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Autonomous Weapons and Ethical Judgments: Experimental Evidence on Attitudes Toward the Military Use of "Killer Robots"

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The advent of autonomous weapons brings intriguing opportunities and significant ethical dilemmas. This article examines how increasing weapon autonomy affects approval of military strikes resulting in collateral damage, perception of their ethicality, and blame attribution for civilian fatalities. In our experimental survey of U.S. citizens, we presented participants with scenarios describing a military strike with the employment of weapon systems with different degrees of autonomy. The results show that as weapon autonomy increases, the approval and perception of the ethicality of a military strike decreases. However, the level of blame toward commanders and operators involved in the strike remains constant regardless of the degree of autonomy. Our findings suggest that public attitudes to military strikes are, to an extent, dependent on the level of weapon autonomy. Yet, in the eyes of ordinary citizens, this does not take away the moral responsibility for collateral damage from human entities as the ultimate "moral agents."

Public Significance Statement
This study examines differences in public perceptions of autonomous weapons—one of the key military innovations of our time. We demonstrate that the public perceives the use of fully autonomous weapon systems as more ethically problematic than systems with lower autonomy.

Keywords: autonomous weapons, killer robots, survey experiment, public attitudes

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The advent of autonomous weapon systems (AWS), also known as "killer robots,"[1] brings intriguing opportunities and significant ethical dilemmas. In simple terms, AWS are weapons that allow selecting and engaging targets without human intervention (International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], 2016). In some limited capacity, these weapons already exist. For example, some loitering munitions and air defense systems used by Israel and the United States could qualify as AWS (Horowitz, 2016a; Sauer, 2021). Militaries around the world invest in weapon autonomy because it promises a speed-based advantage in combat, reduced reliance on communication links, or decreased labor demands (Horowitz, 2019; ICRC, 2021). However, it also raises serious strategic, legal, and ethical concerns.

Perhaps the most controversial issue in the current debate is the possibility that AWS may be entrusted with decisions to end human life (Bode & Huelss, 2018). Many scholars believe that delegating lethal decision-making to machines is fundamentally unethical because doing so would impinge on the right to life and human dignity of affected persons (Asaro, 2012; Rosert & Sauer, 2021). Another part of the scholarship worries that if AWS were to malfunction or commit war crimes, there would be arguably no one who could be justly held responsible for such outcomes, resulting in "responsibility gaps" (Matthias, 2004; Sparrow, 2007). In this context, AWS present certain unique ethical challenges.

Because of the troubling direction of military technological development, opponents of AWS formed the "Campaign to Stop Killer Robots," a coalition of nongovernmental organizations advocating for a ban on fully autonomous weapons (Campaign to Stop Killer Robots, n.d.). Advocacy efforts have helped bring the issue to

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[1] While the term "killer robots" remains widely popular in the public discourse, some scholars point out that its use gives the subject matter an inappropriate "sci-fi feel," which feeds into the dark imagination of AWS as "Terminators" (Rosert & Sauer, 2021; Young & Carpenter, 2018).

the attention of the international community, which has been discussing weapon autonomy since 2013 under the United Nations (UN) Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). In 2017, States Parties to the convention established a Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on "lethal autonomous weapons systems," a subsidiary body of the CCW tasked to formulate recommendations on how to address AWS (Bahçecik, 2019; Bolton & Mitchell, 2020). The UN Secretary-General previously urged the GGE "to deliver," arguing that it would be "morally repugnant" if the world fails to ban such weapons (Bugge, 2018; UN News, 2019). Some 30 countries have already expressed their support for a legally binding instrument (Human Rights Watch, 2020), but the feasibility of such an outcome remains uncertain at this point (Rosendorf, 2021; Rosert & Sauer, 2021).

According to some experts, the prospects of international control, or even prohibition, of AWS depend, to an extent, on the public opposition to these systems and their perceived unethicality (Scharre, 2018; Young & Carpenter, 2018). Some go as far as to argue that the use of AWS despite public opposition would violate the so-called Martens Clause, which prohibits the use of weapons contrary to the "dictates of public conscience" (Human Rights Watch, 2012). From an ethical standpoint, autonomous weapons have certain qualities that might make the public see them as relatively more abhorrent than other (nonautonomous) weapons. There is, however, still a lack of scholarly research that would examine public attitudes to AWS from a comparative perspective.

