

# **IS THAT A GUN IN YOUR POCKET? DILEMMAS OF STUDENT AND ACADEMIC SERVICES PROFESSIONALS IN A CAMPUS CARRY STATE**

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Concealed campus carry is the subject of both popular discussion and academic scholarship. For almost a decade, the University of Texas at Austin (UT) has been the site of the debate over campus carry during a prolonged legislative battle and an implementation marked by pro- and anti-gun protests, various Texas attorney general's opinions, and lawsuits. Using self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), this article presents the results from in-depth interviews with 32 women professionals in academic and student services at UT about how campus carry affects their personal and professional lives. Because of their daily interactions with students, these professionals have been at the forefront of implementing state and campus gun policies. Their experiences can inform the development of campus carry law, policy, and implementation at other universities.

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Campus carry, the open or concealed carry of handguns on campus by students, staff, faculty, and visitors, is the topic of much discussion and scholarship. As of December 2018, Google Scholar had 821,000 “hits” on the search term “campus carry” and the *Chronicle of Higher Education* posted 5,031, and Ebsco/Academic Search Complete reported 19 peer-reviewed articles. Of the articles cited, most were descriptions of the passage and implementation of state campus carry laws. The dearth of both peer-reviewed articles and articles about student and academic affairs professionals and campus carry demonstrates a gap in the academic literature. Since these professionals are at the front lines of implementing and enforcing campus carry policy, it is important to give voice to their experiences.

Following the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary Schools, the National Rifle Association’s Wayne LaPierre asserted “The only thing that stops a bad guy with a gun is a good guy with a gun” (National Public Radio, 2014). LaPierre’s words have been echoed by gun rights advocates and policymakers alike in support of guns on campus. On the other hand, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) joined with three national higher education organizations in a statement condemning guns on campus (Hand, 2016) and the Modern Language Association (MLA) joined with 28 scholarly groups to oppose campus carry (Modern Language Association, 2016).

After several failed attempts, the Texas legislature passed a concealed campus carry bill in 2015. The bill became law (Texas S.B. 11, 2015) for the state’s four-year public universities on August 1, 2016, the 50th anniversary of the campus tower shooting at the University of Texas at Austin that left 14 dead and over 30 people wounded (Cagle, 2016). The law took effect for community colleges one year later.

We report here on interviews with 32 female professional staff members at the University of Texas at Austin (hereinafter

University of Texas or UT) who work in academic or student services who were part of a larger study of campus carry. We focus on their opinions about campus carry and the implementation of the law. This article contains several sections: legal background, literature review, conceptual framework, epistemology/positionality, method, results, discussion, implications for practice, and a summary.

### Legal Background

Two court decisions in the last 15 years have collectively enabled campus carry. In *Heller v. District of Columbia* (2006), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a District of Columbia ordinance that prohibited guns in apartments and homes. *McDonald v. City of Chicago* (2010) ceded to state and local government control over the carrying of guns. This allowed state legislatures to allow firearms in public venues such as schools, colleges, public hospitals, and so forth.

Currently, all 50 states have their own legislation regarding the carrying of guns (Armed Campuses, 2016). The laws may ban guns on all campuses, permit guns on campus, or leave the decision to individual colleges and universities. Campus carry regulations can include exceptions for faculty and staff, certain campus buildings, day care facilities, early-college or university high schools, medical facilities, veterans, and military or police officers.

The “carry” in campus carry has various definitions depending on researcher preference and state law. Open carry allows the open display of guns as specified by state law and can require a permit, training, and be limited to certain types of weapons and locations. Concealed carry permits individuals to carry guns on their person if they are concealed from public view, with the type of weapon and any permits again being defined by state law (for definitions, see University of North Texas, 2016). For the purposes of this paper, campus carry refers to the concealed carry of guns by students, faculty, staff, parents, and visitors on college and

university campuses, with permitting by the state or by a reciprocity agreement for concealed handgun licensees (CHLs) from other states. Emerald Expositions (2019) publishes the latest updates on state campus carry laws.

