2018

# Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Counterterrorism Efforts and Implications for International Humanitarian Law

Kunle Adebamiji Olulowo
*Walden University*

# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Adebamiji Kunle Olulowo

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Review Committee
Dr. Paul Rutledge, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Anthony Fleming, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. James Mosko, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
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Abstract

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment

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## Abstract

The United States increasingly has resorted to the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) for targeted killings of terrorists as a counterterrorism strategy. More states and terrorist organizations also are acquiring UAVs and this development can lead to indiscriminate and unregulated use of UAVs. Previous researchers have indicated the surveillance ability and precise weapon delivery capacity of UAVs make them a weapon of choice for U.S. counterterrorism efforts. Although the U.S. government estimated the collateral damage involved in the use of UAVs at 3-5%, nongovernmental sources put it at 25-40%. A gap exists in the current literature regarding public perception of the use of UAVs as a counterterrorism measure and how international humanitarian law (IHL) may interpret employment of UAVs. The purpose of this quantitative, cross-sectional study is to determine if a relationship exists among public support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes towards counterterrorism, and public perceptions of IHL. An online survey was used to collect data from 104 adult participants using the convenience sampling method. Logistic regression, ANOVA, and correlational analyses helped to determine the relationships.The outcomes contributed to the existing literature by providing important data related to public perception of the use of UAVs with the potential to enhance global peace and security. The results contributed to social change initiatives through the potential to facilitate the establishment of international and domestic legal frameworks to regulate the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing.

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# Dedication

I dedicate this study to the Almighty God who gave me sound health and a sound mind, which facilitated the completion of my doctoral program.

Acknowledgments

My profound gratitude goes to the Chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Paul Rutledge for mentoring me through this study. I also appreciate the second committee member, Dr. Anthony Fleming for his painstaking efforts that produced useful feedback on my study. My gratitude also goes to the URR member, Dr. James Mosko, for his invaluable feedback that helped to refine my thoughts and processes. I am so grateful for the numerous supports I received from my family members (especially my Father) and friends during the time I spent in pursuit of this academic endeavor. The good Lord will surely reward you all abundantly.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

## Description of the Topic and Reasons for the Study

Nations have always used targeted killing for diverse purposes and in different contextual understandings, but the contemporary form of targeted killing by the United States commonly serves as a counterterrorism strategy. Nils Melzer (2008) stated that targeted killing is a process of eliminating a person not under arrest or in custody through the use of lethal force. Historically, states employed various means to conduct targeted killing includingthe use of letter bombs, snipers, and bombs or missiles from manned fighter jets or helicopter gunships. The use of manned fighter jets or helicopter gunships generated criticism on the inability to discriminate between military targets and nonmilitary targets (Blank, 2012). These strategies can cause more harm to the civilian population regarding lives and properties. Consequently, the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) for targeted killing became popular in the post-9/11 era (Brooks, 2014). Unlike the manned fighter jets and helicopter gunships, UAVs carry smaller missiles with a smaller payload known as a Hellfire Missile. Also, UAVs have a higher precision technology and create a smaller radius of damage than fighter jets and helicopter gunships. Thus, UAVs seem to be able to reduce collateral damage thereby making it a preferred means of conducting targeted killing.

The general classification of the various variants of UAVs in the U.S. inventory falls into the smaller and the bigger categories. The former carries cameras for surveillance while the latter carries Hellfire missiles in addition to the cameras to neutralize terrorists (Cragin, 2015; Sterio, 2012). The CIA and the military employed

armed UAVs to target and kill suspected terrorists and also run two versions of UAV programs, the military version and the CIA version (Mayer, 2009; Whetham, 2015). The CIA version is covert and helps to neutralize suspected terrorists in nonconventional battlefields, including where the United Statesdid not deploy troops (Braun & Brunstetter, 2013). The military version operates in overt mode and facilitates targeting of the enemies of the U.S. military as an extension of warfare in conventional battlefields such as Afghanistan and Iraq (Warrior, 2015). The difference between the methods and locations of the employment of UAVs by the CIA and the military created the difference in perception regarding the legality of the programs.

The use of UAVs evolved because of the increasing employment of robotic technology by the U.S. military. The number of UAVs increased from zero in 2003 to approximately 12,000 at the end of 2008 (Singer, 2009). For example, the U.S.-led coalition employed UAVs extensively as UAVs recorded half a million hours of flight during Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom (US DOD, 2009, p. XIII). The estimated cost of the U.S. proposal on the acquisition of UAVs by 2020 is $29 billion, exceeding the entire proposed defense budget by 1% (GAO, 2010). The U.S. budget on the acquisition of UAVs continued to increase (see Figure 1) because the United States procured more UAVs than manned aircraft in 2009. The upsurge in the U.S. acquisition of UAVs is a clear indication of the U.S. counterterrorism policy preference.

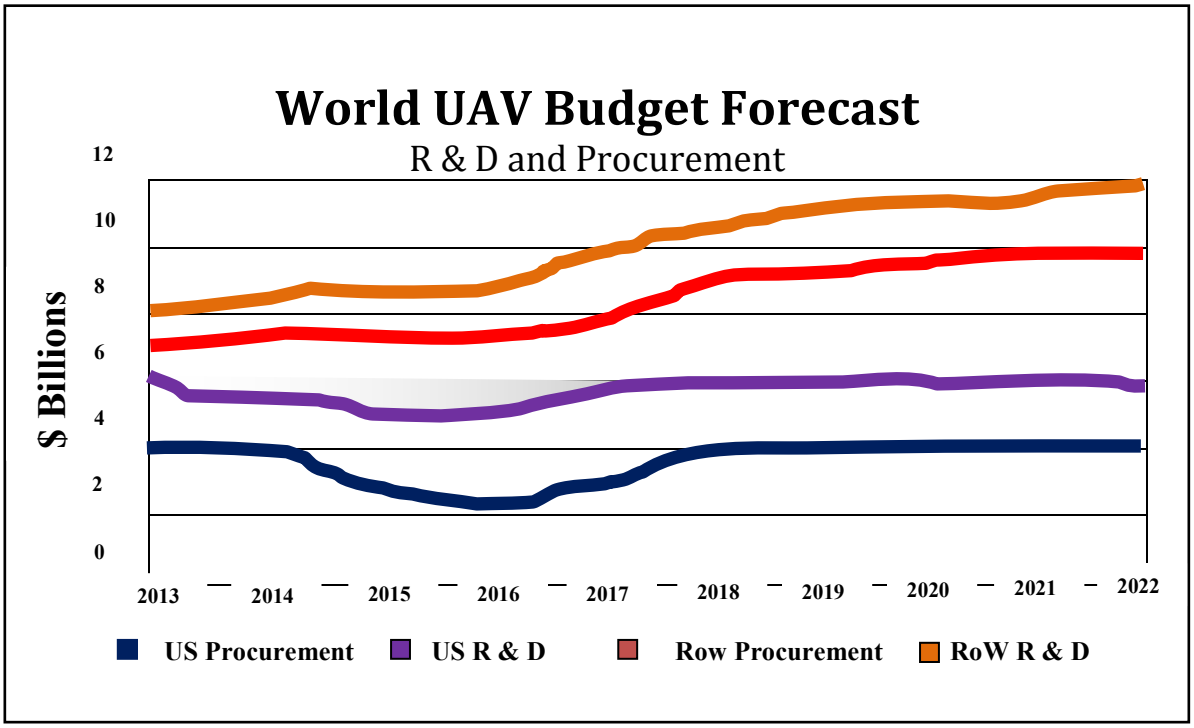



*Figure 1.* The U.S. budget for the procurement of unmanned aerial vehicle.

**The Reason for Carrying out the Research**

Notable implications of targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure exist because the issue of civilian casualties remains in the forefront when deploying UAVs against terrorists. Targeted killing of terrorists using UAVs includes the view that this counterterrorism measure can reduce collateral damage to the civilian population, because of the lethality and precise nature of UAVs (Warrior, 2015). The arguments on this counterterrorism strategy also include the challenge with precision, because the majority of the UAVs strike causes, though not intended, collateral damage and civilian casualties (Braun & Brunstetter, 2013). There is a divided opinion on the practice of targeted killing with one view focusing on the precision ability of UAVs that reduces harm to the civilian population. The other view concentrated on the associated collateral

damage because of the legal, political, moral, and ethical implications on the civilian population. The global anxieties on UAVs and geographically related targeted killings through armed UAVs raised fundamental questions within the legal, policy, and advocacy communities worldwide.

In May 2013, President Obama outlined a major security policy comprising some national and foreign policy priorities but focused mainly on targeted killings. Obama declared that the use of UAVs to kill terrorists is useful, legal and necessary and he also pointed out the legal, foreign policy, and political constraints of the program (Setty 2014). There are, however, opposing views to the president's stand regarding the continued justification of the UAV programs. For instance, Philip Alston, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions opined that the framework under which the U.S. UAV program operates might violate (IHL) (Alston, 2013). Therefore, the strategy seems to impede the advancement of IHL on civilian protection (Gearson & Rosemont, 2015; Tibori-Szabó, 2015). Hence, a need exists for the international community to evolve new sets of a legal framework to regulate the deployment of such lethal force in the contemporary armed conflict. Research related to public perception of UAVs and the potential for civilian casualties can provide great assistance with this.

Establishing new sets of legal frameworksmay help to regulate the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing by states and, by extension, it may enhance global peace and security. Reviewing the implications of UAV program regarding IHL for civilian protection needs to take into consideration the International Human Rights

Law (IHRL). The argument is that even the potential and actual terrorists deserve to enjoy some rights, especially, the right to life, supposedly inalienable and indivisible (Melzer, 2008; Sterio, 2012). Terrorists are also entitled to enjoy the right to a fair trial and a fair hearing in a competent court of law instead of being killed extrajudicially (Melzer, 2008). However, the circumstances which make the capture of terrorists unrealistic may deny them the right to a fair hearing. When states become mindful of the human rights of the civilian population, states will be more willing to protect lives and properties, thereby upholding the fundamental tenets of IHRL.

**Potential Positive Social Implications of the Research**

This research's potential positive implications for social change include using public perception data to assist with the establishment of an international legal framework to regulate the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing. Findings will also aid government officials in various states to refine their counterterrorism strategy on UAV program and other related domestic policies and guidelines. Last, results will help to enhance international peace and security by identifying what respondents may find problematic about the use of UAV strikes, thereby providing a roadmap for improvement.

**The Rationalefor the Study**

The use of UAVs for targeted killings raised fundamental questions within the purview of legal, policy, and advocacy communities in the United States as well as within the international community (Andresen, 2015; Braun & Brunstetter, 2013; Brooks, 2014; Pearlman, 2010; Warrior, 2015). The main issues border on the implication of the deployment of UAVs and its impact on the civilian population. While some scholars

hailed its employment as reducing the damage to the civilian population, others focused on the employment of UAVs given its legal, political, moral, and ethical implications on the civilian population.

Another reason for conducting the study is that the United States adoption of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism strategy seems to be incongruent with existing Law of Armed Conflicts (LOAC). This strategy also seems to impede the advancement of IHL on civilian protection, thereby creating the opportunity for states to evolve new sets of a legal framework to regulate the use of UAVs against contemporary belligerents such as terrorist groups (Tibori-Szabó, 2015). Establishing a new legal framework may help to standardize the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing by states to guarantee global peace and security.

## Statement of the Research Problem

Incidences of terrorism are becoming rampant in contemporary times. The scourge of terrorism does not only pose threats to international security but includes challenges that can affect the stability and social fabric of international community (Ki-Moon, 2014). To combat terrorism, the United States increasingly resorted to the employment of UAVs for targeted killings of terrorist leaders (Aaronson, Aslam & Dyson, 2015; Aloyo, 2013; Anderson, 2012; Boyle, 2015). More states and terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah are also acquiring UAVs (Clarke, 2013; ICRC, 2015; Jenks, 2010; Zenko, 2013). The frenzy acquisition of UAVs by state and nonstate actors can lead to the problem of indiscriminate and unregulated usage, which has implications for the development of the IHL.

Previous research indicates that the surveillance ability and precise weapon delivery capacity of UAVs make them a weapon of choice for the U.S. counterterrorism efforts (Alston, 2011; Anderson, 2012; Blank, 2014; Boyle, 2013; Brooks, 2014; Rosén, 2013; Zenko, 2013). Although the U.S. government estimates the collateral damage involved in the use of UAVs at 3-5% (McNeal, 2011), nongovernmental sources cited 25-40% (Boyle, 2013; Heyns & Knuckey, 2013; Metz, 2013; O'Connell, 2010; Sarahet al., 2012). The current literature revealed a vital gap regarding public perception of the use of UAVs as a counterterrorism measure and how IHL may interpret the employment of UAVs. This outcome implies that a need exists for further research on how to evolve the international legal framework regarding the employment of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism strategy.

## Research Purpose

The purpose of this quantitative, cross-sectional study is to determine if a relationship exists among public support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes towards counterterrorism, and perceptions of the international humanitarian law. This research has the potential to facilitate the establishment of international and domestic legal framework to guide the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing.

## Research Questions and Hypotheses

This research has two independent variables (IVs) and one dependent variable (DV). The IVs are attitudes towards counterterrorism measures and the support of UAVs for targeted killing while the DV is the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. The study will employ the Just War Theory as a theoretical lens to examine the research

questions, as well as the hypotheses. Thus, to find out participants' perception of the *nexus* between the variables, the study will address four research questions and their corresponding hypotheses. Details on research variables and hypotheses are addressed under the research methodology in Chapter 3 while Chapter 2 will provide a more detailed explanation on the Just War Theory that underpins this research.

**Brief Description of the Main Research Variables**

The key variables under investigation are the support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, support for counterterrorism measures, and attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties.

**Support for the use of UAVs for target killing**. This construct is operationalized using a four question, a Likert-type questionnaire developed by nonpartisan fact tank, the Pew Research Center. Survey questions for the Pew Research Center are developed carefully and specifically to minimize and elicit honest answers from respondents and are subject to pilot testing. Survey questions developed by the Pew Research Center are free to be used by researchers without express permission from the Center.

**Support for counterterrorism measures**. The use of two brief questionnaires operationalizes this construct. The first asks the respondent to indicate their support for a one through seven scales for specific counterterrorism policies. This questionnaire used the baseline items from the questionnaire titled: Surveys of American Policy Attitudes. Sociologists Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks developed this survey and Russell Sage Foundation published it. The Russell Sage Foundation is an American research center devoted exclusively to research in the social sciences. The second questionnaire is used to

define support for counterterrorism measures on a one through seven Likert scale. Papastamou, Prodromitis and Iatridis (2005) developed these items.

**Attitudes toward IHL and civilian casualties.** This construct is operationalized using a two-question modified Gallup poll related to the justification of inadvertent civilian casualties during violence committed by the military and individuals or small groups of people (Gallup, 2017). Additionally, a modified 20 question ethics survey developed by Forsyth (1980) was utilized to further serve as a measure of attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. This questionnaire was chosen specifically because it (a) contains items related to support for a codified morality, akin to the IHL and (b) has questions that pertain to the risk and harm of individuals when choosing to perpetrate an action, related to the Jus in Bello principles described in Just War Theory.

## Definitions

The key concepts employed in this research include (a) asymmetric warfare; (b) battlefields; (c) collateral damage; (d) counterterrorism; (e) covert and overt drones/ UAV strikes; (f) drones/ UAVs; (g) due process; (h) imminence; (i) international armed conflict; (j) IHL; (k) IHRL; (l) *jus ad bellum*; (m) *jus in bello*; (n) *jus post bellum*; (o) Just War Theory; and (p) law of armed conflicts. Other definitions include (q) non-international armed conflict, (r) none-state actors, (s) personality strike, (t) pre-emptory norm, (u) pre-emptory strike, (v) self-defence right, (w) signature strike, (x) sovereignty, (y) state actors, (z) statistical package for social sciences, (aa) targeted killing, and (ab) terrorism.

*Asymmetric warfare:* This term refers to a type of conflict between two belligerents whose strength is not equal. This power struggle occurs between a powerful belligerent (usually a state) and a weak opponent (usually nonstate actors) such as terrorist groups, insurgents, separatists, and freedom fighters (Gregory, 2013; Shaw, 2011).

*Battlefield*: This term includes designated areas or zones where belligerents agree to carry out military engagements as well as the use of force. The conventional battlefield used to be a secluded place, thereby providing a shield for the civilian population regarding the adverse impacts of war. However, in contemporary times, nonconventional battlefields evolved along the trend of modern warfare such as counterterrorism whereby battle can take place anywhere, because of lack of designation of a place as the battlefield (Blank, 2010).

*Collateral damage*: This term refers to harm caused by armed attacks on the civil populace, which may or may not violate international law depending on its magnitude or the circumstances that surround such harm (Bernard, 2012, Ed.; Sarahet al., 2012).

*Counterterrorism*: This term denotes "activities and operations taken to neutralize terrorists and their organizations and networks to render them incapable of using violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies to achieve their goals" (Joint Publication 1-02, 2016, p. 54). It is offensive measures aimed at pre-empting, deterring, preventing, and responding to terrorism (U.S. DOD, 2005).

*Covert and overt unmanned aerial vehicle/drone strikes*: The covert and overt UAV strikes are the two methods of employing UAVs. The CIA clandestinely uses the

UAVs to target and kill suspected terrorists anywhere in the universe in non-conventional or non-fixed battlefields (Sterio, 2015a; Vogel, 2011). The military openly employs the UAVs in the conventional and fixed battlefield as an integral means of conducting conventional armed conflict (Sterio, 2015a; Vogel, 2011).

*Drones / Unmanned Area Vehicles*: This term refers to remotely-piloted aerial vehicles. Armed drones/ UAVs have a higher precision technology to create a smaller radius of damage than fighter jets and helicopter gunships. These factors help to reduce collateral damage thereby making drones a preferred means of conducting targeted killing (Bergen, 2012).

*Due process of law*: This term denotes a process in criminal law proceedings that invokes constitutional provision guaranteeing the rights of the accused to fair and due process. However, in civil law, it is the process of preserving the legal rights of someone when a threat to the liberty or property exists (Murphy & Radsan, 2009).

*Imminence*: This term means possession of concrete evidence of the time and place where an attack will occur (Christopher, 2012). The nature of asymmetric warfare that makes it impossible to determine the exact time and venue of a terrorist attack led to the evolution of a broader concept of imminence. This term implies that an attack is deemed to be imminent, even when no accurate information exists about the venue (White Paper 7, 2012, as cited in Freiberger, 2013).

*International armed conflict*: This term denotes an armed conflict between and among states (Bialke, 2014; Merten, 2007).

*International human rights law*: This term denotes the ability to safeguard the individual rights of a person or a group (Merten, 2007; Monteiro, 2014).

*The international humanitarian law on civilian protection*: This term refers to the aspect of IHL that regulates acts of belligerency in armed conflicts to guarantee protection for non-combatants (Geneva Conventions, 1864; The Hague Conventions, 1899, 1907; The Three Additional Protocols, 1977, 2005).

*Jus ad Bellum*: This term entails that a just war must have a just cause, be resorted to as the last option, bea declaration by an appropriate authority, have the right objective, have a high chance to succeed, and have an end commensurate to the methods used (St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007).

*Jus in Bello*: This term refers to an aspect of the Just War theory whose principles necessitate identification of a targeted person, the proportionality of the means of war to the desired end state of the war, and belligerents' assumption of responsibility for their conduct during war (St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007).

*Jus post-Bellum*: This principle extends the Just War theory by soliciting for the application of concepts of justice to the post-war period regarding the examination of the conduct of the participants (Hilpold, 2014; Orend, 2002).

*Just War Theory*: This term refers to the historical and religious justification for how and why countries fight wars (St. Augustine, 2008; St. Thomas Aquinas, 1988; 2007). The theory includes the elements of *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello* (Lee & Johnson, 2014, Eds.).

*Law of armed conflict*: This term denotes the recognized law that regulates the conduct of hostilities, armed conflicts, or war, *lexspecialis* or the special law (Boothby, 2014). It is distinct from others such as IHRL, *lex generalis* or the general law, whose application and interpretation must be subject to the law of war's provisions (Jenks, 2010).

*Noninternational armed conflict*: This term signifies an armed conflict between a state and a subset (s) of the state or between and among subsets within a state. It is also known as civil war and liberation struggle and often characterized by acts of insurgency and terrorism (Brooks, 2014; Merten, 2007).

*Nonstate actors*: These are the group within a state who takes up arms against the state for diverse reasons (Blank, 2010).

*Personality strike*: This term refers to a type of UAV strike in which the targeted person's identity is sure, and there is a certainty that the individual is present at the scene of the attack (Bachman, 2015; Brennan, 2012).

*Pre-emptory norms*: These are also known as *jus cogens* norms, which emanated from established customs, public conscience dictates, and humanitarian principles. The international law principles help to protect these standards (Nieto-Navia, 2003).

*Pre-emptory strike*: This term is also known as the anticipatory strike, a strike in anticipation of another attack or threat thereof. It is similar to the self-defense concept (The UN Charter, 1945).

*Self-defense rights*: This term denotes the inherent rights of a state or a group of nations regarding defense against a threat of attack or a previous occurrence. Self-

defenseresponse includes the foundation of the character of an earlier attack, which may include reprisal, self-help, and self-defense (Albert, Ord, & Rose, 1995, Eds.; UN Charter, 1945).

*Signature strike*: A signature strike is a type of UAV strikes that do not ascertain the actual identity of the targeted persons. Determination of who to target includes the basis on how much the person's character, situation or circumstance matches the activity or association pre-identified as signature or behavior of militant by the U.S. government (Entous, Gorman, & Barnes, 2011; Sarahet al., 2012).

*Sovereignty*: This term is an attribute of a state where one state is not subservient to any other nation. The term denotes the ability of a state to exercise absolute jurisdiction over her territory, including land, maritime and air (Albert, Ord, & Rose, 1995, Eds.). Sovereignty also denotes the capacity of a state to exercise effective political control or to monopolize legitimate physical violence within her territorial space (Elden, 2009; Fierke, 2008).

*State actors*: This concept includes the recognition of geographic space as sovereign entities, which are also known as nations or countries (Blank, 2010).

*Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS)*: This software is a computer program or easy-to-use statistical software, which facilitates the conduct of statistical analysis without encumbrance from the associated complex equations (Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011).

*Targeted killing*: Targeted killing is a process of eliminating a person who is not under arrest or in custody through the use of lethal force (Melzer, 2008).

*Terrorism*: The term refers to "unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political" (Joint Publication 1-02, 2016, p. 241). This term is also the deliberate use of violence or the threat of violence by an individual or a group of persons to negotiate a better political, economic, or social deal using intimidation as a weapon (Savun & Phillips, 2009).

*Unmanned aerial vehicle strikes*: This term entails the employment of armed UAVs, unmanned weapon-fitted aerial vehicles, to attack theselected individual, object or place (Bergen & Tiedemann, 2011).

## Assumptions

This study includes the assumption that the survey will measure attitudes towards counter-terrorism measures, attitudes towards the use of UAVs, and the attitudes regarding IHL and civilian casualties accurately. This strategy will help to guarantee the instrument's reliability (Creswell, 2003). Another assumption is that participants will provide a sincere response to inquiries in the survey to enhance accurate data analysis, thereby helping to guarantee the validity of the research outcome. The last assumption is that the scale employed will accurately measure the research variables to ensure external validity.