Most of the existing surveys on the topic are merely descriptive (Carpenter, 2013; Galliott & Wyatt, 2020; Ipsos, 2019; Moshkina & Arkin, 2008; Van der Loos & Croft, 2015). The few survey experiments examine issues such as the impact of popular culture on public perceptions (Young & Carpenter, 2018), the varying levels of public support in the context of increasing military utility, and development patterns in foreign countries (Horowitz, 2016b), the relationship between autonomy and accountability for civilian casualties (Walsh, 2015), or the acceptability of military applications of artificial intelligence (AI) among AI researchers (Zhang et al., 2021). However, there is currently no experimental research that would examine the relationship between varying degrees of weapon autonomy and ethical judgments.

To fill this gap, we conducted a survey experiment on a sample of 1,006 U.S. citizens. The survey examined how different degrees of weapon autonomy affect public approval of military strikes resulting in collateral damage, perception of their ethicality, and attribution of blame for civilian fatalities. First, we presented our participants with fictional scenarios describing military strikes involving weapons with varying degrees of autonomy. Subsequently, we asked questions related to the approval and ethicality of these strikes and the moral responsibility of relevant entities for collateral damage.

The results show that as weapon autonomy increases, public approval, and perception of the ethicality of military strikes with collateral damage decrease. We also found that increasing weapon autonomy is associated with higher blaming for civilian fatalities, albeit only toward the programmer, manufacturer, and the machine. The amount of blame remained constant in the case of the operator and the commanding officer. Overall, humans rather than machines remain the most blamed entities irrespective of the degree of autonomy.

The remainder of this article proceeds as follows. First, we discuss the ethical dimension of weapon autonomy and formulate our hypotheses. In the next section, we lay out the research design of our survey experiment. We then present the results and follow with a brief discussion of our main findings. Finally, we conclude by suggesting some avenues for further research.

Ethical Dimension of Weapon Autonomy

In a military context, the extent to which AWS present an ethical issue depends mainly on the "degree" of their autonomy and the types of functions being made autonomous. One approach to assessing weapon autonomy considers the degree of human involvement in tasks carried out by the machine. "Human-in-the-loop" systems require human input at some point of task execution. "Human-on-the-loop" systems perform some tasks independently, but their operation is monitored by a human who can intervene. And, finally, "human-out-of-the-loop" systems perform some tasks independently without any human input (Boulanin & Verbruggen, 2017; Scharre & Horowitz, 2015).

A complementary approach looks at the types of functions being made autonomous. While autonomy in functions such as navigation, landing, or refueling is generally accepted as ethically unproblematic, autonomy in target selection and engagement raises serious ethical concerns (Boulanin & Verbruggen, 2017). With most of today's weapon systems, including remote-controlled armed drones, humans still decide whether to select and engage specific targets (Horowitz, 2017; Scharre, 2018). Nevertheless, there are some notable exceptions that, arguably, already constitute examples of AWS in use.

The Israeli Harpy is a loitering munition that, once launched, detects and attacks enemy radar signatures without human supervision. When the Harpy finds a target that meets the preprogrammed parameters, persons responsible for its launch are "out of the loop" and unable to intervene. Various air defense systems, including the U.S. Phalanx, are also capable of autonomous target selection and engagement. In these cases, however, persons responsible for the system's operation usually remain "on the loop" to override its programming if the need arises (Horowitz, 2016a; Sauer, 2021). Although the military use of these systems is currently limited, autonomy in target selection- and engagement-related functions has been on the rise (Roff, 2016), and many systems are "only a software update away" from AWS (Bode & Huelss, 2018, p. 400). Concerns about weapon autonomy are, thus, relevant for the present rather than some distant future.

Some of the ethical objections to AWS are equally applicable to remotely controlled systems or long-range weapons. For example, the use of AWS would likely contribute to a greater physical and emotional distancing from the battlefield and thereby erode the "natural compulsion of men not to kill" (Grossman, 1995; Sharkey, 2012, p. 112). Other objections are potentially unique to AWS. One argument emphasizes that ceding lethal decision-making to machines is problematic because no technology can (currently) substitute human judgment, which is necessary for evaluating whether the attack would comply with the provisions of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL; Asaro, 2012; Sharkey, 2012). However, many scholars argue that machines should not have life-and-death powers in the first place, even if they were technically capable of making IHL judgments. From this standpoint, the shift to

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unsupervised delivery of lethal force impinges on the right to life and dignity of affected persons by making targeting decisions arbitrary and by reducing human beings to sensor data (Asaro, 2012; ICRC, 2021; Rosert & Sauer, 2019).

