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Cocked, Locked, and Loaded: An Analysis of the Five Policy Regimes of Concealed Carry on College Campuses

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What are the predictors of the five types of policy regimes on campus carry across the 50 U.S. states? This study explores the roles of problem environment, gun culture, state policy liberalism, region, and racial politics to answer that research question. We argue that morality policy, the role of region in the adoption of public policy, and the southern subculture of violence are useful theoretical lenses for examining campus carry. We find that the problem environment—measured as gun murders per 100,000 population and the violent crime rate on college campuses—is negatively related to the adoption of campus carry policy regimes, while the gun culture (measured as gun purchases per capita and the total number of gun-related interest groups) is positively related to the adoption of campus carry. State policy liberalism is a significant predictor of the type of policy regime adopted across the states, and the interaction term of percentage minority population and the South is a powerful predictor of adopting campus carry. The findings highlight the extant significance of the role of region, but it is conditioned by racial politics in the case of campus carry. Morality policy suggests that the rapid spread of concealed carry on college campuses may have hit a ceiling.

Keywords: Campus Carry, Gun Policy, Security and Defense Policy, Morality Policy, Policy Adoption, Policy Innovation, Policy Regimes, Racial Politics,

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Related Articles:

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Smith-Walter, Aaron, Holly L. Peterson, Michael D. Jones, and Ashley Nicole Reynolds Marshall. "Gun Stories: How Evidence Shapes Firearm Policy in the United States." *Politics & Policy* 44 (6): 1053-1088. https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12187

Listo para disparar: un análisis de los cinco regímenes de políticas de transporte oculto en los campus universitarios

¿Cuáles son los predictores de los cinco tipos de regímenes de políticas en el campus que se aplican en los 50 estados? Este estudio explora el papel del entorno problemático, la cultura de las armas, el liberalismo de la política estatal, la región y la política racial para responder a esa pregunta de investigación. Argumentamos que la política de moralidad, el papel de la región en la adopción de políticas públicas y la subcultura sureña de la violencia son lentes teóricos útiles para examinar la capacidad del campus. Descubrimos que el entorno problemático, medido como asesinatos con armas por cada 100,000 habitantes y la tasa de delitos violentos en los campus universitarios, está relacionado negativamente con la adopción de regímenes de políticas públicas en el campus, mientras que la cultura de las armas (medida como compras de armas per cápita y el número total de grupos de interés relacionados con armas) está positivamente relacionada con la adopción del portafolio en el campus. El liberalismo de las políticas estatales es un predictor significativo del tipo de régimen de políticas adoptado en los estados, y el término de interacción del porcentaje de población minoritaria y el Sur es un poderoso predictor de la adopción del porte de armas en los campus. Los hallazgos destacan la importancia existente del papel de la región, pero está condicionado por la política racial en el caso de la carga del campus. La política de moralidad sugiere que la rápida propagación del equipaje de mano oculto en los campus universitarios puede haber tocado techo.

Palabras Clave: Porte de armas en los campus, Política de armas, Política de seguridad y defensa, Política de moralidad, Adopción de políticas, Innovación de políticas, Regímenes políticos, Política racial, Política regional / regionalización, Sur de Estados Unidos, Política comparada.

扣上扳机、锁定并装上子弹：关于大学校园隐蔽持枪的五个政策制度分析

全美五十州关于校园持枪的五种政策制度的预测物是什么？为回答该问题，本研究探究了问题环境、枪支文化、州政策自由主义、地区、以及种族政治产生的作用。我们主张，道德政策、地区在公共政策采纳中发挥的作用、以及南部暴力亚文化是用于分析校园持枪的有用理论视角。我们发现，问题环境—衡量方式为每*10*万人中枪杀案数量和大学校园暴力犯罪率—与校园持枪政策制度的采纳呈负相关，而枪支文化（衡量方式为人均枪支购买量和枪支利益集团总数）与校园持枪呈正相关。州政策自由主义是各州所采纳政策制度类型的显著预测物，并且少数群体百分比和美国南部之间的交互作用是校园持枪的强有力预测物。研究发现强调了地区作用的显著性，但地区作用在校园持枪案例中受种族政治的影响。道德政策暗示，大学校园隐蔽持枪的快速传播可能已经触及上限。

关键词:校园持枪,枪支政策,安全与防卫政策,道德政策,政策采纳,政策创新,政策制度, 种族政治, 地区政策/地区化, 美国南部, 比较政治.

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, [and] the conversation in the aftermath of it…We have become numb to this" (Collinson 2015). Since the mass shooting at Virginia Tech in April 2007, 320 people have been shot with 122 killed and 198 injured by gunfire on college and university campuses in the United States (Jones 2018). 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. The research question at the heart of this study is: what factors predict state policy on concealed carry on college campuses? This study explores concealed carry on college campuses through the lens of the policy innovation literature, with particular attention given to the role of morality policy and region, to examine state policy on concealed carry on college campuses across all 50 states.