## Scope and Delimitations

Many states use the UAVs in various theaters of armed conflicts, both conventional and non-conventional battlefields. The study will dwell on the implications of the United States employment of UAVs for targeted killing on the civilian protection

aspect of IHL. However, the central focus of the research will be the implications of the U.S. UAV strikes for the targeted killing of leaders and members of terrorist organizations, as well as their cohorts in non-conventional battlefields such as Yemen and Pakistan. The study will focus on the United States because of the magnitude and global dimension of their involvement in UAV program covering two continents; Africa and Asia.

Furthermore, the theory of interest convergence, propounded by Professor Bell, is relevant to this study, because Professor Bell used it to guide the discussion on the ever-increasing use of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure (Setty, 2013). There is a school of thought advocating for a review and adjustment of the UAV program to merge the interests of states that possess UAVs with those of the states that receive the adverse effects of UAVs attacks (Setty, 2013). However, the study did not employ this theory because the focus of the investigation is not in the belligerent states, but the civilian population cut up in the conflicts.

## Limitations

This research is a naturalistic study,and as such it was not conducted in a controlled or laboratory environment because the goal is not to attain internal validity regarding empirical, content, and construct validity. Additionally, some of the research variables are too complex to use only surveys as the measuring instrument (Creswell, 2009). However, the method of test and retest helped to evaluate the reliability of the data collection tool (Field, 2013). This research enabled generalization of the findings to the entire population comprising states that currently bear relevance to UAV program as well

as other related situations or settings (Green & Salkind, 2011). Therefore, the study preserved external validity by preventing lack of representativeness of the sample, the effect of study procedure, and selection biases (Creswell, 2009). This strategy helped to generalize the findings to other situations and settings.

## Significance

This research is significant because of the possibility of indiscriminate and unregulated use of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure. One can also employ the UAVs for purposes other than counterterrorism such as picketing of political adversaries or selected citizens of the states (Boyle, 2013; Kennedy, 2013). This research may bridge gaps in previous studies (Anderson, 2012; Andresen, 2015; Bergen, 2012; Blank, 2010; Boyle, 2013; Boyle, 2015; Brooks, 2014'). Therefore, the research will serve as a source for future research.

Government officials of various states might also draw on the findings of this research to refine their policy guidelines on the use of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure to guarantee adequate protection for a civilian. The research also has the potential to facilitate the establishment of an international legal framework to regulate future employment. Establishment of an international legal framework for the use of UAVs for targeted killing may help to reduce civilian casualty during counterterrorist operations (Anderson, 2014; Bachmann, 2013). Invariably, a reduced civilian casualty has the potential to enhance global peace and security.

## Summary

The goal of this study is to address the implications that the use of UAVs for targeted killing have on IHL regarding civilian casualties. The potential implications for positive social change from this research include the potential to facilitate the establishment of an international legal framework to regulate future employment of UAVs for targeted killing. Findings of this study also have the potential to aid government officials of various states in refining their counterterrorism strategy.

The research questions used the Just War theory to determine if a predictable relationship exists between support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes towards counterterrorism measures, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature regarding the use of UAVs for targeted killing in counterterrorism and implications on the civilian protection aspect of IHL. The chapter will discuss (a) the search strategy employed to access relevant literature; (b) theoretical framework; and(c) review of the literature on important variables.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review

Incidences of terrorism are becoming rampant in contemporary times. Previous research indicates that the surveillance ability and the weapon delivery precision capacity of UAVs make them a weapon of choice for the U.S. counterterrorism efforts (Alston, 2011; Anderson, 2012; Blank, 2014; Boyle, 2013; Brooks, 2014; Rosén, 2013; Zenko, 2013). Although the U.S. government estimates the collateral damage involved in the use of UAVs at 3-5 % (McNeal, 2011), nongovernmental sources put it at 25-40 % (Boyle, 2013; Heyns & Knuckey, 2013; O'Connell, 2010; Sarahet al., 2012).

The current literature revealed a vital gap regarding public perception of the use of UAVs as a counterterrorism measure and how IHL may interpret the employment of UAVs. The purpose of this quantitative, cross-sectional study is to determine if a relationship exists among support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes towards counterterrorism measures, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. This research has the potential to facilitate the establishment of an international legal framework to guide the future employment of UAVs for targeted killing.

## Synopsis of the Current Literature

Scholars of international relations, international law, and political science wrote on the issue of the employment of UAVs for targeted killing and legal and moral implications on IHL on civilian protection. There are also relevant academic materials from nongovernmental sources, government officials, and counterterrorism experts, as well as from the military and intelligence circle. The literature review gravitated from the more relevant studies to the most relevant ones. The review first considered studies that

focused on the use of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure. After that, it reviewed literature that emphasized the issue of collateral damage and civilian harms caused by the employment of UAVs for targeted killing in counterterrorism.

## Strategy Employed for Literature Search

### Databases Accessed and Search Engines Employed

**Preliminary search.** The study conducted a primary search of the literature in databases and sources available through the Walden University Library. The databases and sources include (a) Homeland Security Digital Library; (b) SAGE Full-Text Collection on Education and Political Science; (c) ABI/INFORM Complete; (d) SocINDEX with Full Text; (e) Educational Resource Information Centre; (f) Education Research Complete (g) Political Science Complete; (h) Academic Search Complete and Premier Databases; (i) LegalTrac; (j) Policy Files; (k) Military and Government Collection; (l) ProQuest Dissertation and Theses Databases; and (m) LexisNexis Academic.

**Secondary search.** I conducted an additional search in other databases more specifically related to the topic to enable the ability to access relevant peer-reviewed articles. The databases include the RAND–Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, the Washington Centre for Security Policy, and the International Security and Counter Terrorism Reference Centre. The SSRN eLibrary was useful as it enabled the ability to access seminal topical papers and scholarly journals.

**Document delivery system and the Google Scholar search engine.** The document delivery service facilitated access to other relevant articles that are not

available in the Walden library. Furthermore, the Google Scholar search engine served as a general search tool and its "cited by" searches feature enabled the ability to start with an older article to find more recent articles. The search conducted in the policy, administration, security databases, and the multidisciplinary databases enabled the ability to gain more knowledge on the topic. Through Academic Search Complete ProQuest Central comprehensive databases, I was able to access peer-reviewed journals, conference papers and periodicals relevant to my topic.

**Search Terms Employed**

**General search terms.** The general search terms included UAV program, international humanitarian law, international law, uninhabited combat aerial vehicles, unmanned aerial vehicle, drone aircraft, terrorism, and micro air vehicles. Other terms included international terrorism, counterterrorism, targeted killing, Just War theory, collateral damage, the global war on terrorism, and civilian casualty. The use of keywords was so broad that it produced unwanted results. To narrow the results, The Boolean command terms and search limiters, as well as the index fields served as the search strategy. Indexed terms provided context to the search because it enabled the ability to search just by the author name, the article title, or the journal title. These processes created precision searches that facilitated access to only those articles relevant to the search.

**Particular search term.** The precise key search term was limited to the concepts in the topic, which included UAVs, drone strikes, targeted killing, counterterrorism, civilian casualty, and international humanitarian law. For example, the literature search

strategy for articles on the topic in Education Research Complete involved the selection of the articles by topic button. I then selected policy, administration, and security in the select a subject list. The next thing selected in the Military and Security Databases box was International Security and Counter Terrorism Reference Centre, with the word unmanned aerial vehicle written in the first search box and counterterrorism in the second one.

### Scope of Literature Review

Because the literature is expected to cover recent articles published within the last five years, I selected 2014 as the publication dates for the first box and indicated no date in the second box. The goal of this strategy is to limit the results to articles published less than five years ago, from 2014 up to the current time. Therefore, the search was to access peer-reviewed resources, the box indicating peer-reviewed journals was selected to access only peer-reviewed articles. Additionally, the full-text box was unchecked in the limit your results section under the search boxes to enable the ability to find as much information as possible on the topic. Furthermore, the search also included seminal papers, policy papers, and government papers related to the topic.

## Theoretical Foundation

### Origin of the Just War Theory

The theoretical lens for this research is the Just War Theory and it originated from the view that certain basic principles should guide the conduct of warfare, even in the most extreme situation (St. Thomas Aquinas, 1988, 2007; Walzer 1979). However, the Western concept of the Just War Theory stems from Plato and Aristotle's philosophies, as

well as Homer's Illiad (Aristotle, 1985; Homer, 1924; Plato, 1992). Hugo Grotius eventually conceptualized the Just War theory by incorporating the concepts in the international law (Grotius 2001, p. 10).

Just War Theory includes preoccupation with two central questions namely, the means and reasons for wars. The questions on methods and reasons for wars are in turn predicated on two core principles namely *Jus in Bello* (weapons and methods used to conduct war) and *Jus ad Bellum* (justification for war) respectively. The fundamental components of *Jus ad Bellum* include the fact that a war must be just, declared by a recognized institution, and have a just reason. Other factors include having a good intention, high capacity to succeed, engaged in as the last option, and using a method commensurate with the desired end (St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007).

On the other hand, *Jus in Bello* requires the belligerents to identify legitimate targets positively before the attack, assume responsibility for conducts during the war, and employ a force proportional to the war objectives (Rae, 2014; Solis, 2010; St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007).However, there is a third core principle that governs a just war known as *Jus post-Bellum.* This concept extends the Just War theory through the application of justice to the post-war period by examining the conduct of the participants regarding accountability (Orend, 2002; Pattison, 2013).

**Major Theoretical Propositions/Assumptions on the Just War Theory Application**

The four fundamental principles of *Jus in Bello* underpin the international agreements that govern the conduct of armed conflict. The instruments include the UN Charter, the Geneva Conventions, the three additional protocols to the Geneva

Conventions, and The Hague Conventions (Breslin, 2015; Merten, 2007; Sayapin, 2009). For example, the Hague conventions (1899, 1907) adapted Geneva Convention (1864) to the principles of maritime warfare and the laws and customs of land warfare respectively (Kiestra, 2014; Merten, 2007; Sayapin, 2009; Warner, 1999). The Hague Convention (1907) prohibited any methods or weapons that inflict untold hardship on humanity (Merten, 2007; Reed & Ryall, 2014; Sayapin, 2009; Warner, 1999). The Hague Conventions also constrain belligerent states' liberty regarding attacking enemies with any weapon, thereby prohibiting the use of certain weapons. Article 22 of the Convention stated that belligerents have a limited right regarding the methods they employ to harm the enemy (Asada, 2015; The Hague, 1907).

The Article 2(4) of the UN Charter prohibits states' employment of force or threatening to use force against each other, but it provides two useful exceptions to review the lawfulness of targeted killings (The UN Charter). The first exception is the need to secure the consent of the host state before employing force (Cavallaro, Sonnenberg & Knuckey, 2012). The second exception is that the employment of force for self-defense can be against an imminent/ actual threat of violence and when the host state cannot take the right measure (Cavallaro, Sonnenberg, & Knuckey, 2012). Notwithstanding, it is necessary to review the lawfulness of the use of UAVs for targeted killing through the four fundamental principles of *Jus in Bello*.

**Literature and Research-Based Previous Application of the Just War Theory**

The use of the Just War theory in defense of UAV strikes needs to emphasize the utilitarian aspect of UAV strikes which better serve the humanitarian goals of IHL

regarding a reduction of harms to the civilian population (Omand & Phythian, 2013). Also, the Just War theory must recognize that even when UAVs are used to achieve national security, theirusage is in conjunction with accurate and reliable intelligence to enhance conformity to the fundamental principles that underpin the use of force. Those who oppose the idea of targeted killing based their opposition on the ambiguity of international rules authorizing states to target individual engaged in acts that could be detrimental to their security interest.

The September 11 attack altered the concept of self-defense on how states should use targeted killing to protect their civilian population from attacks by non-state actors (Sofaer, 2013; Sterio, 2015b). A targeted killing, permitted in an armed conflict under the auspice of self-defense, gradually evolved as tactics for non-conventional armed conflict against terrorism. Sofaer (2013) argued further that, in either case, targeted killing of enemy fighters of regular or irregular combatants is justified since regular soldiers are legally allowed to target and kill the enemy's soldiers to achieve the war objectives.

The doctrine of Moral Equivalence of Combatants (MEC) was meant to challenge the Just War theory, which did not distinguish between public and private war (Reichberg, 2013). By contrast, other proponents of the Just War theory based their proposition on the concept of legitimate authority, which aligned the theory more with the public war rather than with the private war (Parsons, 2013; St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007). Since just war theorists did not consider the 'private war' as a war in the ordinary sense of it, the set of moral rules regulating the public war should not automatically apply to private war or other contemporary armed conflicts such as terrorism/ counterterrorism.

In the film, Star Trek into Darkness, Captain Kirk chose between launching a missile from a remote position into the enemy territory to execute an identified terrorist and risking the deployment of his soldiers to capture the terrorist (Freiberger, 2013). The UAV strikes create minimum risks for own troops, but its wrongful employment could cause greater harm to the civilian population. The UAV program poses no ethical problem, but the ever-increasing urge by technologically-advanced states to result in the extreme use of military force such as UAV strikes present a difficult situation (Steinhoff, 2013). Although the challenge reduce the significance of the Just War theory, its application is not uniform because powerful states have a different form of the application from that of the less powerful states and non-state actors.

**Rationalefor the Choice of the Just War Theory**

The U.S. domestic legislative mechanism adopted against terrorism is one of the reasons for selecting the Just War theory for this study (Starr-Deelen, 2014). The Authorization for the use of Military Force against Terrorists (AUMF), which enables the President to deal decisively with individuals, states or groups involved in 9/11 attack, serves as the domestic legislation to justify the UAV program (Cavallaro, Sonnenberg, & Knuckey, 2012; Newell, 2016). Also, the U.S. president's constitutional responsibility to guarantee the security of the nation against any actual or imminent attacks serves as a legal justification for the UAV program from the perspectives of international and local laws (Brennan, 2012). The U. S. actions conform to the international law because they declared war on members of al-Qaida terrorist organization and the affiliates (Alston,

2011; Boyle, 2015). The United States achieves this by employing armed UAVs against the enemies within an active battlefield, as well as in a non-conventional battlefield.

Another reason for selecting the Just War theory is traceable to a leaked U.S. Justice Department white paper citing the principles underlying the Just War theory as justification for the use of UAV strikes under international and domestic laws (Isikoff, 2013). The white paper stipulated three criteria that can justify UAV strikes. These include a highly placed person in the government determining the imminence of a threat, non-feasibility of capture, and conduct of UAV strikes in tandem with the four *Jus in Bello*'s fundamental principles (Freiberger, 2013). However, the question that remains unanswered is whether every strike adheres to these principles.

**The Relationshipbetween the Just War Theory and this Study**

Renowned scholars in this field of study utilized the theory to examine the implications of UAV program to IHL, IHRL, and other extant laws governing the conduct of armed conflict (Langan, 1984; Lewis & Crawford, 2003; Abbate, 2015). Also, the Bush and Obama Administrations maintained that because terrorism is a war-related act and terrorists are enemy combatants, therefore, any method used to target and kill enemy combatants is just (Lewis & Crawford, 2003 Sussmann, 2013). Therefore, the three components of Just War theory (*Jus post-Bellum*, *Jus ad Bellum*, and *Jus in Bello)* provided theoretical, as well as legal and ethical foundations for this study.

This research will examine the appropriate counterterrorism response of the U.S. government to threats or acts of terrorism to help minimize harms to the civilian population. The study will also review UAV strikes and the appropriate time, place, and

circumstances to employ the strikes. Given the preceding, the Just War theory is quite relevant as it will help articulate the implications that the use of UAVs for targeted killing in counterterrorism has for the development of IHL on civilian protection. The research questions relate to and build upon the concerns the Just War theory addressed by interrogating the necessity, efficiency, and effectiveness of the UAV program.

## Literature Review Related to Key Variables and Concepts

The use of five themes helped to organize selected literature on how the use of UAVs for targeted killing in counterterrorism has implications for IHL on civilian protection. The themes include the justification for war and methods of conducting the war; the legality of employing UAVs for targeted killing; self-defense right and pre-emptive UAV strikes; the moral and ethical justification for the use of UAVs for targeted killing; and the humanitarian problem associated with UAV strikes.

### The Justificationfor War and Methods of Conducting War

The employment of UAVs for targeted killing in armed conflicts such as counterterrorism evokes legal issues, which include the rationale for war (*Jus ad Bellum*) and the means/methods of conducting war (*Jus in Bello*). Schmitt (2011) reviewed the legal regime that regulates *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello*, particularly those governing the use of UAVs for targeted killing as a counterterrorism measure. He found that the justification for the use of UAVs in a non-conventional battlefield depends on the self-defense concept while the actual decision to use UAVs during a conventional battlefield falls under the laws governing the employment of other modern weapon systems (Schmitt, 2011). However, Ohlin (2012) opined that some scholars exaggerate the

capacity of contemporary weapon systems to reshape both the legal and tactical landscape of armed conflict. This diversity of opinion calls for a review of the laws governing the employment of modern munitions in a contemporary war.

One of the new arguments emanating from the repercussions of criminal responsibility of IHL is the classification of non-state actors as combatants in armed conflicts. The contentions include the relative scope of IHRL and IHL in asymmetric warfare and the use of the concept of the signature strike to determine who to target (Ohlin, 2012). Likewise, other arguments include the legal implications of using CIA staff that are non-combatants as UAV operators and the relevance of the proportionality principle to UAV strikes with regards to its effect on collateral damage (Ohlin, 2012). Anderson (2012) critically examined the notion that the use of UAVs for counterterrorism makes it too easy for belligerents to apply force, regarding maximizing social, moral and welfare arguments. Maximizing social welfare entails encouraging the use of remote weapon systems such as UAVs to reduce risks that own troops encounter andthecivilian casualties (Wolbert, 2015). The efficiency that the means and methods of conducting war (*Jus in Bello*) created seemingly translates to a reduced incentive to apply force against the non-state actors, classified as combatants under the modern types of armed conflicts.

The legal and ethical nature of modern weapon systems is also under contention. Automated systems such as UAVs are not necessarily unethical or illegal because the precise nature of such systems makes targeting in armed conflict more discriminating, thereby reducing collateral damage and the civilian casualties (Anderson et al., 2014).

However, applying IHL to such systems still poses some challenges that are evolving a new legal framework to modify and adapt the existing law (Wolbert, 2015). Likewise, Anderson (2013) suggested that rather than prohibiting the development of automated weapon systems for want of legal regimes that regulate them, the law of armed conflict should serve as a legal framework. Accordingly, Anderson, Reisner, & Waxman (2014) recommended a three-pronged approach to evolving the legal framework, which includes a global consensus for the applicable IHL standards. Other recommendations include the development of weapon review at the inter-state level, as well as close coordination among weapons makers, military authority, and legal reviewers (Anderson, Reisner, & Waxman, 2014). These thoughts imply that an improvement in the international standards and best practices through universal collaboration can help to develop the existing law regarding the legal and ethical nature of automated weapons.

**Legality of the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle for Targeted Killing**

The UAVs are a weapon of choice for the U.S. counterterrorism efforts against terrorist organizations globally, but these tactics are considered highly controversial in some quarters. Anderson (2009) posited that the UAV policy of Obama administration should be legally protected to prevent it from assuming a greater strategic salience to the detriment of the requirement to comply with the international law. About 70% of the U.S. targeted killings legally violate international law (Coleman & Gray, 2014; Sterio, 2012) while about 30% marginally conform to regulations of IHL (Pearlstein, 2013). A consensus exists under certain circumstances for legal justification for the use of UAVs for targeted killing, especially when a nation employed these tactics for self-defense. By

contrast, no consensus exists on the method for conducting UAV strikes without violating the international and domestic laws. The lack of consensus brings to the fore the need to evolve international standards to regulate the deployment of UAVs for targeted killing.

An analysis of the UAV program within and outside a conventional battlefield will help to understand the legal status of this tactics. Relevant international laws exist for targeted killings during an armed conflict on a recognized battlefield, as well as for those outside of an armed conflict in a non-conventional battlefield (Blank, 2014). Currently, the terrorists fighting the United States are non-state actors, but other groups precluded from the Security Council resolutions or the U.S. AUMF, may emerge in the future (Anderson, 2009). Likewise, other forms of threats that deviate from the usual regime of armed conflicts or IHL may also evolve necessitating the use of other policies (Hepworth, 2014; Vorster, 2015). The U.S. policies that guide the UAV strikes include (a) the authority behind the use of force; (b) the legitimacy of targets identification; and (c) the repercussions of using civilian as UAV operators (Blank, 2014). Others include (d) the rules of engagement; (e) the transparency and accountability measures employed; and (f) the civilian causalities associated with UAV strikes (Blank, 2014). For the conventional battlefield, various provisions of IHL help to standardize the use of UAVs for targeted killing. However, for the non-conventional battlefield, there is no particular standard because states use domestic policies and regulations.

States can use UAVs in the fight against terrorism using the armed conflict framework and the post-war framework. The corresponding models are the discrete threat model and the continuous threat model respectively (Statman, 2012). The post-war

framework uses the continuous threat model of armed conflict in a non-conventional battlefield against a not well-defined enemy such as the U.S. counterterrorism program in Somalia, Yemen, Libya, and Pakistan (Bachman, 2015; Chesney, 2013). Conversely, the other framework uses the discrete model of armed conflict in a conventional battlefield against a well-identified enemy such as the terrorists in Iraq and Afghanistan (Chesney, 2013; McIntosh, 2015). The armed conflict framework always conforms to IHL while the conformity of the post-war model to IHL is debatable.

The 2013 speech by President Obama at the National Defence University defended several issues on UAV strikes including the targeted killing of al-Awlaki on the grounds of morality and policy-making. The speech also revealed the administration's conviction that denying governance territory to terrorist groups and affiliates will make the U.S. counterterrorism policy more effective and efficient (Anderson & Wittes, 2013). The U.S. covert UAV program by the CIA in non-recognized war zones, is a legally, morally, and politically controversial issue that tends to pitch the US against the rest of the global community (Chapa, 2015; Vorster, 2015). Opposing this view, Gross (2014) observed that the trend of discussion on states' employment of UAVs focused only on its legality while leaving out the important roles of UAVs in a conventional military force on a conventional battlefield. The lawful use of UAVs seems to enhance the achievement of the IHL principles because UAVs can combine accuracy and precision with reduced civilian casualties and collateral damage, as well as protection for the own force.

The UAV technology is like any other weapon systems or precision-guided munitions that seek to maintain a trade-off among precision, distance, and lethality. The

use of UAVs is if its deployment conforms to the four fundamental principles of IHL (Cornish, 2010). Likewise, UAVs as a weapon system helps to create an appropriate balance among military efficiency, civilian casualties, and collateral damage (Gross, 2014). Although no treaties or customary norms stipulate how to employ UAVs in, the legitimacy of its employment derives from the ability to reduce harm to the civilian population. Contrary to the criticism against the use of UAVs for targeted killing; the United States can complement the *lexspecialis* of IHL by infusing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in the domestic law (Anderson, 2009; Pearlstein, 2013). The preceding implies the use of UAVs for targeted killing provides a sufficient time to observe due process even when the application of force depends on self-defense as the legal rationalization.

The use of the self-defense principle to explain the UAV program will involve the concept of due process. It may be difficult for a U.S. administration to defend the UAV program legally because the self-defense provision in IHL made no provision for the employment of such lethal weapon (Anderson, 2009). Likewise, in his study, Katz (2012) suggested that it is advisable for the U.S. government to restrict the legal justification of the UAV program to the inherent rights of the United States to self-defense in the domestic law. Similarly, the Fifth Amendment forbids the deprivation of the rights of any person, particularly the U.S. citizens, to liberty, life, or property without due process of the law (Fenwick & Phillipson, 2011; Pearlstein, 2013; Rylatt, 2013). Apart from targeted killing of terrorists, UAV applications include intelligence gathering, surveillance and

reconnaissance (ISR), target identification and classification, and ground troops support (Blank, 2012). These applications help to enhance the due process.