It is conceivable that the public shares similar concerns about the ethicality of AWS. The results from previous surveys indicate that this might be the case. In a recent public opinion survey by Ipsos (2019), 61% of participants from 26 countries opposed the use of AWS. Of those who opposed, roughly two-thirds agreed that allowing machines to kill would cross a moral line. An earlier survey of robotics researchers found that autonomous robots were the least acceptable entities in warfare compared to soldiers and robots as an extension of a human soldier (Moshkina & Arkin, 2008). We, therefore, expect that the public will be more opposed to the use of weapons with higher degrees of autonomy. Following previous studies on attitudes to military strikes (Press et al., 2013), we use approval and perception of ethicality as our main measures. It is possible that some participants may approve of the strike despite seeing it as unethical, for example, for strategic rather than normative reasons.

> *Hypothesis 1*: With the increasing autonomy of a weapon system, public approval of the military strike and the perception of its ethicality will decrease.

Another objection, which is potentially unique to AWS, concerns issues related to the attribution of moral and legal responsibility for negative outcomes resulting from their use. Some scholars worry that if AWS were to malfunction or commit war crimes, there would be arguably no one who could be justly held responsible, especially if they could not control or foresee how the system would behave. At the same time, the system itself would lack moral agency as a prerequisite for the attribution of responsibility (Asaro, 2012). The use of weapons that select and engage targets autonomously could therefore create "responsibility gaps" or "accountability gaps" (Matthias, 2004; Sparrow, 2007). Consequently, such "gaps" could be exploited by the political and military leadership to escape criminal liability (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Insisting on holding someone responsible would, nevertheless, entail the risk of scapegoating (Liu, 2016) despite that negative outcomes may result from genuine accidents (Dunlap, 2016; Robillard, 2018).

We can identify several entities that could be held responsible, irrespective of the difficulties associated with responsibility attribution. Some of the most frequently mentioned entities in the literature include the commander, operator, programmer, manufacturer, and the machine itself (Cass, 2015; Crootof, 2015; Sparrow, 2007). To be sure, this list is by no means exhaustive. Other potential culprits could include political decision-makers, employers who fund the research and development of the technology, or algorithms, computers, and sensors (Walsh, 2015). For our research purposes, we opt for a limited number of the most frequently mentioned entities.

Some scholars believe that machines could eventually become "artificial moral agents" capable of assuming responsibility for their actions (Wallach & Allen, 2013). Others argue that current-day robots cannot be held responsible because they cannot be punished and suffer as a result (Sharkey, 2012; Sparrow, 2007). However, people tend to assign responsibility even to inanimate entities such as companies, which can be sued and punished. Hellström (2013) observes that such tendency increases with the degree of an entity's autonomy. Some limited evidence from previous surveys also shows that people see machines as blamable (Kim & Hinds, 2006). We, thus, expect that the public will blame the machine more as the autonomy in its target selection and engagement functions increases.

> *Hypothesis 2a:* As the autonomy of a weapon system increases, public blame of the machine for the collateral damage will also increase.

Nevertheless, even if the use of AWS would result in negative outcomes that were unforeseeable, responsibility for the launch alone could be attributed within the chain of command (Dunlap, 2016; Kalmanovitz, 2017). As Schulzke (2013) points out, modern militaries already operate through "distributed responsibility," where commanders share responsibility for the actions of their subordinates. As such, we expect that the public will continue to blame human agents despite the increasing autonomy.

> *Hypothesis 2b*: Notwithstanding the increasing autonomy of a weapon system, human agents (commander, operator, and programmer) will still be blamed more than the machine for the collateral damage.

