

Cocked, Locked, and Loaded: A Legislative and Policy Diffusion Analysis of Concealed
Carry on College Campuses

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ABSTRACT

As mass shootings continue to be an all too common occurrence in the United States, a flurry of state legislatures have debated concealed carry of firearms on college campuses. This study examines state policy decisions on campus carry through the lens of the policy diffusion literature. The first stage of this analysis explores the adoption of campus carry through a logit regression. The second multivariate model examines the *types* of concealed carry laws across the states through an ordered logit analysis. This study investigates the influence of internal (intrastate) factors as well as external (interstate) determinants. State population density is negatively associated with the adoption of campus concealed carry, but the other internal determinants of state affluence, ideology, legislative professionalism, and minority population are not significant predictors. In relation to problem environment, high gun murder rates are associated with the prohibition of campus carry while low rates are associated with the adoption of such laws. “Gun culture” (measured as the number of gun-related interest groups and the number of gun purchases in a state) is a significant predictor of the adoption of concealed carry but not the types of campus carry laws across the states as captured by gun purchases. On the other hand, gun interest groups are not a significant predictor of the adoption of campus carry or the types of campus carry laws. For external determinants, the number of neighboring adopters was not a useful predictor of the adoption of campus carry. Following the design of Butz et al. (2015) this study also finds the interaction effect of percentage minority population and a dummy variable for the South is positively associated with the adoption of campus concealed carry, as well as the types of campus carry laws, which points to the impact of racial threat on public policy. The second stage

of this analysis examines recent state legislative voting behavior in a western adopter (Idaho in 2014), a midwestern adopter (Wisconsin in 2011), and two southern adopters (Texas in 2015 and Georgia in 2017). There are sharp partisan and racial cleavages in the adoption of campus concealed carry with Republican and white legislators most likely to vote for campus carry legislation. The results shed light on political polarization, the subculture of violence, and racial threat in contemporary American politics.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

After a mass shooting at the Umpqua Community College in Roseburg, Oregon, left nine dead and nine injured, President Obama lamented before the White House press corps “Somehow this has become routine. The reporting is routine. My response here at this podium ends up being routine, the conversation in the aftermath of it...We have become numb to this” (Collinson 2015). Of the nearly 160 school shootings in the United States since 2013, close to half (46 percent) have been at institutions of higher education (Everytown for Gun Safety 2015). The response from state legislatures has been quite varied with several states expanding concealed carry to college campuses, other states leaving the decision to colleges and universities, and many states prohibiting concealed carry on college campuses. In 2014, the Georgia General Assembly passed and Governor Nathan Deal signed a “Guns Everywhere” bill that allowed concealed carry in bars, churches, school classrooms, and some government buildings (Copeland and Richards 2014). Early drafts of the “Guns Everywhere” legislation called for concealed carry on college campuses, but the provision did not survive through final passage. In 2016 the Georgia General Assembly finally passed campus carry, but Governor Deal vetoed the bill. However, in 2017 the Georgia General Assembly again passed campus carry and Governor Deal did sign it into law effective July 2, 2017. In 2015 the Texas state legislature approved and Governor Abbot signed legislation allowing for concealed carry on college campuses which went into effect in 2016 for four-year institutions and 2017 for two-year

colleges (Armed Campuses 2016a). Furthermore, the Florida state legislature has debated concealed carry on college campuses for the last three legislative sessions.

The research question at the heart of this study is: what factors predict state policy on concealed carry on college campuses? This study initially examines concealed carry on college campuses through the lens of the policy diffusion literature. The first stage of the data analysis explores the predictors of a state allowing concealed carry on college campuses. Through an ordered logit analysis, this study investigates the influence of region, demographic, socio-economic, political, and problem environment factors on the adoption of the various forms of concealed carry as well as the prohibition of concealed carry on college campuses. The second stage of this data analysis explores the recent approval in the Wisconsin (2011), Idaho (2014), Texas (2015), and Georgia (2017) state legislatures of concealed carry on college campuses through an examination of the influence of party, gender, race, and legislative chamber on the voting behavior of individual state legislators.

School Shootings that Shocked the Nation

Safety and security are major concerns in school and higher educational settings. Incidents like Columbine, Virginia Tech, and Sandy Hook have exposed the vulnerability of schools in recent years. Law enforcement and public safety administrators are charged with a huge responsibility of creating and maintaining safe environments. For the most part, colleges and universities are usually resistant to rapid change. Following the shootings at Virginia Tech there have been a number of copy-cat threats.

Adams (2013) discusses the FBI report of 154 active shooter events that occurred in the U.S. involving three or more victims between 2002 and 2012. These incidents are becoming more frequent and more deadly. Early medical intervention significantly increases survival rates. Some victims died at Columbine due to blood loss while they were waiting on medical attention

from EMTs. Virginia Tech had tactical medics attached to their SWAT team. Northern Illinois University cross-trained their officers as EMTs in order to provide medical treatment (Adams 2013).

Jonsson (2010) states that much national debate was brought about as a result of the Virginia Tech shooting. John Woods, a Virginia Tech survivor, spoke out against concealed carry laws. He felt that classroom shootings are almost impossible to stop due to the fact they are too sudden. In 2009, a campus-carry law failed to pass in the Texas legislature (Jonsson 2010).

Toppo (2009) reported the Columbine High School massacre was a school shooting that resulted from a highly planned attack that used explosive devices as diversion tactics. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold killed 12 students and one teacher and injured 24. They both committed suicide. According to their personal journals, they had a deep desire to rival deadly attacks in the United States in the 1990s like the Oklahoma City bombing. Toppo (2009) referred to the shooting as a terrorist bombing carried out as a suicidal attack. The Columbine shooting is the deadliest mass murder occurring at a high school in America. Toppo (2009) reported that the Columbine shooting as well as other high profile shootings set off the gun law debate along with the availability of guns and youth gun violence discussions across the country. There was also much discussion about bullying and the influence of violent movie and video games as well. School security became the focus.

The Virginia Tech (VT) shooting also had a major impact in the country as well. Seung-Hui Cho killed 32 students and faculty members, and wounded 17 students and faculty members on April 16, 2007. After the shooting Cho committed suicide. The shooting created a focus on Virginia Tech's emergency plan (Tri Data Division 2009).

The Sandy Hook shooting on December 14, 2012, also shocked the country. According to Sedensky (2013), Adam Lanza shot his way through the plate glass windows to gain access into the school, and he then shot and killed four adults and twenty children. Lanza also committed suicide after the shooting. The shooting lasted less than ten minutes. Lanza was fascinated with mass murders such as the Columbine shooting. After Columbine, stopping the shooter became the main focus. Columbine brought about a shift in law enforcement response. Sitting back and waiting on the SWAT team to respond had proven to be ineffective at Columbine. This response actually caused a greater loss of life. Officers are now trained throughout the country to engage the shooter as soon as possible to stop the aggressive acts. This places officers in harm's way which is contrary to historical law enforcement responses (Sedensky 2013).

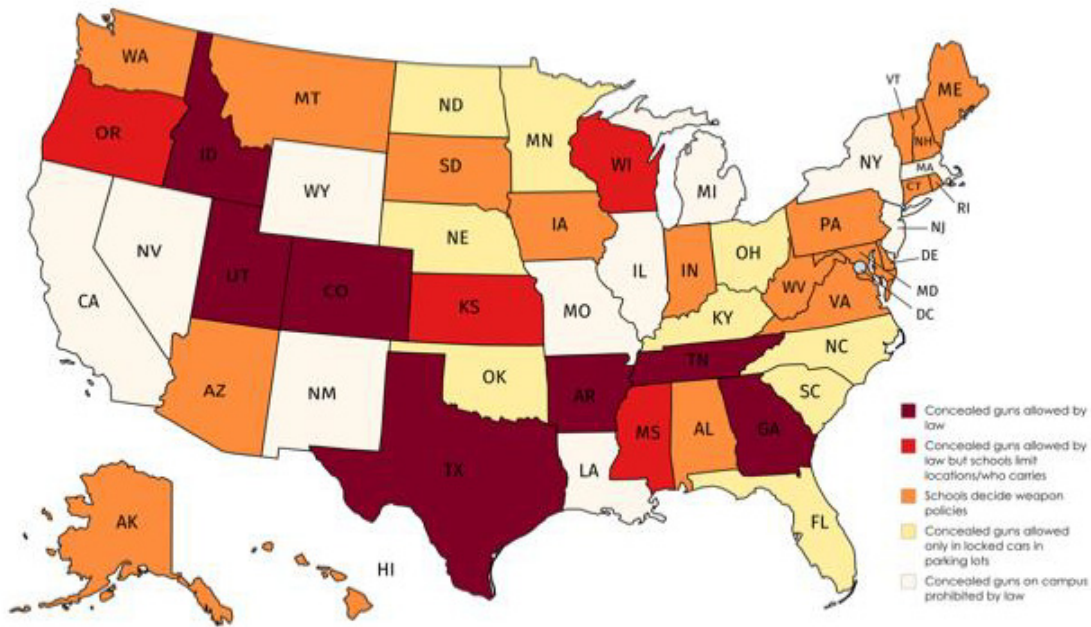
These shootings focused national attention on school and university safety. As a nation, we have been debating do we need to tighten gun control or provide more provisions for concealed carry to address these fears.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has released a study of active shooter events that covers incidents from 2000 to 2013. They studied 160 active shooter events during this time period. An average of 11.4 incidents occurred annually with an increasing trend from 2000 to 2013. The incidents resulted in 1,043 casualties with the shooters not included in this number. 486 people were killed in these incidents and 557 people were wounded. The FBI reported that active shooter events are becoming more frequent. The first seven years of the study show an average of 6.4 incidents annually. The last seven years of the study show 16.4 incidents annually (Blair and Schweit 2014).

Response across the American States

Recently, a flurry of state legislatures from Florida to Georgia to Texas to Idaho have debated legislation to allow the concealed carry of firearms on college campuses. In order to answer the research question of why states adopt concealed carry on college campuses, two research paths are followed. First, a public policy diffusion framework is utilized to examine state policy on concealed carry on college campuses across all 50 states. This study explores the factors that predict state adoption of concealed carry or state prohibition of concealed carry. Secondly, this study examines the vote in state legislatures that have adopted concealed carry on college campuses. An analysis of the vote in the Idaho, Texas, Georgia, and Wisconsin legislatures will be conducted to further this examination.