**The Right of Self-Defense and Pre-emptive use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle**

The United States uses UAVs to conduct reconnaissance and targeted killing of terrorists in territorial space of Pakistan. The main people targeted are those who directly and actively participate in armed attacks against the U.S. citizens and military personnel deployed in Afghanistan (Beard, 2009). Some renowned scholars argued that the UAV program in Pakistan is illegal tactics that violate the international law of self-defense (O'Connell, 2010, as cited in Bronitt, ed., 2010). The UAV strikes for targeted killing in Pakistan under the purview of self-defense brings to the fore various concerns that need resolution (Jordan, 2013; Paust, 2014). The first sets of concerns are whether the UAV program contravenes the international law and whether the United States require the express consent of Pakistan to deploy UAVs. Next issues are whether the deployment of UAVs implies the existence of armed conflict between the United States and the terrorists in Pakistan. Additional concerns include whether the deployment of UAVs violates the terrorist's human right to life and whether it translates to selective targeting in contravention of the proportionality principle.

A justification of the UAV program on self-defense will require highlighting the ethical responsibilities of policymakers regarding the authorization of the use of UAVs. A state can activate the self-defense right when terrorists attack the state or the citizens (Federica, 2016; Moore, 2005). Likewise, every state has the entitlement to react defensively against an attack on the territory or the citizens, home or abroad (Clavier,

2006; Jordan, 2013). However, Article 51 does not suggest that a state can only uphold the self-defense right within the territorial space because traditional state practice on self-defense suggests otherwise. For example, the famous Caroline incident case of 1837 was a dispute between the United States and the UK because the UK, in self-defense, employed force against a ship in the U.S. territorial water (Jennings, 1938; Rogoff & Paust, 2014). The case helped to review the concept of self-defense in the circumstances such as the Caroline incidence. It, therefore, established the conditions under which a state can employ force, in self-defense, to a previous attack by non-state actors.

A review of the Caroline incidence will help to clarify the scope of self-defense. In 1837, a non-state actor known as Patriot Army operated from the United States, received support from some U.S. citizens, and was supplied by the United States through the vessel called Caroline to carry out armed attacks on Canada, which was then a UK territory (Paust, 2014). The UK used these facts to justify the attack on Caroline in the U.S. waters (Jordan, 2013). The United States contended that using self-defense as an excuse to attack countries that are not at war is only justifiable when there is a clear, instant, overwhelming, and absolute necessity that leaves no room for discussion (Jordan, 2013). In his ruling on the case, Lord Ashburton stated that notwithstanding the need to respect the territorial integrity of independent states, an absolute self-defense requirement to side-track this great international norm exists (Collins & Rogoff, 2009). The goal of the argument is how to exercise serious restraint on such attack to prevent civilian casualties because that attack took place at night, thereby making it difficult to confirm the presence of innocent civilians (Jennings, 1938; Paust, 2014). The general

understanding is that the UK exercised her self-defense right against previous attacks by non-state actors during the Caroline incidence.

The Caroline incidence established the principle that the exercise of self-defense right is extendable beyond the conventional zones of armed conflict and without necessarily obtaining the consent of state providing the haven for the attackers. Before the Caroline incidence, the United States exercised the right of self-defense by employing force against attackers who resided in other state's territory (Jordan, 2013; Paust, 2014). For example, in 1817, the United States used force against smugglers and pirates who operated around Amelia Island, a Spanish territory, because of Spain's inability to prevent the smugglers from attacking the U.S. shipping (Groves, 2013). Article 51 of the UN Charter enables the ability of states to invoke self-defense right only after a previous armed attack exists (Paust, 2014; Saadat, 2014). This clause somehow constrains the ability of states to act proactively against a possible or imminent attack.

There is a new concept known as the right of pre-emptive or anticipatory self-defense. A state can initiate this right before an actual attack occurs or during the process of an attack rather than wait until after the damage is done (Jordan, 2013). Likewise, the self-defense principles enhance the legal norms and the fundamentals of *Jus ad Bellum* (Henriksen, 2014; Ratner, 2013). The general trend in the argument on this type of self-defense is that anticipatory or pre-emptive right of self-defense right is only applicable during an imminent attack (O'Connell, 2002; Paust, 2014; Sterio, 2015b). The flip side to the argument that UAV strikes are pre-emptive is the perception that the targeted person's previous acts prejudice such strikes (Finkelstein, 2012; Watts, 2009). This line

of thought makes the attacks appear punitive, reactive or reprisal in nature. It follows that since the attributes of this type of attacks are quite distinct from reciprocity, they cannot fit into the concept of self-defense.

**Moral and Ethical Justification of UAVs for Targeted Killing**

The U.S. employment of the UAV program in the longest war ever generates difficult moral and ethical questions regarding conformity to IHL. The use of UAVs for targeted killing in a non-conventional battlefield or areas outside of active hostilities creates the possibility of a breach of the international law (Davis, 2014; Govern, 2012; Gunneflo, 2011; Sadat, 2013). Likewise, the use of UAVs in conventional crisis venues may also violate IHL depending on the method of conducting the UAV strikes. For example, there may be civilian casualties when there is no consideration for the principles of distinction and proportionality regarding targeted persons (Jahagirdar, 2008; Vavrichek, 2014; Pilecki, Muro, Hammack, & Clemons, 2014). By contrast, others scholars and the U.S, government officials endorsed it as a legal program and a sound counterterrorism strategy that can help to minimize civilian casualty (Benbaji, Falk, & Feldman, 2015; Cohn, ed., 2015; Melzer, 2008; Sanders, 2014). Opinions differ on the legality and morality of the UAV program. Therefore, the U.S. decision and policymakershave the responsibility to determine the legality of the UAV program by utilizing existing values to drive the UAV strategy to uphold international peace and justice.

There is a tremendous surge in the acquisition and capability of UAVs in the United States. The Obama administration budget request of $4.8 billion in 2012 for

acquisition and development of UAVs caused a rise from about 50 in the 2000s to the current holdings of about 7,000 (Govern, 2013). Consequently, since 2008, the U.S government conducted over 300 UAV strikes that accounted for the death of about 2,500 people in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Iraq, and Libya (Govern, 2013). During the weeks preceding the 2012 election, the Obama administration expedited rulemaking efforts to establish explicit rules on the use of UAVs for targeted killing. An inquiry on UAV strikes, a leaked Justice Department document, domestic litigations and criticisms on UAV strikeprompted the rulemaking (Dorsey & Paulussen, 2013; Kassop, 2013; Werner, 2015). It seems that political motivation in response to global and public opinions informed the acquisition frenzy and rulemaking efforts of the administration rather than legal and ethical considerations.

The increasing reliance of the US on UAVs as a weapon of choice requires a thorough investigation regarding violability of IHL. The United States continuously depend on the employment of UAVs for targeted killing in the ongoing global war on terror, because of the outstanding successes recorded with these tactics as against the complications associated with the use of conventional armed forces (Vogel, 2011). Conversely, a growing criticism exists on the legal and moral implications of the employment of UAVs for targeted killing in the on-going non-conventional armed conflicts between the United States and terrorist organizations across the globe (Jahagirdar, 2008; McMahan, 2012). It is quite essential to identify applicable legal sources and legal framework that supports the UAV program in the on-going

counterterrorism efforts. It is also expedient to review the circumstances under which the use of UAVs for targeted killing contravenes the means and methods of conducting war.

There are existing rules that may help to regulate the UAV program. The regulations include the aerial and missile warfare laws, customary international law, IHL, specialized weapons treaties, the UN Charter, as well as Hague and Geneva conventions (Vogel, 2011). The consistent and correct applications of these regulations, however, vary for different countries. The Obama Administration maintains that targeting rules neither specify the type of weapon system that belligerents can use nor preclude the use of advanced technology such as armed UAVs in armed conflict if the usage conforms to applicable extant laws (Farley, 2012; Koh, 2010). Although the technological advantages of the UAV program in counterterrorism are capable of generating new challenges, existing IHL can sufficiently regulate the employment of such modern weapon systems in an asymmetric warfare/ counterterrorism (Vogel, 2011). The commitments of the United States to ensuring the legitimacy of UAV strikes and targeting practices include critical scrutinizing of the targeting operations' rules for compliance, as well as consistency with applicable laws and principles of armed conflicts. These strategies will help to review the adequacy of existing IHL on the UAV program and also to ascertain the need for new rules, procedures, or laws to standardize the deployment of UAVs in an asymmetric war.

The principle of distinction helps to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants as soldiers who participate actively in the conflict and civilians who do not take part respectively. The distinction principle requires belligerents to differentiate between unlawful targets that do not actively contribute to the war efforts and legitimate

targets that do contribute (Brooks, 2014; Hagger & McCormack, 2012). The use of UAVs for targeted killing, however, constitutes a challenge to the application of distinction principle because military personnel and civilian staff of CIA serve as UAV operators (Clarke, 2013; Kreps & Zenko, 2014). However, Lewis & Crawford (2013) argued that the recognized command structure of CIA and active participation of CIA agents operating UAVs during an armed conflict confers on them the status of combatant, thereby making them legitimate targets (Lewis & Crawford, 2013). The status of CIA staff that operates UAVs generates critical concerns in the application of IHL. The issues include whether the operators are civilians directly participating in hostilities, whether participation qualifies them as military objectives or legitimate targets, and whether they can gain the status of combatants.

The United States needs to review the UAV program to re-affirm the constitutional balance of powers. The ex-post judicial appraisal will help to enhance the U.S. national security interests by modifying the current situation that encourages Executive unilateralism with attendance increase in the civilian casualties (Kavanagh, 2011; Krasmann, 2012). Likewise, despite the constant assurances of the Executive branch, the covert UAV strikes is a precipice of abuse and error as it contradicts esteemed democratic ideals (Andresen, 2015; Melzer, 2008). The efforts of the U.S. government in making the UAV program to conform to the existing regulations will enable ex-post judicial review of UAV strikes to justify the program locally and internationally. The efforts will also help to guarantee support from allies, and enhance the effectiveness of counterterrorism policy.

**Humanitarian Problem Associated with the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle**

The notion that UAVs are precision weapons whose discriminatory capability tends to reduce associated humanitarian problems has both critics and proponents. Issacharoff and Pildes (2013) argued that the modern military uses of force such as UAV strikes created increasing individuation of enemy responsibility that can impact negatively on IHL for civilian protection. Conversely, Megret (2013) asserted that the safety guaranteed to the operators of UAVs enhances their capacity to reduce collateral damage, thereby facilitating IHL regarding achieving a zero tolerance for collateral damage. Critics who opine that UAV strikes cause excessive damage to the civil populace centered their criticism on the UAVs ability to shield operators from danger because they operate from locations that are remote from the scene of the attack. The assumed trade-off between the risk that the belligerent is likely to face, and the level of harm the attacks can inflict on the civilian population, often determines the IHL's estimation of the extent of tolerance for collateral damage.

Many US-based humanitarian and human rights lawyers had a very critical view of the Bush Administration concept of the 'Global War on Terror' regarding the issues of IHL and IHRL. However, the critics had a paradigm shift during the Obama Administration because of change of concern from the enforcement of the international law to the moderation of the Executive decision-making on the UAV program (Anderson, 2011; Modirzadeh, 2014). The goal of the critics is to help shape the legal framework for Obama Administration's employment of force against terrorists by invoking the 'folk international law' concept (Modirzadeh, 2014; Ratner, 2013). This concept is "a law-like

discussion that relies on provisions in IHL and IHRL as a framework for armed conflicts that international law does not administer. The international folk law can also serve as a basis for an international legal framework for the use of UAVs for targeted killing.

The term 'human' in the concept of 'human rights' is the appropriate response taken against violation of specific rights rather than looking at it from the universality of specific rights inherent in all human being. The former undermines the individualism of rights, as well as the expected *nexus* between internationally acclaimed rights and those enshrined in various national laws. Waldron (2013) posited that human rights are rights possessed by all humans because of their humanity regardless of the society, system of government, or level of economic development. Human rights are somehow different from legal and constitutional rights because they are the same for every country and are free from the constraints of positive laws and constitutions (Ip, 2013; Melzer, 2008; Waldron, 2013). The current reality is that human beings express humanity in diverse ways based on the disparately different cultural, political, social, economic, and legal experiences, as well as the environments. The diversity informs the expression of the lifestyle in a diverse way as individual or groups, thereby making it difficult to attribute common sets of rights to all humans everywhere, but a set of rights affect all humans, which everybody should strive to protect.

Human rights seem to be universally connected. Kant (1996) opined that because violation of a set of rights in one part of the world can affect every area in the universe, human beings should never be indifferent to the abuse of any of this set of rights but should rather support and enforce them. Likewise, Waldron (2013) identified two forms

of approaches to understanding the term human in human rights. The two forms are the human bearer,and human concern approaches. The first perspective recognizes rights as human rights because they are inherent in human beings while the other classifies rights as human rights because the violation of such rights concerns all humans everywhere in the world (Gross, 2006; Waldron, 2013). In this regard, the UAV strikes in non-conventional battlefields may be perceived differently as legal killing, targeted assassination, extrajudicial extermination, or even outright murder (Arnold, 2013; Jenks, 2010; MacDonald, 2011). Therefore, one area of disagreement on the use of UAVs for targeted killing is the degree to which the U.S. UAV program in Pakistan and other non-conventional battlefields comply with IHL and IHRL.

The 2011 budget increased the U.S. UAV holding two-fold and current trend reveals that the U.S. Air Force shifted attention from manned aircraft to the acquisition of more UAVs and training of more UAV pilots (Jenks, 2010). Otherstates also are arming UAVs while some of them are already using armed UAVs, which indicate proliferation of armed UAVs (Jenks, 2010) (see Figure 2). Figure 3 also shows that the UK has the highest rate of UAV import among states which import most UAVs. Jenks (2010) concluded that the U.S. UAV program is lawful but also advocated for a constructive negotiation among stakeholders to determine not just the legality of UAV strikes, but the appropriate means of arriving at such conclusions. Non-state actors such as terrorist organizations are actively involved in the UAV procurement race (Bachmann, 2013; Gross, 2014; Jenks, 2010; Saul, 2014). It is, however, uncertain whether states and non-state actors will willingly create a legal framework to regulate the employment of UAVs.

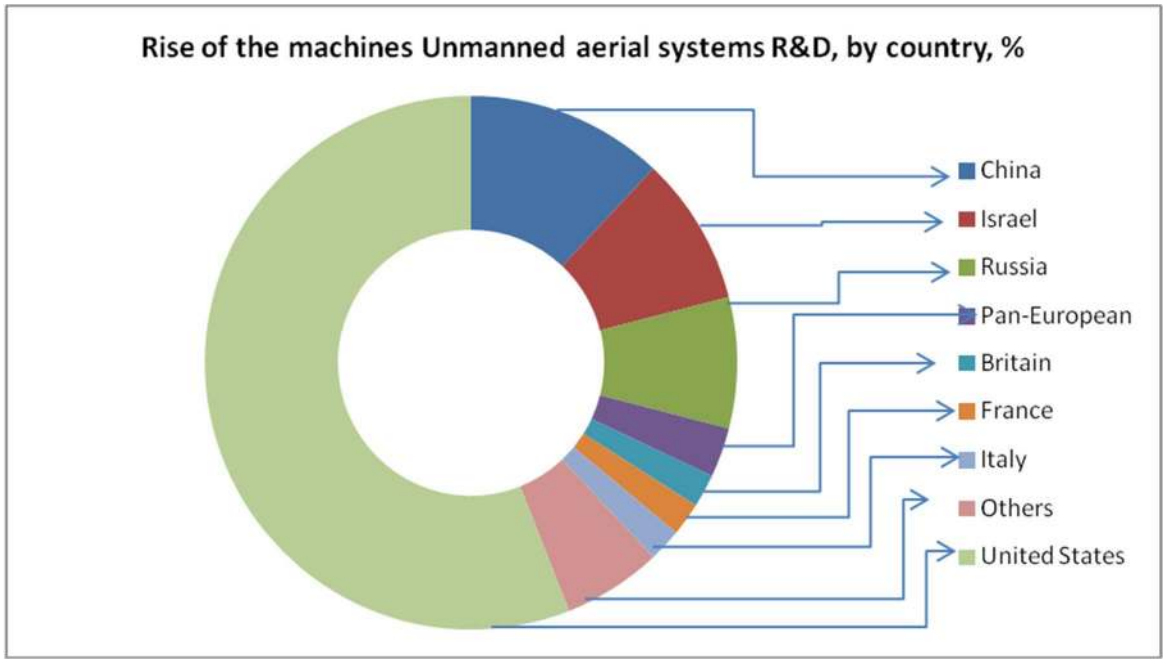



*Figure 2*. The indicated countries have armed UAVs in their inventories.

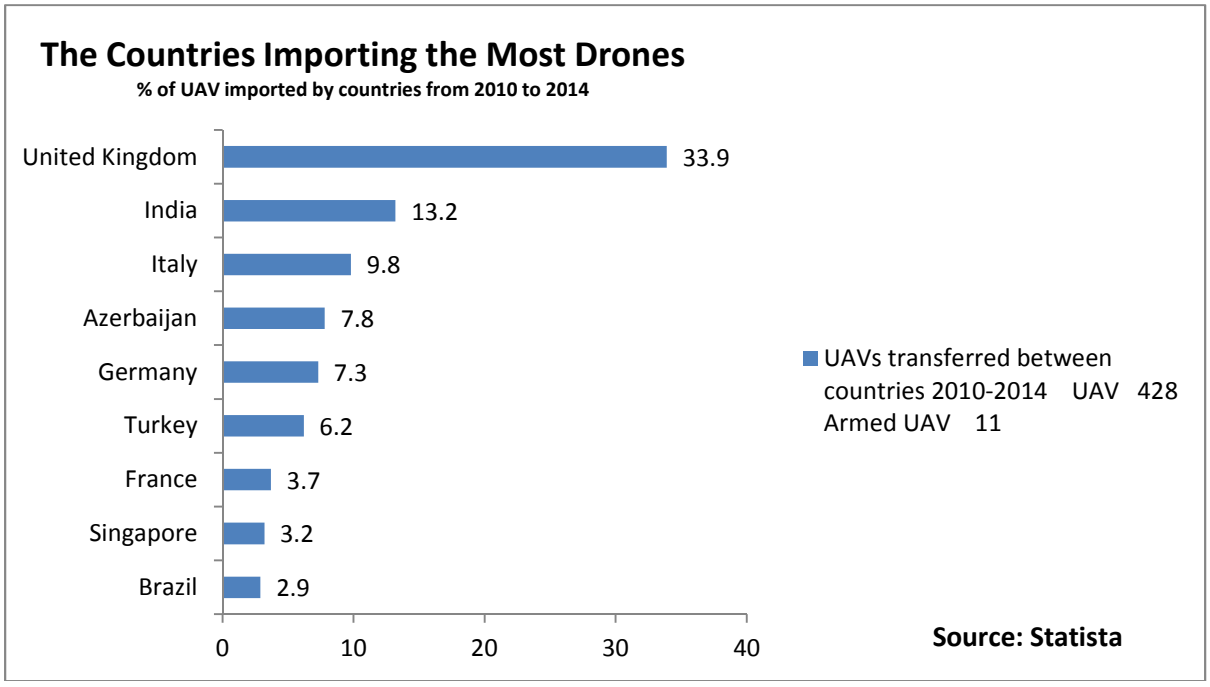



*Figure 3*. The UKhas thehighestrate of UAV import amongstates which importmost UAVs.

## Summary and Conclusions

The literature review gravitated from the more relevant studies to the most relevant ones. The strategy employed for literature search include a preliminary search in databases and sources available through the Walden University Library and a secondary search in other databases more specifically related to the topic to enable the ability to access relevant peer-reviewed articles. The strategy also included the use of document delivery system and the Google Scholar search engine using general and particular search terms to access articles published within the last five year.

The theoretical lens for this research is the Just War Theory and it originated from the view that certain basic principles should guide the conduct of warfare, even in the most extreme situation. The five themes used to organize the literature include the justification for war and methods of conducting the war; the legality of employing UAVs for targeted killing; and self-defense right and pre-emptive UAV strikes. Others are the moral and ethical justification for the use of UAVs for targeted killing and the humanitarian problem associated with UAV strikes. Chapter 3 will describe (a) the research design and reasons for selecting it; (c) the method; and (d) the possible threats that could affect validity.

# Chapter 3: Research Method

The three research methods include qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. Qualitative method asks open-ended questions, quantitative method tests hypotheses while the mixed methods combine the attribute of both designs. I used the quantitative method for the study because I tested hypotheses. The methodology covers a description of participants, the method of data collection as well as the method of data analysis.

## Rationale for Selection of Cross-sectional Research Design

The characteristics of cross-sectional design include a reliance on existing differences rather than change following intervention and selection of groups based on existing differences rather than random allocation.The explanations or description of people or phenomena with the aid of surveys or structured interviews can help to find a relationship or differences between variables rather than finding cause and effect (Campbell & Stanley, 1993; Creswell, 1994, 2003).Therefore, the reason for selecting cross-sectional design for this study is becauseit helped to measure the relationship and differences between the research variables and to generalize the findings because the sample comes from the entire sampling frame.

The researcher must always be mindful of the issues of reliabilityand validity of the research conclusions for the study to have an acceptable level of credibility. The reliability and validity of the process of collecting data depend on the research design, especially the sampling strategy and the measuring instrument (Babbie, 2001; Creswell, 1994, 2003). A cross-sectional research design includes the use of survey to collect data from a huge number of participants across geographical boundaries to help generalize the

findings because the sample comes from the entire sampling frame (Fink, 2002; Hall, 2008). Consequently, the use of a survey as an instrument for data collection enabled the findings to be valid and reliable, thereby enhancing credibility.

**Cross-sectional Design and the Research Questions**

The research questions sought to determine if a relationship exists among attitudes towards counterterrorism measure, attitudes towards the use of UAVs for targeted killing, and the perception of IHL and civilian casualties. Accordingly, the questions sought to measure differences in the opinions of participants, which represent opinions from a variety of people on the subject of inquiry rather than change following intervention. A cross-sectional type of research designs is suitable for the research questions because it can measure differences between or from among a variety of people, subjects, or phenomena rather than a process of change (Fink, 2002; Gravetter & Wallnau, 2004). Also, a researcher using this design can only employ a relatively passive approach to making causal inferences based on findings (Fowler, 2002; Hall, 2008).

**Time and Resource Constraint and Cross-sectional Study**

There is both time and resource restriction in a cross-sectional design. Unlike observational studies, cross-sectional research design, using the survey for data collection, employs data from many participants not geographically bound (Fink, 2002; Fowler, 2002; Hall, 2008). Consequently, the difficulty in identifying those who will participate in different locations can introduce a resource constraint (Eugene & Lynn, 2013). There is also a time constraint because the findings are static and time-bound, thereby making them unsuitable for highlighting sequence of events or revealing

historical contexts for the study (Eugene & Lynn, 2013; Fink, 2002). Because the design can only give a snapshot of analysis, selection of a different time frame to conduct the study might produce different outcomes. This variation in results will increase the difficulty to replicate the study in such a way to produce the same outcomes.