### **Geopolitical Location of Campuses**

College campuses, particularly those with large numbers of residential students, are uniquely vulnerable to gun violence. Sulkowski and Lazarus (2011) describe the characteristics of campuses,

College campuses are prime locations for violent perpetrators to stage devastating multiple victim attacks due to their dense populations, relatively low police presence, and the open and welcoming nature. Furthermore, violent campus attacks often end tragically before law enforcement officials are able to intervene due to the highly chaotic nature of these attacks and the speed by which they are executed. (pp. 339–340)

In addition, Sulkowski and Lazarus point out that campuses have many buildings with multiple entrances and exits, which make the structures extremely difficult to control and defend. Moreover, students, faculty, and staff mingle with visitors to campus, with few areas requiring positive identification for entry. Miller, Hemenway, and Wechsler (2002) reported that 5% of the students they surveyed admitted to bringing a gun to campus whether or not it was allowed by law.

Price, Thompson, Khubchandani, Dake, Payton, and Teeple (2014) identified missed opportunities to keep violence on campus at a low level. They concluded,

Given the porous environment of college campuses and the levels of pressures, substance abuse, and mental health problems of students, it is strongly recommended that faculty and administrators become more preemptive in their efforts to minimize firearm violence on their campuses. (p. 467)

They end with a series of suggested interventions, which many campuses have adapted (pp. 467–468).

### **Review of Research Literature**

This literature review summarizes the previous surveys of faculty and staff members about campus carry. The studies were published from 2001 to 2019.

In a large national survey, Hemenway, Azrael, and Miller (2001) found that in general, 94% of participants did not support allowing guns on college campuses. This was a robust study done before the Heller (2006) and McDonald (2010) decisions, which enabled concealed campus carry. As such, the study provides a baseline reading of opinion prior to debates in state legislatures about campus carry laws.

Thompson, Price, Mrdjenovich, and Khubchandani (2009) surveyed college police chiefs and 89% asserted that limiting guns on campus was the best way to reduce gun violence.

Seventy-nine percent of faculty members at one Georgia university opposed campus carry, even by permit holders (Bennett, Kraft, & Grubb, 2012). Further, 78% of participants opposed a law extending concealed carry in Georgia to religious buildings.

Thompson et al. (2013a) surveyed 791 faculty at 15 universities in the Midwest. Most felt safe on campus (98%) and opposed guns on campus (94%). However, faculty members who were Democrats or Independents, Asian, or female were significantly more likely to oppose campus carry. As a whole, the participants “perceived that carrying concealed handguns on campuses create more benefits than risks” (p. 366). Using a similar survey, two studies of 15 Midwestern universities found that 94% of faculty (Thompson, Price, Dake, & Teeple, 2013a) and 79% of students (Thompson et al., 2013b) opposed campus carry.

Dahl, Bonham, and Reddington (2016) surveyed 1,889 community college faculty members in 18 states, replicating the study

cited above of Thompson et al. (2013a). Eighty-four percent of participants felt safe on campus and 67% were not concerned with being a crime victim on campus. Although 48% of participants had firearms in their homes as children, 69% opposed campus carry and did not own a firearm.

Satterfield and Wallace (2018) used rational choice theory to develop a survey of perceived campus safety, support of guns on campus, and motivations for carrying a gun. They discovered several demographic variables provided insights on the difference between subgroups. Students from the western part of the U.S. were significantly less likely to intend to carry a gun on campus than students from the South. Whites and liberals were less likely to plan to carry a gun than participants who were current gun owners. The most common reason for opposing campus carry (37%) was that "it would make students and campuses less safe" (p. 7). However, the leading rationalization for supporting campus carry was the personal protection a gun provides. Finally, 25% of the participants would carry a gun to class if permitted, citing the personal protection—especially in situations involving an active shooter. The researchers suggested that understanding the motivations for and against campus carry could help administrators in implementing a local policy.