In order to get a visual idea of the states that allow concealed carry on college campuses refer to Figure 1 below. Seven states allow concealed carry by law which is illustrated by the maroon states. Four states allow concealed carry by law but allow schools to limit locations and who carries as illustrated by the red states. Nineteen states allow the schools to decide the weapons policy as illustrated by the orange states. Nine states allow concealed carry only in locked cars in parking lots as illustrated by the tan states. And, eleven states prohibit guns on campus by law as illustrated by the white states (Armed Campuses 2016b).



Source: www.armedcampuses.org (2016b)

Figure 1: Concealed Carry on College Campuses Across the 50 States

This study investigates the specific laws and analyzes the voting behavior of four state legislatures that have adopted campus carry. These states are Idaho, Texas, Wisconsin, and Georgia. Idaho is one of four states to have adopted campus carry in the American West. On March 12, 2014, Idaho Governor Butch Otter signed SB 1254 into law which stipulates:

Effective July 1, 2014, individuals who possess an “enhanced” carry permit may carry weapons on Idaho’s 8 public colleges and universities. Concealed and openly carried firearms are prohibited in dorms and buildings and functions housing more than 1,000 individuals. To obtain an “enhanced” carry permit, an individual must complete one of 6 sanctioned training courses and live fire of at least 98 rounds. (Armed Campuses 2016c)

As the second most populous state in the nation, Texas provides an important case study of the adoption of campus carry in the American South. Gun laws in Texas became effective on August 1, 2016, for all state 4-year colleges and universities and on August 1, 2017, for all state 2-year and junior colleges:

The new Texas law permits individuals who have obtained a concealed handgun license (CHL) to carry their loaded, concealed weapon in college and university buildings. Each college and university may determine certain sensitive areas and buildings where concealed weapons will continue to be prohibited. Each college and university must publically display campus policies on the official school website, as well as widely publicizing it among correspondence with the institution's faculty, staff, and students.

Previous laws permitting the concealed carry with a license on open campus grounds and in locked vehicles in parking lots will remain unchanged. (Armed Campuses 2016a)

Wisconsin serves as an example of the adoption of campus carry in the upper Midwest and Great Lakes region. Armed Campuses (2016d) reports that "In 2011, Wisconsin Governor Walker signed into law sweeping changes to the state's gun laws. At the time, Wisconsin was one of only two states to prohibit the carrying of concealed firearms. The 2011 Senate Bill 93 changed things in many areas, including allowing concealed weapons on college campuses (public and private). The law contains a provision that allows colleges to post signs prohibiting the carrying of concealed weapons in buildings on campus."

Finally, Georgia provides an intriguing case study of the divide between a state legislature and governor in relation to campus carry. Mangan (2016) discusses the actions of the Georgia General Assembly passing concealed carry on college campuses in the spring of 2016

after several years of attempting to do so; however, Governor Nathan Deal of Georgia vetoed legislation which:

...would have made his state the 10th to allow licensed gun holders to carry concealed weapons in most locations on public-college campuses. The governor, a Republican who has supported expanding the right to carry guns in places as sensitive as bars and churches, waited until the final day of a 40-day bill-signing period to announce his decision on the politically explosive issue of campus carry. “From the early days of our nation and state, colleges have been treated as sanctuaries of learning where firearms have not been allowed”, the governor wrote. “To depart from such time-honored protections should require overwhelming justification. I do not find that such justification exists. Therefore, I veto HB 859.” If the intent of the measure was to improve campus safety, he added, “it is highly questionable that that would be the result.” Instead, he issued an executive order to leaders of the state’s public-college systems to report back on their security measures by August 1. He also called on municipalities surrounding the colleges to review and, if necessary, tighten security near the campuses. All of his options on the campus-carry bill carried risks. Sign the law and anger those in higher education who have flooded his office with emails and letters saying they would feel less safe -- not more -- if guns were allowed on their campuses. Or veto it and further enrage conservatives who are still stinging over his veto of a “religious liberty” bill that critics said would discriminate against gay people. (Mangan 2016)

Governor Deal asked for changes from the state legislature. He was concerned about disciplinary hearings, high school students who are enrolled on college campuses, and child care centers. The Georgia General Assembly refused to accommodate the governor’s request for

changes to the bill (Mangan 2016). The changes were made in the 2017 Georgia General Assembly and Governor Deal signed HB 280 into law on May 4, 2017, effective July 1, 2017. Governor Deal argues that college campuses are “sensitive” places and felt that gun restriction carve-outs were needed to address areas like day care centers and faculty offices. Deal took these carve-outs as a justification to sign the 2017 bill passed by the General Assembly. Governor Deal also felt that campus restrictions left students and faculty in off-campus areas headed to and from class “defenseless” to criminals who know they are unarmed. (Bluestein 2017c)

Overview of the Study

The next chapter of this study is the literature review. In this chapter, the policy diffusion literature is reviewed to determine why policies diffuse across the American states. Factors that help explain why health care, education, transportation, or environmental policies spread across states are examined. States often adopt policies from neighboring states, but other relevant factors involve the role of ideology and professional networks. The level of professionalism within the legislature and the role of lobbyists also matter. The second stage of the literature review looks at state legislative voting behavior by exploring the factors that determine why legislators favor campus carry. Party and ideology are among the key factors that exist. The role of gender and race are also examined.

The third chapter of this study is the data analysis and methodology chapter. Chapter 3 outlines the independent and dependent variables of this study as well as the hypotheses to be tested. Chapter 3 describes the statistical tests utilized in this study. The fourth chapter reports the results of the data analysis. The fifth chapter summarizes the significance of the results and notes the implications for our understanding of gun policy in the United States.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Policy Diffusion Across the American States

A vast literature explores the diffusion of public policy innovations across governmental jurisdictions, especially the American states. Since the classic studies by Walker (1969) and Gray (1973), Karch (2007) reminds us that research on state policy diffusion has become a key subfield of state politics. The foundational research on public policy diffusion noted the significance of internal or intrastate factors. Walker (1969) found that larger and wealthier states as well as those with a high degree of legislative professionalism, competitive party systems, and a frequent turnover of officeholders were most likely to be progressive adopters of public policy innovations. Nice (1994) emphasized the importance of a state's problem environment, resources, and orientation to government power. In relation to the problem environment, Nice (1994, 33) observes that "a crisis, a deteriorating situation, or a vague perception that current performance is not satisfactory can spur decision makers into searching for new approaches, assessing their merits, and adopting those innovations that offer some prospect for improving the situation."

One of the more encouraging trends in the policy diffusion literature has been the increased attention given to external or interstate political factors such as "individual policy entrepreneurs," "interstate professional associations," and "national campaigns by advocacy coalitions" (Karch 2017, 25). The role of region has been a hallmark of policy diffusion studies

(Walker 1969; Berry and Berry 1990; Carter and Laplant 1997; Winder and Laplant 2000) given that adoption of a public policy innovation within a region or by a neighboring state can serve as a powerful catalyst for adoption by a state legislature. Furthermore, “national intervention influences the adoption of policy innovations” as national politics shape the political agendas of state governments (Karch 2007, 72).

An emerging and intriguing body of scholarship explores the diffusion of gun policy. As urban governments struggle to deal with handgun violence, Alderdice (2013) identifies the legal challenges and obstacles for public policy diffusion engineered by national advocacy networks and urban governmental officials. Goss (2015) calls our attention to the more than 80 gun laws which have been enacted by federal and state legislators to regulate gun access by those with mental illness. The study notes the barriers and challenges to passing these regulations as well as the political circumstances under which such laws have been enacted.

Mixon and Gibson (2001) utilize an ordered logit model to uncover the predictors of the various types of concealed carry laws across the American states. The dependent variable includes three categories for the type of concealed carry law that is retained in each state for 1997: unrestricted right-to-carry (“shall issue”), restricted right-to-carry, and no form of right-to-carry is permitted (Mixon and Gibson 2001, 3-4). The study finds that the property-rights movement (measured as the percent of each state’s land area that is owned by the federal government, the state has or has not passed property rights legislation, and per capita income) as well as percentage Republican in the state legislature are associated with the retention of unrestricted right-to-carry legislation. Urbanization, state population, the length of the legislative session, and percentage female in the state legislature are all positively associated with the retention of tighter gun restrictions as reflected by no legislative provisions for the right-to-carry.

More specifically, Tucker et al. (2012, 1083) examine the adoption of “shall issue” concealed weapons permits (CWP) across the 50 states which “allow any citizen meeting certain requirements (normally the passage of a background check, a number of hours of classroom training, a skills/proficiency test, and an annual permit fee) to carry a concealed weapon in that jurisdiction.” The study finds that population density, professional legislatures, and more liberal state governments are negatively associated with the adoption of “shall issue” policies, while lower violent crime rates and lower property crime rates are positively associated with adoption of “shall issue” concealed weapons permits (Tucker et al. 2012, 1094). Although NRA membership, citizen ideology, and the regional diffusion measures (percentage of states in the region that have already adopted) did not exhibit a significant relationship to the adoption of “shall issue” policies, the adoption of such policies by neighboring states exhibits a powerful impact on the decision to adopt in a given state (Tucker et al. 2012, 1095-1097). The authors (2012, 1096) argue “it is clear that the transportability of weapons across state lines and evidence pointing to crime spillover effects from jurisdictions with CWP laws to areas without them provide sufficient threats to neighboring states that they are encouraged to adopt ‘shall issue’ policies.”

Given that 22 states have adopted Stand-Your-Ground (SYG) laws over the last 10 years, Butz et al. (2015) conduct an event history analysis to explore the internal and external determinants of adoption. In relation to internal determinants, the authors test the influence of political ideology, population density, percentage in poverty, and percentage minority, while the impact of “gun culture” is tested through the number of guns purchases as well as the number of gun-related interest groups operating in the state (Butz et al. 2015, 351). The authors also consider the impact of gun crime rates on the adoption of SYG laws. For external determinants,

Butz et al. (2015) explore policy learning as the number of neighboring states who have adopted SYG laws and whether or not the most ideologically similar neighbor has adopted. The authors (2015, 369) report intriguing findings

...a confluence of internal determinants are found to influence the likelihood of policy adoption across states, oftentimes in complicated and unexpected ways. For instance, variables we expected to have an impact such as interest group presence, gun purchase rates, or ideology have either minimal or no impact. Other variables such as poverty, gun violence, and race did have an impact. Interestingly, minority presence is found to be the primary motivator of SYG policy adoptions. Among Southern states, the presence of African-American and Hispanic populations is found to significantly increase the likelihood of SYG adoptions; whereas, outside of the South, minority presence exhibits a substantial negative association.