## Methodology

The method section for this study will include discussion on (a) the population; (b) the process and procedures for selecting the sample; and (c) the pilot study. Other topics include (d) how to carry out the recruitment, participation, and data collection; and (e) the method of operationalization and instrumentation of the constructs. A discussion on the population has a link to this study's units of analysis, Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey Audience (Patton, 2002). The sampling frame for this study is adults of 18 years and above, whose background and discipline include military, security organization, international relations, international law, political science, public administration, and legal studies. Accordingly, I used an online survey to collect data from 82 adults from the Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey audience because they have a highly diverse population with relevant disciplines (Laureate Education, Inc., 2014; Survey Monkey, 2014). This strategy enabled collection of a wide-range representation of opinion cutting across participants from international communities that use UAVs for targeted killing or bear the consequence of this practice.

### Description of the Target Population

The few states that have the potential to use armed UAVs include the United States, Israel, the UK, China, Pakistan, Russia, and Iran (Alston, 2013; Bergen, 2012;

Chesney, 2011). However, only four of them have a history of UAV strikes, namely; the United States, Israel, the UK, and Pakistan (Alston, 2013; Bergen, 2012). This research drew the opinions of people across several states whose background or discipline include military, security organizations, international relations, political science, international law, legal studies, and public administration. The target population, therefore, included individual adults of 18 years and above who are currently students or faculty at Walden University or registered members of the Survey Monkey. The participants provided consent to take part in the survey through the Walden Participant Pool or the Survey Monkey platform. Both Walden University community and the Survey Monkey audience are ethnically and culturally diverse, thereby providing a suitable representation of a multinational and multicultural society.

The Walden University's student population is about 50,000 people who live in various countries and take part in various online academic programs while the member of the faculty and other support staff also reflect a pluralistic society (Laureate Education, 2014). Therefore, a population size of 50,000 served as the sampling frame or the estimated target population from this research venue for this study. Statistics from Laureate Education (2014) indicate that the student body is made up of the diverse ethnic group comprising 47.2% white, 40.4% black, 6.8% Hispanic, 6% American Indian/Alaskan, 3% Asian, and 1.8% others (Laureate Education, 2014). Additionally, the age group includes 16.3% for ages 24-29, 33.0% for ages 30-39, and 28.5% for ages 40-49 (Laureate Education, 2014). The study considered these statistics in its data analysis. The diverse nationality and professional background of the population of the Survey

Monkey audience, as well as students and faculty in the Walden Participant Pool, informed their choice as the target population for this study. Furthermore, the method of recruitment enabled the selection of a sample that can easily represent the entire population, thereby facilitating the generalization of the research outcomes.

## Sampling and Sampling Procedures

The discussion on sampling and sampling techniques in this study focused on how to identify the sampling strategy and how to select the sample. Identification and justification of sampling strategy included the employment of the service of an experienced survey site designer. The designer helped to construct an Internet-based survey to enable participants to complete a web-based self-administered survey (Leslie, 1972; Nesbary, 2000; Rudestam & Newton, 2007). Because of the restriction preventing a researcher from soliciting participation by Walden Participant Pool and a similar situation with the Survey Monkey Audience, I used the convenience sampling strategy.

### Specific Procedures Regarding Sample Population

Walden Participant Pool helped to announce the study to the entire university community whose population estimate is 50,000 (LaureateEducation, Inc., 2014). The Survey Monkey audience population is larger than that of Walden University, but the exact figure is not known. Accordingly, all members of the Walden University Community and the Survey Monkey audience whose age is at least 18 years were the target population. However, their background and discipline included military and security organizations, international relations, political science, international law, public administration, and legal studies. Therefore, I drew a convenient sample size of 104 from

both research venues and collated the particular demographic data. However, the participants included male and female respectively because Pew Research Centre recently conducted a survey which indicated a wide gender divide of opinion on the issue of UAV strikes (see Table 1).

Table 1

*A Pew Research Centre Survey of Gender Perception on Drone Strike*

| | % Approve of U.S. drone strikes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total % | Male % | Female % | Male-Female gap |
| **Japan** | 25 | 41 | 10 | -31 |
| **Czech Rep.** | 32 | 47 | 17 | -30 |
| **Canada** | 43 | 57 | 28 | -29 |
| **Australia** | 44 | 58 | 30 | -28 |
| **Germany** | 45 | 58 | 33 | -25 |
| **Spain** | 21 | 34 | 9 | -25 |
| **Britain** | 39 | 51 | 27 | -24 |
| **Poland** | 35 | 45 | 26 | -19 |
| **U.S.** | 61 | 70 | 53 | -17 |
| **France** | 45 | 52 | 38 | -14 |
| **S. Korea** | 31 | 38 | 24 | -14 |
| **Uganda** | 43 | 49 | 36 | -13 |

**Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria of the Sampling Frame**

Inclusion and exclusion criteria are a particular set of standards or a baseline that helps researchers screen potential participants and find the most suitable candidates to participate in a study to arrive at best outcomes (Taylor, 2013; Tucker, 2014). The sampling frame included participants in the Walden Participant Pool and Survey Monkey Audience whose background or discipline and age were earlier specified. Conversely, the

study excluded every member of the population that does not belong to the background or discipline, and age specification.

**Use of Power Analysis to Determine the Appropriate Sample Size**

Power analysis helps to ascertain the appropriate size for the sample that will facilitate the chance to detect the existence of a difference (Sheskin, 2004). There is no need conducting a study if the researcher cannot determine the actual sample size that will reveal a difference (Murphy & Myors, 1998). The G*Power 3.1.9.2 calculator helped to determine the sample size for the two types of t-tests required in this study. The first t-test, Correlation: Point biserial model helped to determine the correlation between each IV and the DV. The second t-test, Linear multiple regression: Fixed model, single regression coefficient, helped to determine how the interaction between the two IVs relate to the DV (G*Power 3.1.9.2, n.d., Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). I selected the two tails under the input parameters with the effect size as the mean difference or standard deviation (Murphy & Myors, 1998; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). One can estimate an effect size for particular research from the previous study, pilot study's outcome, or Cohen's Advice (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). Cohen's *d* is a popular way of measuring the size of effect with the ability to specify three sizes of effect (Cohen, 1988). The sizes include (a) small when *d* is less than .50; (b) medium when *d* ranges from .50 to .80; and great when *d* is greater than .80 (Cohen, 1988).

This research used a small effect size of .30 because this size of effect will facilitate the detection of the differences in the population (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). Other effect sizes may include selection for other possible tests such as correlation

coefficients using the square of the correlation, multiple regression using $r^2$, and the measure of effect size for analysis of variance using $\omega^2/r^2$ (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). Thus, I selected the medium effect size of .06 out of the variances where $\omega^2$ is less than .06 for small effect size; $\omega^2$ is equal to .06 for medium effect size; and $\omega^2$ is greater than .14 for large effect size (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996).

Alpha level, also known as type I error, raises the possibility of finding a significant treatment effect where one does not exist. Therefore, this study used .05 as the alpha level (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Traditionally, there are two alpha levels namely .05 and .01 and a larger value .05 as the alpha level for this study helped to expand the rejection region for the null hypothesis (Field, 2013). Also, choosing a larger value of alpha produced more power and enabled the ability to uphold the study's hypothesis appropriately (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). Consequently, this study had a 95% chance of reaching a right conclusion and only a 5% chance of making a wrong deduction (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996).

The default power level is 0.95, but I changed it to 0.80 because the acceptable value for power is .80 (80 %) for this type of social research (Ellis, 2010). The power level of 0.80 helped to establish that, given the study sample size, 80 % chance exists of finding actual treatment effect or mean difference (Murphy & Myors, 1998). Consequently, if one repeats this study 100 times, the null hypothesis is nullified 80 times, if indeed there is an effect (Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). The sample size calculator revealed that the non-centrality parameter, the extent of falsifying the null hypothesis, is 2.8477869 (G*Power 3.1.9.2, n.d.). The calculator also indicated that the

degrees of freedom (df) is 80, the critical value is 1.9900634, and the total sample size is 82 at the actual power of 0.8033045 (G*Power 3.1.9.2, n.d). Suffice to mention that the sample size for the second t-test is 52 and because this value is smaller than that of the first; this study used the bigger sample size of 82. The details on the G*Power Sample Size Computation comprising the central and noncentral distributions, as well as the protocol of power analyses for the two *t*tests are at Appendix A. Therefore; the study required82 participants as the appropriate sample size (Ialongo, 2016; Lakens, 2013; Trochim, 2006).

## Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection Procedures

As earlier mentioned, this study leveraged the opportunities provided by the selected online survey platforms to access the right demographic groups (Trochim, 2006; Wright, 2005). The recruiting processes and particular demographic data involved the collection of data from participants in the two online survey platforms. The participants are of various nationalities, and they included people with background and discipline in various profession and disciplines. Therefore, the particular demographic information collected included gender, age, occupation, religion, and marital status of participants.

### The Process of Providing Informed Consents to Participants

Potential participants received instruction to sign-in to enable access to the page containing the informed consent form and the self-designed survey questions, in that order. Consequently, participants digitally signed the informed consent form, which doubles as the invitation to participate in the study before allowing them to access the survey. Participants who refused to sign the informed consent form did not participate in

the study (Fowler, 2002; Konstan, Rosser, Ross, Stanton, & Edwards, 2005). The process of informed consent helped to ensure that participants comprehend that the research outcome will remain confidential because the study did not contain their names, as well as the name of their organizations.

Additionally, participants were able to exit the survey by closing the website window or clicking the "Exit" button, and the study did not require any follow-up. Participants knew that they are free to refuse to fill the instrument without any penalty (Nesbary, 2000; Sue & Ritter, 2007). Furthermore, participants knew that the Walden University IRB approved the conduct of the study under the IRB approval number 08-04-17-0385952. Participants were aware that I am the only person that has access to all demographic data and the survey is safely kept in a security cabinet placed in a well-secured office. However, in line with Walden University's policy, I will destroy every record related to the study five years after completing the research.

**Data Collection Process**

This research employed the field methods to collect data, but I specifically utilized the electronic survey, a sub-category of the field method (Rudestam & Newton, 2007; Sue & Ritter, 2007). Accordingly, a professional Web page designer, Survey Monkey, helped to design and published a survey for its audience while the Walden Participant Pool helped to announce the study to the entire Walden community. Internet-based survey design and data archiving services can help to construct an Internet-based survey and receive a complete database in return (Trochim, 2006; Wright, 2005). This strategy eliminated the rigor involved in entering the data into a database manually and it

also reduced the costs of mailing and printing (Fowler, 2002; Fink, 2002). However, I monitored the process rather than relying absolutely on the Web site proprietor. I further scrutinized every question and response choice categories against the original instrument to correct omissions and errors before posting the survey online.

Before connecting to the Internet, I conducted a trial run for the online survey to prevent large consequences that could arise from small errors and obtained a small data set to ensure that the download reflected all necessary information. The program included various checks to ascertain that participants who completed the survey are part of the targeted population (Trochim, 2006; Wright, 2005). For instance, I included instructions at the beginning of the survey indicating that only participants who fit into the designated professions, field of specialization, and age specification are eligible to complete the survey. Consequently, the instrument required participants to indicate their profession, field of specialization, and age group to confirm their eligibility.

I did not offer participants any incentives but worked with the Survey Company to design the survey to prevent a participant from filling out the survey more than once (Wright, 2005). To compensate for ineligible respondents or incomplete data, I worked with 104 responses, which is more than the actual sample size of 82 as determined by the power analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).

**Exit Strategy for Participants**

There are two ways through which respondents were able to exit this research. A choice to refuse to fill the survey *ab initio* is the first exit strategy for the participants (Creswell, 2009; Mitchell & Jolley, 2004). Also, participants exited the study by refusing

to click on the 'I Agree to Participate Button' andby clicking the "Exit" button on the upper right side of the screen (Creswell, 2003; Neuman, 2009). These strategies helped to ensure that nobody was forced to participate in the study and respondents also had an option to stop participating at any point of the research process. This study has no provision for debriefing of participants since I have no direct contact with them.

## Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs

### Basis for Development

The participants delay in responding to surveys made the researcher devise a more innovative method to facilitate data collection. Accordingly, a self-designed survey with items drawn from a variety of sources (See Appendix C) helped the data collection process for the research variables to quantify participants' perception of the nexus between attitudes towards counterterrorism measures, support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing, and perceptions of IHL regarding civilian casualties.

### Plan to Provide Evidence for Reliability and Validity

The earlier plan to employ a self-developed survey necessitated a pilot study to assess the validity and reliability of the questions posed in the survey, thereby ensuring a proper measurement of the research variables. However, the outcome of the pilot test confirmed that the self-designed instrument lacked evidence of reliability and validity. Consequently, I had to eventually use a self-designed survey with items drawn from a variety of existing instruments which include Pew Research Survey, Russel Sage Foundation, Gallup Poll, and Ethics Position Questionnaire to guarantee reliability and validity gap identified in the pilot test. Suffice to mention that these instruments were

already pilot tested and therefore already have evidence of reliability and validity. Therefore, one or more of these existing instruments have questions that specifically addressed the research questions.

## Operationalization of Variables Employed in the Study

Measurement involves devising measuring strategies, as well as the establishment of the measurements' accuracy and precision in the planning and execution stages (Creswell, 2003). Various survey items from previous research studies will help to measure the constructs defined above. The resulting amalgamation of surveys is designed specifically to measure the variables in the present study: support for counterterrorism measures, support for the use of targeted UAV attacks, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties.

**Support for the use of UAVs for target killing.** This survey consists of a four-question, Likert-type questionnaire developed by non-partisan fact tank, the Pew Research Center. Participants are required to indicate their concern about whether U.S. drone strikes are dangerous to civilians, conducted illegally or could damage the reputation of the United States. Answer choices vary from "very concerned," "somewhat concerned," "not too concerned and "not at all concerned" (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2005). Survey questions for the Pew Research Center are developed carefully and specifically to minimize and elicit honest answers from respondents and are subject to pilot testing (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2007). Survey questions developed by the Pew Research Center are free to be used by researchers without express permission from the Center.

**Support for Counterterrorism Measures**. I adopted these items from two brief questionnaires. The first asks the respondent to indicate their support on a one through seven Likertscales for ten specific counterterrorism policies: National Security Agency Surveillance, Military Commissions Act, Patriot Act, Assassination, Rights violation, Detentions, Airport security and Ethnic profiling (Brooks & Manza, 2013). This questionnaire used the baseline items from the questionnaire titled "Surveys of American Policy Attitudes." Sociologists Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks developed the survey while the Russell Sage Foundation published it. The Russell Sage Foundation is an American research center devoted exclusively to research in the social sciences. Examination of its sensitivity in demonstrating changing attitudes in the United States over time and between political groups can provide evidence for the internal consistency of this scale to measure support for counterterrorism policy (Brooks & Manza, 2013). The second questionnaire used an eight-question survey to define support for counterterrorism measures. The questionnaire asks participants to rate the degree to which they support various state-enforced counterterrorism measures that may violate human rights (such as torture and illegal surveillance) on a one through seven Likertscales. Papastamou, Prodromitis and Iatridis (2005) developed these items. Hierarchical cluster analysis indicated that the questionnaire items fell into the following subcategories: opposed to general policing, in favor of general policing and in favor of controlling aliens (Papastamou, Prodromitis & Iatridis, 2005). Those opposed to general policing rejected extreme measures in dealing with terror suspects and surveillance of citizens whereas those in favor of general policing were more tolerant of prejudicial treatment towards

suspected terrorists and general surveillance of citizens. The third group specifically supported police control on non-US citizens such as tightening borders, denying political asylum and tolerating psychological violence during the interrogation of terror suspects (Papastamou, Prodromitis & Iatridis, 2005). The utilization of these items provides a broad measurement for the support of a variety of counterterrorism measures.

**Attitudes toward IHL and civilian casualties.** The items used to measure this construct came from a two-question modified Gallup poll related to the justification of inadvertent civilian casualties during violence committed by the military and individuals or small groups of people (Gallup Poll, 2017). The original survey pertained to the deliberate killing of civilians whereas in the present study the questions were modified to pertain to the accidental killing of civilians. The original two-question survey was significantly related to human development and societal stability indices (Gallup Poll, 2017). This outcome suggests that public tolerance of willingness to target civilians is related to a country's human development and societal stability. Additionally, a modified 20 question ethics survey developed by Forsyth (1980) was utilized to further serve as a measure of attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties on a nine-pointLikert scale. This questionnaire was chosen specifically because it (a) contains items related to support for a codified morality, akin to the IHL and (b) has questions that pertain to the risk and harm of individuals when choosing to perpetrate an action, related to the Jus in Bello principles described in Just War Theory. The original ethics survey referred to "actions "and "innocent people" whereas the modified version refers to "military actions" and "innocent civilians" to more specifically apply to the present study. For the original

scale, factor rotation indicated the presence of two constructs; which are relativism and idealism. Individuals that score low on relativism tend to potentially reject the idea of universal rules (such as IHL) or support more utilitarian actions (a tolerance for civilian casualties). Individuals high in idealism tend to rely heavily on context or to support universal moral rules heavily. The Ethics Position questionnaire demonstrates convergent validity with other measures of ethics such as Hogan's survey of ethical attitudes (Hogan, 1970, 1973) and demonstrates test-retest reliability (Forsyth, 1980). Relativism, as it relates to attitudes towards a universal moral code of conduct, is directly applicable to IHL and idealism as it relates to the tolerance of harm to others directly relates to tolerance of civilian casualties. Using the modified Ethics Position Questionnaire in the present study allowed the researcher to determine how ethical and moral perceptions of the IHL and civilian casualties related to support for counterterrorism measures and support for targeted UAV strikes.

**Process of Measuring the Variables**

The cross-sectional design's process of measuring the variables in this study included deciding on strategies for the measurement, the establishment of the measurements' accuracy, and the establishment of the measurements' precision (Creswell, 2009). Devising measurement strategy in the planning stage entailed providing the operational definitions of the variables in the study and giving careful consideration to ensure that operational definitions are close enough to the meaning of the variables under investigation (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). I also decided on the

required observations that enabled the ability to appropriately and accurately measure the attributes or behavior under investigation.

**Accuracy of Measurement**

This study addressed two critical issues regarding the accuracy of measurement. The first issue is the extent of the reliability of the measurement strategies while the second issue is the extent of their validity. The first issue helped to ensure that the measuring instrument came out with the same output regardless of who conducts the measurement, regardless of when and where the measurement takes place, and over repeated trials (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The second issue helped to gauge the extent to which the research will end up measuring what it sets out to measure (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The two issues regarding the accuracy of measurement assisted in the ability to plan for validity, thereby enhancing the correspondence between the measures and the variables under investigation.

**Precision of Measurements**

The appropriate level of accuracy was selected to measure the variables employed in this study. This level helped to determine the size of data to collect on each variable and the reasonable level of precision (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Accordingly, the goal was to maintain a high accuracy for all the variables to enhance the capacity of the study to produce a complete and informative research finding (Creswell, 2003). This research measured three variables, two IVs, and one DV. The four levels of measurements in increasing order of precision are the nominal, the ordinal,

the interval, and the ratio levels of measurement (Stevens, 1946, as cited in Agbaje & Alarape, 2013). Attitudes towards counterterrorism measures; support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing; and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties are variables that can fit into the ratio level of measurement. The property of a fixed and inherently defined zero points in the ratio level measurement enabled distance comparisons for two of the research variables (Creswell, 2003). The mean is the most suited statistical tool to measure the central tendencies of ratio level data (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Therefore, I employed analytical tests namely binary logistic regression analysis, Pearson correlation tests, and MANOVA test.

**How the Variable/Scale Score was Calculated and What the Scores Represent**

To design a valid measurement for this study, a single item type that only makes provision for two or more options helped to measure certain variables, but only a multi-item measurement applied to other complex variables (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). For instance, demographic data in the study such as gender, sex, religion, occupation, and marital status only required a single-item measurement. Conversely, the study IVs and DV have multiple and complex dimensions that necessitated multi-item measuring instrument such as indexing or scaling, which accommodated multiple inquiries for the various aspect of the variables.

Indexing and scaling as multi-item measurements enabled the assignment of sets of items in an orderly manner using various operational indices to prevent the challenge of interpreting a single-item measuring instrument (Creswell, 2009). The use of the Likert-type scale will help to accumulate scores on individual items to form a composite

measure of the multipart variables in research (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). For instance, I measured theattitudes towards counterterrorism measures, support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties with the aid of Likert-type scales.I then assigned a range of possible scores to these items as quantitative labels to ease the difficulty of data analysis before summing up the scores of the items representing the measurement of the phenomena (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

The six-step procedure included the compilation of the measure list, administering the items to a sample of randomly selected participants, andcalculating the total score of each of them. Others are ascertaining the items' discriminative power, choosing the scale items, and testing the reliability of the scale (Gulliksen, 1962, as cited in Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

## Data Analysis Plan

I employed five steps for data analysis and discussion. The analysis began with the preparation, treatment, and coding of data followed by construction of the data matrix to numerically present the summary of the data (Rudestam & Newton, 2007). After that, the use of relevant descriptive statistics helped to analyse central tendencies and degree of variability or dispersal (Creswell, 2009). Appropriate inferential statistics also helped to test statistically for significance and association when interpreting and discussing the findings (Creswell, 2009; Rudestam & Newton, 2007). The software for data analysis was the Version 18.0 of SPSS for Windows, a program that helps to facilitate a diverse range of data analysis (Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011). The process began by

entering the raw data into the SPSS software and saving the data to a file. After that, I identified and chose the necessary analysis before examining the output produced by the SPSS. Because of the point and click facility, the SPSS enabled the ability to carry out multiple analyses seamlessly and displayed the outcomes within a short duration (Green & Salkind, 2011). Moreover, the SPSS syntax and output features provided the resources required to analyze the findings.

**Data Cleaning and Screening Procedures for the Study**

The processes that the study employed for data screening include data preparation, treatment, and coding. This technique required the ability to scrutinize the measuring instrument by confirming that no missing data exists (Field, 2013). It also ascertained the logic and consistency of the responses regarding the adoption of shared indicators (Field, 2013). Inconsistent data went through aconversion process while discarding those that do not meet the criteria. After data preparation and treatment, I coded all responses that are not already pre-coded by using numerals to represent the responses (Green & Salkind, 2011). Preparation/ treatment of data and coding of data by expressing them in the form of numbers helped to enhance the data analysis process.

**Research Questions and Hypotheses**

This research has two independent variables (IVs) and one dependent variable (DV). The IVs are attitudes towards counterterrorism measures and support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing while the DV is perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. The study employed the Just War theory to examine the research questions and the sets of hypotheses. To find out participants' perception of the *nexus* between attitudes towards

counterterrorism, the support of UAVs for targeted killing, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties, the study addressed the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research Question 1: Is support of counter-terrorism measures related to perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties?

$H_0$1: There is no significant relationship between attitudes towards counter-terrorism measures and the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. $H_0$1: $\rho = 0, \beta 1 = 0$

$H_1$ 1: There is a significant relationship between attitudes towards counterterrorism measures and the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties such that, $H_1$ 1: $\rho \neq 0, \beta 1 \neq 0$

Research Question 2: Is there a relationship between supporting the use of UAVs for targeted killing and the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties?

$H_0$2: There is no significant relationship between supporting the use of UAVs for targeted killing and the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. *Ho* 2: $\rho = 0, \beta 2 = 0$

$H_1$2: There is a significant relationship between supporting the use of UAVs for targeted killing and the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties such that,

(d) $H_1$2: $\rho \neq 0, \beta 2 \neq 0$

Research question 3: Is there a relationship between support for counter-terrorism measures and support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing?