Beggen (2019) surveyed faculty, staff, and students at Lone Star College Montgomery during the implementation of campus carry. Overall, 45% of participants favored campus carry and 50% were opposed, with 5% responding as neutral. However, there were differences between the subgroups. Thirty-nine percent of students, 68% of staff and administrators, and 62% of faculty members were against campus carry (3–5% of each group registered their opinion as neutral).

### **Theoretical Framework**

We used self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 2000) to frame our study. SDT explains the basis of human thriving in

a variety of contexts and environments. The foundation of SDT is in three areas of needs satisfaction: competence (dealing with a person's environment) (Niemic & Ryan, 2009), autonomy (being in charge of one's own actions) (Ryan & Grolnick, 1986), and relatedness (being connected with others) (Hutman, Konieczna, Kerner, Armstrong, & Fitzpatrick, 2012). These three elements are directly connected to a person's satisfaction or dis-satisfaction with job and self. If competence, autonomy, and relatedness are present, the employee's needs are met and they are productive and satisfied with their job. However, if these needs are not met, an employee becomes dis-satisfied, withdrawn, and may sabotage the work or leave the job.

For these reasons, we use the factors of competence, autonomy, and relatedness in our research questions for this study. Thus, if the impact of campus carry leads to a decrease in autonomy, competence, and relatedness, employees may become demoralized, cynical, less productive, and may sabotage or leave the university. Indeed, the open carrying of guns in public spaces, which is allowed under Texas law, could also reduce personal competence, autonomy, and relatedness leading to various dysfunctions. As a result, we used the three factors in SDT as the basis for our research question.

### **Epistemology and Positionality**

Since this was an exploratory study, it was important to give voice to the women we interviewed. Thus, we approached the study through a post-modern lens, which allows a variety of voices to emerge without assuming a consensus. Post-modernism "rejects the idea of universal, overriding metanarratives that define a single correct understanding of something" (Maxwell, 2013). The women interviewed for this study expressed individual opinions, beliefs, and emotions—all of which are important and valid. It is critical for these differing voices to remain as such without funneling them

into one belief system.

The individuals on our research team held a range of opinions about campus carry, guns, and gun laws in general. The first two authors—who conducted the analysis of the study—grew up in the Midwest in active hunting and pro-gun communities. This background allowed them to better understand the passionate defense of guns from proponents of campus carry. While all four authors have experience in student affairs, two were actively working in the residence life at the time of the study.

To reduce bias, we did not assume our results in advance and purposefully recruited participants on both sides of the issue who had testified for campus carry at town hall meetings. Also, we did not anticipate our findings in advance of analysis and listened carefully to the voices of participants. In addition, we used triangulation, field notes, and discussions within the team about the results to reduce bias. Triangulation, which is considered an important feature of qualitative research (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014), was used to support the findings by demonstrating there were three different measures in the data corresponding with the three elements of SDT. This helps increase credibility by validating that the findings are more than just a result of a “single method, a single source, or a single investigator’s blinders” (Patton, 2015, p. 674).

Finally, two of the researchers worked together to code and analyze the data. One of them coded and analyzed the data using Dedoose software. The other researcher coded and analyzed by hand. Where questions arose during coding, the two researchers discussed differences and came to consensus.

### **Research Method**

In the spring of 2016, we proposed a study of faculty and staff women regarding campus carry at the University of Texas at Austin campus. The study was funded by the Center for Women’s and Gender Studies and

a faculty development grant. We applied for and received approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) with the stipulation that we not identify any faculty or staff member’s department or job title to prevent identification of the participants, which could open them up to harassment or hostility because of the controversial nature of campus carry. Thus, we report very broad job categories and department names to comply with this recommendation. This article presents the results for the 32 female academic and student services professional staff members we interviewed. While we interviewed many other female staff members, none of them were classified as academic or student service positions.

Using SDT, we developed one overarching research question: Does campus carry at UT influence how staff members in academic and student services perceive their competence, relatedness, and autonomy? Based on our conceptual framework, we developed a 16-question interview protocol which focused on the factors of competence, autonomy, and relatedness on the job.