The powerful interaction effect of percentage minority and the dummy variable for the South is attributed to the enduring racial politics of the South, especially the perceived “racial threat” of minorities in relation to crime and gun policies (Butz et al. 2015, 369). Surprisingly, the study finds that adoption in neighboring states actually reduces the likelihood of SYG adoption in the home state, and the authors call for more research on the complicated external determinants of policy innovation and diffusion (Butz et al. 2015, 369).

With a focus on the relationship between region and gun policy, the scholarship on the southern subculture of violence can be illuminating. Throughout the twentieth century, the South has produced homicide rates well above the national average. The high murder rate has resulted in a definition of the South as “that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line” (Hackney 1969, 906). In their classic work *The Subculture of Violence*, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) advance the thesis that variations in rates of violence among populations

can be attributed to cultural or subcultural values that prescribe and reinforce violent behavior patterns. Although Wolfgang and Ferracuti do not specifically refer to the American South, the concept of a “subculture of violence” would soon be applied to the region. Based upon an analysis of data from 1920-1964, Hackney (1969, 908) finds that “southerners show a relatively greater preference than do non-southerners for murder rather than suicide.” After controlling for urbanization, education, wealth and age, Hackney (1969, 914) finds “a significant portion of the variation from state to state in the white homicide rate, and in the white suicide rate, that is not explained by variations in measures of development, but that is explained by southernness.”

Although Hackney calls attention to levels of gun ownership and corporal punishment of children to explain regional variations in the homicide rate, he emphasizes that the southern “world view” may account for the subculture of violence. Hackney (1969, 920) invokes Wilbur Cash’s 1941 work *The Mind of the South* to explain the southern propensity for violence. Southerners have historically resorted to the private settlement of disputes because of the absence of institutions of law enforcement (Hackney 1969, 921). Cash describes a South in which whites are united by “a wild, almost irrational hatred of government and a mania for individualism left behind from the days of the frontier” (Applebome 1996, 160). A “culture of honor” has become a popular explanation for the southern subculture of violence. Cohen et al. (1999, 257) explain that “the U.S. South (and the West) historically have been characterized by what anthropologists call a culture of honor. That is, men in these cultures held to a stance of toughness and physical prowess and often responded to insults, threats, and serious affronts with violence.” Nisbett and Cohen (1996) elaborate that the legacy in the American South of “herding societies are typically characterized by having ‘cultures of honor’ in which a threat to property or reputation is dealt with by violence.”

William Doerner (1983) published an article concerning the link between regional homicide rates and medical intervention resources. He attempted to blend criminological literature on homicide rates with literature on medical trauma management. The nature of medical intervention was suggested as an important link in homicide statistical production and criminally instigated violence. The study focused on high homicide rates in the South between 1969 and 1971. The high homicide rates in the South were linked to the “regional culture of violence” in this article. The data produced did not support this medical approach unequivocally but did indicate that further research is warranted in this line of thinking.

Journalistic accounts of southern violence continue to focus on the prevalence of guns in the region. Emerson (1998, A8) notes that surveys reveal southerners are “more likely to advocate gun ownership as the best defense against criminals than residents of any other part of the country.” A recent Pew Center (Morin 2014) survey finds that gun ownership rates are highest in the South although just edging out the Midwest and West. Dixon and Lizotte (1987) challenge the link between gun ownership and a southern subculture of violence. Based upon an analysis of data from the General Social Surveys for 1976, 1980 and 1985, Dixon and Lizotte (1987, 383) find that “gun ownership is unrelated to the violent values indicative of subcultures of violence.”

State Legislative Voting Behavior and Campus Carry

Given the intense polarization in contemporary American politics, especially by region (Abramowitz 2013), the debates in state legislatures over concealed carry on college campuses can highlight those sharp cleavages. Elliott (2015, 524-525) observes that “recent tragedies in our nation’s schools...have brought the school safety debate to the forefront of American politics...Understandably, the issue of school safety tends to incite emotional responses from

legislatures, school districts, and parents.” In the aftermath of the Oregon community college shooting, Governor Brown signed legislation prohibiting concealed carry on college campuses in California (McGreevy 2015). Scanning the state legislative landscape, Jones (2015a) reports that concealed carry laws were proposed in 15 state legislatures and quickly failed to secure passage in 11 of those legislatures. Jones (2015b) explains “the bills to expand gun-carry rights on campus have suffered partly because of resistance from university leaders, even in states generally regarded as gun-friendly.”

Karch’s book *Democratic Laboratories* (2007) discusses the analytical framework around policy makers who decide whether or not and in what form political innovations gain enactment. Law makers face two major constraints: insufficient time and the need of constituency support for reelection. He further discusses how ideas and policies spread from state to state. Karch examines the interaction of interstate and intrastate political forces that shape policy change. His study focuses on six factors: national intervention, the neighboring state effect, problem severity, state wealth, legislative professionalism, and ideology. Furthermore, political ideology has an impact on the enactment of innovations.

Dickson (2015) reported that Texas is preparing for their upcoming open carry law that goes into effect January 1, 2016. Governor Abbot signed the law in June of 2015 that will allow licensed Texans to openly carry firearms as long as they are secured in a belt or shoulder holster. The Texas Police Chiefs Association reports that 75% of state chiefs are opposed to the law. The campus carry part of that law went into effect on August 1, 2016. This date is the fiftieth anniversary of the Charles Whitman shooting from the University of Texas at Austin’s clock tower (Dickson 2015). Jin (2015) states that passage of the bill in June of 2015 made Texas the

eight U.S. state to allow concealed handguns on campuses. Breland (2016) points out that the campus concealed carry law in Texas may fail the very people it is intended to protect.

Alderdice (2013) discusses how the mainstream news cycle was flooded with gun control discussions after the Newtown, Connecticut, school shooting. He further discusses the theory of policy diffusion where policies spread among governments as they emulate, imitate, and compete with each other. He further states that actors are required to have similar legal powers in order to be able to enact the same policies. Alderdice notes that U.S. cities are becoming more liberal and progressive as compared to the rest of the country.

Goss (2015) documents that politicians have tightened gun laws. Over the past decade, state and federal legislators have enacted more than 80 gun laws designed to regulate gun access by those with mental illness. These laws were also designed to address gun violence within that population. The study by Goss provides a brief overview of barriers to enacting firearm regulations. Goss examines the political circumstance under which laws have been enacted. Goss finishes by looking at generalized lessons for consensus-based policymaking on guns.

Tucker, Stoutenborough, and Beberlin (2012) point out that previous research has failed to address why we should expect policy diffusion of innovations in the realm of gun policy. Gun policy may be influenced by policy adoption in neighboring regions. Diffusion pressure from neighboring gun states impacts policy adoption even with the effect of the National Rifle Association.

Patten, Thomas, and Viotti (2013) studied the attitudes of women as they relate to concealed weapon carry on college campus. Over 80% of female participants at California State University, Chico did not want qualified individuals to be able to carry a gun on campus. They also found that women did not feel safer with more concealed weapons on campus. Female

participants in the study did not feel that more guns would promote a greater sense of security on campus. Kelderman (2015) examined the political issue of allowing guns on college campuses in Wisconsin. This article also looked at the issues of concealed carry in public as well as campus buildings and the influence of the National Rifle Association on voter turnout.

Burleigh (2015) looked at Colorado and its unique political landscape. Colorado is a state of political contradictions with progressive individuals, institutions, and ideas like its 2012 marijuana legislation. Colorado is also a political swing state with Christian fundamentalists along with gun laws and a high incidence of gun violence.

Weinstein (2012) discusses the spread and effects of the Stand-Your-Ground law, which states that a person acting in self-defense does not have to retreat before using a weapon. This law was backed by the National Rifle Association (NRA) lobbyists. Mitchell (2015) with the *Florida Times-Union* reported that Florida has had heated debates on gun legislation. Since 2005, Florida lawmakers have taken aim at gun control with a barrage of deregulation measures:

- Requiring employers to let employees keep guns in their cars while at work
- Requiring city and county governments to allow guns in public buildings and parks
- Lifting a long-standing ban on guns in national forests and state parks
- Allowing military personnel as young as 17 to get concealed-weapons licenses. (Age limit remains 21 for everyone else)
- Withholding the names of concealed-carry licensees in public records
- Permitting concealed-carry licensees “to briefly and openly display the firearm to the ordinary sight of another person.” (The original bill would have allowed guns

on college campuses, but it was amended after a GOP lawmaker's friend's daughter was accidentally killed with an AK-47 at a frat party.)

- Prohibiting doctors from asking patients if they keep guns or ammo in the house unless it's "relevant" to their care or safety. (Overturned by a federal judge.)
- Allowing legislators, school board members, and county commissioners to carry concealed weapons at official meetings. (Didn't pass; another bill to let judges pack heat "at anytime and in any place" died in 2009.)
- Designating a day for tax-free gun purchases. (Didn't pass.)
- Exempting guns manufactured in Florida from any federal regulations. (Didn't pass.) (Weinstein 2012, 65)

Jones (2016) reports that faculty and staff can carry on Tennessee campuses according to Tennessee state law. The law allows full-time faculty and staff to carry handguns. Campus police must be notified. The Tennessee legislature passed the law in response to high profile shootings across the nation to enhance campus safety. Administrators and staff are widely opposed to the law. Students are not allowed to carry under the law. College officials are scrambling to educate their campuses on the do's and don'ts of the law.

Elliot (2015) reports that recent tragedies in our nation's schools such as Sandy Hook and Marysville-Pilchuck near Seattle, Washington, have brought school safety debates to the forefront in American politics. These debates incite emotional responses from legislatures, school districts, and parents. School safety legislation should be school centered focusing on school resource programs, school safety plans, and financial support for increased safety measures. LaValle (2013) discusses the recent string of senseless and tragic mass spree shootings which have propelled an intense re-appraisal of U.S. gun laws. Those who favor

stricter gun control usually apply measures to more effectively prevent future mass spree-killings.

Finally, Hamm and Moncrief (2013) categorize state legislatures by their degree of professionalization based on session length, size of legislative operation, and salary. The nature of the electoral system can also impact legislative politics. The extent of professionalization in the state legislature can influence the types of laws which are passed.

Chapter III

DATA AND METHODS

Again, the research question is what factors predict state policy on concealed carry on college campuses. This study utilizes a two-stage analysis with the first stage being a policy diffusion analysis and the second stage exploring state legislative voting behavior.