Models of Policy Innovation

Studies on the spread of ideas and innovations across the American states have been a hallmark of public policy studies for the past half century. In their analysis of the voluminous literature, Berry and Berry (2018, 260) observe that a variety of mechanisms may influence a policy's adoption that can vary with the characteristics of a state, across time as information becomes increasingly available, and by the specific nature of the policy. In terms of the key

characteristics of a state, 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. A focus on the availability of information turns our attention to the role of "individual policy entrepreneurs," "interstate professional associations," and "national campaigns by advocacy coalitions" (Karch 2007, 25).

An examination of the nature of the policy under investigation can highlight the importance of a state's problem environment, resources, and orientation to government power (Nice 1994). 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."

Berry and Berry (2018, 260-5) identify three models of policy innovation: the national interaction model, the regional diffusion model, and the leader-laggard model. The authors report that "there is strong theoretical justification for expecting that some policy diffusion is regional, and there is much empirical evidence of regional diffusion across jurisdictions" (264). A public policy innovation within a region or by a neighboring state can serve as a powerful catalyst for adoption by a state legislature (Berry and Berry 1990; Carter and LaPlant 1997; Walker 1969; Winder and LaPlant 2000). This relationship can be conditioned by ideology. Grossback, Nicholson-Crotty, and Peterson (2004, 540) emphasize that

> states learn from each other, but this learning depends more on the degree of ideological similarity between the states than the signals that come with region or mere adoption… If states similar to them ideologically, and not just proximate to them geographically, have adopted, they are more likely to do so.

Incrementalism can be another model for studying policy innovation. Boushey (2010, 171) explains that "the incrementalist perspective is a useful starting point for thinking about the decision-making pressures leading to interstate policy diffusion," but an investigation of 133 policy innovations finds that "decision making in policy diffusion generally does not match the expectations of policy incrementalism" (172). In contrast, Boushey (179) proposes an epidemiological model for understanding the causes of policy innovation in which "policy outbreaks are likewise triggered by the rare interaction of environment, policy innovation, carriers, and hosts." Our study is shaped by these various approaches as we investigate the influence of state characteristics, problem environment, ideology, and regional patterns on the types of campus carry laws.

Gun Policy Adoption

An emerging and intriguing body of scholarship explores the adoption of gun policy. As urban governments struggle to deal with handgun violence, Alderdice (2013) identifies the legal challenges and institutional obstacles that can undermine the efforts of national advocacy networks and urban governmental officials. Goss (2015) calls our attention to the more than 80 gun laws that have been enacted by federal and state legislators to regulate gun access by those with mental illness. The study notes the role of mass shootings, bipartisanship, and interest group support in the enactment of such laws.

Given that 22 states have adopted Stand-Your-Ground (SYG) laws over the last ten years, Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (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 gun purchases as well as the number of gun-related interest groups operating in the state (Butz, Fix, and Mitchell 2015, 351). The authors also consider the impact of gun crime rates on the adoption of SYG laws. For external determinants, Butz, Fix, and Mitchell explore policy learning as the number of neighboring states who have adopted SYG laws and whether the most ideologically similar neighbor has adopted them. The authors (369) report intriguing findings, most notably "the presence of African-American and Hispanic populations is found to significantly increase the likelihood of SYG adoptions [in southern states] 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 (369). Surprisingly, the study finds that adoption in neighboring states reduces the likelihood of SYG adoption in the home state, with this pattern evident among nonsouthern states, and the authors call for more research on the complicated external determinants of policy innovation (369).

Johnson and Zhang (2020) explore the intrastate and interstate predictors of the introduction of campus carry bills as well as the enactment of such laws. In relation to the introduction of bills—37 states have introduced campus carry bills—the authors identify four statistically significant positive predictors: total number of active shooter incidents, percentage of Republicans in state government, citizen political ideology (conservative), and introduction of campus carry legislation in a neighboring state. The study is less successful in predicting the actual enactment of campus carry, but the event history analysis reveals that "conservative citizen political ideology and anti-gun control interests are positively related to the enactment of campus carry laws" (Johnson and Zhang 2020, 114). Total donations to candidates running for state-level

offices constitute the anti-gun control interests variable. Interestingly, an active shooter incident in the previous year, the proportion of Republicans in state government, and enactment of campus carry in a neighboring state are not related to the enactment of campus carry laws.

The role of ideology is also on display in McLean and Sorens' (2019) study of state firearms laws. The authors report "while state policy liberalism has long correlated positively with restrictive gun regulation, this relationship strengthened over the 1986-2016 period" (McLean and Sorens 2019, 638). Furthermore, with the growing polarization of the American states on gun control, state policy regimes have become more internally consistent (649).

Theoretical Framework

Morality Policy

Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (2015) highlight the adoption of SYG laws as an example of morality policy. Morality policy is defined by "technical simplicity and a potential for high salience among the mass constituency" and SYG laws fit the bill as "not overly complex or broadly redistributive materially" with the potential for high salience among the public on self-defense policies (Butz, Fix, and Mitchell 2015, 357). In the realm of morality policy, an innovation can trigger the rapid spread of a public policy (Boushey 2010, 176), which was certainly on display with SYG as more than 20 states adopted such laws between 2005 and 2011 (Butz, Fix, and Mitchell 2015, 358). Another defining characteristic of morality policy is significant disagreement over first principles given that morality policy legitimizes certain basic values while rejecting others (Mooney and Lee 1999, 768).