To recruit participants, we used convenience sampling due to the geographic and immediate accessibility of participants (Miles et al., 2014). We systematically used several list serves to recruit for this study, contacting several hundred potential participants. This was followed by snowball sampling, where new participants were identified by existing participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As outlined by Merriam and Tisdell (2016), each person who responded to our recruitment email or was interviewed was asked for recommendations on who else we could interview. Inquiring about possible future participants allows the “snowball” to get larger, accumulating additional “information-rich cases” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 98). In addition, we acted purposefully by seeking out individuals who had spoken in support of campus carry during the open hearings on campus carry. This purposeful selection allowed us to deliberately seek out individuals “to provide

information that is particularly relevant” to our questions and goals—in this case, finding voices to counter the dominant narrative we were finding against campus carry (Maxwell, 2013).

The typical interview lasted 45 minutes, however, one interview was 2.5 hours in length. As we finished an interview, we sent the audio file to a professional transcription service for processing. Using the lens of self-determination theory, we developed a list of descriptive codes, which assigned labels to the data using a word or short phrase (Miles et al., 2014). The interviews were then coded and analyzed by one team member using Dedoose, a computer-assisted research software package. A second researcher coded and analyzed the transcript by hand. The two coders discussed the process and content to improve reliability. From these codes and analysis, several themes emerged that are discussed below (see Table 1 for more information on the coding). The coders also discussed the themes, their definitions, and content.

Our study had various limitations. First, because of the history of gun violence and the vocal resistance of some UT faculty, staff, and students to guns on campus, UT

was not a typical site. Likewise, since the gun laws vary by state, the Texas experience may not be applicable to universities and colleges in other campus carry states. Second, while we used a large net to recruit participants for the study, the sample was not random, which affects the generalizability of the findings. Third, we interviewed a relatively small number of participants rather than surveying large numbers of faculty and staff. While interviews provided a greater depth to the data, the smaller size of the sample also limited generalizability. Finally, this phase of our study was limited to women faculty and staff. We report here on a subset of these women – those who work in academic or student services at the University of Texas - Austin. These limitations dictate that we be careful in interpreting the results.

### Results

The implementation of campus carry negatively affected the feelings of competency, relatedness, and autonomy for many of the participants, centering around four overarching themes: fear or feelings about campus, lack of autonomy, marginalization, and training on campus carry. Details are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1. Feelings about Campus Carry