$H_o$3: There is no significant relationship between support for counter-terrorism measures and support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing.

(e) $H_o$3: $\rho = 0, \beta 3 = 0$

$H_1$3: There is a significant relationship between support for counter-terrorism measures and support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing such that

(f) $H_1$3: $\rho \neq 0, \beta 3 \neq 0$

Research question 4: How does the relationship between support for Counterterrorism measures and support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing relate to the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties?

$H_0$4: There is no significant relationship between support for counterterrorism measures and support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing to predict the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties.

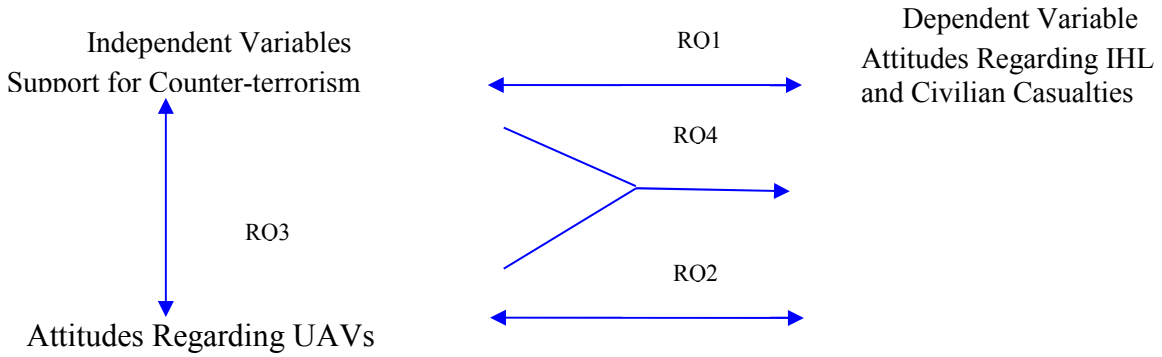
(g) $H_o$4: $\rho = 0, \beta 4 = 0$

$H_1$4: There is a positive and significant relationship between support for counterterrorism measures and support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing to predict the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties.

(h) $H_1$4: $\rho \neq 0, \beta 4 \neq 0$

The study employed binarylogistic regression analysis, to test the relationships between each of the IVs with the DV. More importantly, the study employed multiple linear regressions, represented by the equation $Yk = \beta 0 + \beta 1X1 + \beta\ 2X2 + ...+ \beta\ kXk + E$ to address the relationships between support for counterterrorism measures (X1) and support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing (X2). The test will also address the relationship between support for counterterrorism measures + support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing (X3) on the outcome variable, the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties (Yk).The $\rho$ (Pearson correlation), $\beta k$ (regression coefficient) and

variables Xk for the support for counterterrorism measures and support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing will predict the outcome variable Yk. The β0 represents the intercept point of the regression line and the axis in the linear equationwhile E represented the residual error between the estimated and observed dependent variable.




**Detail Plan for Data Analysis**

Data analysis included construction of a data matrix; conduct of descriptive analysis comprising measures of variability and central tendency; and carrying out of inferential analysis encompassing statistical tests for significance and statistical tests of association. A data matrix is a set of rows and columns that contain all generated figures in the research (Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011). The columns reflect the values of the three variables and the rows reflect data of every participant while ensuring that each cell only contains one numeral or symbol (Green & Salkind, 2011). For instance, if the age of a respondent is 45, the study included the number in two columns as 4 and 5.

**Descriptive Analysis**

The description of the data began by noting the number of times that each variable's values come up in the data matrix. The next thing was the use of graphs and

tables for further illustrations (Green & Salkind, 2011). After that, I measured either variability or central tendencies or both as they applied to the data. The use of mode, median, and mean as tools to analyze the degree to which the data piece together helped to achieve the measure of central tendency (Field, 2013). The use of the range, variance, and standard deviation as tools assisted in ascertaining the level of dispersal of data or the measure of variability, which indicated the degree of variation in the variables'values under investigation (Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011). Both measures of central tendency and the measure of variability helped the study's descriptive analysis, thereby validating the outcome.

**Inferential Analysis of the Statistical Tests for the Hypotheses**

The inferential analysis enabled the ability to establish if the relationships are statistically significant and to determine the strength of that relationship if it exists. Therefore, the two statistical tests for the hypotheses are statistical tests of significance and statistical tests of association (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010). Statistical tests of significance helped to address the issues on whether the relationship among the variables under investigation is statistically significant or significantly different (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010; Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011). A test for significance requires the conduct of a Spearman rank-order for data that fails to meet assumptions of parametric testing and a Pearson product-moment correlation r test for data that meet assumptions of parametric testing (Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011).Accordingly, I conducted the correlation r test to determine whether the research variables are dependent on each other or not.

*Statistical tests of association*: These tests helped to address the issues related to the strength of the relationship if it exists (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010; Green & Salkind, 2011). Accordingly, I conducted the coefficient of determination $r^2$, a derivative or square of Pearson product-moment correlation r test, to determine how much the IVs determines the DV (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2000).

*Characteristics of the key test for the study*: Correlation test determines how more naturally occurring variables relate to each other, either bivariate or multivariate (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Morrow, 2009).

*Assumptions for the key test*: Pearson correlation coefficient test between two variables assumes a standard, and bivariate distribution of variables exists (Green & Salkind, 2011). There is also an assumption that one case's variables scores are independent of other cases' variables scores because each of them represents a random sample from the population (Green & Salkind, 2011).

**Procedures for Multiple Statistical Tests**

The need to analyze the data using multiple statistical tests entailed using one result to verify the others. The underlying assumption of most statistical tests that every set of analysis maintains their independence may be erroneous; especially when it is conducted many times on the same data. Therefore, the study only employed two multiple statistical tests to prevent fishing, a threat to conclusion validity (Burkholder, n.d.; Hallahan & Rosenthal, 1996). Fishing is a situation that enables the ability to discover by chance that a statistically significant relationship exists when none exists

(Gravetter & Wallnau, 2000). Accordingly, the study employed binary regression test and MANOVA test to investigate complex interactions among IVs and DVs.

**Interpretation of the Data Analysis Results**

Four key tests helped to interpret the results of the analysis. These tests are the Pearson product-moment correlation *r* test, and coefficient of determination $r^2$ tests, binary regression test and MANOVA test (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010; Field, 2013).

*Pearson product-moment correlation r test*: This concept is a test of significance on ratio-level data represented by *r*. The results of the tests range from -1 to +1 (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010; Field, 2013; Green & Salkind, 2011). If the result is -1, the implication is that a negative relationship exists between or among the variables (Field, 2013). If the result produced is 0, this finding means that there is no association between or among the variables (Field, 2013). If the result is +1, there is a perfect positive relationship between or among the variables (Field, 2013).

*The coefficient of determination $r^2$ test*: The coefficient of determination $r^2$ is a derivative of Pearson product-moment correlation r test, and this finding implies that its value (represented by $r^2$) is the square root of r (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2000). The value of the coefficient of determination $r^2$ usually ranges from 0 to 1, indicating the extent to which the IV determines the DV (Green & Salkind, 2011). If the value of $r^2$ is 0, then the particular DV is zero % or not determined by the IV at all (Green & Salkind, 2011). Conversely, if the value of $r^2$ is 1, this finding implies that the DV is 100 %, or only the IV determined the DV (Green & Salkind, 2011).

## Threats to Validity

One of the purposes of planning a study is to enhance validity. The two types of validity are external and internal validities (Creswell, 2003). However, there is mutual exclusivity between the two of them because that particular research cannot achieve or maximize both at the same time (Creswell, 2003). Consequently, every study seeks to optimize a particular type of validity by adopting the most suitable design based on its nature (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

### Threats to External Validity and how to Address Them

Because this study will adopt a field method for the data collection process, it did not focus on concluding cause-effect relationships or co-variation (Creswell, 1994). The study rather concentrated on the establishment of co-relationship to determine the extent to which there is a correlation between and among the variables (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Consequently, the study focused on achieving external validity instead of internal validity (Creswell, 2009). The construction of design helped to attain external validity because the design enabled the ability to generalize outcomes to the entire populations or other UAV program-related settings and situations (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, this research sought to add to theory-building in the field of study by producing outcomes applicable everywhere. The factors that can threaten the achievement of external validity in this research are non-representativeness of the sample, the effect of study procedure, and selection biases.

*Non-representativeness of the sample*: External validity borders on how representative the research settings and findings are and the possibility of generalizing

such outcomes (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The Walden Participant Pool is open to male and female students, faculty, and staff of a large, American-based, online university population (Laureate Education, 2014). The Survey Monkey Audience has characteristics similar to the Walden Participant Pool because the audience comprises male and female with diverse nationalities, as well as educational and professional backgrounds (Survey Monkey, 2014). Therefore, this study countered the threat of non-representativeness of the sample by relying on the dynamic and the ever-changing nature of the population in these research venues.

*Effect of study procedure*: This process usually constitutes a threat to external validity when participants respond negatively and contrary to the expectation of the method for the study (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The study countered the effect of study procedure threat by acknowledging ineligible participants or incomplete data in the survey (Creswell, 2009). To compensate for ineligible respondents or incomplete data, I increased the number of responses to 104, which is more than the actual sample size of 82 as determined by the power analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). This strategy enabled the ability to accommodate non-participation or earlier withdrawal by participants because of the effect of study procedure.

*Selection biases*: This bias usually constitutes a threat to external validity when a researcher purposefully selects participants to facilitate the achievement of the desirable outcomes (Creswell, 2003). The Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey Audience are open to people with diverse nationalities, educational and professional backgrounds (Laureate Education, 2014; Survey Monkey, 2014). Also, the Walden

Participant Pool does not allow the researcher to solicit for participants while a researcher cannot determine which particular Survey Monkey Audience should fill out the survey. This attribute of the research venues that makes a researcher unable to decide the participants who fill out the survey helped to eliminate selection biases.

**Threats to Internal Validity**

The study took place in a naturalistic setting or environment to enhance and maximize external validity only (Creswell, 2009). Additionally, the study did not achieve internal validity regarding the content, empirical, and construct validity because the study took place in the field with the aid of survey and not in a laboratory (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Internal Validity Tutorial, n.d.). Consequently, the study did not address the various threats that could prevent the attainment of internal validity but evaluated the reliability of the measuring instrument to reduce its rate of error (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

**Threats to Construct or Conclusion Validity**

The conclusion validity includes evaluation of the reasonability and credibility of the findings from the relationships between data (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).This type of validity is the most important of the four types of validity because it concerns the determination of observational relationship, a crucial index in any analysis (Creswell, 2003). Threats to construct validity border on factors that can make researchers conclude that relationship exists when there are none and *vice versa* (Creswell, 2009). Two main threats can prevent the attainment or maximization of construct validity. The first threat is low reliability and validity of measures or

observations while the second is a weak relationship because of lack of statistical power (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

*Low reliability and validity of measures or observations*: Low reliability and validity of measures or observations can prevent the identification of an existing relationship because the environmental noise tends to weaken them (Creswell, 2003). One of the ways to avert this threat is to ensure that the measures correctly assess for validity and reliability by specifying the estimation procedure(s) and explaining how to measure the construct validity respectively (Creswell, 2003). The study also attained improved trustworthiness through the construction of better measurement instrument taken from multiple sources (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Asking more questions on a particular scale helped to achieve this outcome (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Furthermore, the study addressed both convergent and discriminant validity as much as possible.

*Weak relationship occasioned by lack of statistical power*: Fragile association occasioned by lack of statistical power can prevent the observation of an existing relationship because of insufficient sample size (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).I countered this threat by selecting a statistical power that is greater than 0.8 in a sample size calculator to increase the sample size (Cohen, 1988; Murphy & Myors, 1998). The strategy also enabled the selection of an appropriate sample size that guaranteed the study's ability to find relationship at least 80 chances out of 100 (Cohen, 1988).

## Ethical Considerations

### Access to Participants or Data and Treatment of Human Participants

The informed consent form helped to gain access to respondents, and the form was part of the document that accompanied the Institutional Review Board (IRB) application (see Appendix D). I treated those participating in line with the global standard and best practices in the research community (NIH Office of Extramural Research, 2008). Participants knew that the Walden University IRB approved the conduct of the study under the IRB approval number 08-04-17-0385952 which expires on August 3rd, 2018. After that, they received the informed consent form containing the research purpose, respondent expectations, researcher expectations, and participant's right not to take part in the research or to cease participating if already involved (NIH Office of Extramural Research, 2008). Participants digitally signed the form while those who refused to sign the form did not take part in the study.

The study addressed ethical concerns that prospective participants may have in respect of the recruitment materials and processes. For instance, for such ethical issues associated with the survey, participants knew that they are free to refuse to fill any section of the instrument that offends their sensibility (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Maxwell, 2005; Neuman, 2009). Also, participants received a reassurance that they could refuse to fill the survey due to ethical anxieties about the instrument. The knowledge and skill I obtained through certification in the National Institutes of Health (NIH) helped to enhance treatment of human participants (NIH Office of Extramural Research, 2008). To accommodate non-participation or earlier withdrawal by participants due to ethical

concerns, I increased the number of valid responses to 104, which is more than the actual sample size of 82 as determined by the power analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). I also requested and received relevant permissions to use published instruments and the IRB application contained a copy of the authorizations.

**Treatment of Data**

The participants knew that the outcome of the study will remain confidential since the research does not reflect their real names. The absence of a name or other identifiers to represent each participant helped to guarantee the confidentiality of the demographic data because it is the only thing that will link the participants' identity to the study (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). I also treated respondents with anonymity to prevent tracing their real names to the groups, institutions, or organizations they represent. The two online survey platforms enabled the ability to collect electronic data while ensuring the anonymity of the people who fill out a survey (LaureateEducation, Inc., 2014; Survey Monkey, 2014). Also, participants were aware of the security of all demographic data and survey kept in a locked safe and a secured office with I being the only person that has access (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, participants understood that I would destroy every record related to the study five years after completing the research in line with Walden University's policy. The information on the treatment of data helped to address participants concerns on ethical issues.

**Other Ethical Issue Applicable to this Research**

Another ethical issue that appliesto this study is personal bias. I improved my objectivity skills to address personal bias and also deliberately utilized languages that are

labels-sensitive to discuss participants (Anderson, 2009; Zuckerman, n.d.). The study reflected sensitivity to ethnic, racial and religious diversity among the respondents by carefully selecting the surveys (American Psychological Association [APA], 2010). Because the issues under investigation affect the Arab and African communities who are largely Muslims and the Western community who are largely Christians, the study avoided preferential treatment of one group over the other.

The realization that I may need to publish my research is another way I checked personal bias. The need to prevent participants from discovering favouritisms in the published works served as a constant check on personal prejudice (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, this study avoided scientific misconduct such as manipulation or falsification of the research outcomes based on sentiments for or against a group of participants (Zuckerman, n.d.). I adopted a proactive means by committing myself not to participate in such unethical practices in this study (Neuman, 2000). These strategies helped to validate the research findings.

## Summary

The purpose of this quantitative cross-sectional study was to determine if a relationship exists among support for counterterrorism measures, support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing and the perceptions towards IHL and civilian casualties. This research has the potential to facilitate the establishment of an international legal framework to guide the future employment of UAVs. The design of this study was a cross-sectional research design. The design is suitable for the study because it helped to

measure the relationship and differences between the research variables and to generalize the findings since the sample comes from the entire sampling frame.

This study used the convenience sampling strategy to select 104 participants comprising male and female from the Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey Audience. A sample size calculator helped to determime the appropriate sample size of 82 with the aim to guarantee the validity and viability of the measuring instrument and by extension, the study's outcome (Cohen, 1988; Murphy & Myors, 1998; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The data collection process leveraged the opportunities provided by the selected online survey platforms to recruit the sample. The study used Version 18.0 of SPSS as the software for data analysis. The four key tests that aided the interpretation of the results of the data analysis include the Pearson product-moment correlation *r* test, and coefficient of determination $r^2$ tests, binarylogistic regression test, and MANOVA test (Agbaje & Alarape, 2010; Field, 2013).

Because this study adopted field method for data collection process, it focused on achieving external validity through the ability to generalize the findings to the entire populations and other situations or settings related to UAV program. The study addressed the two threats to construct validity namely low reliability and validity of measures or observations and weak relationship occasioned by lack of statistical power (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Murphy & Myors, 1998). Last, the study addressed other ethical considerations as appropriate. Chapter 4 discussed the impact of the pilot study, data collection, and results.

# Chapter 4: Results

## Introduction

The purpose of this quantitative study was to explore the relationships between attitudes regarding the use of UAVs for targeted killing, support for counter-terrorism measures, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties, using self-report measures administered online. A series of self-report questions regarding concern for UAV use helped to operationalize attitudes towards the use of UAVs for targeted killing. Also, a series of self-report questions asking participants to rate their support for several specific counter-terrorism measures helped to operationalize support for counterterrorism measures. Furthermore, a series of self-report questions related to personal ethics, and two binary questions related to civilian casualties from individual or military acts of aggression helped to operationalize attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties.

Research Question 1 tested how support for counter-terrorism measures may predict attitudes towards IHL and tolerance for civilian casualties. Research Question 2 examined how attitudes towards the use of UAVs may predict attitudes towards IHL and forbearance for civilian casualties. Research Question 3 then explored the relationship between support for counterterrorism measures and support for the use of UAVs. Research Question 4 tested the interaction effect between support for counter-terrorism and attitudes towards the use of UAVs on perceptions of IHL and tolerance for civilian casualties.

This chapter will first review the impact of the pilot test on the main study before reviewing the descriptive statistics of the sample and the items used for each scale. Next,

the chapter will evaluate assumptions for parametric testing. It will then report and summarize the results of each research question.

## Impact of the Pilot Study

The initial plan for this study was to employ a self-developed survey which necessitated a pilot study to assess the validity and reliability of the questions posed in the survey to ensure proper measurement of the research variables. Consequently, I collected samples from 10 participants from the target population. The pilot test analysis indicated that almost all the participants have no problem with the survey clarity, question arrangement, and available option of survey questions. However, the RQs came up with some issues in the results of test-retest reliability, internal consistency reliability, and correlation among items.

The results of the pilot study had an impact on the main study because, based on the findings, I had to slightly modify the variables and RQs to resolve the reliability issues revealed by the pilot study. Also, I recast the final survey questions by integrating some existing standard surveys which are closely related to the modified RQs in the final survey. For this study, I eventually used a self-designed survey with items drawn from a variety of sources which include Pew Research Survey, Russel Sage Foundation, Gallup Poll, and Ethics Position Questionnaire to guarantee reliability and validity gap identified in the pilot test. The modified IVs are Support for counterterrorism efforts (Papastamou, Prodromitis, & Iatridis, 2005; Brooks & Manza, 2013, 68) and Support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing (Pew Research Center, 2015; 2017). The modified DV is

Perception of IHL and civilian casualties (Modified Gallup poll and Modified Ethics questionnaire) (Gallup, 2017; Forsyth, 1980).

Since the study required changes, I submitted the Request for Change in Procedures Form along with other supporting documents impacted by these revisions such as new RQs and new surveys for IRB review. I also accompanied the request with snapshots of my conversations with developers of the surveys because I contacted them to request permission to use their surveys in this study and all of them approved the request. The IRB approved the request under the earlier approved IRB number, which is 08-04-17-0385952 and it expires on August 3rd, 2018.

## Data Collection

The data collection for the pilot study took place from August 7th, 2017 – September 30th, 2017. Also, for the final survey, the data collection was scheduled to take place for one month, but the actual recruitment and response rates took longer than expected. Consequently, the data collection for the final survey took place from October7th, 2018 – December1st, 2017.

The study earlier earmarked two months as the time frame for data collection for both the pilot study and the main study. However, because the result of the pilot study necessitated a change in procedure, there were discrepancies in data collection plan from the plan presented in chapter 3 because the time frame for data collection extended to about four months. I used the extended period to redesign the final survey to a self-designed survey with items drawn from a variety of sources, secure the approval of the developers of the surveys, and also to obtain a new IRB approval.

## Descriptive and Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

### Participant Demographics

After the exclusion of outliers, 104 participants responded to the online survey that measured attitudes towards counterterrorism, UAVs, and civilian casualties. The majority of respondents was Christian, married men between the ages of 40 and 49 years old, and worked in either public administration or the military. For frequency descriptive of participant demographics, please view tables 2 through 6.

Table 2 indicates that 75 percent of respondents are male, 34 percent are female and one percent belongs to other gender categorization. The frequency statistics for gender revealed that the majority of respondents were male.

Table 2

*Frequency Statistics for Gender*

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 78 | 75.0 |
| Female | 25 | 24.0 |
| Other | 1 | 1.0 |

Table 3 indicates that 13.5% of respondents belong to age bracket 18-29 years, 28.8% belongs to age bracket 30-39 years, 36.5 percent belongs to age bracket 40-49 years, and 21.2% of respondents are 50 years and older. Consequently, the frequency statistics for age revealed that most respondents are between 40 and 49 years old.

Table 3

*Frequency Statistics for Age*

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| 18 to 29 | 14 | 13.5 |
| 30 to 39 | 30 | 28.8 |
| 40 to 49 | 38 | 36.5 |
| 50 and above | 22 | 21.2 |

Table 4 indicates that 65.4% of respondents are married, 28.8% are single, and 5.8% of respondents are divorced. Consequently, the frequency statistics for marital status revealed that the majority of respondents were married.

Table 4

*Frequency Statistics for Marital Status*

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Married | 68 | 65.4 |
| Single | 30 | 28.8 |
| Divorced | 6 | 5.8 |

Table 5 indicates that 80.8% of respondents are Christians, 16.3% are Muslims, and 1.9% of respondents belong to other religions. Consequently, the frequency statistics for religion revealed that the majority of respondents were Christians.

Table 5

*Frequency Statistics for Religion*

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Christianity | 84 | 80.8 |
| Islam | 17 | 16.3 |
| Other | 2 | 1.9 |

Table 6 indicates that 16.5% of respondents are military personnel, 4.6% works in security organizations, 8.3% has their background in legal studies, and 21.1% are public administrators. Furthermore, 4.6% of respondents have their background in international relations, 10.1% has a background in political science, 3.7% has a background in international law, and 31.2% of the remaining respondents belong to other backgrounds. The frequency statistics for background revealed that the majority of respondents were military personnel and public administrators.

Table 6

*Frequency Statistics for Background*

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Military | 18 | 16.5 |
| Security organization | 5 | 4.6 |
| Legal studies | 9 | 8.3 |
| Public admin. | 23 | 21.1 |
| International relations | 5 | 4.6 |
| Political science | 11 | 10.1 |
| International law | 4 | 3.7 |
| Other | 34 | 31.2 |

**Item Descriptive**

The scale used in this study consisted of 44 items. Eighteen of the scales relate to the construct of support for counter-terrorism measures (Brooks & Manza, 2013: Papastamou, Prodromitis,& Iatridis, 2005), Other 4 items relate to the construct of Attitudes towards UAVs (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2015).The remaining 22 items relate to the construct of Attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties (Gallup, 2017; Forsyth, 1980). Attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties

was further broken down into two 10 item ethics subscales (one to measure idealism and one to measure relativism), and two binary items related to tolerance for civilian casualties during acts of individual and military violence. For descriptive and frequency statistics related to each item in this scale, please view tables 7 through 11.