Campus carry fits hand in glove with morality policy. It is not especially complex while being technically simple with the argument of a good guy with a gun stopping a bad guy with a gun on a college campus. Given the all too prevalent school shootings in the United States, it is an issue that we are constantly reminded of with the potential for high salience among the mass public. While not at the same level as SYG laws, the enactment of campus carry has followed a pattern of rapid spread with nine states adopting between 2010 and 2018. Furthermore, we need to look no further than the debates on college campuses, in state legislatures, and between pro-gun and anti-gun forces to see the significant disagreements over first principles of campus carry as the answer to protecting person, place, and property.

Region and the Subculture of Violence

Region has been a staple of studies of policy innovation, and our study pays particular attention to the role of region in the adoption of the various types of campus carry laws. Given our interest in 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). 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 1920-64, Hackney (908) finds that "southerners show a relatively greater preference than do nonsoutherners for murder rather than suicide." After controlling for urbanization, education, wealth, and age, Hackney (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 southerness."

Although Hackney (1969) 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 (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 (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 and others (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, 4) 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." Furthermore, Spitzer (2004, 12) describes "those who compose and support active gun culture are overwhelmingly white males, live in rural areas (especially in the South), are likely to be Protestant, and are from 'old stock' (i.e., have ancestors who came to this country longer ago than the most recent immigrant waves)." Spitzer highlights two areas of gun culture: the hunting/sports ethos and the militia/frontier ethos. Morality policy is once again on display given its endorsement of certain values and rejection of others, and "it redistributes moral values just as surely as a progressive income tax scheme redistributes economic values" (Mooney and Lee 1999, 768).

Policy Innovation is not Just a Binary Choice

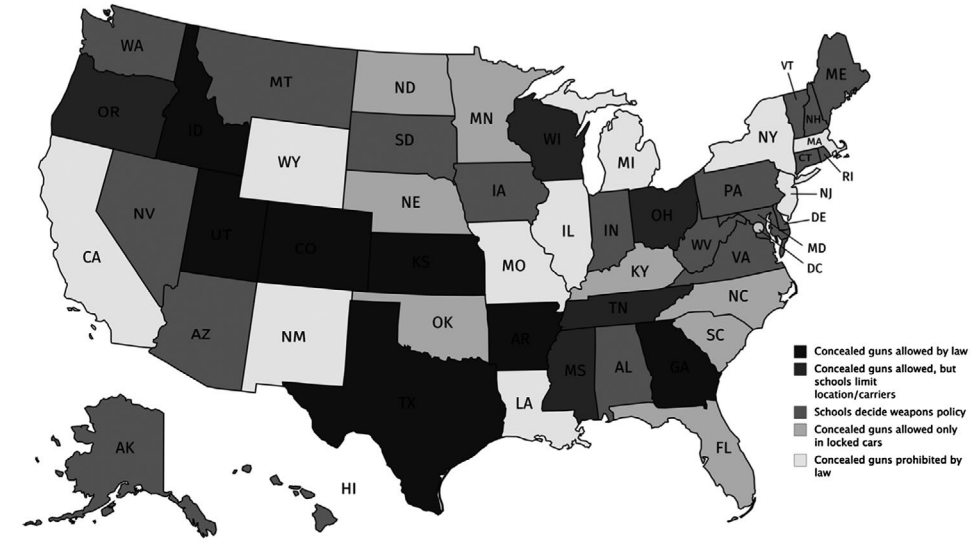
Berry and Berry (2018) challenge us to think beyond the standard dependent variable of adopt or not adopt in a given year, which has so often defined policy innovation research. In certain situations, rather than envisioning a simple binary choice (adopt or not), they suggest that it may be best "to view the choice as among three or more distinct alternatives" (Berry and Berry 2018, 283). That advice is at the heart of our examination of the different types of campus carry laws across the 50 U.S. states. While Johnson and Zhang (2020) insightfully examine the introduction of campus carry laws as well as the binary choice of enact or not in a survival model, we contend that great insight can be gained by examining the distinct types of campus carry laws.