Policy Diffusion Analysis

Nice (1994) in his book, *Policy Innovation in State Government*, examines innovations such as campaign financing, sunset laws, public transportation, and sexual behavior regulations attempting to identify the forces that produce changes in policy. Nice (1994) proposes a general theory that is based on a state's problem environment, resources, and orientation to government power. Based upon the policy diffusion literature, the hypotheses for the first stage of the analysis on the types of concealed carry laws across the states are as follows:

H1: Southern and Western states are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H2: Conservative states are more likely than liberal states to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H3: Densely populated urban states are less likely than rural states to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H4: States with higher per capita income (wealth) are less likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H5: States with higher minority populations are less likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H6: States with higher numbers of gun interest groups and gun purchases (reflecting a gun culture) are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H7: States with neighboring adopters are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

H8: States with higher rates of gun murders (reflecting the problem environment) are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses than states with lower rates of gun murders.

H9: The interaction effect of southern states with a high minority population produces a greater likelihood to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.

Initially, a logit regression is conducted with the eleven state adopters of campus concealed carry coded as 1 and non-adopters coded as 0. The key independent variables examine the internal (intrastate) as well as external (interstate) predictors of adoption. For the internal determinants of policy adoption, this study investigates the usual suspects of state population density, state affluence, ideology, and legislative professionalism. While the classic studies of policy diffusion note the positive relationship between innovation and state population, affluence, liberal ideology, and legislative professionalism, this study expects the relationship to be negative given previous scholarship on concealed carry policy adoption (Tucker et al. 2012). The urban, more affluent, and more liberal states have expectedly adopted gun control rather than wide open concealed carry laws. Mixon and Gibson (2001) also find that state population is associated with tighter gun restrictions. Furthermore, Butz et al. (2015) report a negative coefficient for population and adoption of Stand-Your-Ground laws (although not statistically

significant) as well as a negative relationship between liberal ideology and SYG laws (statistically significant but the size of the effect is minimal).

Percentage minority (percentage African American + percentage Latino) is incorporated in a state as a key independent variable following the design of Butz et al. (2015). The authors hypothesize that “according to conventional ‘threat’ accounts (see Key 1949), states with greater minority presence should be more interested in adopting SYG provisions” (Butz et al. 2015, 352). The study of the adoption of Stand-Your-Ground legislation finds that such a relationship does hold in the South, but minority presence exhibits a significant negative relationship to adoption outside of the South (Butz et al. 2015, 369).

The impact of problem environment is also tested (Nice 1994; Carter and LaPlant 1997; Winder and LaPlant 2000) through gun murders per 100,000 population and total college enrollment as a percentage of state population. Furthermore, following the design of Butz et al. (2015), the influence of the “gun culture” is explored in a state by examining the number of gun-related interest groups operating in a given state and the total number of gun purchases for each state. This study anticipates that state legislative adoption of concealed carry on college campuses is positively associated with the number of gun-related interest groups and the aggregate number of gun purchases in a state. The independent variables are all measured for 2010.¹

For the external determinants (interstate) of policy diffusion, the role of region is considered (Walker 1969; Carter and LaPlant 1997, Winder and LaPlant 2000). Following the scholarship on the subculture of violence, it is expected that southern and western states will be most likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses. The number of neighboring states is measured as the number of bordering states that have previously adopted concealed carry on

college campuses for a given state (Butz et al. 2015). The number of neighboring adopters should positively influence the adoption of concealed carry in a state.

It is recognized that a key limitation of the initial multivariate model is the limited variance with only eleven state adopters of concealed carry on college campuses and the remaining 39 states coded as non-adopters. Canon and Baum (1981, 976) provide a useful rule of thumb that an innovation should be adopted by a minimum of 18 states, and the case of concealed carry on college campuses only reaches a little more than half of that benchmark. This issue is addressed in the second multivariate model by examining the *types* of state policy pertaining to concealed carry on college campuses. Many studies in the policy diffusion literature are quite often singular in scope. A significant portion of the literature consists of research which examines a specific policy issue and how that issue proliferates among other states over time. However, policies are rarely seamlessly diffused among neighboring states and often result in newer or more innovative policies that are either more prohibitive or autonomous according to the constitutive needs of a given population. Such is the issue with the diffusion of concealed carry on college campuses policy. Colorado in 2003 and Utah in 2004 became the first states to permit concealed handguns on college campuses (Bartula and Bowen 2015). Since then, states have adopted a variety of concealed carry policies that differ significantly in the degree of autonomy college campuses have in regulating their own weapons policy. This study deviates from traditional analyses on policy diffusion, which typically employ event history analyses to identify the determinants of when diffusion occurs, and instead focuses on the determinants of what type of policy is adopted. In other words, this study is primarily concerned with assessing the internal factors within states, as well as external or interstate factors, that shape a specific policy regime on concealed carry policy. This study incorporates the concept of

policy regimes from Pelz (2015) as “...a dominant approach to an emerging policy. Specifically, the political, economic, and social dimensions of states which are channeled through various state institutions are likely to direct a specific interpretation of a policy innovation.” Armed Campuses (2016b) provides a useful typology for identifying five different campus carry policy regimes. The five major categories articulated by Armed Campuses (2016b) were cross-referenced against an analysis by the National Conference of State Legislatures (2017) and constitute the dependent variable in the second multivariate model. The following categories have been updated to reflect any legislative changes and gubernatorial actions through the spring of 2017:

- “Concealed carry on college campuses allowed by law” includes seven states (Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Tennessee, Texas, and Utah) and this category is coded as a 5.
- “Concealed carry on college campuses allowed by law but colleges and universities can limit locations/who carries” includes four states (Kansas, Mississippi, Oregon, and Wisconsin) and this category is coded as a 4.
- “Colleges and universities decide weapons policy” includes nineteen states (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Montana, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia) and this category is coded as a 3.
- “Concealed carry on college campuses prohibited by law but allowed in locked cars on campuses” includes nine states (Florida, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska,

North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, and South Carolina) and this category is coded as a 2.

- “Concealed carry on college campuses prohibited by law” includes eleven states (California, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Wyoming) and this category is coded as a 1.

Thus, the heart of this analysis identifies the internal and external determinants of policy regime intensity. An ordered logit model is employed to determine predictors of the intensity of a given campus carry policy regime. The ordinal scale of policy regimes ranges from states with the most prohibitive policies (coded as 1) to states with the most autonomous or least prohibitive policies (coded as 5).

Once again the internal and external determinants of the *types* of state policy pertaining to concealed carry on college campuses are explored. It is anticipated that densely populated, affluent, and liberal states with professional state legislatures are most likely to prohibit concealed carry on college campuses and least likely to allow wide open concealed carry on college campuses. The interaction effect of percentage minority and region is tested in relation to the types of concealed carry laws across the 50 states. For problem environment, the previous measures of gun murders per 100,000 population and total college enrollment as a percentage of the state population are incorporated. Gun culture is once again measured as the number of gun-related interest groups operating in a given state and the total number of gun purchases for each state with the expectation that these measures are positively associated with the ordinal level scale of types of concealed carry laws across the states.

To investigate the role of region, the four major Census regions are crosstabulated with the five types of concealed carry policy regimes across the states. It is expected that southern

and western states are most likely to embrace concealed carry on college campuses with midwestern and northeastern states most likely to prohibit concealed carry on college campuses.

State Legislative Voting Behavior

Given the flurry of state legislative activity concerning concealed carry on college campuses over the last few years, state legislative voting behavior is examined for recent southern adopters (Texas in 2015 and Georgia 2017), a western adopter (Idaho in 2014), and a midwestern adopter (Wisconsin 2011). The influence of party, gender, and race is explored. It is anticipated that Republican state legislators are most likely to endorse concealed carry on college campuses based upon support for those conservative principles that “value property rights (see e.g., Booth 2002), policies that secure social order, or policies that place an ‘emphasis on personal self-defense’ (Farmer 2005, 49)” (Butz et al. 2015, 352). Furthermore, it is expected that female state legislators are less likely to support concealed carry on college campuses in comparison to male legislators. Mixon and Gibson (2001) find that Republican representation in a state legislature is associated with the retention of concealed handgun laws, while female legislative representation is associated with tighter gun control laws. Finally, minority state legislators should be less supportive of concealed carry on college campuses in comparison to white legislators. Butz et al. (2015, 353) argue that “with more African-Americans and Hispanics sitting in elected office, it is presumed that minority policy agendas will receive greater attention and will ultimately have substantial effects on realized policy outcomes, such as a reduced likelihood of SYG policy adoption.” It is hypothesized that the adoption of concealed carry on college campuses follows similar lines.

Case studies of Idaho, Texas, Georgia, and Wisconsin are conducted since these states recently adopted concealed carry on college campuses. The simple dependent variable for each

state legislator is (1) voted for concealed carry on college campuses (0) voted against concealed carry. Gender, race, party affiliation, and legislative chamber all serve as independent variables. Hypotheses for the proposed relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable are as follows:

H10: Male legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than female legislators.

H11: White legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than African American legislators.

H12: Republican legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than Democratic legislators.

H13: Lower chambers are more likely to demonstrate support for concealed campus carry than upper chambers.

Crosstabulation analysis is utilized to test the aforementioned hypotheses. This project is exempt from IRB oversight as noted in the appendix.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

Predicting the Adoption of Campus Carry

Table 1 shows the results for the logit regression on the probability of state legislatures adopting concealed carry laws on college campuses. The model yields three statistically significant variables: population density, gun purchases (firearms background checks), and the interaction term of minority population and the South. State population density is a significant negative predictor of campus concealed carry laws. Rural states with the lowest population density are most likely to be adopters of concealed carry laws on college campuses. Gun purchases are also a significant predictor of whether or not a state adopts campus concealed carry legislation. Table 1 reveals that the probability of a state adopting campus concealed carry legislation is significantly higher in states with high numbers of gun purchases.

The interaction term between minority population and the dummy variable for Southern states is also a significant predictor. Neither the southern dummy variable nor minority population is a significant predictor in the model, however, the interaction term of these two variables is a positive and significant predictor of concealed carry laws. Therefore, Table 1 indicates that the probability of a state adopting concealed carry laws increases in southern states with high minority populations.