Table 7 is the frequency statistics for attitudes towards UAVs items. It indicates that 75 respondents, which represent the majority, are very concerned that UAVs endangers the lives of innocent civilians. Also, 56 respondents, which represent the majority, are very concerned that the use of UAVs could lead to extremist retaliation. Also, 50 respondents, which represent the majority, are very concerned about the illegal conduct of UAVs strikes. Furthermore, 43 respondents, which represent the majority, are very concerned that the employment of UAVs could damage the reputation of the United States.

Table 7

*Frequency Statistics for Attitudes towards UAVs Items*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Endanger the lives of innocent civilians | 1 | 8 | 19 | 75 |
| Could lead to extremist retaliation | 4 | 9 | 32 | 56 |
| Are being conducted illegally | 7 | 18 | 27 | 50 |
| Could damage the reputation of the US | 7 | 20 | 33 | 43 |

*1=Not at all concerned, 2=Not too concerned, 3=Somewhat concerned, 4=Very concerned*

Table 8 is the frequency statistics for support for counter-terrorism measures items with the answers ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).The Mean ranges from 4.18 - 6.38 and the Standard Deviation ranges from 1.21 – 2.13.

Table 8

*Descriptive Statistics for Support for Counter-terrorism Measures Items*

| | Min | Max | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplify extradition proceedings for terrorist suspects | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.85 | 2.04 |
| Allow use of psychological force during questioning of terrorist suspects | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.37 | 1.64 |
| Allow surveillance of citizens' everyday life | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.56 | 1.99 |
| Allow use of physical force during questioning of terrorist suspects | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.18 | 2.10 |
| Allow surveillance of citizens' telephone calls | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.27 | 2.13 |
| Deny political asylum to terrorist suspects | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.78 | 1.74 |
| Tighten controls at all of a country's access points (seaports, border checkpoints, airports) | 1.00 | 7.00 | 6.38 | 1.23 |
| Reinstate capital punishment for terrorists | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.79 | 1.66 |
| Monitor telephone conversations between American citizens in the United States and suspected terrorists living in other countries. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 6.08 | 1.21 |
| Do you oppose or support the Military Commissions Act? | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.64 | 1.53 |
| Do you oppose or support the Patriot Act? | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.85 | 1.27 |
| Do you oppose or support the targeting for the assassination of individuals suspected of being al-Qaeda or Taliban leaders? | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.22 | 1.75 |
| The government should take all steps necessary to prevent additional attacks of terrorism in the United States even if it means violating the foreign nationals' rights and liberties. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.41 | 1.94 |
| Detaining someone who is not a U.S citizen indefinitely if suspicion exists that person belongs to a radical Muslim organization. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.18 | 1.91 |
| Requiring Muslims, including those who are US citizens, to undergo special, more intensive security checks before boarding airplanes in the United States. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.38 | 1.76 |
| Allowing law enforcement to question people of certain ethnic backgrounds if these groups are thought to be more likely to engage in terrorist activities. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.37 | 1.76 |
| In recent years, the government sometimes used a technique known as waterboarding on terrorist suspects to gain information about threats to the United States. Do you oppose or support the use of waterboarding on terrorist suspects? | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.05 | 1.85 |
| Government authorities should have the right to torture a suspect who is American if they think it will help prevent a terrorist attack from taking place in the United States. | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.12 | 1.95 |

*Answers range from 1 "Strongly disagree" to 7 "Strongly agree."*

Table 9 is the frequency statistics for tolerance for civilian casualties' items. It reveals that only 26. 6% of respondents opined that for the military to inadvertently kill civilians is never justified while the majority of respondents, 61.5%, opined that it is sometimes justified, depends on the circumstances, or did not express their opinion. In contrast, the majority of respondents, 54.1%, opined that for an individual or a small group of persons to inadvertently kill civilians is never justified while only 34.9% opined that it is sometimes justified, depends on the circumstances, or did not express their opinion.

Table 9

*Frequency Statistics for Tolerance for Civilian Casualties Items*

| | Never Justified | Sometimes Justified/Depends/Don't know |
|---|---|---|
| For the military to inadvertently kill civilians is sometimes justified, while others think that kind of violence is never justified | 29 (26.6%) | 67 (61.5%) |
| For an individual or a small group of persons to inadvertently kill civilians is sometimes justified, while others think that kind of violence is never justified | 59 (54.1%) | 38 (34.9%) |

Table 10 is the descriptive statistics for ethics idealism scale with the answers ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 9 (completely agree).The Mean ranges from 5.24–8.19 and the Standard Deviation ranges from 1.70 – 3.01.

Table 10

*Descriptive Statistics for Ethics Idealism Scale*

| | Min | Max | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Military action should never intentionally harm civilians, even to a small degree. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 7.58 | 2.11 |
| Risks to civilians should never include toleration, irrespective of how small the risks might be. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.93 | 2.61 |
| The existence of potential harms to civilians is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits involved. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.69 | 2.40 |
| Military action should never psychologically or physically harm civilians | 1.00 | 9.00 | 7.27 | 2.20 |
| The military should not perform an action which might in any way threaten the dignity and welfare of another individual. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.77 | 2.71 |
| If a military action could harm an innocent civilian, then it should not be done. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 5.87 | 2.81 |
| Deciding whether or not to perform a military action by balancing the positive consequences of the action against the negative consequences of the act is immoral. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 5.24 | 3.01 |
| The dignity and welfare of people should be the most important concern in any society. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 8.19 | 1.70 |
| It is never necessary to sacrifice the welfare of others. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.16 | 2.71 |
| Moral behaviors are actions that closely match the ideals of the most "perfect" action. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 7.27 | 1.90 |

*Answers range from 1 "Completely disagree" to 9 "Completely agree."*

Table 11 is the descriptive statistics for ethics relativism scale with the answers ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 9 (completely agree).The Mean ranges from 4.50–7.46 and the Standard Deviation ranges from 1.77 – 3.08.

Table 11

*Descriptive Statistics for Ethics Relativism Scale*

| | Min | Max | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| There are no ethical principles that are so important that they should be a part of any code of ethics. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 4.50 | 2.97 |
| What is ethical varies from one situation and society to another? | 2.00 | 9.00 | 7.46 | 1.77 |
| Moral standards should comeacross as being individualistic; what one person considers moral may be judged to be immoral to another person. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.74 | 2.59 |
| Different types of morality cannot include a comparison as to "rightness." | 1.00 | 9.00 | 7.38 | 2.00 |
| Questions of what is ethical for everyone can never find a resolution since what is moral or immoral is up to the individual. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.24 | 2.76 |
| Moral standards are simply personal rules that indicate how a person should behave and are not for application in making judgments of others. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.26 | 2.79 |
| Ethical considerations in interpersonal relations are so complex that individuals should be allowed to formulate their codes. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 4.68 | 3.07 |
| Rigidly codifying an ethical position that prevents certain types of actions could stand in the way of better human relations and adjustment. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 6.09 | 2.60 |
| No rule concerning lying can include formulation; whether a lie is permissible or not permissible totally depends upon the situation. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 5.99 | 2.84 |
| Whether a lie is judged to be moral or immoral depends upon the circumstances surrounding the action. | 1.00 | 9.00 | 5.67 | 3.08 |

*Answers range from 1 "Completely disagree" to 9 "Completely agree."*

I also compute composite values for each construct from the items described in the above tables (see table 12). Table 12 is the descriptive statistics for each scale. The Mean for the first scale, concern for UAV use, is 13.27 while the Standard Deviation is

2.46. The Mean for the second scale, support for counterterrorism measures, is 94.99 while the Standard Deviation is 17.24. The Mean for the third scale, idealism score, is 70.53 while the Standard Deviation is 13.64. The Mean for the fourth scale, relativism score, is 61.48 while the Standard Deviation is 17.73.

Table 12

*Descriptive Statistics for each Construct*

| | N | Min | Max | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Concern for UAV Use | 100 | 4.00 | 16.00 | 13.27 | 2.46 |
| Support for Counter Terrorism Measures | 90 | 40.00 | 126.00 | 94.99 | 17.24 |
| Idealism Score | 80 | 38.00 | 90.00 | 70.53 | 13.64 |
| Relativism Score | 81 | 26.00 | 90.00 | 61.48 | 17.73 |

**Scale Parametric and Reliability Assumptions Evaluation**

Frequency distributions for each continuous scale were observed for normality and to identify outliers. Five outliers in the EPQ idealism scale were present using "Tukey's hinges" criteria, whereby data points that are 1.5 times the inter-quartile range are considered outliers and this study excluded them from all analyses in (Tukey, 1977). No outliers existed for the other composite scales. All scales were normally distributed, however, "Attitudes towards UAVs" appeared to be negatively skewed and SPSS (-0.8) helped to compute an actual skew value. According to criteria established by Bulmer (1979), the distribution of the variable was only moderately skewed (<1, >0.5), and the researchers deemed this sample normal enough for parametric tests. Reliability analyses were conducted to evaluate the internal validity of the total 44 item composite scales created for this study. Cronbach's Alpha indicated a higher level of internal consistency for the scale in this sample ($\alpha$=.833).

## Results

Multiple analyses were calculated using SPSS to address the four research questions.A standard p-value of .05 was chosen to evaluate significance. The study reported the overall model fit and individual parameters for each statistical test. It also reported the overall significance and odds ratios for binary logistic regression analyses and *r* statistic and significance for correlations. A diagram depicting the relationships being tested in each research question (see Figure 4), and a table with analyses for each research question (see Table 13) were created to organize the high volume of analyses in this section,

Figure 4 is a conceptual map of the relationships tested in each research question. It indicates that RQ1 tested the relationship between the IV1 (Support for Counterterrorism) and the DV (Attitudes towards IHL and Civilian Casualties). The RQ2 tested the relationship between IV2 (Attitudes towards the use of UAVs for Targeted Killing) and the DV. The RQ3 tested the relationship between IV1 and IV2 while RQ4 tested the relationship between the interactive effects of IV1 and IV2 and the DV.

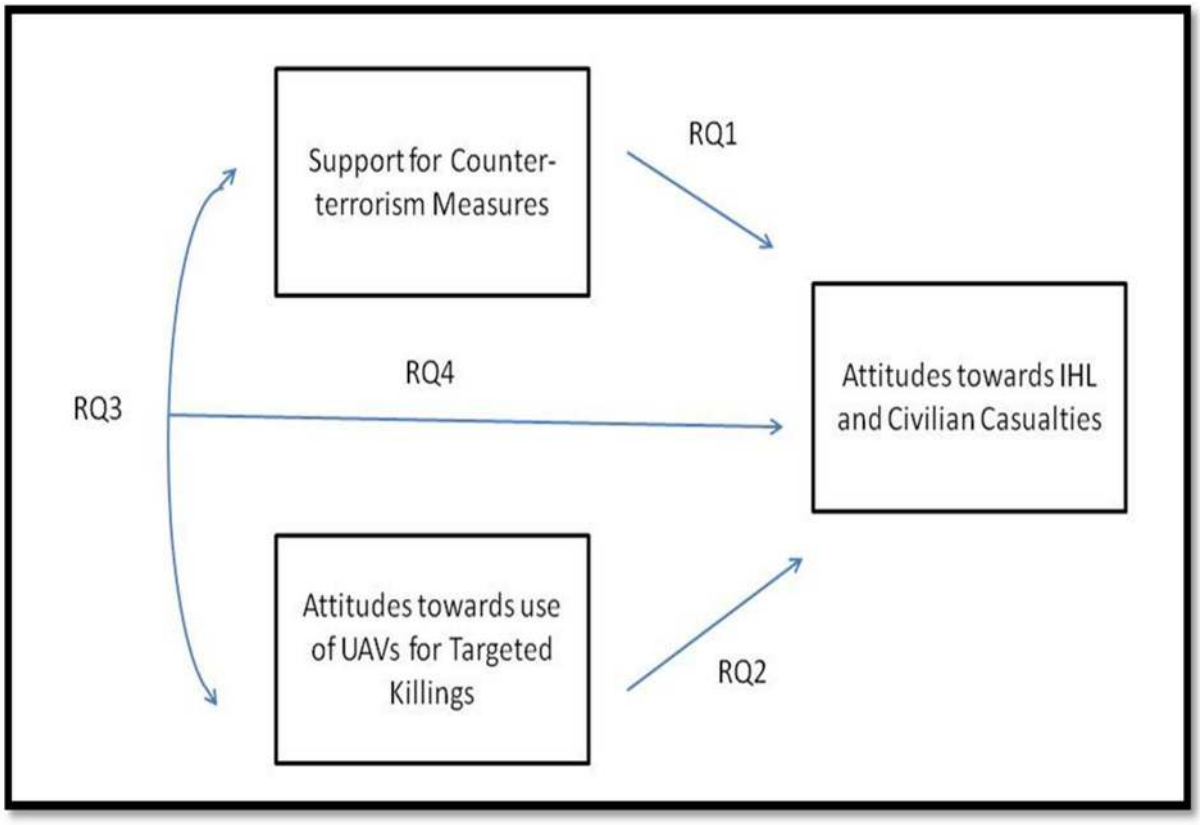



*Figure 4*. A conceptual map of the relationships tested in each research question.

Table 13 is the statistical analyses performed for each research question, and it helped to organize the high volume of analyses for each research question. It indicates that MANOVA and Binary Logistic Regression helped to test the relationship between the measures in RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3 while Correlation helped to test the relationship between the two IVs in RQ3.

Table 13

*Statistical Analyses Performed for each Research Question*

| Research Question | Measures | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| **RQ1** Does support of counter-terrorism measures predict perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties? | IV: Support for counter-terrorism<br>DVs: Idealism and Relativism ethics scale | MANOVA |
| | IV: Support for counter-terrorism<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of individual aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |
| | IV: Support for counter-terrorism<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of military aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |
| **RQ2** Do attitudes towards UAV use predict perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties? | IV: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>DVs: Idealism and Relativism ethics scale | MANOVA |
| | IV: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of individual aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |
| | IV: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of military aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |
| **RQ3** Is there a relationship between support for counterterrorism efforts and attitudes towards the use of UAVs for targeted killing? | $IV_1$: Support for counter-terrorism<br>$IV_2$: Attitudes towards UAV use | Correlation |
| **RQ4** Does the interaction effect between support for counterterrorism measures and attitudes towards the use of UAVs predict perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties? | $IV_1$: Support for counter-terrorism<br>$IV_2$: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>$IV_3$: Interaction effect<br>DVs: Idealism and Relativism ethics scale | MANOVA |
| | $IV_1$: Support for counter-terrorism<br>$IV_2$: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>$IV_3$: Interaction effect<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of individual aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |
| | $IV_1$: Support for counter-terrorism<br>$IV_2$: Attitudes towards UAV use<br>$IV_3$: Interaction effect<br>DV: Tolerance for casualties in the act of military aggression (never justified, other) | Binary Logistic Regression |

## Summary

### Research Question 1

Research Question 1 investigated whether support of counter-terrorism measures predicted perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with the relativism and idealism ethics scales as dependent variables and the support for counter-terrorism measures scale as the independent variable helped to test this relationship.

Using Wilk's criterion ($\Lambda$) as the omnibus test statistic, the combined dependent variables resulted in a significant main effect of support for counter-terrorism, $F(2, 72) = 6.96$, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .157$. To probe the statistically significant multivariate effects, I conducted univariate ANOVAs on each dependent variable. Participant's support for counter-terrorism measures score was a significant predictor of their idealism score, $F(1,73)=5.529$, $p=.021$, $\eta^2=.07$; For every one-point increase in support for counter-terrorism, participants' idealism score increased by 0.213 points on average. Participant's support for counter-terrorism measures score was a significant predictor of their moral relativism score, $F(1,73)=10.21$, $p=.002$, $\eta^2=.128$; For every one-point increase in support for counter-terrorism, participants' relativism score increased by 0.364 points on average. In addition to the MANOVA, two binary logistic regressions were calculated to determine if support for counter-terrorism measures predicted tolerance for civilian casualties in individual and military acts of aggression.

Support for counter-terrorism measures significantly predicted tolerance for civilian casualties in the act of military aggression, $\chi^2 (1, n=88) = 5.132$, $p=.023$,

*Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.081. Participants with the higher support of counter-terrorism measures had odds .966 times lower of believing civilian casualties from an act of military aggression are never justified, compared to participants with the higher support of counter-terrorism measures (*Wald*(1)=4.791, *p*=.029).

Support for counter-terrorism measures also significantly predicted tolerance for civilian casualties in the act of aggression committed by an individual or small group of individuals, $\chi^2$(1, *n*=89)=6.556, *p*=.010, *Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.096. Participants with the higher support of counter-terrorism measures had odds .966 times lower of believing civilian casualties from an act of military aggression are never justified, compared to participants with the higher support of counter-terrorism measures (*Wald*(1)=5.778, *p*=.016).

For the average response on the support for counter-terrorism measure by tolerance for civilian casualties' measures (see figure 5).

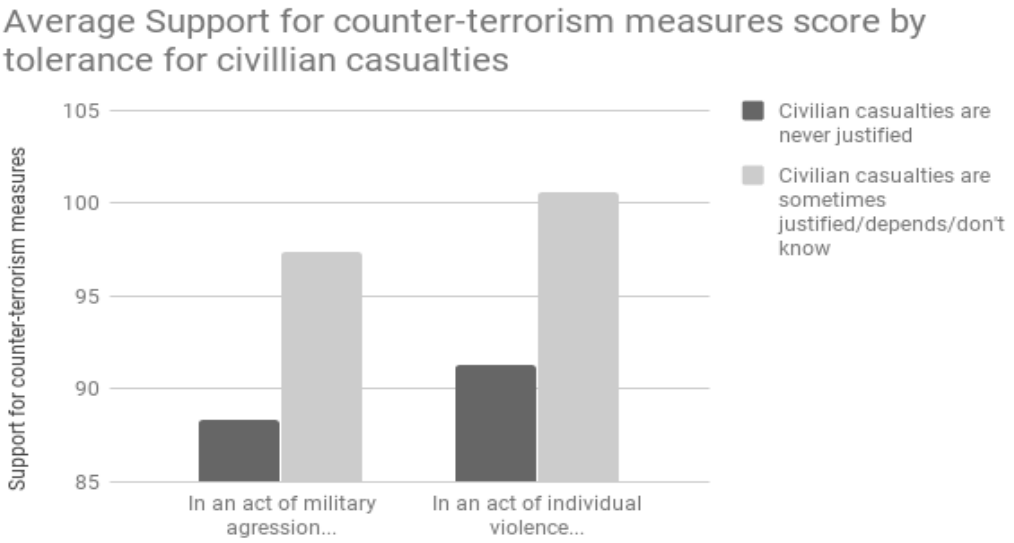



*Figure 5*. Support for counter-terrorism measures values by tolerance for civilian casualties' values.

**Research Question 2**

Research Question 2 examined whether attitudes toward the use of UAVs for targeted killing predicted perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. The study first conducted a MANOVA with the relativism and idealism ethics scales as dependent variables and the attitudes towards UAVs scale as the independent variable. The combined dependent variables (ethical idealism, ethical relativism) were not significantly related to concern for UAV use in this sample, $F$ (2, 71) = 0.968, $p$ = .324, partial $\eta^2$ = .032.

Next, two binary logistic regressions were calculated to determine if attitudes towards UAVs predicted tolerance for civilian casualties in individual and military acts of aggression. Attitude towards UAVs was not significantly related to tolerance for civilian casualties in the act of military aggression, $\chi^2$ (1, $n$=88)=2.287, $p$=.130, *Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.036.

However, attitudes towards UAVs did significantly predict tolerance for civilian casualties in the act of aggression committed by an individual or small group of individuals, $\chi^2$(1,$n$=89)=3.829, $p$=.050, *Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.050, though the effect was only marginally significant. Participants with higher concern for the use of UAVs for targeted killing had odds 1.21 times higher of believing civilian casualties from an act of military aggression are never justified, compared to participants with less concern regarding the use of UAVs (*Wald*(1)=4.861, $p$=.055). For the average response to the concern for UAV use by tolerance for civilian casualties' measures (see Figure 6).

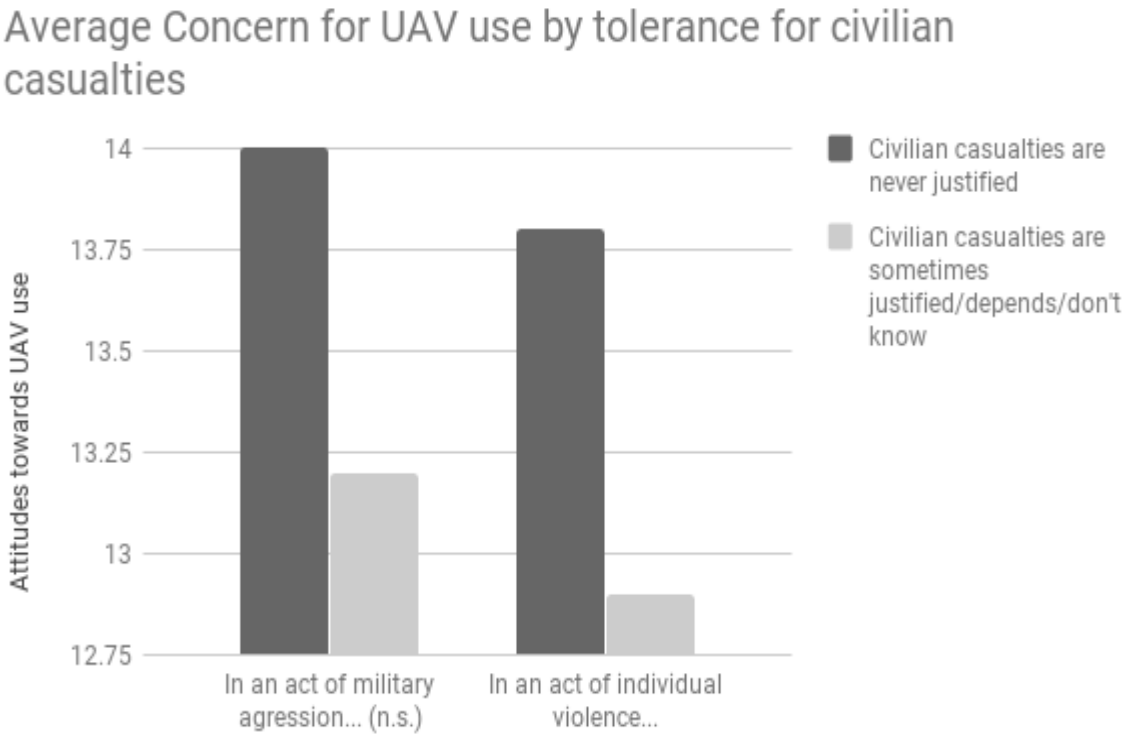



*Figure 6*. Concern for UAV use values by tolerance for civilian casualties' values.

**Research Question 3**

Research Question 3 examined the relationship between support for counter-terrorism measures and attitudes towards UAVs using a bivariate Pearson correlation. There was no significant relationship between support for counter-terrorism measures and attitudes towards UAVs, $r$ ($N$=87) =-.03, $p$=.783.

**Research Question 4**

Research Question 4 tested to see if the interaction effect between support for counter-terrorism measures and attitudes towards UAVs predicted perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. For this research question, the study employed a MANOVA with the relativism and idealism ethics scales as dependent variables and the support for

counter-terrorism measures, attitudes towards UAVs and their interaction effect as the independent variables. The combined dependent variables (ethical idealism, ethical relativism) were not significantly related to concern for UAV use ($F(2, 67) = 0.953$, $p = .197$, partial $\eta^2 = .047$), support for counter-terrorism measures ($F(2, 67) = 0.938$, $p = .119$, partial $\eta^2 = .062$), or their interaction effect, ($F(2, 67) = 0.964$, $p = .295$, partial $\eta^2 = .036$).