Data and Methods

Many studies in the policy innovation literature are quite often singular in scope. A significant portion of the literature consists of research that examines a specific policy issue and how that issue proliferates among other states over time. However, policies are rarely seamlessly spread among neighboring states and often result in newer or more innovative policies that are either more prohibitive or less restrictive according to the constitutive needs of a given population. Such is the issue with the policy adoption of concealed carry on college campuses. 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 innovation, which typically employ event history analyses to identify the determinants of when adoption occurs, and instead focuses on the determinants of what type of policy is adopted. Since we move beyond a simple binary choice, we are less concerned with adopt versus nonadopt in a given year and more concerned with understanding the predictors of the various types of campus carry laws. This study follows the pattern of previous policy innovation studies of gun laws by investigating the internal factors within states, as well as external or interstate factors, which shape a specific policy regime on concealed carry policy. This study incorporates the concept of policy regimes from Pelz (2015, 333) as "a dominant approach to an emerging policy. Specifically, the political, economic, and social dimensions of states that are channeled through various state institutions are likely to direct a specific interpretation of a policy innovation." Armed Campuses (2018) provides a useful typology for identifying five different policy regimes that vary in campus carry autonomy. The five major categories were cross-referenced against an analysis by the National Conference of State Legislatures (2018) and constitute the dependent variable of this analysis,

Figure 1.
Five Types of Concealed Carry on College Campus Laws across the 50 States



illustrated in Figure 1. The following categories have been updated to reflect any legislative changes and gubernatorial actions through December 2018.

The five categories of campus carry policies are operationalized as an ordinal variable whereby greater values indicate greater autonomy to carry a firearm. Ten states have adopted laws where concealed carry on college campuses is prohibited by law. These laws represent the least autonomous—or most restrictive—concealed carry policies and are coded as 1. Eight states have adopted laws where concealed carry on college campuses is prohibited by law but firearms are allowed in locked cars on campuses. This category is coded as 2. Twenty states have adopted laws whereby colleges and universities have the authority to decide weapons policies. This category is coded as 3. Five states have adopted laws whereby concealed carry on college campuses is allowed by law but colleges and universities can limit carry locations and/or who may carry. This category is coded as 4. Finally, seven states have adopted laws where concealed carry on college campuses is fully allowed by law. These laws represent the most autonomous—or least restrictive—concealed carry policy and is coded as 5.

We recognize there may be some skepticism regarding whether the five policy regimes identified in this study are truly ordinal. We believe that the ordinal operationalization of these five policy regimes is appropriate considering each level represents greater accessibility to carrying a concealed firearm on a college campus. In particular, this ordinal measurement (derived directly from Armed Campuses and cross-referenced with the National Conference

of State Legislatures) captures the spectrum of regulatory policy making on campus carry by categorizing each state law on a scale from most restrictive to least restrictive. Last, ordinal measures are commonly used in policy studies that similarly rank order states' regulatory capacity across a wide variety of policy areas such as healthcare, environmental protection, and communications (Declercq *et al*. 1998; Kim and Gerber 2005; Lester *et al*. 1983; Ringquist 1993).

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, affluence/poverty, state policy liberalism, and legislative professionalism. State population density, poverty rate, percentage minority (percentage African American + percentage Latino) are all measured from the U.S. Census Bureau (2010). State ideology is measured using Ruger and Sorens' policy liberalism index from 2010 (http://www.statepolicyindex.com), which is updated each year from the original study published in Sorens, Muedini, and Ruger (2008). Legislative professionalism is a categorical ranking of "professional," "hybrid," and "citizen" state legislatures (Kurtz category/Squire index as reported in Hamm and Moncrief 2013). While the classic studies of policy adoption 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, Stoutenborough, and Beverlin 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, Fix, and Mitchell (2015) report a negative coefficient for population and adoption of SYG 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, Fix, and Mitchell (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, Fix, and Mitchell 2015, 352). We expect that percentage minority population will interact with the South to positively predict the adoption of campus carry laws as it did for SYG legislation.

The impact of the problem environment is also tested (Carter and LaPlant 1997; Nice 1994; Winder and LaPlant 2000) through gun murders in a state per 100,000 population and the violent crime rate on college campuses. For the measurements of problem environment, the data for gun murders come from the FBI (2010a) *Uniform Crime Reports*. Violent crimes on college campuses—murder, negligent manslaughter, forcible and nonforcible sexual offenses, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary—was measured in 2010 using the United States Department of Education Campus Safety and Security database

(https://ope.ed.gov/campussafety/#/). The raw numbers of these reported crimes (N = 9,867 institutions) were aggregated and divided by the college enrollment population in 2010 by state (population estimates derived from the National Center for Education Statistics). If the problem environment is indeed driving the adoption of campus carry laws, these factors should be positively associated with the adoption of such laws. Furthermore, following the design of Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (2015), the influence of "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 per capita for each state. The total number of gun-related interest groups per state is taken from Project Vote Smart (2010), and gun purchases is measured from the FBI's (2010b) "Total NICS Firearm Background Checks" for each state in 2010. This study follows the design of Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (2015, 360) that total firearm background checks serve as a proxy for the number of gun purchases in a state. The total number of statewide background checks is divided by the state to derive a per capita estimation. 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 number of gun purchases per capita in a state. The independent variables are all measured for 2010.[1]

Johnson and Zhang (2020) highlight the role of citizen political ideology in the introduction of campus carry laws as well as the enactment of such legislation, while McLean and Sorens (2019) emphasize the increasing importance of state policy liberalism in restrictive gun regulation. We expect state policy liberalism to be positively associated with the prohibition of campus carry and negatively associated with the adoption of campus carry.[2] For the external determinants (interstate) of policy adoption, the role of region is

[1] Of the twelve adopters of concealed carry on college campuses, nine states have adopted between 2010 and 2018 (Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Ohio, 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 2018). 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.