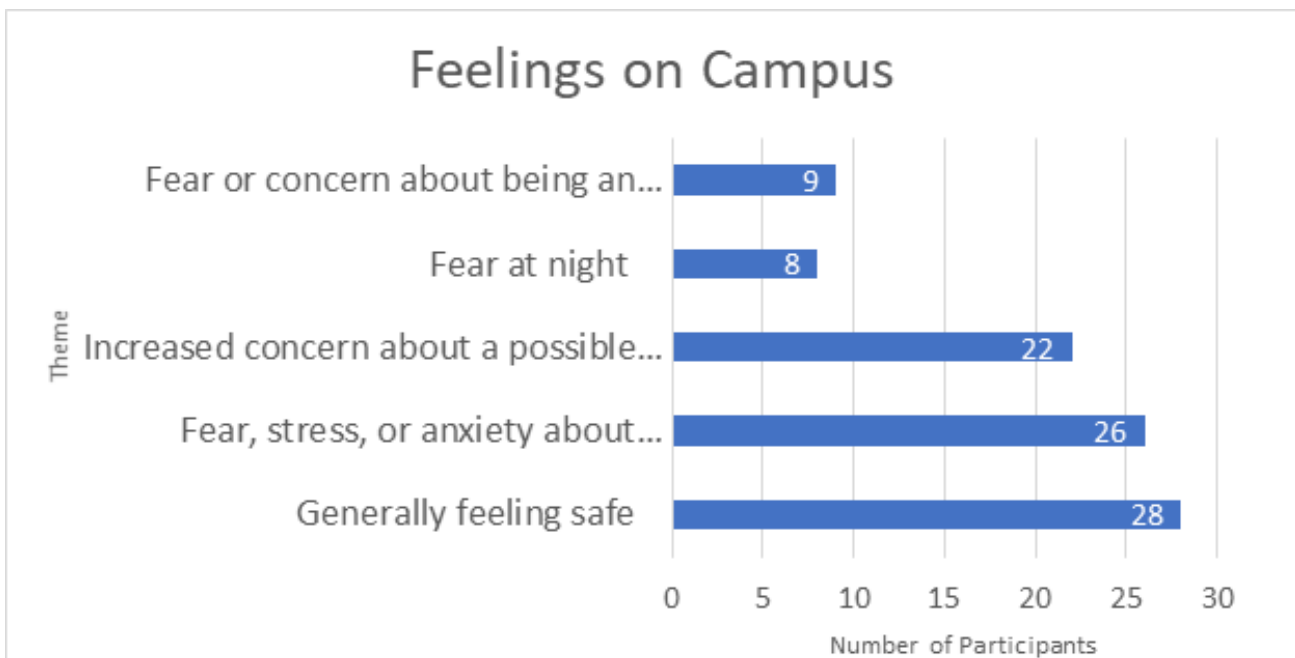
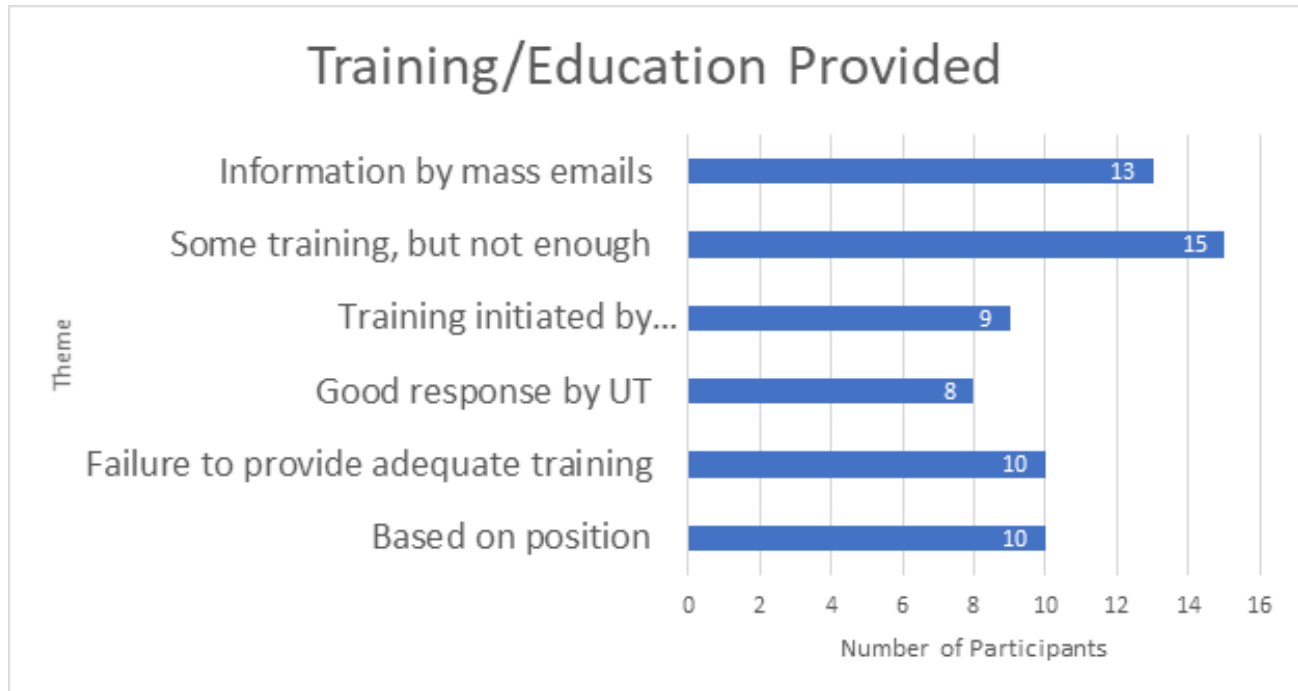