Two binary logistic regressions were then calculated to determine if support for counter-terrorism measures, attitudes towards UAVs and their interaction effect predicted tolerance for civilian casualties in individual and military acts of aggression. Support for counter-terrorism measures, attitude towards UAVs and their interaction effect did not significantly predict tolerance for civilian casualties in the act of military aggression, $\chi^2$ (3, $n$=85) =5.409, $p$=.144, *Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.088.

As an omnibus effect, support for counter-terrorism measures, attitude towards UAVs and their interaction effect did significantly predict tolerance for civilian casualties in the act ofindividual aggression. $\chi^2$ (3, $n$=85)=9.045, $p$=.029, *Nagelkerke* $R^2$=.136. However, none of the independent variables (support for counter-terrorism measures, *Wald* (1)=0.076, $p$=.383; attitudes towards UAVs, *Wald*(1)=0.136, $p$=.713; interaction effect, *Wald*(1)=0.343, $p$=.558), were significant as main effects in the model.

## Conclusion

A series of regressions were calculated to explore the relationships between support for counter-terrorism measure, attitudes towards the use of UAVs for targeted killing, and attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. Research Question

1investigated whether support of counter-terrorism measures predicted attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. With regards to IHL, more support for counter-terrorism was significantly associated with both higher ethical idealism and higher ethical relativism, though more strongly associated with ethical relativism. These findings suggest that individuals with the stronger support of counter-terrorism may not support a rigid code of morality like in IHL. However, they may also have a higher regard for individual human life. Regarding tolerance for human casualties, participants with higher support for counter-terrorism measures were less likely to indicate that civilian casualties were never justified in acts of both military and individual aggression. These findings support the hypothesis that supports for counter-terrorism measures may be related to attitudes towards IHL and support for human casualties.

Research Question 2 examined how attitudes towards UAV related to attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. Concern for UAV did not predict ethical idealism or ethical relativism, but individuals who believed that civilian casualties are never justified did have marginally more concern for the use of UAVs for targeted killing. These findings partially upheld the hypothesis that attitudes towards UAVs may be related to attitudes towards IHL and support for human casualties.

The hypotheses for research questions three and four were unsupported in this study; support for counter-terrorism measures was not related to attitudes towards UAVs, and their interaction effect was not significantly related to attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. Further discussion of these results and their possible implications continues in the next chapter.

# Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

## Introduction

The United States has increased their use of UAVs for counterterrorism. However, like the United States, other states, and non-state actors employ UAVs and this development could lead to an indiscriminate and unregulated use of UAVs. The extensive collateral damage associated with the use of UAVs has created questions of ethics and IHL for their use. A gap exists in the current literature regarding public perception of the use of UAVs as a counterterrorism measure and how IHL may interpret the employment of UAVs. Therefore, the purpose of this quantitative cross-sectional research was to discover if a relationship exists between the public support of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes toward counterterrorism measure, and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. This research may help to advocate for an international legal framework that could guide the future employment of UAVs for sanctioned killings.

The theoretical framework for this study was the Just War theory. This theory queries how and why states engage in conflict. These questions rely on two principles: Jus in Bello, which involves the means and methods of conducting war and Jus ad Bellum, the justification for war (Solis, 2010). Jus ad Bellum maintains that a war must be just, used as a last option and declared by an appropriate authority (Martin, 2012; St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007). Jus in Bello requests that actors classify targets before an assault and assume responsibility for any actions within that attack (St. Thomas Aquinas, 2007). Just War has been previously applied to UAV programs to understand the legal,

moral, and ethical aspects of its use. The concept is particularly important when understanding how UAV applies to IHL and IHRL.

This investigation had two independent variables (IVs), support for counterterrorism measures and support for UAVs for targeted killing, as well as one dependent variable (DV), the perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties. For these variables, four research questions came up. First, is support of counter-terrorism measures related to perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties? Second, is there a predictable relationship between supporting the use of UAVs for targeted killing and perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties? Third, is there a predictable relationship between support for counterterrorism measures and support of the use of UAVs for targeted killing? Fourth, how does the relationship between support for counterterrorism measures and the support for the use of UAVs for targeted killing relate to perceptions of IHL and civilian casualties?

This study employed quantitative cross-sectional design to test the hypotheses. The study could not assign ordinal values to the DV in this study, the perception of IHL and civilian casualties. However, the study applied nominal labels to represent the numbers to facilitate quantitative analysis (Creswell, 2003; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Cross-sectionalresearch design sanctioned the study to take its time and gather data from geographically distributed participants (Trochim, 2006).

Research participants' employment, relationships to the phenomena, and organizational role instead of random sampling informed their selection for the study (Eugene & Lynn, 2013). The cross-sectional research design does not meet the need for

establishing cause and effect but instead embraces its ability to make causal inferences and deduce how the variables associated with each other (Eugene & Lynn, 2013). The research design is apt for social studies by measuring participants' opinions using surveys as instruments for data collection (Trochim, 2006). Surveys are convenient, cost less, and accumulate data faster when compared to other instruments (Babbie, 1990; Creswell, 2009; Danaher & Seeley, 2009). By selecting the applicable research design and instrumentation, contributors were passionate to respond to complex questions via online survey than other methods.

Civilian casualties and collateral damage have generated queries about when and why to deploy UAVs against terrorists. However, as Warrior (2015) suggested, UAVs should reduce harm to the civilian population because, in theory, UAVs have precise targeting as opposed to traditional engagement which could cause increased civilian fatalities through prolonged conflict in areas populated by civilians. However, opponents argued that precision strikes with no civilian casualties exist only in theory rather than practice. Challengers maintain that UAVs strikes cause unintended collateral damage and civilian casualties (Braun & Brunstetter, 2013). The contrary view has created divided viewpoints on whether UAVs are applicable and appropriate for counter-terrorism strikes. Civilian deaths and collateral damage have also created legal, political, moral, and ethical questions for UAV use.

In May 2013, President Obama professed that tactical UAVs strikes are beneficial, legal and necessary while acknowledging their accompanying problems (Setty, 2014). Despite this, Philip Alston, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial,

Summary, or Arbitrary Executions pronounced that the U.S. UAV program could violate IHL and IHRL contrasting the United States' position with the existing law of armed conflict (LOAC) (Alston, 2013). The IHL and IHRL call for civilian protection as well as due process for suspected and actual terrorists (Melzer, 2008; Sterio, 2012). Therefore, international communities must agree upon and fashion relevant legal frameworks to regulate the deployment of such lethal force in the contemporary armed conflict. Public perception, of course, can affect the argument on how and when to deploy UAVs. The creation of a relevant legal framework for UAVs can help to enrich global peace and security.

A series of regressions calculated the relationships between support for counterterrorism measure, stances on the use of UAVs for targeted killing, and positions towards IHL and civilian casualties. Research Question 1 probed whether backing of counterterrorism measures foretold attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties. IHL was significantly related to ethical idealism and relativism, with ethical relativism being a stronger indicator of support than idealism. The results specified that individuals who demonstrated stronger support of counterterrorism had a rigid ethical and moral code as supported in IHL. Contributors who advocated for counterterrorism measures were less likely to specify that civilian casualties were never tolerable in armed conflict. The findings indicated that the hypothesis had a significant relationship between counterterrorism measures, attitudes towards IHL and support for human casualties.

Research Question 2 scrutinized how attitudes towards UAV related to outlooks on IHL and civilian casualties. Concern for UAV did not predict ethical idealism or

ethical relativism. However, individuals who considered that civilian casualties are never justified had marginally more unease with the use of UAVs for targeted killing. These findings only somewhat upheld the hypothesis that attitudes towards UAVs may be related to positions towards IHL and endorsement for human casualties.

The results revealed that the hypotheses for the relationships detailed in research questions three and four are not significant. Support for counter-terrorism measures did not have a significant relationship with attitudes towards UAVs, nor did the relations between variables significantly connect to attitudes towards IHL and civilian casualties.

This chapter will begin by examining the interpretation of the findings. It will then compare the questions asked and the revealed results of the theoretical framework and pertinent literature in Chapter 2 when appropriate. The chapter will also discuss limitations of the study, recommendations for future research and practical application. This chapter will then offer a summary and conclusion of what the study uncovered.

## Interpretation of the Findings

This section will examine not just the research questions themselves, but also the questions asked. It will also associate interpretation of the questions and their verdicts with the literature and theoretical framework when applicable. Not all survey questions and results directly related to the literature review. Additionally, the theoretical framework may not apply to some of these questions as well. After addressing these questions with statements found in the literature and theoretical framework, this section will, specifically, offer additional insight on the research questions.

**RQ1: Does Support of Counter-terrorism Measures Predict Perceptions of IHL and Civilian Casualties?**

The study employed three tests to understand this research question. The scale for the questions was between one and seven. The first test utilized MANOVA analysis to ascertain a relationship between support for counterterrorism measures (IV) and idealism and relativism ethics scale (DVs). The second test which examined the support for counterterrorism measures (IV) and the tolerance for causalities in the act of individual aggression (DV) applied binary logistic regression. The final question also relied on binary logistic regression and it enquired whether support for counterterrorism measures (IV) and tolerance for casualties in the act of military aggression (DV) was justified. This section will examine the questions to assess support for counterterrorism measures and how they relate to the existing literature and theoretical framework, in addition to the idealism and ethics scale.

The first question scrutinized extradition proceedings for suspected terrorists. The results had a mean of 4.85 and standard deviation (SD) of 2.04. The results indicated that just a little over half of the participants supported simplifying extradition proceedings for terrorists. Saul (2014) stated that because terrorism is often transnational, the international legal principle of extradition is often employed. States harboring terrorists are, therefore, obligated to extradite or punish the suspected terrorists (Saul, 2014). However, Anderson (2013) and Saul (2014) both noted that states often have weak extradition laws, creating an exemption for transnational crimes and a need for normalization of extradition proceedings.

The next two questions examined the surveillance of citizens. The mean for allowing surveillance of citizens' everyday life was 4.56, and the standard deviation was 1.99. Similarly, allowing surveillance of citizens' telephone calls had a mean of 4.27 and standard deviation of 2.13. These questions were closely related and had near adjacent results. Since the terrorist attacks of 9-11, states havea preoccupation with finding a correct balance between national security and the protection of individual freedoms. Guiora and Brand (2014) stated that surveillance violated the rights to privacy, especially after disgraceful disclosures of executive agencies.

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) created in 1978 formed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) to help balance the responsibility of protecting the nation while maintaining individual rights (Emily, 2015; FISC Court Orders, 1979-2014; Nowak, 2014). The FISA sought to balance the roles of the three branches of government to ensure that surveillance does not infringe upon personal freedoms. However, FISC can often be a rubber stamp for observing suspected terrorists and sanctioning UAV strikes (Guiora & Brand, 2014). As the Domestic Drone Court lacked adequate safeguards, it is often linked to the executive branch, thereby limiting its effect on UAV abuses to human rights and surveillance.

Another question, which had grounding in the literature review, was whether the participant opposed or favored the assassination of individuals linked to al-Qaeda or the Taliban. The results indicated a mean of 5.22 and SD of 1.75. One example of targeted slaying was the execution of al_Awlaki. Chesney (2011) argued that the killing of al_Awlaki corresponds to a distinction found within the IHL as he was a confirmed

leader within AQAP, making him an active combatant. However, Sterio (2012) stated that the U.S. government should not have killed an American citizen, as it eliminated the due process of an American citizen. Chesney (2011) and Ramsden (2011) argued that Yemen's approval of the UAV strike indicated that it was in self-defense despite not meeting the legal requirement found in IHL and IHRL. This complication is due to the prerequisites in IHRL's protection of the right to life.

The Just War Theory can help explain the use of lethal force when targeting a suspected terrorist. Johnson (2013) applied the Just War Theory to the al-Awlaki situation and found that the Just War theory can cover counterterrorism as well as the use of UAVs. The Just War theory addresses due process under the auspices of domestic law, the targeted killing of individuals in a conventional battle, and when targeted killings could incite international criminal prosecution (May, 2013). This assertion parallels statements found within IHL detailing that just because an individual is a suspectin an act; a targeted strike is a violation of their rights due to a lack of due process.

However, the Just War theory does not eliminate the possibility of targeting suspected terrorists. While Aloyo (2013) asserted that Just War Theory does not permit the assassination of any target when non-combatants can sufferharms, the principles of necessity, proportionality, and last resort can sanction a UAV strike under the guise of minimizing additional harm to the civilian population. Conversely, Pryer (2013) noted that the evident juxtaposition of UAVs and the Just War theory could create cognitive dissonance within military commanders as trying to balance the two will pull them in two contradictory directions.

Another question asked in the survey was whether the government should take the steps needed to prevent additional attacks in the United States even if it meant violating a foreign national's rights. The mean was 5.41 with an SD of 1.94. Coleman and Grey (2014) and Sterio (2012) stated that 70% of US targeted killings violate international law with only 30% conforming to IHL (Pearlstein, 2013). Similar to the Just War theory, UAV targeted killings only align with international standards under certain circumstances, and states should not employ it habitually.

Detention of a U.S. citizen who may be a radical terrorist had a mean of 5.18 and an SD of 1.91. Heller (2011) stated that terrorists should have due process and could be in detention. In fact, IHL and IHRL maintained that suspects could be in detention in non-international conflict (Saul, 2014). Therefore, a state can incarcerate terrorists when constituting a larger danger or for war crimes.

For brevity, descriptive statistics for idealism and ethics will be combined. The UAV program has created problematic legal, moral, and ethical questions (Andresen, 2015; Brooks, 2014; Koh, 2010; Paust, 2014; Sadat, 2013). While many academics and specialists consider these quandaries, plenty of support exists among government officials who view UAV deployment and counterterrorism as legitimate practice (Geiss, 2013; Govern, 2013; Sadat, 2013, Teson, 2012; Vogel, 2011). Because the employment of UAVs also exists in traditional battlefields, a prospect remains that the U.S. government may be breaking international law (Andresen, 2015; Brooks, 2014; Koh, 2010; Lewis & Crawford, 2013).

Just War theory alleges that an assassination attempt that risks harm to civilians is not only against the law but raises ethical questions about the conditions for waging war (Aloyo, 2013). Pryer (2013) stated that the ethics involved with UAVs strikes and the tactical advantage they carry could create conflicting thoughts on the subject. Pryer (2013) also mentioned that UAV strikes have an ethical advantage when they target enemy encampments where they are committing torture or rape. Carafano (2005) stated that technologies like UAVs do not create ethical issues in aspects of the IHL. The idea behind the statement is that UAVs precision and technology eliminates many of the casualties of war, thereby achieving the purpose and ethics of IHL. The view generates concerns about reducing harms to troops or potentially increasing civilian casualties. Freiberger (2013) maintained that it is necessary to improve the identification of appropriate targets to meet ethical standards.

As discussed earlier, the study uncovered that each relationship between DV and IV within the first research question is significant. However, much of the literature focuses on UAVs as a counterterrorism strategy while the instrument used to examine counter-terrorism did not mention UAVs. In practice, though, UAV strikes are also counterterrorism measures, and one can safely deduce that whoever supports counterterrorism measures will also likely support UAV strikes since they are even more precise and reduce civilian casualties than most other counterterrorism measures. Notwithstanding, further research is recommended to determine where UAVs correspond to counterterrorism strategies, especially as arguments exist whether wrongful killings of

citizens inspire future terrorist attacks as retaliation for the collateral damage and civilian deaths.

**RQ2: Do Attitudes towards UAV Use Predict Perceptions of IHL and Civilian Casualties?**

The study examined three relationships to assess this research question. Attitudes towards UAV use (IV) and idealism and relativism ethics scale (DV) used a MANOVA analysis to find no significance between the two. The study employed binary logistic regression to test attitudes towards UAV use (IV) and tolerance for casualties in the act of individual aggression (DV) and found that there was no significant relationship. Lastly, binary logistic regression was again deployed to compare the IV, attitudes towards UAV use, to the DV, the tolerance for casualties in the act of military aggression and uncovered a significant relationship between them, leaving an incomplete answer to the research question.

The Pew survey questions contained four questions regarding attitudes of UAV strikes. These questions had a scale of one to four ranging from very concerned to not at all concerned. The questions asked were how concerned are you about endangering the lives of innocent civilians, could these strikes lead to extremist retaliation, are they being conducted illegally, and could they damage the reputation of the US? Out of the 104 participants, 94 indicated that they were somewhat concerned or very concerned about endangering the lives of innocent civilians. Eighty-eight were somewhat or very concerned if this could lead to extremist retaliation. Seventy-seven were somewhat or very concerned about the legality of UAVs, and lastly, 76 were somewhat or very concerned about it damaging the United States reputation internationally. These results,

however, were not enough to form a significant relationship between attitudes of UAV use and idealism and relativism. Without qualitative answers, it is hard to discern where the differences lie, especially as they relate to the literature and theoretical framework. The first relationship had a p=.324 indicating that there was no significant relationship.

The second comparison between tolerance for casualties in the act of aggression and UAV strikes had a p =.130. Twenty-six percent felt that it was never justified while 61.5% felt that it was sometimes justified, depends, or do not know. While there was no relationship between the two variables, the answer for the 61.5% is somewhat obtuse. The answers run a wide gambit, allowing for a diverse range of responses. Grouping these three responses could account for the lack of a significant relationship.

The final comparison for this research question examined the relationship between UAV usage and whether the inadvertent death of civilians is ever justified. The results had 54.1% feel that it was never justified and the relationship had a p =.05, indicating a significant relationship. The literature may be able to shed light onto the discrepancies among these three diverging responses.

Sofaer (2013) and Sterio (2015b) stated that the concept and feelings regarding self-defense on how states should act evolved since the terrorist attacks of 9-11. Traditional killing in self-defense on a battlefield has now changed to non-conventional conflicts when combating terrorism. Surfer (2013) argued that since soldiers can target the enemy to reach objectives, there is no discrepancy between traditional wartime actions and UAV strikes. However, the role of the CIA agents, who are civilians, can compound Sofaer's (2013) assessment by creating questions regarding who is

coordinating these UAV strikes. Civilians have differing rights in wartime within IHL and the Just War theory, making the CIA's accountability of collateral damage and civilian deaths nebulous at best. Additionally, the application of UAV programs in counterterrorism is difficult to justify, even with minimal civilian casualties because military UAV strikes have done little in curbing terrorism besides eliminating high profile targets (Melzer, 2006, 2008; O'Connell, 2010).

The differences of opinions found within the literature can help explain the variance in the results of the questions. However, as many of the responses are merged instead of separate and distinct options, it is difficult to get a complete view of the thoughts, feelings, and viewpoints of the participants. Additionally, the occupation of the participants may have also created differentiating results calling into question the nature of the relationship under discussion. Because two of the bivariate responses go against each other, it is hard to apply the theoretical framework for this research question. Further dissection of respondents' views through a qualitative analysis may provide improved insight into these differing results.

**RQ3: Is there a Relationship between Support for Counterterrorism Efforts and Attitudes towards Use of UAVs for Targeted Killing?**

The third research question evaluated support for counterterrorism measures (IV1) and attitudes towards UAVs (IV2). The employment of a bivariate Pearson correlation determined a p=.783 and concluded that there was not a significant relationship. As the first research question covered the survey questions involving support for counterterrorism, it is necessary to examine the attitudes towards UAV use. Using a scale of one to four, with one being not at all concerned and four being very

concerned, it was clear that response three and four were in the majority. Ninety-four participants felt concerned about endangering innocent lives using UAV use, 88 felt that it could lead to retaliation, 77 were troubled about the legality, and 76 were concerned about the international reputation and further targeting of the U.S. The literature review discussed the concern about endangering innocent lives and legality.

Multiple considerations are preceding a targeted UAV assault. Chesney (2011) and Heller (2013) noted that the first consideration is status of the suspected terrorists while Mazzetti (2013) and Sterio (2012) remarked that the United States use a personality strike for a known terrorist and a signature strike for suspected terrorists. Signature strikes are often problematic as determining a suspect's identity can be difficult, thereby making it easier to injure or kill innocent civilians in a UAV strike (Cavallaro, Sonnenberg, & Knuckey, 2013; Guiora, 2012).

Just War theory does not permit assassination by strike unless it's a politically relevant individual under extreme circumstances. The theory itself does not leave any room for strikes if it can maim or slaughter civilians (Aloyo, 2013). Principles of Just War Theory such as necessity, proportionality, and last resort are helpful when conducting a signature strike to help eliminate threats to the public (Aloyo, 2013). The United States launched strikes in Pakistan, at the risks of civilians, even when they could not ascertain a precise identification of the target. The lack of identification has created great moral quandaries for UAV strikes, especially when abiding by the Just War theory.

The legality of a UAV strike is another concern for participants as well as the literature. Anderson, Reisner, and Waxman (2014) stated that UAVs are not unethical or

illegal due to their precise targeting system which can reduce causalities as opposed to traditional bombing or raids. When examining UAVs with IHL, it becomes clear that a new legal framework is needed to adapt to the modern technology used in war (Wolbert, 2015). Anderson (2013) acknowledged that changing these provisions could take time and instead proposed that the Law of Armed Conflict should cover the legal framework for UAVs. Anderson, Reisner, and Waxman (2014) opined that evolving the legal framework will require a global consensus for where one can apply IHL. Some legal scholars asserted that the UAV program in Pakistan violates the international law of self-defense creating a concern for an international resolution (Jordan, 2013; Paust, 2014).The conversation on the legal framework should include legislatures, the military and weapon makers.

The absence of a clear significant relationship between supports for counter-terrorism and attitudes towards UAVs offers some explanations. While legal and ethical questions surround both measurement instruments, the lack of correlation between the two variables could offer perspective on why there is no relationship. Additionally, the demographics of the participants polled in this study could also influence results. From those enrolled in the military to practitioners of law, these participants can view the positive and negatives of counter-terrorism, and UAV strikes quite differently. Without a breakdown of participant occupations and demographics, a lack of context is created, limiting the ability to identify a clear significant relationship under any other parameters. Further research could rectify these concerns.

**RQ4: Does the Interaction Effect between Support for Counterterrorism Measures and Attitudes towards Use of UAVs Predict Attitude regarding IHL and Civilian Casualties?**

The fourth research question examines and combines all previous measures while adding in the interaction effect. The interaction effect examined the concern for UAV use, support for counter-terrorism measures, idealism score and relativism score. Concern for UAV use had a mean of 13.27 and an SD of 2.46 out of a total score of 16. The support for counter-terrorism measures had a mean of 94.99 and an SD of 17.24 with a maximum of 126. Idealism and relativism had a max score of 90 and had a mean of 13.27 and SD of 13.64 and a mean of 61.48 and SD of 17.73 respectively. The study uncovered that the relationship between all variables was not significant.

As the United States becomes increasingly dependent on UAVs for the war on terror, ethical, moral, and legal complications continue to permeate (Vogel, 2011). United States' dependent on UAV also generated growing global moral, ethical and legal concerns (Jahagirdar, 2008; McMahan, 2012). Kavanagh (2011) and Krassmann (2012) have both called for a constant review of how the United States conducted oversight for UAV use and opined that the reasonability should not purely lie on the executive branch. Andresen (2015) and Melzer (2008) maintained those sentiments by stating that the power of the executive branch and UAV strikes abuse democratic ideals.