[2] The policy liberalism index, which is available through the State Policy Database: Ruger and Sorens Database of State and Local Public Policies and Policy Ideology Indices (2010), includes nearly 200 indicators on state "fiscal policies, gun control, alcohol regulation, marijuana policies, tobacco and smoking laws, automobile regulations, law enforcement data, education policies, land-use and environmental laws, labor market regulations, health insurance policies, utilities deregulation, occupational licensing, asset forfeiture rules, eminent domain reform, court systems, abortion laws, the death penalty, marriage and civil union laws, campaign finance laws, and sundry mala prohibita" (Sorens, Muedini, and Ruger 2008, 311). Regarding gun control specifically, the policy liberalism measure includes 29 different policy indicators including permit licensures, weapons/ammunition/components bans, and duty to retreat legislation. Previous adoption of related gun policies (Castle Doctrine, permitless carry, shall-issue/may-issue, Stand-Your-Ground) was also included as a predictor of the five campus carry policy regimes; however, this variable was statistically insignificant in the logistic regression and not included in the final model in Table 2.

Table 1. Cross Tabulation 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	3	10
		% within Region	33.3%	25.0%	6.25%	23.08%	20.0%
	Allowed only in locked cars	Count	0	3	5	0	8
		% within Region	.0%	25%	31.25%	.0%	16.0%
	Colleges decide	Count	6	3	5	6	20
		% within Region	66.67%	25.0%	31.25%	46.15%	40.0%
	Allowed, schools limit	Count	0	2	2	1	5
		% within Region	.0%	16.67%	12.5%	7.69%	10.0%
	Allowed by law	Count	0	1	3	3	7
		% within Region	.0%	8.33%	18.75%	23.08%	14.0%
Total		Count	9	12	16	13	50
		% within Region	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: N = 50, LRχ^2 = 20.99, Cramer's V = .325.

considered (Carter and LaPlant 1997; Walker 1969; 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. To investigate the role of region, the four major census regions are cross tabulated with the five types of concealed carry policy regimes across the states. We also examine the role of region, specifically the South, in our multivariate model.

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 open or least prohibitive policies (coded as 5).

Findings

Adoption of Campus Carry Policy Regimes by Region

Given that only twelve states are full adopters of concealed carry on college campuses, the first step is to consider the types of concealed carry laws for college campuses across the nation. Table 1 presents the five policy regimes of concealed carry laws on college campuses across the four census regions. Between 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 roughly 6 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-quarter of the states in the North Central region also allow concealed guns in locked cars on campuses. Across the nation, 20 states (40 percent) allow colleges and universities to decide whether 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 2018). The remaining states in this category have no public or private institutions of higher education that allow concealed carry (Armed Campuses 2018). Two-thirds of the states in the Northeast, roughly one-third of states in the South, nearly half of the states in the West, and a quarter of North Central states fall in the category of "colleges decide." Furthermore, five states expressly allow concealed carry on college campuses, but colleges or universities can place limits. These states are concentrated in the South (Mississippi and Tennessee) and North Central regions (Ohio and Wisconsin) with one state in the West (Oregon). The seven states with the most expansive concealed carry laws for college campuses are primarily located in the South (Arkansas, Georgia, and

Texas) and the West (Colorado, Idaho, and Utah), with one state in the North Central region (Kansas).

The cross tabulation 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 the states in the Northeast fall in the categories of prohibiting concealed carry on college campuses or leaving the decision to individual schools.

Predicting the Adoption of Campus Carry Policy Regimes

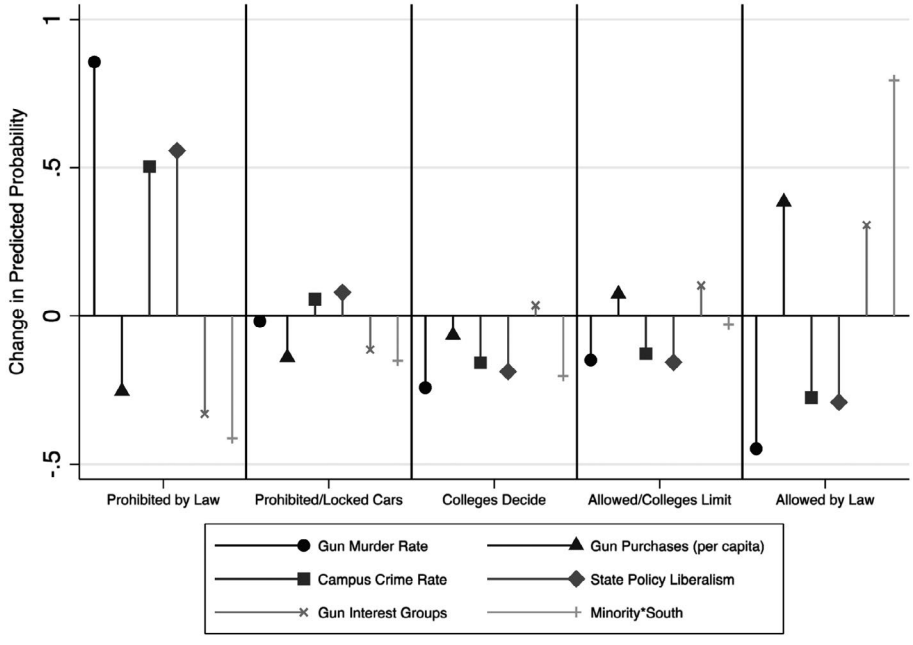
This study employs an ordered logit regression model to predict the five types of campus concealed carry policy regimes by exploring both internal and external determinants. In this model, the dependent variable (policy regime) is operationalized as an ordinal measure where low values represent the most restrictive policy and larger values represent increasingly autonomous policies on campus carry.