Figure 2: Training and Education on Campus Carry



### Fear or Feelings about Campus (competence and autonomy)

Most participants (28 out of 32) felt generally safe on campus, although several expressed concerns that this was changing due to campus carry. At the same time, 26 participants voiced feelings of fear, stress, or anxiety about the new policy and the possibility of increased gun violence or a campus shooting (22 participants). One staff member related

[there was] a fistfight in my hallway just a couple of months ago, [laughs] about lab space [laughs] . . . [this type of confrontation] present[s] this opportunity to go to your office and get a gun or if you have one on, on your hip. . . this level of stress is just not a really good spot for people to be armed, I think.

UT has an extremely competitive academic environment, with high levels of stress and anxiety for students. Forty percent of the participants feared that the emotions of this milieu could cause students to react by taking out a weapon rather than dealing with their problems in non-violent ways. In high

school, many students were under serious pressure to achieve high grades and test scores to be accepted by a top-ranked college. Once they arrived at UT, however, they realized that they were no longer at the top of their class but among peers with similar or better scores and grades.

Many of the professionals interviewed feared that increased competition could lead to an emotional response by students, and that having access to guns would escalate the situation in rapid, unnecessary, and violent ways. Two women spoke of working with students who were unhappy with their course grades. An academic advisor feared that stressed-out students might retaliate against either the professor or herself. Another participant labelled grade appeals and concealed guns as a “recipe for disaster” for both the professor and the academic advisor.

Since academic and student services professionals are on the front lines of discussion about behavioral and academic concerns, the participants realized that these situations could rapidly escalate to violence.

Similarly, participants pointed to the disjuncture between valuing and promoting mentally and emotionally healthy college students and campus carry. Several women spoke of the increased demand for mental health services on campus and the wait-list for all but the most troubled students, a situation which tended to put academic and student services professionals on the front lines and at an increased risk for violence because of their accessibility. Other participants spoke of the increased risk of suicide by gun post-campus carry. More guns on campus could mean more suicide attempts by gun. According to researchers, about 24,000 college students attempt suicide each year and 1,100 succeed (Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence, 2007; Joffe, 2008).

### **Lack of Autonomy**

Many student and academic affairs professionals felt powerless to change or adapt the gun policy in a way that made them feel safe. This, in turn, left them feeling unable to effectively do their job and serve their students, or fearing for their safety, —particularly for those professionals who work one on one—often in a private office—with students. One person said, “It’s just me . . . one other person and a gun. That does not sound safe.” Another professional summed up her concern by saying that based on the type of advising her offices provides, the possibility of a student carrying a gun to a private office troubled her greatly.

In addition, certain buildings are exempt from the policy—such as the university high school, counseling center, day care center, and labs performing classified research—causing some staff to question if their lives were less valuable and less in need of protection. This left some feeling vulnerable, with one staff member saying, “...my building is not banned, does that mean they can bring a gun? . . . is my life valued less than the people that work in [location] because they are sort of protected but everybody else isn’t?”

### **Training on Campus Carry (autonomy, relatedness, competence)**

While 25% of participants (8 out of 32) felt comfortable with the response of the university, the rest said they had not received enough education, with 10 participants indicating that UT had failed to provide adequate training. This discrepancy was associated with the rank of the participant as well as their college, school, or department. For instance, the higher-ranked individuals received more training than their peers of lesser rank, as did participants in the wealthier departments. For some, the only orientation to campus carry by administrators came in the form of a mass email. This lack of training was labelled as unacceptable by many, particularly when compared with the required training and compliance for other less deadly issues on campus such as outcomes assessment, academic dishonesty, and computer security. As one participant stated, “They group us together to do ridiculous amounts of assessment and other things. They can group us together and require us all to go through some kind of campus carry safety training.”