These diverse views can help explain how there is no significant relationship between any of the variables within the fourth research question. The interaction between each of these variables mirrors the conflicting thoughts found within the literature review. Measuring civilian casualties, while a concern for most, fails to interact

with any of the variables could be because of the complicated and multifaceted aspects of the UAV program. Additionally, concerns about the demographics and the lack of intersection between counterterrorism strategies and UAV use could also explain why there is no overall relationship between any of the variables.

Only the first research question proved a significant relationship between variables. The second research question had mixed findings with one finding indicating no significant relationship and the other finding indicating a marginally significant relationship.The results indicated that once UAVs comes up as a variable, there is no relationship between attitudes of civilian casualties and support for counterterrorism measures. The explanation for these diverging results may be because of differing participant demographics. With a diverse population from various positions in the public and private sector, it is hard to ascertain whether occupations influence personal views. Further research will require breaking down the questions and demographics to determine why that is. The next portion of the chapter will examine limitations of the study.

## Limitations of the Study

This study focused on external validity and not internal validity. One threat to external validity was the non-representative sample. While the study relied upon the changing nature of the participants in the Walden Participant Pool and Survey Monkey, demographics and the sample could have been a factor in how participants responded to the questions. Those with a legal background versus a military background could have stark differences in how they perceive the phenomenon. As shown in the literature, the legal, moral, and ethical thinking in IHL is often at war with the pragmatic nature of

military thinking. Personal backgrounds could have caused these responses, regardless of how the researcher draws the participant pool. Future research could focus on individual groups and compare the two, to see if the sample in this study was under any influence.

The reliance on study procedure protected the validity of this study. By increasing the number of participants to 104 and eliminating ineligible respondents and incomplete surveys, the sample was well over the 82 needed, determined by the power analysis. Additionally, the Walden Participant Pool and Survey Monkey audience eliminated selection biases as neither would permit specific people. The remaining concerns for limitations and validity were upheld through, the test and retest method for the reliability of the data collection tool as seen in Chapter One.

## Recommendations

There are numerous implications for future research and policy formation that could provide a positive impact for social change nationwide. Because barely half of the results were insignificant, it is crucial to understand where, why, and how those relationships exist. One recommendation for future research would be to conduct the study separately among different occupations. Does being in the military or security change your outlook? If one is a lawyer, does their knowledge of the law place more emphasis on following international protocol versus advocates with a military background. By breaking down the demographics, one can establish a better opinion of the participants involved and whether occupation or other demographic variables such as race, age, gender, or religion influenced these results.

Another recommendation for future research would be to change this study from

quantitative to qualitative. Because of the inconclusive nature of the responses, it is necessary to now ask questions of how and why the study arrived at those answers. What were the motivations behind participants' replies and why did their responses differ between instruments. The literature noted that there was a cognitive dissonance that military commanders are faced with when balancing UAV strikes in accordance to IHL. This dissonance may go beyond military commanders and bleed into the responses of the participants. It is important to know why their responses on national security do not necessarily correspond to UAV use. Determining how and why these replies differ, offers a launching point for future research.

## Implications

While inconclusive, the literature, theoretical framework, and findings do offer some beneficial policy implications and recommendations. As it stands, IHL and Just War theory juxtaposes the use of UAVs when combating terrorism. There is minimal room for situations where a targeted strike against a terrorist justifies the collateral damage and civilian deaths. As the indiscriminate and unregulated use of UAVs increases and other states bolstering their use of UAVs, the situation has grown beyond how the United States employs drones, but rather what the norms should be for use internationally. While the United States has been the prime focus for UAVs and counterterrorism, it may not be long before states not allied with the United States begin using them in their struggles as well. A clear international precedent must be set to prevent further misuse of UAVs. Through the formulation of international policy based on the concept of Just War Theory and IHL, societal implications could be improved.

While the United States may utilize UAVs less in their war on terror, the moral and legal quandaries will dissipate, creating greater accountability for all nations and reducing the amount of collateral damage and civilian deaths in areas already ravaged by war and terrorism. States should employ counterterrorism strategies and UAVs to reduce terrorist threats and not to create more damage in distraught countries.

The results do excel demonstrating a need for improvement in international norms as UAV use increases. IHL does not account for technology advancements, creating questions about its relevance and application to UAV use and demonstrating that international protocols need to evolve as the technology does. There need to be clear-cut rules for when and where to approve UAV deployment and any actor can enforce punishments. The moral grey zone created by the use of UAV for counterterrorism and IHL needs to be reevaluated to fill the gaps in the literature, as well as the discrepancies in this study's findings.

## Conclusion

Public perception has been an instrumental tool in crafting foreign and national policy. A democratic nation is meant to be representative of the will of the people. However, since the war on terror began, decisions made in the name of national security and the war on terror has largely shielded the United States and other states employing UAVs from internal and external criticism. The war on terror created questions as to the actual feelings people have about counterterrorism methods and UAV use. National security is often a rallying call, but as the war on terror continues, with little end in sight; the international society needs to reevaluate the nations' priorities and policies.

The purpose of this quantitative cross-sectional research was to discover if a relationship existed between the public support of UAVs for targeted killing, attitudes toward counterterrorism measures, and perceptions of IHL. Through this determination, the policy can undergo a reevaluation, and stakeholders may have a stronger or weaker justification for their actions. A significant relationship occurred within the first research question which examines counterterrorism measures and IHL and civilian casualties. Also, a marginally significant relationship existed within the second research question which examines the use of UAVs and IHL and civilian casualties. However, for the third research question, this study established a disconnection between public perceptions of counterterrorism measures and UAV use. Also, for the fourth research question, the study could not establish a significant relationship between the interaction effect of attitude towards counterterrorism measures and attitudes towards UAV use and perception of IHL and civilian casualties.

The lack of significant relationship among variables in research questions 4 and 5 confirmed a dichotomy on thoughts and feelings regarding counterterrorism measures and UAV use. As stated in the literature, the use of UAVs and the Just War Theory created a cognitive dissonance in national security decision making. These discrepancies can come from various issues, including choosing instrumentation and job occupation, thereby creating a need for further research. Consequently, future research is needed to assess further how these variables interact and how and why the participants chose the responses.

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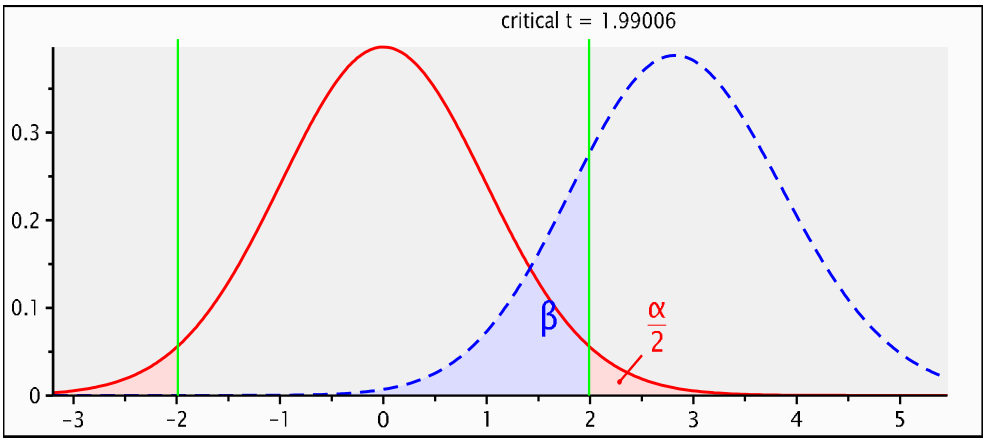
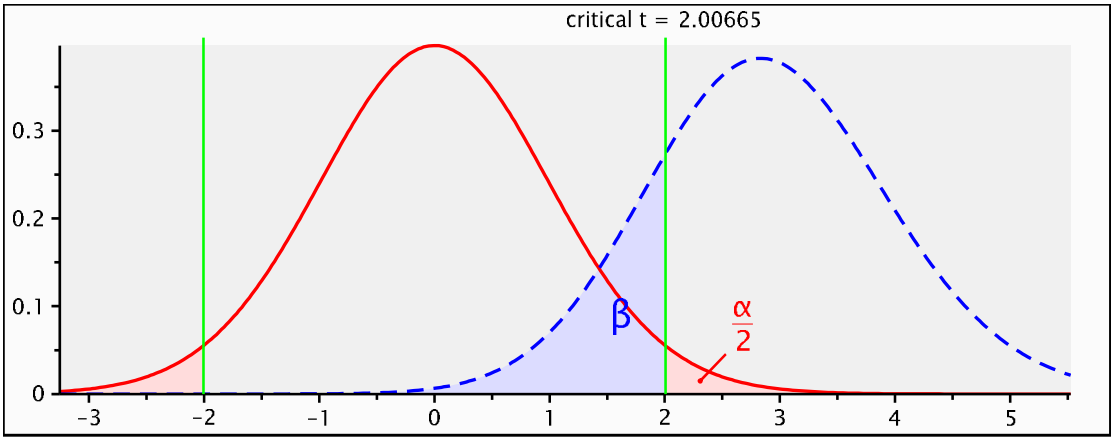
# Appendix A: G*Power Sample Size Computation for the Two Tests




[18] *-- Thursday, August 25, 2016 -- 19:00:48*

**t tests** – Correlation: Point biserial model

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Analysis:** | A priori: Compute required sample size | | |
| **Input:** | Tail(s) | = | Two |
| | Effect size \|ρ\| | = | 0.3 |
| | α err prob | = | 0.05 |
| | Power (1−β err prob) | = | 0.80 |
| **Output:** | Noncentrality parameter δ | = | 2.8477869 |
| | Critical t | = | 1.9900634 |
| | Df | = | 80 |
| | Total sample size | = | 82 |
| | Actual power | = | 0.8033045 |




[15] *-- Saturday, August 27, 2016 -- 05:44:18*

**t tests** – Linear multiple regression: Fixed model, single regression coefficient

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Analysis:** | A priori: Compute required sample size | | |
| **Input:** | Tail(s) | = | Two |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Effect size $f^2$ | = | 0.15 |
| | α err prob | = | 0.05 |
| | Power (1−β err prob) | = | 0.80 |
| | Number of predictors | = | 2 |
| **Output**: | Noncentrality parameter δ | = | 2.8722813 |
| | Critical t | = | 2.0066468 |
| | Df | = | 52 |
| | Total sample size | = | 55 |
| | Actual power | = | 0.8048029 |

Appendix B: Pilot Study

**Pilot Study on Unmanned Aerial Vehicle and Targeted Killing in Counterterrorism: Implications for International Humanitarian Law**

Dear Participant,

I am Olulowo Adebamiji Kunle, a doctoral student in Public Policy and Administration at the Walden University. My area of specialization is Law and Public Policy, and I am conducting research titled "Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle for Targeted Killing in Counterterrorism: Implications for International Humanitarian Law." The purpose of this research is to discover if a relationship exists between counterterrorism, the proliferation of the use of UAV for targeted killing, and the development of the international humanitarian lawregarding civilian protection to advocate the need for an international legal framework for its future employment. Therefore, I am inviting you to take part in this voluntary survey, which will take about 45 minutes to complete. Please note that there is no penalty for not participating and if you choose to participate, kindly fill out the survey carefully by providing your candid opinion on each of the questions. Thank you.

Section Questions
Section 1 - Demographic Information: Please tick the option or fill out the information that applies to you.

Completion of the demographic data is quite important for determining your eligibility to participate in this study. I plan to collect data from participants of various nationalities in the Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey audience, whose background or discipline include military, security organizations, international relations, political science, international law, legal studies, and public administration. Consequently, only participants that fit into the designated profession and fields of specialization are eligible to complete the survey.

1.
What is your email address? (Free-entry response)

2.
What is your sex?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Others

3.
What is your age?

- ☐ 50 years and above
- ☐ 40-49 years
- ☐ 30-39 years
- ☐ 18-29 years

4.
What is your marital status?

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Single
- ☐ Divorced

5.
What is your religion?

- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ Islamic
- ☐ Others

6.
What is your nationality? (Please indicate your real country if you reside in your nation but indicate your country of residence if you reside in another country)

7.
What is your background/ discipline

- ☐ Military
- ☐ Security Organizations
- ☐ Legal Studies
- ☐ Public Administration
- ☐ International Relations
- ☐ Political Science
- ☐ International Law

Section Questions
Section 2 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

1.
Counterterrorism has a negative impact on the development of international humanitarian law with regards to civilian protection

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Mostly agree
- ☐ It depends on the circumstances
- ☐ Mostly disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

2.
Counterterrorism has helped to advance the cause of international humanitarian law with regards to civilian protection

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Mostly agree
- ☐ It depends on the circumstances
- ☐ Mostly disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

3.
How exact is the notion that the approaches of states to counterterrorism violate some aspect of the international humanitarian law related to civilian protection?

- ☐ Highly exact
- ☐ Very exact
- ☐ Exact
- ☐ Very inexact
- ☐ Highly inexact
- ☐ Not sure

4.
The proliferation of the employment of UAV for the targeted killing of terrorists helps to advance the cause of international humanitarian law through reduction of civilian casualty.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Not sure
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Prefer not to answer

5.
The proliferation of the employment of UAV for the targeted killing of terrorists helps to retard the growth of international humanitarian law through excessive civilian casualty and collateral damage.

- Completely agree
- Mostly agree
- It depends on the particular case
- Mostly disagree
- Completely disagree
- Not sure

6.
What is the possibility that the frenzy acquisition of UAV by states and non-state actors could lead to the problem of proliferation of its employment for targeted killing as a counterterrorism strategy?

- Highly possible
- Very possible
- Not possible
- Very impossible
- Highly impossible
- Not sure

7.
The proliferation of the employment of UAV for targeted killing necessitates instituting a legal framework to guide this counterterrorism strategy.

- Completely agree
- Mostly agree
- It depends on the particular case

- Mostly disagree
- Completely disagree
- Not sure

8.
How correct is it to say that the use of UAV for targeted killing is the most effective strategy for counterterrorism?

- Completely correct
- Mostly correct
- Not sure
- Mostly incorrect
- Completely incorrect
- Prefer not to answer

9.
How will you rate the effectiveness of the use of UAV for the targeted killing of terrorists as a solution to counterterrorism?

- Highly effective
- Very effective
- It depends on the particular case
- Very ineffective
- Highly ineffective
- Not sure

10.
To what degree do you think that the counterterrorism strategy of employing UAV for the targeted killing of terrorists helps to reduce civilian casualty?

- Very High degree
- High degree
- It depends on each instance of targeted killing
- Low degree
- Very low degree
- Not sure

11.

To what extent do you agree that strict compliance with the provisions of the international humanitarian law on civilian protection will limit the effectiveness of the counterterrorism strategy of using UAV to target and kill terrorists?

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree
- ☐ Not sure

12.
Which of the following phrases aligns more with your opinion, even if you think none of them is quite correct?

a. The rampant cases of terrorism justify our government use of UAV for the targeted killing of terrorists even when this strategy may create the problem of proliferation that could impact negatively on global peace and security.

b. Some aspect of the international humanitarian law on civilian protection require a review to make the use of UAV for targeted killing a more effective counterterrorism strategy.

- ☐ The first statement
- ☐ The second statement
- ☐ Both statements
- ☐ None of the two statements
- ☐ Not sure of either of the statements
- ☐ Not prefer not to answer

Section Questions

Section 3 - Evaluation of the Survey: Kindly respond to the following questions about the survey you just filled out. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

1.
Do you consider the survey questions clear and easy enough to understand?

- ☐ Definitely true
- ☐ Tends to be true
- ☐ Sometimes true

- ☐ Tends not to be true
- ☐ Definitely not true
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

2.
Are the questions posed or arranged in a way that compels you to prefer one choice over the others?

- ☐ Definitely true
- ☐ Tends to be true
- ☐ Sometimes true
- ☐ Tends not to be true
- ☐ Definitelynot true
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

3.
Were the available options of response sufficient enough to enable you to provide your preferred response?

- ☐ Definitely true
- ☐ Tends to be true
- ☐ Sometimes true
- ☐ Tends not to be true
- ☐ Definitelynot true
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

Appendix C: Final Survey

**Survey on Unmanned Aerial Vehicle and Targeted Killing in Counterterrorism: Implications for International Humanitarian Law**

Dear Participant,

I am Olulowo Adebamiji Kunle, a doctoral student in Public Policy and Administration at the Walden University. My area of specialization is Law and Public Policy, and I am conducting research titled "Unmanned Aerial Vehicle and Targeted Killing in Counterterrorism: Implications for International Humanitarian Law." The purpose of this quantitative research is to discover if a relationship exists between counterterrorism, the proliferation of the use of UAV for targeted killing, and the development of the international humanitarian law regarding civilian protection to advocate the need for an international legal framework for its future employment. Therefore, I am inviting you to take part in this voluntary survey, which will take about 30 minutes to complete. Please note that there is no penalty for not participating and if you choose to participate, kindly fill out the survey carefully by providing your candid opinion on each of the questions. Thank you.

Section Questions
Section 1 - Demographic Information: Please tick the option or fill out the information that applies to you.

Completion of the demographic data is quite important for determining your eligibility to participate in this study. I plan to collect data from participants of various nationalities in the Walden Participant Pool and the Survey Monkey audience, whose background or discipline include military, security organizations, international relations, political science, international law, legal studies, and public administration. Consequently, only participants that fit into the designated profession and fields of specialization are eligible to complete the survey.

1.
What is your sex?
Male
Female
Others

2.
What is your age?
50 years and above
40-49 years
30-39 years
18-29 years

3.
What is your marital status?
Married
Single
Divorced
4.
What is your religion?
Christianity
Islamic
Others

5.
What is your nationality? (Please indicate your real country if you reside in your nation but indicate your country of residence if you reside in another country)

6.
What is your background/ discipline
Military
Security Organizations
Legal Studies
Public Administration
International Relations
Political Science
International Law

Section Questions
Section 2 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, declining to answer is considered a response.

*Support for drone strikes, Pew Research Survey*

How concerned are you about whether US drone strikes…

Q1 Endanger the lives of innocent civilians

1 Very Concerned
2 Somewhat Concerned
3 Not Too Concerned
4 Not at all Concerned

Q2 Could lead to extremist retaliation

1 Very Concerned

2 Somewhat Concerned
3 Not Too Concerned
4 Not at all Concerned

Q3 Are being conducted illegally

1 Very Concerned
2 Somewhat Concerned
3 Not Too Concerned
4 Not at all Concerned

Q4 Could damage the reputation of the US

1 Very Concerned
2 Somewhat Concerned
3 Not Too Concerned
4 Not at all Concerned

Section Questions
Section 3 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

*Papastamou, Prodromitis, & Iatridis (2005) support for counterterrorism measures*

Tocounterterrorism, the state should:

Q1 Simplify extradition proceedings for terrorist suspects

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q2 Allow use of psychological force during questioning of terrorist suspects

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat

6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q3 Allow surveillance of citizens' everyday life

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q4 Allow use of physical force during questioning of terrorist suspects

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q5 Allow surveillance of citizens' telephone calls

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q6 Deny political asylum to terrorist suspects

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q7 Tighten controls at all of a country's access points (seaports, border checkpoints, airports)

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Q8 Reinstate capital punishment for terrorists

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Disagree Somewhat
4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 Agree Somewhat
6 Agree
7 Strongly Agree

Section Questions
Section 4 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respondto every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.
*American Policy Attitudes, Baseline Items (Brooks & Manza, 2013, published by the Russell Sage Foundation) Support for counterterrorism measures*
Q1,Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following statement: The federal government should monitor telephone conversations between American citizens in the United States and suspected terrorists living in other countries.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q2 As you may know, Congress passed the Military Commissions Act in 2006, creating a separate set of courts and prisons in which individuals classified by the government as "enemy combatants" can be held indefinitely. Do you oppose or support the Military Commissions Act?

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose

3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q3 As you may know, shortly after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, a law called the Patriot Act was passed to make it easier for the federal government to access phone and email records. Do you oppose or support the Patriot Act?

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q4 In recent years, the US government has sometimes targeted individuals suspected of being al-Qaeda or Taliban leaders for assassination. Do you oppose or support the targeting for assassination of individuals suspected of being al-Qaeda or Taliban leaders?

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q5 Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following statement: The government should take all steps necessary to prevent additional attacks of terrorism in the United States even if it means foreign nationals' individual rights and liberties might be violated.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q6 Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States: Detaining someone who is not a U.S citizen indefinitely if that person is suspected of belonging to a radical Muslim organization.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q7 Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States: Requiring Muslims, including those who are US citizens, to undergo special, more intensive security checks before boarding airplanes in the United States.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q8 Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States: Allowing law enforcement to bring in for questioning people of certain ethnic backgrounds if these groups are thought to be more likely to engage in terrorist activities.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q9 In recent years, the government sometimes used a technique known as waterboarding on terrorist suspects in an effort to gain information about threats to the United States. Do you oppose or support of the use of waterboarding on terrorist suspects?

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Q10 Please indicate how strongly you oppose or support the following statement: Government authorities should have the right to torture a suspect who is American if they think it will help prevent a terrorist attack from taking place in the United States.

1 Strongly Oppose
2 Oppose
3 Oppose Somewhat
4 Neither Support nor Oppose
5 Support Somewhat
6 Support
7 Strongly Support

Section Questions
Section 5 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

*Modified Gallup Poll, perceptions of IHL and civilian protection*

Q1 For the military to inadvertently kill civilians is sometimes justified, while others think that kind of violence is never justified

1 Never Justified
2 Sometimes Justified
3 Depends
4 Don't know

Q2 For an individual person or a small group of persons inadvertently kill civilians is sometimes justified, while others think that kind of violence is never justified

1 Never Justified
2 Sometimes Justified
3 Depends
4 Don't know

Section Questions
Section 6 - Listed below are questions for this section of the survey. Please respond to every question. If you have the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

*Ethics Position Questionnaire, perceptions of IHL and civilian protection (Forsyth, 1980)*

Q1 Military action should never intentionally harm civilians, even to a small degree.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q2 Risks to civilians should never be tolerated, irrespective of how small the risks might be.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q3 The existence of potential harms to civilians is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits to be gained.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q4 Military action should never psychologically or physically harm civilians

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree

7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q5 The military should not perform an action which might in any way threaten the dignity and welfare of another individual.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q6 If a military action could harm an innocent civilian, then it should not be done.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q7 Deciding whether or not to perform a military action by balancing the positive consequences of the action against the negative consequences of the act is immoral.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q8 The dignity and welfare of people should be the most important concern in any society.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q9 It is never necessary to sacrifice the welfare of others.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q10 Moral behaviors are actions that closely match ideals of the most “perfect” action.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q11 There are no ethical principles that are so important that they should be a part of any code of ethics.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree

7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q12 What is ethical varies from one situation and society to another.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q13 Moral standards should be seen as being individualistic; what one person considers to be moral may be judged to be immoral by another person.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q14 Different types of morality cannot be compared as to "rightness."

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q15 Questions of what is ethical for everyone can never be resolved since what is moral or immoral is up to the individual.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q16 Moral standards are simply personal rules that indicate how a person should behave, and are not be applied in making judgments of others.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q17 Ethical considerations in interpersonal relations are so complex that individuals should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q18 Rigidly codifying an ethical position that prevents certain types of actions could stand in the way of better human relations and adjustment.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree

6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q19 No rule concerning lying can be formulated; whether a lie is permissible or not permissible totally depends upon the situation.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree

Q20 Whether a lie is judged to be moral or immoral depends upon the circumstances surrounding the action.

1 Completely disagree
2 Largely disagree
3 Moderately disagree
4 Slightly disagree
5 Neither agree nor disagree
6 Slightly agree
7 Moderately agree
8 Largely agree
9 Completely agree