Although the internal factor of state population density is a useful predictor, the other intrastate factor of minority population is insignificant in the logit model reported in Table 1. Additional internal factors of state affluence (per capita income), poverty, and elite ideology² were tested and found to be insignificant in the logit model. Furthermore, legislative

professionalism is unrelated to the adoption of campus carry. For the sake of parsimony in the model, these additional factors are not included in the final model in Table 1. In relation to problem environment³, the number of gun murders per 100,000 population is not only insignificant but the direction of the coefficient is negative. As gun murders increase, the probability of adopting concealed carry on college campuses declines. Testing for the impact of “gun culture,” Table 1 highlights that the natural log of gun purchases is significant, but the number of gun-related interest groups operating in a state is not significant although the direction of the coefficient is in the hypothesized direction. In relation to external or interstate factors, the number of neighboring states adopting campus carry is not a significant predictor of campus carry, although the variable is not included in the final model for the sake of parsimony. When testing for regional diffusion, the dummy variable for the South is not significant in Table 1, although the interaction term of percentage minority population*South is significant. The model is very robust with a Pseudo R² of .439.

Because binary regression coefficients are not directly interpretable, this study relies on Gary King’s statistical software package *Clarify* to interpret the relationship between the dependent variable and key independent variables. Figure 2 illustrates the change in the probability of states adopting campus concealed carry laws when the significant independent variables range from their minimum to maximum values while all other independent variables are held constant at their means (Tomz et al. 2001).

Table 1: Predicting Legislative Adoption of Campus Concealed Carry Laws across the States

Independent Variables	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Population Density	-23.754** (11.179)
Gun Murders	-0.814 (0.701)
Gun Purchases (log)	1.610** (0.707)
Gun Interest Groups	0.341 (0.429)
Minority Population	0.020 (1.070)
South	-3.251 (3.090)
Minority*South	0.210* (0.113)
Log likelihood	-14.776
Number of Observations	50
Pseudo R ²	0.4391

Note: Entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p \leq .01$; ** $p \leq .05$; * $p \leq .10$

Clarify runs a variety of simulations which more or less rescale the binary regression model in ways that allow for making linear assessments about the magnitudinal effects of the regression coefficients. Therefore, as Figure 2 shows, increasing population density from its minimum value to its maximum value, while holding all other variables constant at the mean, changes the probability that a state adopts a campus concealed carry law by a factor of -0.67. In other words, as a state becomes more populous the probability it will adopt campus carry laws decreases. Increasing the log of gun purchases within a state from its minimum value to its maximum value increases the probability that a state will enact campus concealed carry legislation by a factor of .49. Lastly, shifting from non-South states to Southern states and increasing the minority population from its minimum to its maximum values, while interacting those terms, the probability that a state adopts campus concealed carry legislation increases by an astonishing factor of .97. A factor of 1.00 would indicate a perfect prediction or relationship between two variables; the data here suggest a strong relationship between the dynamics of southern politics and campus carry policy outcomes.

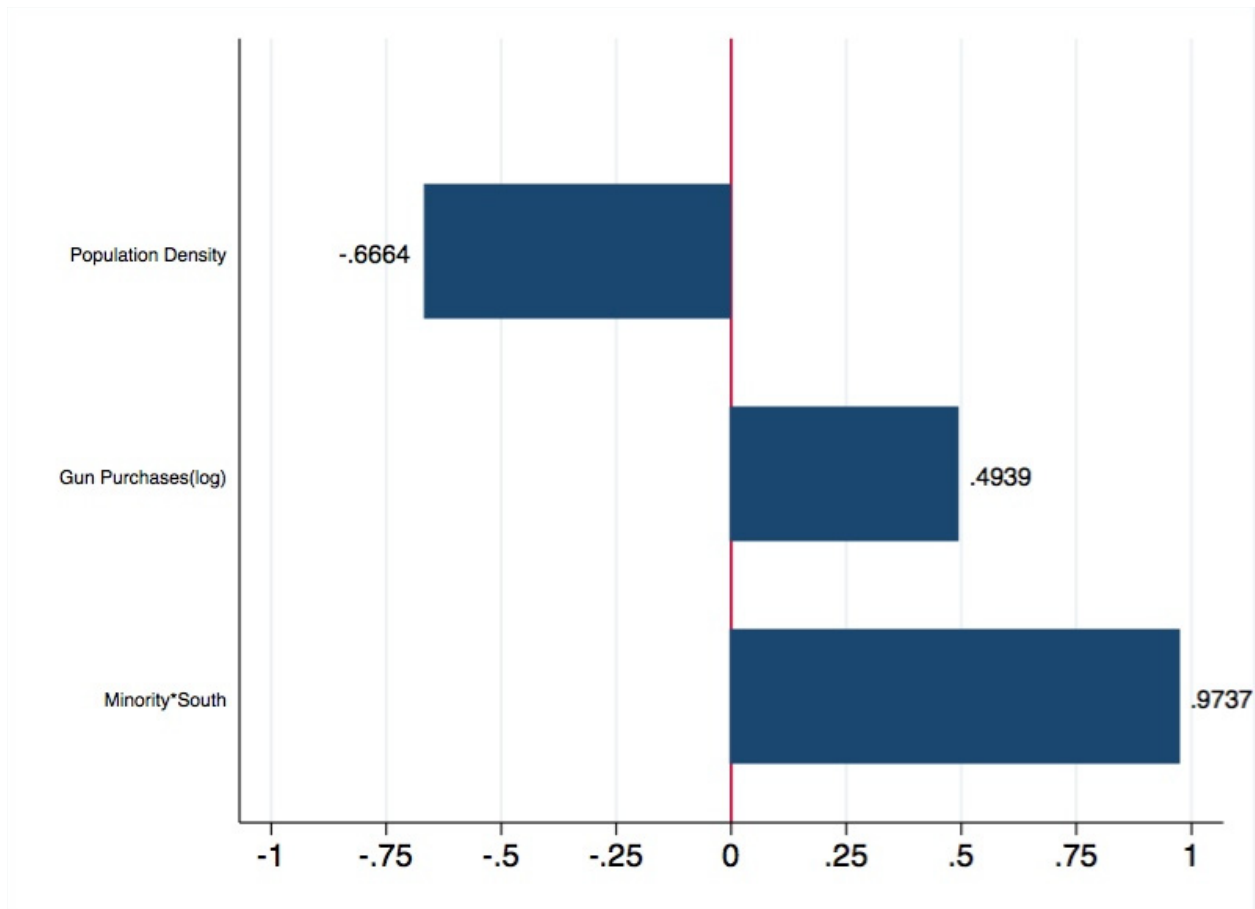


Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Adopting Campus Concealed Carry Laws

Region and the Types of Campus Carry Laws Adopted

Given that only eleven states have adopted concealed carry on college campuses, the next step is to consider the types of concealed carry law for college campuses across the nation. Table 2 presents the five policy regimes of concealed carry laws on college campuses across the four Census regions. One-quarter to one-third of the states in the North Central, Northeast, and West prohibit concealed carry on college campuses except for the South with less than 10 percent of states prohibiting concealed carry. The discrepancy is accounted for by the five southern states (Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and South Carolina) that prohibit concealed carry but allow concealed guns in locked cars in parking lots on college campuses. Exactly one-third of the states in the North Central region also allow concealed guns in locked cars on

campuses. Close to 40 percent of the states (n = 19) across the nation allow colleges and universities to decide whether or not to allow concealed carry on their campuses. Of the states in this category, only Pennsylvania and Virginia have a handful of colleges and universities that allow concealed carry on campus (Armed Campuses 2016b). The remaining states in this category have no public or private institutions of higher education which allow concealed carry (Armed Campuses 2016b). Two-thirds of the states in the Northeast, roughly one-third of southern and western states, and a quarter of North Central states fall in the category of “colleges decide.” Furthermore, four states expressly allow concealed carry on college campuses, but colleges or universities can place limits. These states are concentrated in the South (Mississippi) and North Central (Kansas and Wisconsin) regions with one state in the West (Oregon). The seven states with the most expansive concealed carry laws for college campuses are all located in the South (Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas) and the West (Colorado, Idaho, and Utah). In the wake of state legislation or court rulings, institutions of higher education cannot prohibit concealed carry on campuses in those three western states (Armed Campuses 2016b). In relation to the South, the governors of Georgia and Arkansas signed legislation in 2017 permitting concealed carry on college campuses, while Tennessee approved in 2016 concealed carry for “full-time employees (including faculty) of state public colleges or universities” (Armed Campuses 2016f).

The crosstabulation of region and concealed carry on college campuses reveals several interesting patterns. Legislation enabling concealed carry is most conspicuous in the South and West followed by the North Central region. Almost one-third of southern and western states now allow concealed carry on college campuses. The legal protection for concealed guns in locked cars in parking lots, where concealed carry is otherwise prohibited on the campus, is a

phenomenon confined to the South and North Central regions. All of the states in the Northeast fall in the categories of prohibiting concealed carry on college campuses or leaving the decision to individual schools. The chi-square (19.59) as well as Cramer's V (.361) for the crosstabulation of region and concealed carry on college campuses are statistically significant at $p < .10$.

Table 2: Crosstabulation of Region and Concealed Carry on College Campuses

			Region				Total
			Northeast	North Central	South	West	
Concealed Carry on College Campuses	Prohibited by law	Count	3	3	1	4	11
		% within Region	33.3%	25.0%	6.3%	30.8%	22.0%
	Allowed only in locked cars	Count	0	4	5	0	9
		% within Region	0.0%	33.3%	31.3%	0.0%	18.0%
	Colleges decide	Count	6	3	5	5	19
		% within Region	66.7%	25.0%	31.3%	38.5%	38.0%
	Allowed, schools limit	Count	0	2	1	1	4
		% within Region	0.0%	16.7%	6.3%	7.7%	8.0%
	Allowed by law	Count	0	0	4	3	7
		% within Region	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	23.1%	14.0%
Total	Count	9	12	16	13	50	
	% within Region	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

N = 50 *p < .10 $\chi^2 = 19.59^*$ Cramer's V = .361*

Predicting the Types of Campus Carry Laws Adopted

Beyond the multivariate analysis in Table 1, this study employs an ordered logit regression model to predict the five types of campus concealed carry policy regimes by exploring both internal and external factors. As highlighted in Table 3, the ordered logit yields two statistically significant variables. Interestingly, as gun murders within a state increase, the probability of adopting campus concealed carry legislation decreases. The relationship is statistically significant at $p < .01$. Once again, the interaction term between minority population and the South is statistically significant. Table 3 presents an intriguing finding that minority population and southern states are negative predictors of concealed carry legislation, however, when the regional dummy variable interacts with percentage minority population it becomes positive and statistically significant.