Research Design

We conducted our survey experiment on a sample of 1,006 U.S. adults on the Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) platform, aiming for the power of 0.8 to detect an effect size $d = 0.3$ when comparing pairs of treatments. This is not a representative sample. The composition of U.S. respondents recruited through AMT is biased toward males, younger, and more liberal and educated respondents (Huff & Tingley, 2015). However, the existing metastudies show that the results of experiments conducted on the AMT platform are comparable to those relying on representative samples (Clifford et al., 2015). For our research purposes, it is justifiable to use a convenience sample because we are interested in examining the relationship between degrees of autonomy and judgments of ethicality rather than describing the attitudes of the U.S. population writ large (Coppock & McClellan, 2019).[2]

In the survey, we described a fictional military strike on a terrorist hideout near the Pakistani border. We randomly assigned each participant to one of the experimental treatments: the strike was conducted by a helicopter, a remotely controlled drone, a human-supervised autonomous drone, or a fully autonomous drone. In each version of the scenario, we described the degree of autonomy in target selection and engagement. In the first two treatments, the pilot or operator selected and engaged the target ("human-in-the-loop"). In the third version, the drone selected and engaged the target under human supervision ("human-on-the-loop").[3] In the fourth, the drone

[2] See Supplemental Materials for a more detailed description of the demographic composition of our sample as well as the description of experimental conditions.

[3] There were two additional sub-scenarios based on the "human-on-the-loop" scenario, which were related to a hypothesis about the compliance with the notion of the "meaningful human control." Due to space constraints, these results are not discussed in the main text of this paper, but they can be found in the Supplemental Materials.

selected and engaged the target without human involvement ("human-out-of-the-loop"). In each scenario, we also provided information that five civilian bystanders were killed as collateral damage.

On the following page, participants answered how much they approved of the strike (Likert scale from 1 = *strongly disapprove* to 6 = *strongly approve*) and how ethical they found it (1 = *highly unethical* to 6 = *highly ethical*). They also completed an attention check by selecting the location of the strike (only those participants who answered correctly were allowed to continue). In the next section, participants assigned blame for civilian fatalities (1 = *no blame at all* to 6 = *maximum blame*) to each of the following entities: the person who piloted the helicopter or drone, the programmer of the targeting mechanism, the company that manufactured the machine, the machine itself, and the commanding officer. Participants then answered the second attention check item, sociodemographic questions, and a personality questionnaire. Finally, we presented participants with all three remaining versions of the scenario and asked them to rate their approval of the strike.

Results

First, we analyzed the blame for each entity in different scenarios (see Figure 1).[4] The commanding officer was the most blamed entity, and the level of blame did not differ across the scenarios, $F(3, 653) = 0.573$, $p = .633$. The operator was the second most blamed entity, and the level of blame was also consistent across the scenarios, $F(3, 653) = 1.83$, $p = .141$. In contrast, the blame of the programmer, $F(3, 653) = 3.67$, $p = .012$, the company, $F(3, 653) = 7.53$, $p < .001$, and the machine, $F(3, 653) = 14.0$, $p < .001$, differed significantly between the scenarios. Specifically, the blame for these three entities grew with the increasing level of weapon autonomy (all p-values for linear contrasts <.003).

The results hold even when controlling for education, income, political identification, attitude toward the military, age, and gender. Age was negatively related to blaming of all entities across scenarios. A positive attitude toward the military was significantly related to lesser blaming of all entities, except for the machine. The only other variable significantly related to the amount of blame was political identification: conservatism was related to higher blame of the machine and lower blame of the commanding officer, while liberalism was related to lower blame of the machine and higher blame of the commanding officer.[5]

Second, we used analysis of covariance (ANCOVAs) to analyze whether participants differed in their judgment of ethicality and approval of the strike across the same four scenarios, controlling for the level of education, income, political identification, attitudes toward military, age, and gender. The approval correlated highly with the judgment of ethicality ($r = .83$), and more conservative participants and those with positive attitudes toward the military judged the strike as more ethical and approved of it more across all scenarios. Conversely, more liberal participants and those with negative attitudes toward the military judged the strike as less ethical and approved of it less across all scenarios. In addition, the strikes in the scenarios with increasing autonomy were judged as less ethical, $t(647) = 2.57$, $p = .010$, and participants approved of them slightly, albeit not significantly, less as well, $t(647) = 1.89$, $p = .059$.