According to Table 2, the ordered logistic regression yields six statistically significant variables at $p < .05$. Gun murders, violent crimes on college campuses, and state policy liberalism were all negatively associated with policy adoption. Gun purchases (per capita), the number of gun interest groups per state, and the interaction of minority population and the South were all positively associated with policy adoption. Because ordinal logistic regression coefficients are not directly interpretable, Figure 2 reports the marginal effects of these six variables on policy adoption.

Figure 2 illustrates the probability of policy adoption by examining the difference of each variable's minimum and maximum value while all other independent variables are held at the mean. Thus, increasing gun murders from its minimum value to its maximum value, while holding all other independent variables at the mean, increases the probability of adopting the most prohibitive concealed carry laws from .04 to .90 (+.86). Increasing gun murders was negatively associated with policy adoption among all other policy regimes. This relationship is most pronounced among adopters of the least restrictive campus carry policies (category 5); increasing gun murders from its minimum to maximum value decreased the probability of the adopting the least restrictive campus carry policy from .45 to .00 (−.45).

Statewide violent crime on college campuses is similarly associated with policy adoption. Increasing the statewide violent crime rate on college campuses from its minimum to maximum value increases the probability of adopting prohibitive campus carry from .10 to .60 (+.50) as well as adoption of prohibitive campus carry but allowed in locked cars from .11 to .17 (+.06). Similar to gun

Figure 2.
Change in Predicted Probability of Adopting Campus Concealed Carry Laws



murders, increased campus crime is negatively associated with the adoption of all other policy regimes. Again, this relationship is most pronounced among adopters of the least restrictive campus carry policies (category 5). Increasing campus crime from its minimum to maximum decreases the probability of adopting the least restrictive campus carry policy from .30 to .02 (−.28).

State ideology (policy liberalism) is the final variable negatively associated with policy adoption. As state ideology increases from its minimum to maximum value—most conservative to most liberal—the probability of adopting prohibitive campus carry increases from .08 to .64 (+.56) and the probability of adopting prohibitive carry laws but allowing individuals to keep firearms in locked cars at colleges increases from .09 to .18 (+.09). The lowest levels of state liberalism (conservatism) were strongly associated with less restrictive campus carry policy adoption. Increasing state ideology from its minimum to maximum (conservative to liberal) decreases the probability of adopting: "colleges decide" from .34 to .15 (−.19); "allowed by law but colleges limit" from .18 to .02 (−.16); and the least restrictive policy, "allowed by law," from .30 to .01 (−.29).

Gun purchases (per capita), the number of statewide gun interest groups, and the interaction of minority population and the South were all positively associated with the adoption of campus carry legislation. Again, referring to

Table 2. Predicting Types of Campus Concealed Carry Laws across the 50 States

Independent Variables	Coefficient (Standard Error)	p-Value
Population density	.003 (.002)	.070
Gun murders	−1.076 (.339)	.001
Gun purchases (per capita)	5.968 (2.564)	.020
Violent crimes on college campuses	−10.995 (4.420)	.013
Gun interest groups	.650 (.323)	.044
Poverty	.125 (.135)	.356
State policy liberalism	−.230 (.097)	.018
Minority population	−.018 (.043)	.684
South	−2.527 (1.672)	.131
Minority*South	.165 (.064)	.010
Log likelihood	−57.603	
Number of observations	50	

