
Neta Crawford	Benjamin Fordham	Yoram Haftel
Christophe Crombez	Vasiliki Fouka	Jillienne Haglund
Audrey Cronin	Matthew Fuhrmann	Jens Hainmueller
Raphael Cunha	Nikhar Gaikwad	Henry Hale
David Cunningham	Max Gallop	Thomas Hale
Kathleen Cunningham	Jennifer Gandhi	Todd Hall
Xinyuan Dai	Sumit Ganguly	Mark Hallerberg
Roman David	Omar Garcia-Ponce	Robin Harding
Christina Davis	Francisco Garfias	Heidi Hardt
Lucas De Oliveira Paes	Kishore Gawande	Caroline Hartzell
Indra de Soysa	Federica Genovese	Ron Hassner
Nicole Deitelhoff	Stephen Gent	Jonathan Havercroft
Lisa Dellmuth	Adom Getachew	Darren Hawkins
Richard Devetak	Anna Getmansky	Jarrod Hayes
Daniel Devine	Eugene Gholz	Jude Hays
Jessica Di Salvatore	Michael Gibilisco	Chad Hazlett
Jonathan DiCicco	Douglas Gibling	Tobias Heinrich
Greg Distelhorst	Matthew Gibney	Mirko Heinzl
Austin Doctor	Mark Gibney	Jaakko Heiskanen
Lindsay Dolan	Michael Gilligan	Eric Helleiner
Jack Donnelly	Desh Girod	C. Randall Henning
Daniela Donno	Theodora-Ismene Gizelis	Paul Hensel
Vito D'Orazio	Charles Glaser	Courtney Hillebrecht

Simon Hix	Andreas Kern	Melissa Lee
Sara Hobolt	Andrew Kerner	Halvard Leira
Anke Hoeffler	Hassan Khalilieh	Douglas Lemke
Stephanie Hofmann	Christopher Kilby	Tobias Lenz
Alisha Holland	Soo Yeon Kim	Quan Li
Florian Hollenbach	James Dongjin Kim	Xiaojun Li
James Hollyer	Tongfi Kim	Steven Liao
Mirya Holman	Minju Kim	Keir Lieber
Yusaku Horiuchi	Amy King	Jennifer Lind
Lise Howard	Brandon Kinne	Jon Lindsay
Reyko Huang	Helen Kinsella	Erik Lin-Greenberg
Connor Huff	Risa Kitagawa	Lizhi Liu
Llewelyn Hughes	Katja Kleinberg	David Logan
Melanie Hughes	Mareike Kleine	Dylan Loh
Victoria Tin-bor Hui	Daniel Klinenberg	Meredith Loken
Lisa Hultman	Audie Klotz	Erica Lonergan
Andrew Hurrell	Jiyoung Ko	Cyanne Loyle
Iza Hussin	Yoshiharu Kobayashi	Christopher Lucas
Matias Iaryczower	Natalia Koga	Danielle Lupton
Patrick Jackson	Shoko Kohama	Yonatan Lupu
Nathan Jensen	Ore Koren	Jason Lyall
Eun A Jo	Markus Kornprobst	Paul MacDonald
Leslie Johns	Daniel Krcmaric	Julia MacDonald
Jesse Johnson	Anne-Kathrin Kreft	Matthias Mader
Tana Johnson	Matthew Kroenig	Gabriele Magni
Jacint Jordana	Mona Krook	Cameron Mailhot
Tyler Jost	Brenden Kuerbis	Edmund Malesky
Michelle Jurkovich	Raymond Kuo	Zachariah Mampilly
David Kang	Charles Kupchan	Mark Manger
Stephen Kaplan	Jorg Kustermans	Giovanni Mantilla
Stefanie Kappler	Andrew Kydd	Silvia Marchesi
Devesh Kapur	Dillon Laaker	Isabela Mares
Sabrina Karim	David Laitin	Yotam Margalit
John Karlsrud	Milli Lake	Nikolay Marinov
Scott Kastner	Marika Landau-Wells	Lisa Martin
Azusa Katagiri	Valentin Lang	Lennart Maschmeyer
Aycan Katitas	Anthony Lang	Aila Matanock
Stuart Kaufman	Alexander Lanoszka	Xavier Mathieu
Emilian Kavalski	Deborah Larson	Matthias Matthijs
Mark Kayser	Kyle Lascuresses	Kelly Matush
Lucas Kello	Andrew Leber	Sarah Maxey
Brenton Kenkel	David Leblang	Anna Maria Mayda
Amanda Kennard	Matthew Lebo	Rose McDermott
Michael Kenwick	James H. Lebovic	Matt McDonald