### **Marginalization**

The women we interviewed echoed many of the same concerns as participants in the various campus carry surveys cited in the literature review—they felt fear of gun violence and the lack of feelings of autonomy, relatedness, and competence as campus carry was implemented. However, there were several important differences. First, the participants experienced first-hand the debate on campus carry in the Texas legislature and on the UT campus. They pointed to specifics of implementation which indicated a much deeper and richer understanding of the dilemmas of campus carry. Second, they described in detail how they were squeezed between the legislative mandates, administrative rules, and relationships with students, and conflicting obligations of acting in the best interests of the students versus those of the university. Finally, the partic-



ipants felt marginalized and patronized by the university hierarchy and legislators.

Three quotations vividly depict the marginalization of the staff members. One advisor said,

I think most people that I've heard of voicing support for campus carry have been men. I had a colleague who used to be in the military. He was surprised that campus carry made me feel uncomfortable. He thought that someone like himself having a concealed weapon would make me feel at ease, because if there was a shooter that he would be able to take care of it.

Another staff member noted,

[If I carry a gun,] am I going to be seen as like the angry woman of color? Perceptions are flying like, and given everything that's happened recently with like current events and you know um, guns, people of color you know, police enforcement I think it just adds to maybe making me a little more nervous and cautious.

Yet another participant indicated how the hierarchy marginalized the front-line employees, most of them women, in open office spaces or cubicle farms, which increased their risks when facing a person with a gun,

If they show up at an office, who might they encounter first, an admin, who is likely a woman probably not a man, just based on experience with who fills those types of roles. So as far as being on the front line, women are seeing that more are in a customer service-based role where they are interacting with people. . .I'm the first one that sees students and greets people who come into our space, so what does that look like for me?

While few professionals specifically spoke of marginalization, these three quotations are especially prescient and indicate how staff members can easily become demoralized when they feel that their lives are not as important as male employees who tend to have offices or other dedicated space away

from the main traffic pattern.

Several participants pointed out the effect of campus carry on student and faculty/staff attrition, an issue which was widely reported in the local and national media (Dearman & Selby, 2016). This included graduate students who turned down offers of admission, a well-respected dean and faculty members who departed (Watkins, 2016), parents of potential students, potential donors, and visiting lecturers and scholars who refused to visit UT to discuss sensitive topics for fear of gun violence. One staff member summed up the issue,

I feel like we've lost a lot of really amazing, respected faculty members because . . . they do not feel safe, or like the idea of students being able to have a concealed hand gun in class. Again, I don't see the purpose. Why do you need to bring a gun with you on campus? There's no point. You're there to learn.

Several participants noted that professional staff members are often place bound and that faculty, administrators, and visiting professors/scholars had many more options and much more bargaining power.

In general, we found that the issues of competency, relatedness, and autonomy seemed to overlap for the women we interviewed. And the three issues seemed intertwined in their discussions about how campus carry affected their feelings about their jobs and themselves. Further, the responses of student/academic services staff, other professional staff, and faculty were similar in many ways to what we have reported here. In the next section, we address implications for practitioners in student and academic services.

## Discussion

One of the most commonly expressed emotions about campus carry was fear, which relates to the SDT concepts of autonomy and competence. The participants talked about higher levels of fear, stress, and anxiety post-campus carry. Some fear arose out of difficult dialogs academic and student

services staff have with students regarding drugs, alcohol, behavioral issues, academic integrity, academic performance, adjusting to college, and macroaggressions. Add to these issues the question of whether a student is carrying a concealed gun and that uncertainty can ratchet up the fear level.

Some of these issues can be mitigated by additional training and close cooperation with campus safety staff. However, fear of violence and assault may be much higher for women than for men. Fisher and Sloan (2003) summarized the research in this area by saying that gender is "the most powerful predictor of fear of criminal victimization" (p. 633) in a study of college women. They recommend reducing the fear of victimization by "empowering women to assess their [safety] risk" (p. 652) through a variety of methods to increase agency (pp. 653-664).