While population density is a significant predictor in Table 1 (whether states have adopted or have not adopted campus carry), it is not a statistically significant predictor in Table 3 of the five types of policy regimes of campus carry. The intrastate factors of per capita income, poverty, and elite ideology are once again insignificant and not included in the final model in Table 3. Furthermore, legislative professionalism demonstrates no relationship to the types of campus concealed carry laws and is not included in the final model reported in Table 3. For problem environment, gun murders per 100,000 population is a significant predictor of the types of campus concealed carry laws (high gun murder rates are associated with the prohibition of concealed carry on college campuses while low rates are associated with legislative adoption of campus concealed carry), but the other problem environment measure of total college enrollment as a percentage of state population is unrelated to the types of policies.⁴

Table 3: Predicting Types of Campus Concealed Carry Laws Across the 50 States

Independent Variables	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Population Density	-0.615 (1.312)
Gun Murders	-0.843*** (0.321)
Gun Purchases (log)	0.253 (0.282)
Gun Interest Groups	0.363 (0.280)
Minority Population	-0.040 (0.039)
South	-1.249 (1.456)
Minority*South	0.139** (0.055)
Log likelihood	-62.886
Number of Observations	50
Pseudo R ²	0.1541

Note: Entries are ordered logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.
 *** $p \leq .01$; ** $p \leq .05$; * $p \leq .10$. The coefficient and standard errors for τ_1 through τ_4 are as follows: 0.368 (3.239), 1.577 (3.215), 3.651 (3.235), and 4.321 (3.271).

In the context of “gun culture,” both measures (gun interest groups and the natural log of gun are in the hypothesized direction but do not reach statistical significance. For the external determinants⁵, the dummy variable for the South is negative and statistically insignificant. The multivariate model for predicting the five types of policy regimes on campus carry produces a Pseudo R² of .15.

Examining State Legislative Voting Behavior

The second stage of this analysis explores state legislative voting behavior in several states (Idaho, Texas, Wisconsin, and Georgia) that have recently adopted concealed carry on college campuses. Table 4 presents an interesting snapshot of the Idaho state legislature that passed a campus concealed carry law in 2014. What is most glaringly evident is the partisan cleavages on this issue. Not a single Democrat in the Idaho legislature voted for the measure that would allow concealed carry on college campuses, while almost 90 percent of Republicans favored the bill. Female state legislators were evenly split on campus concealed carry while more than three-fourths of male legislators voted in favor of concealed carry on college campuses. Gender and political party are the only variables which have significant measures of association. Table 4 also indicates that minority legislators were less likely to vote in favor of concealed carry, but there are so few minority legislators in Idaho (n = 3) that the measure of association does not achieve statistical significance. The impact of legislative

Table 4: Idaho State Legislative Voting Behavior on Concealed Carry on College Campuses (2014) by Gender, Race, Party, and Chamber

Vote	Male	Female	White	Minority	Republican	Democrat	Senate	House
No Vote	20.78% (16)	48.15% (13)	26% (26)	66.66% (2)	10.71% (9)	100% (20)	28.57% (10)	27.54% (19)
Yes Vote	79.22% (61)	51.85% (14)	74% (74)	33.33% (1)	89.28% (75)	0% (0)	71.43% (25)	72.46% (50)
Totals:	77	27	100	3	84	20	35	69
	$\chi^2 = 7.446^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 2.433$		$\chi^2 = 64.039^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 0.012$	

Note: *** $p \leq .01$; ** $p \leq .05$; * $p \leq .10$

chamber is also tested. The vote breakdown between both chambers of the legislature shows that the bill ultimately passed with relative ease, securing nearly three-fourths approval in both the state house and the state senate.

Table 5 highlights the 2015 vote on campus concealed carry in the Texas state legislature. Like Idaho, there are clear partisan divisions on the issue of concealed carry as evidenced by 93 percent of Democrats in the state legislature opposed to the measure while 98 percent of Republicans supported the bill. In relation to gender and race, where the crosstabulation reveals significant chi-square statistics, 71 percent of male legislators voted in favor of the bill and 91 percent of white legislators also supported the bill, a significant demographic profile begins to emerge considering that nearly 70 percent of the entire Texas state legislature is white and 81 percent are male. As in the case of Idaho, female Texas state legislators are split roughly evenly on the bill with 55 percent in favor and 45 percent in opposition. Legislative chamber is once again irrelevant with concealed carry on college campuses securing support among approximately two-thirds of state house and state senate members. Lastly, Table 5 shows that the concealed carry laws passed with well over a majority of votes, just as in the case of Idaho.

Table 5: Texas State Legislative Voting Behavior on Concealed Carry on College Campuses (2015) by Gender, Race, Party, and Chamber

Vote	Male	Female	White	Minority	Republican	Democrat	Senate	House
No Vote	29.37% (42)	45.45% (15)	8.55% (10)	79.66% (47)	1.71% (2)	93.22% (55)	35.48% (11)	31.72% (46)
Yes Vote	70.63% (101)	54.54% (18)	91.45% (107)	0.34% (12)	98.29% (115)	6.78% (4)	64.52% (20)	68.28% (99)
Totals:	143	33	117	59	117	59	31	145
	$\chi^2 = 3.168^*$		$\chi^2 = 90.581^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 149.994^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 0.165$	

Note: *** $p \leq .01$; ** $p \leq .05$; * $p \leq .10$

Table 6 illustrates the 2011 vote on campus concealed carry in the Wisconsin state legislature. Like Idaho and Texas, Wisconsin shows a clear partisan division on the issue of concealed carry as evidenced by almost 99 percent of Republican voting in favor of concealed carry and 65 percent of Democrats voting against the bill. In relation to gender and race, Wisconsin shows a highly significant difference for gender ($p < .01$). Wisconsin has a clear difference between white and minority legislators (white legislators are much more likely to vote for campus carry), and the results are statistically significant at $p < .01$. Almost 80 percent of males voted in favor of the bill and 75 percent of white legislators voted in favor of the bill, a significant demographic profile begins to emerge considering 95 percent of the entire Wisconsin legislature is white and 75 percent are male. As in the case of Idaho and Texas, female Wisconsin legislators are split more evenly on the bill with 56 percent in favor and 44 percent in opposition. Legislative chamber is irrelevant like Texas and Idaho with approximately three-quarters of the state house and state senate members voting in favor of campus concealed carry. The measures of association are highly significant for political party, gender, and race. Lastly, it is seen that concealed carry laws passed with well over a majority of votes, just as the case in Idaho and Texas.

Table 6: Wisconsin State Legislative Voting Behavior on Concealed Carry on College Campuses (2011) by Gender, Race, Party, and Chamber

Vote	Male	Female	White	Minority	Republican	Democrat	Senate	House
No Vote	21.88% (21)	43.75% (14)	24.6% (30)	83.33% (5)	1.32% (1)	65.38% (34)	24.24% (8)	28.42% (27)
Yes Vote	78.12% (75)	56.25% (18)	75.4% (92)	12.50% (1)	98.68% (75)	34.62% (18)	75.76% (25)	71.58% (68)
Totals:	96	32	122	6	76	52	33	95
	$\chi^2 = 5.7806^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 9.9331^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 63.7925^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 0.2153$	

Note: $***p \leq .01$; $**p \leq .05$; $*p \leq .10$

Table 7 highlights the 2017 vote on concealed carry in the Georgia state legislature. Like Idaho, Texas, and Wisconsin there are clear partisan divisions on concealed carry as evidenced by 85 percent of Republicans supporting the bill. Only three Democrats in the Georgia legislature voted for the measure that would allow concealed carry on college campuses, while almost 90 percent of Republicans favored the bill. Georgia is more than an even split among women. The voting pattern between male and female legislators are almost exact opposite with 71 percent of male legislators voting yes in sharp contrast to 75 percent of female legislators voting no. The chi-square (36.8294) is highly significant ($p < .01$). Table 7 also indicates that minority legislators were dramatically less likely to vote in favor of concealed carry (98 percent voted no) with minority legislators making up about 25 percent of the legislature. The impact of legislative chamber is also tested. The vote breakdown between both chambers of the legislature shows that the bill passed with ease, securing roughly 60 percent approval in both the state house and state senate. The measures of association are highly significant ($p < .01$) for gender, political party, and race.

Table 7: Georgia State Legislative Voting Behavior on Concealed Carry on College Campuses (2017) by Gender, Race, Party, and Chamber

Vote	Male	Female	White	Minority	Republican	Democrat	Senate	House
No Vote	29.45% (48)	75.44% (43)	22.2 % (36)	98.2% (55)	13.79% (20)	96.00% (72)	38.89% (21)	42.17% (70)
Yes Vote	70.55% (115)	24.56% (14)	77.8% (126)	1.80% (3)	85.52% (125)	4.00% (3)	61.11% (33)	57.83% (96)
Totals:	163	57	162	58	145	75	54	166
	$\chi^2 = 36.8294^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 92.8265^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 137.3^{***}$		$\chi^2 = 0.1807$	

Note: $^{***}p \leq .01$; $^{**}p \leq .05$; $^{*}p \leq .10$

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

Analysis of Hypotheses/Key Findings

While nonsensical mass shootings continue to be all too common in the United States, a coherent policy response has not emerged from state legislatures in relation to concealed carry on college campuses. By the summer of 2017, almost one-quarter of state legislatures had adopted concealed carry on college campuses, while close to half of state legislatures prohibit campus concealed carry and a little more than one-third of states leave the decision to individual colleges and universities. This study finds that the application of insights from the policy diffusion literature can help to illuminate state policy decisions on campus concealed carry.

It is found that the internal determinants of policy diffusion are of limited value in predicting the adoption of campus concealed carry or the types of concealed carry laws on college campuses across the nation. Affluence (measured as per capita income), ideology (measured as citizen and elite ideology), legislative professionalism, and percentage minority population (outside of the South) are not helpful predictors of policy adoptions in the area of campus concealed carry. In this study, densely populated states are less likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses and more likely to prohibit concealed carry by law, which parallels the findings by Mixon and Gibson (2001) that state population is associated with tighter gun restrictions and Butz et al. (2015) that population is negatively associated with the adoption of Stand-Your-Ground laws. When considering the role of problem environment, it is certainly not a catalyst for the adoption of campus concealed carry. Gun murders per 100,000 population

has a negative relationship, although not statistically significant, with the probability of adopting concealed carry on college campuses in the first model. For the second model, gun murders is statistically significant and states with high gun homicide rates are most likely to prohibit concealed carry on college campuses while states with lower gun homicide rates are adopters of campus concealed carry. This finding parallels Tucker et al. (2012) that states with *lower* violent crime rates were most likely to adopt “shall issue” concealed carry laws. Simply put, for states afflicted with high rates of gun violence, the policy regime is one of prohibiting campus concealed carry rather than adopting such policies. It is also found that the size of the college student population in a given state bears no relation to the adoption of campus carry or the types of policies across the states.