Since participants rated their approval of the strike in all versions of the scenario at the end of the survey, we were also able to analyze the differences in approval between scenarios using a repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA; see Figure 2). The results of this test provide further evidence of decreasing approval of scenarios with increasing weapon autonomy, $F(2.62, 2636.30) = 77.5$, $p < .001$. We also found that across all four scenarios, participants who perceived strikes as less ethical were more likely to blame the commander more ($r = -.34$), and those who judged the strike as more ethical blamed the machine more ($r = .17$).

Discussion

The results of our research reveal that increasing autonomy in target selection and engagement functions of weapon systems is associated with lower public approval rates and lower perception of the ethicality of military strikes resulting in collateral damage. The use of the "human-out-of-the-loop" systems, specifically, was the least approved and seen as the least ethical in our survey. The correlation between perception of ethicality and approval also suggests that the public likely disapproves of AWS based on ethical reasoning. While earlier surveys have already indicated the existence of public aversion to AWS (Carpenter, 2013; Ipsos, 2019), our findings link the variance in approval and ethicality to varying degrees of autonomy. Additionally, the finding that political conservatives on balance tend to approve of the use of military force more than political liberals is in line with the results from previous survey experiments (Press et al., 2013; Sagan & Valentino, 2017; Smetana & Vranka, 2021).

The results also shed light on the interplay between moral responsibility and degrees of autonomy. We found that the use of increasingly autonomous weapons leads to higher blaming for civilian fatalities, albeit only toward the programmer of the targeting mechanism, the manufacturer, and the machine. Following our expectations, participants blamed the machine significantly more in the "human-out-of-the-loop" scenario. These findings provide further evidence for the claim that people tend to see machines as blamable (Hellström, 2013; Kim & Hinds, 2006; Walsh, 2015). Nevertheless, our survey design does not allow us to determine whether the amount of blame captures "moral" or merely "causal" responsibility (Liu, 2016; Robillard, 2018). Participants could have blamed the machine more simply because they perceived it more closely linked to collateral damage.

We also found that the amount of blame toward the operator and the commanding officer was unrelated to the degree of weapon autonomy. The level of blame for civilian fatalities attributed to these entities remained constant across all scenarios. In addition, our participants considered human agents to be the most blamable entities. Specifically, the commander, the operator, and the programmer received more blame than the machine in all scenarios, including the "human-out-of-the-loop" scenario. These findings problematize claims that the use of fully autonomous weapons

[4] See Supplemental Materials for more detailed analyses and results.

[5] Political identification is a scale ranging from 1 to 6, from very liberal to very conservative.

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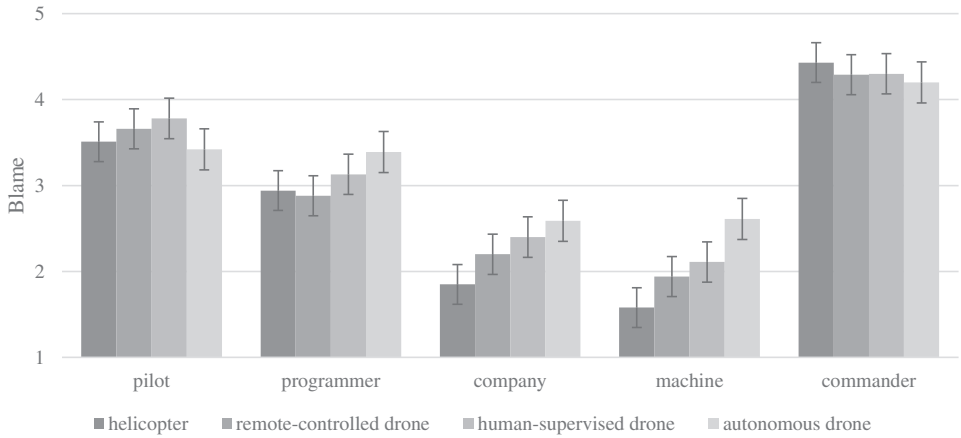
Figure 1

Amount of Blame for the Collateral Damage



Note. All blame judgments were made on 6-point scales (1 = *no blame* to 6 = *maximum blame*). Error bars represent 95% CI. $N = 657$.

would result in "responsibility gaps" (Matthias, 2004; Sparrow, 2007). In the eyes of ordinary citizens, the use of AWS still does not take away the responsibility for collateral damage from human entities as the ultimate moral agents.