Carrie McDougall	Nathan Nunn	Kristopher Ramsay
Daniel McDowell	Brendan Nyhan	Brian Rathbun
Elena McLean	Thomas Oatley	Tanika Raychaudhuri
Roseanne McManus	Diana O'Brien	Mark Raymond
Kathleen McNamara	Jared Oestman	Lindsay Reid
Marius Mehrl	Marie Olson Lounsbury	Bernhard Reinsberg
Rupal Mehta	Michal Onderco	Dan Reiter
Anne Meng	Harry Oppenheimer	Jonathan Renshon
Elizabeth Menninga	Iain Osgood	Anatoly Reshetnikov
Jane Darby Menton	Erica Owen	Christian Reus-Smit
Jennifer Merolla	Patricia Owens	Mara Revkin
Sophie Meunier	Lucas Paes	Arman Rezaee
Anna Meyerrose	Jack Paine	Sungmin Rho
Matto Mildenberger	Tabea Palmtag	Philip Roessler
Karolina Milewicz	Costas Panagopoulos	Adrian Rogstad
Charles Miller	Manjeet Pardesi	Ben Rosher
Aidan Milliff	Bradley Parks	Joshua Rovner
Eric Min	Tommaso Pavone	Aviad Rubin
Ronald Mitchell	Pamela Paxton	Michael Rubin
Tamar Mitts	Clint Peinhardt	Kamal Sadiq
Jennifer Mitzen	Krzysztof Pelc	Scott Sagan
Sayumi Miyano	Thomas Pepinsky	Atef Said
Courtenay Monroe	Anibal Perez-Linan	Idean Salehyan
Julia Morse	Rebecca Perlman	Colette Salemi
Lisa Mueller	Margaret Peters	Ilai Saltzman
Rohan Mukherjee	Andrew Phillips	Cyrus Samii
Bumba Mukherjee	Pablo Pinto	Wayne Sandholtz
Amanda Murdie	Paul Poast	Mehwish Sarwari
Matt Murphy	Mark Pollack	Brent Sasley
Harris Mylonas	Sara Polo	Thomas Sattler
Rachel Myrick	Ethan Porter	Burcu Savun
Robert Nagel	Daniel Posner	William Schabas
Deepak Nair	Abigail Post	Frank Schimmelfennig
Monika Nalepa	Philip Potter	Averell Schmidt
Neil Narang	Lauge Poulsen	Olivier Schmitt
Daniel Naurin	Emilia Powell	Rachel Schoner
Eric Neumayer	Kathleen Powers	Andrew Schrank
Daniel Nexon	Aseem Prakash	Robert Schub
Daniel Nielson	Lauren Prather	Joshua Schwartz
Olena Nikolayenko	Tyler Pratt	Randall Schweller
Desirée Nilsson	Keith Preble	Todd Sechser
Yui Nishimura	Alyssa Prorok	Emily Sellars
Ragnhild Nordås	Xiaoyu Pu	Ole Jacob Sending
Fernando Nuñez-Mietz	Didac Queralt	Renard Sexton

Alireza Shams Lahijani	Motoshi Suzuki	Carolyn Warner
Megan Shannon	Jordan Tama	Dov Waxman
Gulnaz Sharafutdinova	Nina Tannenwald	Carly Wayne
Jason Sharman	Ahmer Tarar	Catherine Weaver
Christopher Shay	Margit Tavits	Florian Weiler
Moses Shayo	Michelle Taylor-	Michael Weintraub
Robbie Shilliam	Robinson	Alex Weisiger
Adrian Shin	Ruti Teitel	Ryan Weldzius
Susan Shirk	Shibley Telhami	Rachel Wellhausen
Niloufer Siddiqui	Jan Teorell	Stephen Weymouth
Branislav Slantchev	Rochelle Terman	Samuel Whitt
Michael Slobodchikoff	Cameron Thies	Monica Widmann
Max Smeets	Jakana Thomas	Krista Wiegand
Michal Smetana	Alexander Thompson	Antje Wiener
Hannah Smidt	Calvin Thrall	William Winecoff
Brad Smith	Michael Tierney	Matthew Winters
Alastair Smith	Michelle Torres	William Wohlforth
Omer Solodoch	Ann Towns	Scott Wolford
Konstantin Sonin	Daniel Treisman	Elisabeth Wood
Mark Souva	Jacqui True	Reed Wood
William Spaniel	Gerasimos Tsourapas	Joseph Wright
Gabriele Spilker	Zeynep Tufekci	Austin Wright
Sharath Srinivasan	Matthew Tyler	Julian Wucherpfennig
Swati Srivastava	Akin Unver	Carmen Wunderlich
Jessica Stanton	Felicity Vabulas	Frank Wyrer
David Stasavage	Milada Vachudova	Xu Xu
Jeffrey Staton	Krishna Vadlamannati	Tony Zirui Yang
Brent Steele	Benjamin Valentino	Brandon Yoder
David Steinberg	Roos van der Haer	Hye Young You
Zachary Steinert-	Jane Vaynman	Joseph Young
Threlkeld	Kristopher Velasco	Amy Yuen
Megan Stewart	Robert Vitalis	Neda Zawahri
Jonathan Strand	Tristan Volpe	Maja Zehfuss
Austin Strange	Inken von Borzyskowski	Alexandra Zeitz
Jelena Subotic	Stefanie von Hlatky	Yuleng Zeng
Kyungwon Suh	Samantha Vortherms	Boliang Zhu
Lauren Sukin	Elsa Voytas	Yuri Zhukov
Christopher Sullivan	Ole Wæver	Noah Zucker
Meicen Sun	Geoffrey Wallace	Kelebogile Zvobgo
Pavithra Suryanarayan	Stephen Walt	
Shogo Suzuki	Steven Ward	