This study finds some evidence of the salience of “gun culture” when investigating the adoption of public policy on campus concealed carry. Butz et al. (2015, 366) find that “states with higher annual rates of gun purchases are significantly more likely to adopt SYG policy in a given year” but the number of gun-related interest groups decreases the likelihood of adopting Stand-Your-Ground laws. Higher rates of gun purchases are associated with the decision to adopt or not adopt campus carry. When exploring the types of campus carry laws, gun purchases and gun related interest groups are in the hypothesized direction but do not reach statistical significance. The research on the policy diffusion of SYG laws can be a useful lens through which to examine the diffusion of campus carry laws.

In relation to the external (interstate) factors of policy diffusion, there is very limited policy learning in relation to the adoption of campus concealed carry. In the logit model of state legislative adoption of campus concealed carry, the number of neighboring states that have previously adopted campus carry laws is not a significant predictor of state adoption. When

exploring regional diffusion, the dummy variable for the South is not significant in the multivariate models. Although roughly half of the adopters of campus carry are southern states. The sixteen southern states in this study are almost equally distributed across the broad categories of allowed only in locked cars, colleges decide, and allowed by law.

More than three-fourths (9 out of 11) of the adopters of concealed carry on college campuses are southern and western states which would provide some support for the “culture of honor,” with its roots in the American South and West, as an explanation for the subculture of violence. On the other hand, approximately one-third of southern and western states have prohibited concealed carry on college campuses when including the category of prohibition except for locked cars.

The most intriguing dynamic of region and the adoption of campus carry laws is the interaction effect of minority population in a state and the dummy variable for the South. When examining the decision whether or not to adopt campus carry as well as the types of campus carry policy regime, the dummy variable for the South is negative and not statistically significant in relation to the adoption of concealed carry, but the interaction term of percentage minority in a state and the dummy variable for the South is positive and statistically significant. This finding is largely driven by Texas (with the largest percentage Latino population in the South) and Mississippi (with the largest percentage African American population in the South) as well as Georgia (with the third largest percentage African American in the South) which have all adopted campus concealed carry legislation in the last five years. Butz et al. (2015, 368) find the same interaction effect in the adoption of Stand-Your-Ground legislation which they argue “is largely consistent with our expectations and existing work on the negative social construction of African-Americans and Hispanics as potential criminals (Peffley and Hurwitz 2010) from whom

society needs active protection in the form of SYG provisions.” This troubling social construction may well be a driver of the adoption of concealed carry on college campuses. Racial threat has often been examined in the southern politics literature within the context of voting behavior (Glaser 1994; Giles and Buckner 1993; Giles and Hertz 1994, Giles and Buckner 1996) but may merit more attention when studying public policy adoption in the contemporary South. These dynamics harken back to Gray’s (1973) early observation that the factors driving innovation and policy diffusion can be issue-specific.

When examining state legislative voting behavior on concealed carry, the partisan cleavages are rather dramatic, which should come as no surprise given the sharpening polarization in American politics (Abramowitz 2013). In the Idaho state legislature, not a single Democrat voted for concealed carry on college campuses and only 4 out of 59 Democrats (roughly 7 percent) and 3 out of 75 (4 percent) voted for campus carry in the Texas and Georgia state legislatures respectively. Minority legislators overwhelmingly opposed campus carry in the four case studies, while white legislators heavily favored campus carry, which also reflects our current partisan cleavages. Minority legislators were most likely to oppose campus carry in Georgia (98 percent). Mixon and Gibson (2001) find that percentage female in a state legislature is associated with tighter gun restrictions, and this analysis of state legislative voting behavior in a western state, an upper Midwestern state, and two southern states finds female legislators are more likely to oppose concealed carry on college campuses than male legislators. A little less than half of the female legislators in Idaho, Texas and Wisconsin oppose campus carry, while three-quarters of the female legislators in the Georgia General Assembly oppose campus carry. Once again, this is reflective of partisan cleavages. Aggregating legislative votes from Idaho and

Texas reveals that 91 percent of female Republicans voted in favor of concealed carry and 96 percent of female Democrats voted against it.

In summary this study finds support for six hypotheses (H1, H3, H9, H10, H11 and H12) as noted in Table 8. Furthermore, this study found support for H6 in relation to gun purchases but not for gun interest groups. Five hypotheses were rejected in this study (H2, H4, H5, H7 and H13). H8 is an interesting case where there was a statistically significant finding which is opposite of what was hypothesized so H8 is rejected.

Table 8: Evaluation of Hypotheses on Campus Carry

HYPOTHESES	DECISION
H1: Southern and Western states will be more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Accept
H2: Conservative states will be more likely than liberal states to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Reject
H3: Densely populated urban states are less likely than rural states to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Accept
H4: States with higher per capita income (wealth) are less likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Reject
H5: States with higher minority populations are less likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Reject
H6: States with higher numbers of gun interest groups and gun purchases (reflecting gun culture) are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Accept for gun purchases/ Reject for gun interest groups
H7: States with neighboring adopters are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Reject
H8: States with higher rates of gun murders (reflecting the problem environment) are more likely to adopt concealed carry on college campuses than states with lower rates of gun murders.	Reject
H9: The interaction effect of southern states with a high minority population produces a greater likelihood to adopt concealed carry on college campuses.	Accept
H10: Male legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than female legislators.	Accept
H11: White legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than African American legislators.	Accept
H12: Republican legislators are more likely to vote for concealed carry on college campuses than Democratic legislators.	Accept
H13: Lower chambers are more likely to demonstrate support for concealed campus carry than upper chambers.	Reject

Across the 50 states, we find limited influence of state wealth, citizen and elite ideology, and legislative professionalism, while the impact of “gun culture” is most evident in the decision to adopt or not adopt campus carry. Party identification is the most significant cleavage in the four state legislatures examined in this study, regardless of region, in terms of explaining the vote on campus carry. This finding may well reflect widening political polarization and the disengagement of a large percentage of our citizenry on the key issues of the day. As a nation, we could benefit from a more thoughtful policy debate on school and campus safety. Elliot (2015) calls for a legislative focus on school safety rather than guns through initiatives such as school safety plans, safety commissions, and matching state grant funding. Furthermore, this study of an upper midwestern state and two southern states finds female legislators are more likely to oppose concealed carry on college campuses than male legislators. A little less than half of the female legislators in Idaho, Texas and Wisconsin oppose campus carry, while three-quarters of the female legislators in the Georgia General Assembly oppose campus carry. Once again, this is reflective of partisan cleavages. By aggregating legislative votes from Idaho and Texas we see that 91 percent of female Republicans voted in favor of concealed carry and 96 percent of female Democrats voted against it.

Law Enforcement Perspective on Campus Carry

In Georgia, there has been much discussion about campus carry. Valdosta Chief of Police Brian Childress (2017) reported that supporters feel that the Second Amendment allows for concealed carry and guns will provide more security during an active shooter event. There has been a lot of research done on this topic in the states that allow it. Findings in Colorado and Utah showed no reduction in crime and even showed an increase in the number of forcible rapes in states that allow campus carry (Childress 2017).

Childress (2017) further states that the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health found it is unlikely that campus carry would result in less mass shootings, and greater gun availability on campuses could result in aggressive, reckless or self-harm becoming more common. Childress also cited a *Washington Post* article that stated campuses are ill suited for gun possession. *The Los Angeles Times* reported that the Dallas Police Chief felt that open carry makes things confusing for the police. Childress went on to suggest that campus carry could result in disastrous consequences such as an officer shooting the wrong person. More guns in the hands of untrained individuals would enhance this possibility as well. Students are subject to disciplinary action or receiving a bad grade in the academic environment. Arming students with guns is a concern for many faculty members. Simply, there is no clear evidence that shows campus carry laws are effective where they have been implemented. Childress refers to the fact that 54% of Georgians think that campus carry is a bad idea. The University System of Georgia has publicly stated they prefer the law that bans guns on campus.

Childress (2017) adds that he is a supporter of the Second Amendment, but also is a supporter of common sense. The Second Amendment was designed to protect this country against the tyranny of England and called for a “well-regulated militia” which means well-trained. Chief Childress ends by stating the data have proven campus carry has no effect, and in many cases increases crime and the chance of more campus violence. Most citizens of Georgia don’t want it, the University System of Georgia doesn’t want it and many in law enforcement have spoken against it. Common sense did not prevail with the passage of HB 280.

Bluestein (2017b) describes the deluge of calls to Georgia Governor Nathan Deal’s office urging him to veto the “campus carry” gun measure. An open records request showed that the Governor’s office received almost 15,000 calls urging him to veto the bill and less than 150

supporting the bill. Bluestein further explained how the state should get ready for forthcoming lawsuits to block Georgia House Bill 280 from taking effect in July due to murky language. Some legislators feel it is going to be a nightmare to enforce. Governor Deal vetoed the bill in 2016 declaring universities as “sensitive” places that should be free of firearms. Bluestein reported that Deal personally requested lawmakers to create exemptions. Governor Deal further stated that HB 280 in the 2017 legislative session had carved out those restrictions he had requested. Bluestein predicted the bill would be signed into law by the Governor for these reasons. So against public opinion House Bill 280 was signed into law to become effective July 1, 2017 (Bluestein 2017c).

Sometimes public policy is bad public policy. Georgia HB 280 is an example of bad policy that is going to be a nightmare for law enforcement to enforce. As a result, the burden falls upon college administrators, educators, and law enforcement to educate their respective campuses in order to better understand the campus carry law. Even though the law allows for concealed carry, there are many carve outs that ban weapons carry in places like housing, sporting venues, and areas with children. It is very difficult to get the word out to everyone on campus (Whitehead 2017).