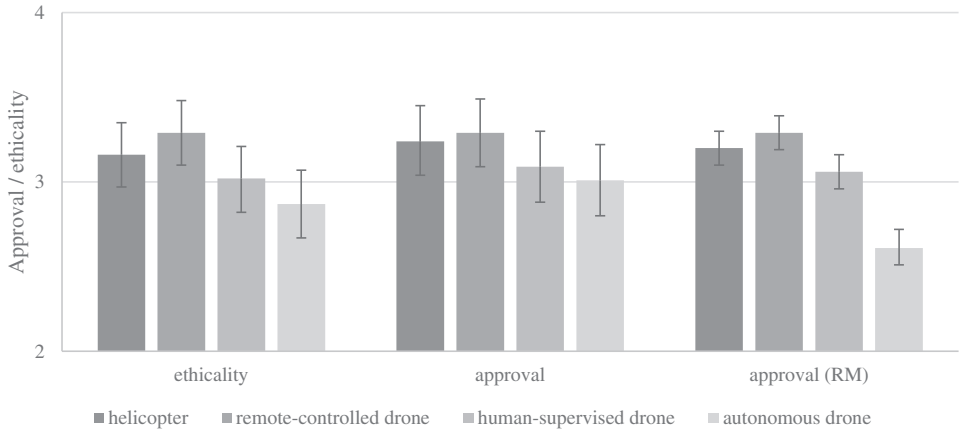
Our findings are in line with Walsh (2015), who observes that the use of AWS does not decrease the degree to which leaders are held responsible for negative outcomes. While the author also finds the tendency of participants to blame the machine more as the autonomy increases, we found a more substantive effect of increasing autonomy on blame attribution toward this entity. One possible explanation is that Walsh asked the participants to attribute the responsibility to a weapon's "sensors and computer" rather than to the "machine" as such. It is conceivable that people tend to see the "machine" as a standalone entity worthy of blame. On the other hand, "sensors and computer" might be perceived as mere components of a weapon system.

Conclusion

In this article, we examined how the use of weapon systems with varying degrees of autonomy affects public approval and perception of the ethicality of military strikes resulting in collateral damage. The evidence suggests that increasing weapon autonomy is associated with lower approval rates and lower perception of ethicality. These findings have potentially important implications for the current discussion about the possibility of international control of

Figure 2

Judgment of Ethicality and Approval of the Strike



Note. The "ethicality" and "approval" judgments are based on evaluations of a single scenario at the beginning of the survey. The "approval (Repeated Measurement [RM])" judgments are based on parallel evaluations of all scenarios made at the end of the survey. All judgments were made on 6-point scales (1 = *strongly disapprove/highly unethical* to 6 = *strongly approve/highly ethical*). Error bars represent 95% CI. $N = 657$.

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AWS at the UN. When it comes to military strikes with collateral damage, the public perceives the use of AWS as relatively more unethical than conventional inhabited and remote-controlled systems. The failure by States Parties to the CCW to reflect adequately on ethical challenges posed by weapon autonomy might, therefore, result in public backlash.

We also investigated the relationship between degrees of weapon autonomy and blame for collateral damage. Similarly to Walsh (2015), we found that, in the eyes of the public, the use of increasingly autonomous weapons does not take away the moral responsibility for negative outcomes from human entities. For our participants, AWS do not mark a qualitative shift in blame attribution. One of the potential implications is that, rather than resulting in "responsibility gaps" as described by Matthias (2004) and Sparrow (2007), the use of AWS could create a gap between the moral and legal responsibility if delegating lethal decision-making to machines would make it easier for the involved persons to escape liability.

Some limitations of our research can serve as potential avenues for future studies on the topic. For example, one of the reasons why our participants saw AWS as relatively more unethical could be due to their novelty. It is also plausible that the participants saw human entities as the most blamable because they have limited experience in dealing with autonomous machines. Technological advances in this area will likely affect how the public feels about these issues. Future research could focus on specific factors, such as sensitivity to the loss of agency and human dignity (Asaro, 2012; Rosert & Sauer, 2019), which might help to explain the differences in perceived ethicality across the spectrum of weapon autonomy. Furthermore, we have only examined public attitudes in the context of military strikes resulting in collateral damage. Future research could investigate scenarios without civilian fatalities. Finally, some elite groups, including the military and political decision-makers, might differ in their ethical judgments regarding AWS. This opens another intriguing avenue for future research.

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