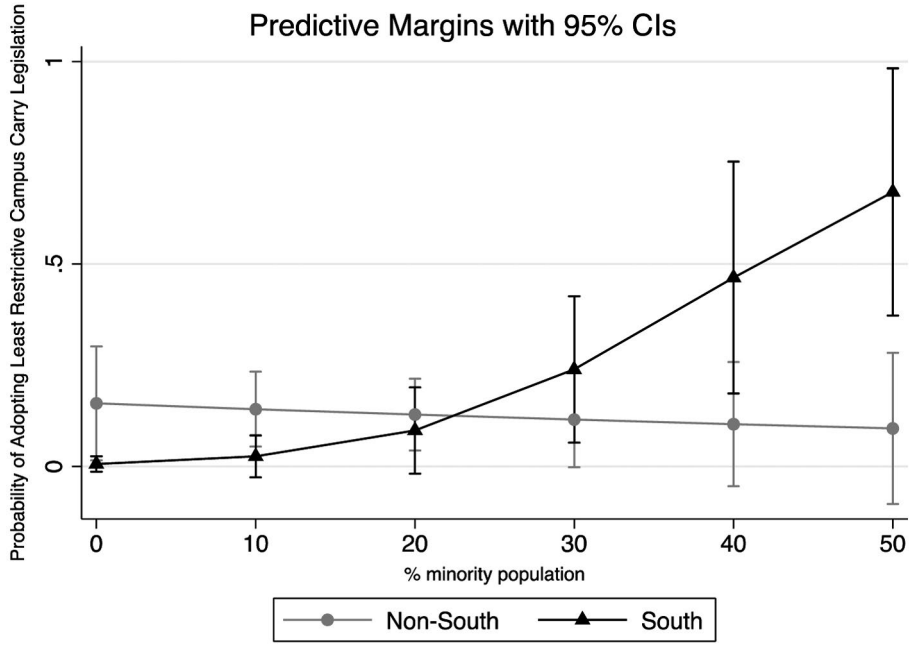
Notes: Entries are ordered logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The coefficient and standard errors for τ_1 through τ_4 are as follows: −1.123 (2.22); .141 (2.173); 2.487 (2.233); and 3.567 (2.304).

Figure 2, increasing gun purchases from its minimum to maximum value, while holding all independent variables at the mean, gradually increases the probability that states adopt less restrictive campus carry legislation. Increasing gun purchases from its minimum to maximum decreases the probability of adopting: the most prohibitive campus carry policy from .28 to .03 (−.25); "prohibited but allowed in locked cars" from .19 to .05 (−.14); and "colleges decide" from .32 to .26 (−.06). Increasing gun purchases increases the probability of adopting "allowed but colleges limit" from .09 to .17 (+.08) and "allowed by law" from .11 to .49 (+.38), the two least restrictive campus carry policies.

Similarly, increasing the number of statewide gun-related interest groups from its minimum to maximum value decreases the probability of adopting prohibitive campus carry from .39 to .06 (−.33) and "prohibited but allowed in locked cars" from .20 to .08 (−.12). Greater gun interest groups were positively associated with adoption of less restrictive campus carry legislation. Increasing gun interest groups from its minimum to maximum increased the probability of adopting: "colleges decide" from .27 to .30 (+.03); "allowed but colleges limit" from .06 to .17 (+.11); and the least restrictive, "allowed by law," from .07 to .38 (+.31).

Finally, the interaction between minority population and the South was positively associated with the adoption of campus carry. The interaction of minority population and the South decreases the probability of "prohibited by law," "prohibited except for locked cars," "colleges decide," and "allowed but colleges can limit;" however, it dramatically increases the probability of adopting "allowed by law." Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between minority population, the South, and policy adoption in more detail. The interaction has

Figure 3.
Predicted Probability of Adopting the Least Restrictive Campus Carry Policy by Minority Population and the South



a statistically significant association with the adoption of the least restrictive campus carry policy regime (category 5). According to Figure 3, there is no significant regional variation in the adoption of the least restrictive campus carry policy when the minority population ranges from 0 to 20 percent. In fact, the probability of adopting the least restrictive campus carry policy is relatively unchanged by minority population among non-South states. However, regional cleavages between the South and non-South begin to manifest as the minority population grows. Figure 3 illustrates the dramatic and statistically significant differences in policy adoption between South and non-South states when the minority population reaches its maximum value.

No other variables in the ordered logit were statistically significant predictors of the type of policy regime that states adopt. When investigating the role of region, the dummy variable for the South is a negative predictor of permissive campus carry across the five policy regimes.[3] Intrastate factors like population

[3] .Careful consideration was given to the operationalization of region in this analysis. In an earlier specification, dummy variables were included for North Central, South, and West (North omitted). However, in this model the odds ratio of each predictor variable and the standard error were severely inflated as a function of multicollinearity among the independent variables. To avoid such problems in specification, region is primarily operationalized by the dummy variable South where 1 = South and 0 = non-South.

density, poverty rate, and minority population are not statistically significant. Additional intrastate factors such as legislative professionalism, citizen ideology, partisanship,[4] and NRA campaign contributions were also tested but were not statistically significant.[5]

Discussion and Conclusion

While Johnson and Zhang (2020) provide a valuable first analysis of the introduction of campus carry laws and the enactment of such laws, their model is more successful accounting for the introduction of such laws in state legislatures rather than the enactment thereof. Our model moves beyond the binary choice of adopt versus nonadopt to robustly examine the five types of policy regimes on campus carry.