The University System of Georgia has written memos to explain the new law while accepting the fact that the law brings about strong feelings, but it is a state law that must be followed. Campus officials have also written memos and emails to educate their campus constituents about the new law. Registrars have pointed out that it is the responsibility of the licensed carrier to verify information on high school students enrolled in their classes in order to abide by the law. There have also been informative videos produced to educate and inform

constituents about the law. Even with all this, the campus carry law will be a nightmare to enforce. Many of the provisions of the law are unenforceable.

Do Concealed Carry Laws Make Colleges Safer?

More and more states are considering allowing students, faculty, and others to carry concealed firearms due to the number of mass shootings on campuses across the country. The public is evenly split on the issue. Many feel it is their constitutional right to bear arms even on campuses. Opponents have argued that students are not trained to stop violent crimes. They also point out that students are young adults who are still developing while engaging in activities like heavy drinking. It is also noted that many students suffer from anxiety and other mental problems. Pelosi explains that colleges are some of the safest places in the country and guns would be a bad mix with the unstable years of early adulthood on college campuses. Pelosi also notes that concealed carry is an unfunded mandate for colleges in terms of cost to law enforcement for training and equipment. With all this being considered, opponents feel that guns will make campuses less safe (Lyons 2017).

Lyons (2017) outlines a variety of arguments about guns making campuses safer. Advocates argue that gun carriers are law abiding citizens that commit less crime than those who don't carry. The number of concealed carry permits increased during the time between 2007 and 2015, while the murder rates fell 16% and violent crime fell 18% during that same time period. Researchers refute the correlations between the growing number of gun permits and falling rates of violent crime. Weaker gun laws and more guns have created a serious health problem according to David Hemenway and Sarah Nolan. Hemenway and Nolan (2016) point out that innocent bystanders or undercover police might get shot.

Lyons (2017) discusses the idea that guns on campus can threaten the exercise of free speech. Many administrators and faculty members worry that would be the case. Colleges are a marketplace of ideas and exchange of ideas which may be chilled with the presence of guns. School shootings just reignite the debate about firearms on campus. Lyons (2017) reports the Campaign to Keep Guns Off Campus has increased in membership recently. More than 400 colleges and universities in 42 states have joined. The sentiment is that college is already full of academic pressures, drug and alcohol abuse and bringing guns on campus would make it more dangerous.

Six Georgia professors filed a legal challenge to stop Georgia's "campus carry" law which allows for concealed carry on college campuses. Their claim is the new law puts students and faculty members in danger. The basic argument is that such a decision should be up to the Board of Regents rather than the state legislature per authority granted to the Board of Regents under the Georgia Constitution (Bluestein 2017d, 2017a).

Directions for Future Research/Future Developments

Given that more than a dozen state legislatures have rejected campus carry in just the past year, it would be enlightening to explore those legislative debates. Money dictates who is elected to state legislatures. The role of university faculty, university presidents, and system-level lobbyists would be worthy of study. An exploration of concealed carry by racial group in the South would be worthy of study. A study of who carries concealed weapons by gender would also be worthy of study.

Hemenway (2016) believes that a 1997 law limits research on gun violence. In 2016, The American Medical Association urged Congress to resume funding for gun research, but the effort failed. The Harvard Center is studying the amount of training necessary to get a concealed

carry permit. They are also looking at where, when, and how weapons are stolen and if there is a connection between the number of guns, gun laws, and killings of and by the police. A California professor is spearheading a study on whether gun owners with histories of alcohol and drug convictions are more likely to commit violence than those with no history. California has appropriated \$5 million for new firearm violence research (Lyons 2017).

Gun rights supporters feel that Trump's election will loosen measures on gun restrictions over time. Others feel that more research is needed on the effect of campus-carry laws. Studies from different angles on this topic are needed. Campaign to Keep Guns Off Campus officials feel that students and parents need to be brought in with experts in education, campus security, and mental health to examine the effect of campus-carry policies. It is unknown if campus carry will impact student and faculty retention. As campus carry policies are implemented the fear becomes whether or not there will be an increase in suicides and homicides. This is a complicated issue on many different levels (Lyons 2017).

Cannon (2016) recommends that legislators enact common sense gun laws that make it more difficult for guns to get in the hands of people on or near college campuses. Cannon also recommends that states implement one-gun-a-month laws which prohibits a buyer from purchasing more than one handgun a month. All firearm purchasers should be required to complete safety training after passing a universal background check (Cannon 2016).

College gun violence has been on the rise in recent years. As gun violence increases, will we witness more and more states across the country adopting campus carry laws for colleges and universities? The violence continues as evidenced by the Las Vegas shooting and the Parkland High School shooting. In Las Vegas a lone gunman killed over 50 people and injured hundreds in the fall of 2017 when he opened fire on attendees at a music festival from the window of a

motel room. A former student of Parkland Florida High School killed 17 after opening fire on February 14, 2018. The students of Parkland created a political activism movement to the state capitol to protest school violence. The movement created a national school walk out on March 14, 2018 to further the cause. Will these events and the political activism movement turn the tide to support greater gun control or at least less concealed carry? In the wake of the Parkland shooting, President Trump called for teachers to be able to carry weapons in the schools. So the debate that “more guns are the answer” continues to rage on. Colleges are usually safer than most cities and neighborhoods for the most part. The question remains whether the introduction of guns on campuses will make them safer. The real answer to that question will only be known in time with much more research.

Endnotes

1. Of the eleven adopters of concealed carry on college campuses, eight states have adopted between 2010 and 2017 (Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Wisconsin). Colorado adopted in 2003 and Utah adopted in 2004. Oregon is a more complicated case with adoption of concealed carry in 1989, but it was not until 2011 that the Oregon Court of Appeals clarified the right to concealed carry on college campuses (Armed Campuses 2016e). A measure to prohibit concealed carry on college campuses failed in the Oregon state legislature in 2012 (King 2015). Measuring each independent variable for every state in 2010 introduces some measurement error. State population density, state affluence (per capita income), percentage minority (percentage African American + percentage Latino) are all measured from the U.S. Census Bureau for 2010. State ideology is measured by citizen ideology scores as well as elite ideology scores for 2010 from data gathered by Fording et al. (<https://rcfording.wordpress.com/state-ideology-data/>) which is updated each year from the original study published in Berry et al. (1998). Legislative professionalism is a categorical ranking of “professional,” “hybrid,” and “citizen” state legislatures (Kurtz category/Squire index as reported in Hamm and Moncrief 2013). For the measurements of problem environment, the data for gun murders per 100,000 population comes from the FBI *Uniform Crime Reports*. Total college enrollment for each state is derived from the National Center for Education Statistics. For the measurements of “gun culture,” the total number of gun-related interest groups per state is taken from Project Vote Smart, and gun purchases is measured from the FBI’s “Total NICS Firearm Background Checks” for each state in 2010. This study follows the design of Butz et al. (2015, 360) that total firearm background checks serves as a proxy for the number of gun purchases in a state and the variable is calculated as a natural logarithm.
2. This study also tested for the impact of citizen ideology (data from Fording et al. noted above) which demonstrates no relationship to the adoption of concealed carry on college campuses.
3. The other measure of problem environment is the total number of college students in a state as the percentage of a state’s population. The proportion of a state’s population constituted by college students does not demonstrate a relationship to the probability of the state adopting concealed carry on college campuses and is not included in Table 1 for the sake of parsimony.
4. Total college enrollment as a percentage of state population is not included in the final multivariate model reported in Table 3 for the sake of parsimony of the model.
5. In the first multivariate model, the number of neighboring adopters is a straightforward measure of the number of bordering states that had previously adopted concealed carry on college campuses. Since the second model addresses the *types* of campus concealed carry laws, with five different policy regimes, neighboring adopter is not tested in Table 3 since a given state might well have multiple types of policies across bordering states.

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Appendix: IRB Form

Valdosta State University Graduate School
Institutional Review Board Oversight
Screening Form for Graduate Student
Research

Project Title: "Cocked, Locked, and Loaded: A Legislative and Policy Diffusion Analysis of Concealed Carry on College Campuses"

Name: Mack Seckinger

Faculty Advisor: James T. LaPlant

Department: Political Science/Public Administration

Please indicate the academic purpose of the proposed research:

- Doctoral Dissertation
Master's Thesis
Other:

E-mail: seckinma@yahoo.com

Telephone: 912-663-0200

1. YES NO Will you utilize existing identifiable private information about living individuals? "Existing" information is data that were previously collected for some other purpose, either by the researcher or, more commonly, by another party. "Identifiable" means that the identities of the individuals can be ascertained by the researcher by name, code number, pattern of answers, or in some other way, regardless of whether or not the researcher needs to know the identities of the individuals for the proposed research project. "Private" information includes information about behavior that occurs in a context in which an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or recording is taking place or information provided for specific purposes that the individual can reasonably expect will not be made public (e.g., a medical record or student record).
- Note: If you are using data that: (1) are publicly available; (2) were collected from individuals anonymously (i.e., no identifying information was included when the data were first collected); (3) will be de-identified before being given to the researcher, (i.e., the owner of the data will strip identifying information so that the researcher cannot ascertain the identities of individuals); or (4) do not include any private information about the individuals, regardless of whether or not the identities of the individuals can be ascertained, your response to Question 1 should be NO.
2. YES NO Will you interact with individuals to obtain data? "Interaction" includes communication or interpersonal contact between the researcher and the research participant, such as testing, surveying, interviewing, or conducting a focus group. It does not include observation of public behavior when the researcher does not participate in the activities being observed.
3. YES NO Will you intervene with individuals to obtain data? "Intervention" includes manipulation of the individual or his/her environment for research purposes, as well as using physical procedures (e.g., measuring body composition, using a medical device, collecting a specimen) to gather data for research purposes.

If you answered YES to ANY of the above questions, your research is subject to Institutional Review Board oversight. Please discard this form and complete and submit an IRB application. Do not begin your research until your application has been reviewed by the IRB and you are informed of the outcome of the review.



If you answered NO to ALL of the above questions, your research is not subject to Institutional Review Board oversight. Stop here, sign below, secure your faculty advisor's signature, and submit this form to the Graduate School. Please remember that, even though your project is not subject to IRB oversight, you should still observe ethical principles in the conduct of your research.

STUDENT CERTIFICATION: I certify that my responses to the above questions accurately describe my proposed research.

Student's Signature:  Date: 12-11-17

FACULTY ADVISOR CERTIFICATION: I have reviewed the student's proposed research and concur that it is not subject to Institutional Review Board oversight.

Faculty Advisor's Signature:  Date: 12-11-17