In line with previous scholarship on the adoption of gun policies, our study highlights the importance of ideology as measured by state policy liberalism. Liberalism increases the probability of a state prohibiting campus carry by law or prohibiting except for locked cars, while decreasing the probability of adopting the policy regimes allowing campus carry. Our findings also echo those of Miller (2006, 117), who identified state liberalism and region as major drivers of incremental policy making, suggesting that campus carry policy making may in fact be incremental, rather than nonincremental. As polarization deepens in the United States, a measure such as state policy liberalism may only grow more conspicuous in explaining the spread of public policies.

When considering the role of problem environment, it is very clear that a crisis or epidemic of violence is not driving the adoption of campus carry. The gun murder rate in a state along with the campus crime rate are statistically significant negative predictors of the policy regimes of campus carry and positive predictors of those regimes prohibiting concealed carry on college campuses. This finding parallels Tucker, Stoutenborough, and Beverlin (2012) that states with

[4] Given the role of partisanship in policy adoption (Butler and Pereira 2018), this study utilizes the Ranney Party Control Index—as calculated for 2007-11 by Holbrook and LaRaja (2013)—which ranges from Modified One-Party Democratic (five states with scores ranging from .758 to .701) to Two-Party Competition (32 states with scores ranging from .644 to .37) to Modified One-Party Republican (13 states with scores ranging from .339 to .194). The Ranney Party Control Index variable is insignificant in the regression model in Table 2.

[5] To maintain a parsimonious modeling of the predictors of the five policy regimes on campus carry, several intrastate determinants that did not reach statistical significance were not included in the final analysis. Legislative professionalism and citizen ideology were not significantly associated with the adoption of campus carry (Berry *et al*. 1998; Fording *et al*. 2018; Walker 1969). Some studies have linked NRA campaign spending to deregulatory gun control legislation (Reich and Barth 2017); however, our study does not find a significant association between NRA statewide campaign expenditures and adoption of concealed carry on college campuses. A multiplicative interaction variable of NRA campaign expenditures by state and firearm-related background checks per capita (proxy for gun ownership) was also created, but again did not reach statistical significance in our model.

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 and campus violent crime, the policy regime is one of prohibiting campus concealed carry rather than adopting such policies. Polarization may again suggest an answer. Pearson-Merkowitz and Dyck (2017, 443) "find that stronger partisanship leads to resistance to information from the lived environment in the development of policy attitudes about gun control." Furthermore, Kahan and Braman (2003, 1292) discover that "individuals can be expected to credit or dismiss empirical evidence on 'gun control risks' depending on whether it coheres or conflicts with their cultural values." While these are studies of the mass public, it may well be that state legislators filter crime rates through their partisan lens and cultural values.

This study finds compelling evidence of the salience of "gun culture" when investigating the adoption of campus carry. Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (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 SYG laws. When exploring the five types of campus carry policy regimes, gun purchases and gun-related interest groups are in the hypothesized positive direction and statistically significant.

We contend that a regional adoption model is still a valuable tool for studying public policies such as campus carry with the caveat that race is critical to understanding the relationship. Although roughly half of all adopters of campus carry are southern states, the policy regimes among the 16 southern states are mostly distributed across the broad categories of allowed only in locked cars (five states), colleges decide (five states), and allowed by law (three states).

Three-fourths (nine out of twelve) of the adopters of concealed carry on college campuses are southern and western states that 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 half of southern and roughly one-quarter of 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 types of campus carry policy regime, percentage minority in a state as well as the dummy variable for the South are 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 of Latino population in the South) and Mississippi (with the largest percentage of African American population in the South) as well as Georgia (with the third largest percentage of African American population in the South) that have all adopted campus concealed carry legislation in the last five years.

Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (2015, 368) find the same interaction effect in the adoption of SYG 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 (Giles and Buckner 1993, 1996; Giles and Hertz 1994; Glaser 1994) 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 adoption can be issue specific. Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (352) insightfully note that racial politics is an area that has not traditionally been associated with the spread of public policies, but a growing body of research including this study suggest that such connections can and should be made.

The future of campus carry may well be defined by the nature of morality policies. Boushey (2010, 177) reminds us that morality policies can "spread rapidly through a susceptible fraction of states but then end abruptly." While campus carry has only been adopted by a little more than one-fifth of the states, it may have hit its ceiling for adoption. Butz, Fix, and Mitchell (2015, 358) also remind us that "morality policy facing widespread controversy have a limited ceiling of adoption potential." The controversy continues as evidenced by the response to the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in Parkland, Florida. 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. While 2017 was the deadliest year in modern U.S. history for mass shootings with 112 deaths (Wilson 2017), it bears keeping in mind that colleges are usually safer than the cities and neighborhoods in which they are located (Lyons 2017). Our study does not discover that allowing campus carry drives down crime rates. We leave such an examination for future studies. The powerful and clear relationship between high gun murder rates as well as campus violent crime rates and the prohibition of campus carry, rather than the actual adoption, suggests the adoption of campus carry in many cases is a solution seeking a problem to address. The drivers of adoption in the case of campus carry are state policy ideology, our gun culture, and the interaction of race and region, which all speak to the affirmation of certain values over others through morality policy (Mooney and Lee 1999).

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