Arrigo and Acheson (2016) discuss the fear of victimization as applying to many individuals, not just women. They suggest that socio-political factors such as demographics and political persuasion hinder a robust and civil discussion about the issue of gun violence, however, current campus carry laws tend to "galvanize lobbying interests and spur Congressional politics in ways that sustain rather than diminish the public's entrenched polarization" (p.133). This ties to the concept of relatedness—or the lack thereof—and the difficulty the participants had communicating with students, faculty, and administration about campus carry.

Regional differences in motivations to carry a gun may have shaped some of the participant's responses. Stroud (2012) interviewed 20 Texas male concealed carry licensees. She identified three major motivations: protecting family and co-workers, compensating for the loss of physical strength due to aging, and defending "themselves against people and places they perceive as dangerous, especially those involving racial/ethnic minority males" (p. 216). The acknowledgement that guns can compensate for loss physical strength and protect against "dangers" posed by minority

and ethnic males is troubling.

Falsen and Parre (2010) discuss other regional differences in carrying weapons. They describe the Southern gun culture, "Southern whites have an honor culture where violent retaliation is normative behavior when there is adequate provocation" (p. 1357). A few women we interviewed presented other views. A few participants who grew up in the South said that their issue was not with guns but the concerns over vulnerable young people having access to guns on campus. A few women, particularly those born outside the U.S., connected guns with political repression in their home countries and were threatened by guns on campus.

Price, Mrdjenovich, Thompson, and Dake (2009) surveyed college counselors about whether they gave "anticipatory guidance" to students with access to guns (p. 133). The authors point to autonomous living, stress, bad decisions, binge drinking, drug use, and the higher rate of mental health issues for 18- to 25-year-olds as reasons to monitor college students' mental health. They suggest that counselors in various settings need to be more diligent in anticipating gun violence defined as suicide and murders. Thirty-two percent of the counselors provide guidance for suicidal clients and 20% do not. Seventy-seven percent believe the majority of students need no guidance (even if they had guns in their homes) and 49% felt they had insufficient expertise in speaking about gun violence. The National Association of Student Affairs Administrators (2008) called for all college counseling centers to have a "threat assessment team to identify and address situations in which the behavior of the students indicates they may be experiencing difficulty in functioning or be a threat to other" (p. 20). Such a team that actively involves academic and student services professionals in dialog and training could both prevent violence or suicide and increase the autonomy and relatedness of these professionals. In addition, any type of collaboration across departments (includ-

ing collaboration with the university police and senior administrators) could reduce the marginalization of and power differentials for women in this study report.

### **Implications for Practice and Future Research**

With the adoption of campus carry laws in more states, it is important to examine the impact of the resulting campus policies on employees. Academic and student services professionals deal with difficult issues such as student mental and physical health, academic integrity, poor academic performance, various crises, and the difficulty of adjusting to campus life. At the same time, the participants struggled with how campus carry policies affected their autonomy, relatedness, competence, and marginalization. Just as we focus on the issues affecting students and campus carry, we also need to address how these new and sometimes controversial policies impact academic and student services professionals.

A threefold approach to issues is key to implementation. The most senior academic and student services staff can expect to be caught in the crosshairs between legislators, parents, powerful lobbying groups, students, faculty, and advocates on all sides of campus carry.

Moreover, he or she may face intense pressure to resign as a result of mis-steps in implementation or because of a shooting on campus. Mid-level staff and managers are assigned to develop specific policies on campus carry and present them to all constituencies. They also coordinate with campus safety personnel and early career staff about implementation. Squeezed by cost and political issues, they face significant time commitments and pressures from those above and below them in the organization. Finally, less experienced career academic and student services staff have perhaps the most challenging role in implementation. They may have less power to develop policies and more responsibility for implementing often inflexible rules. They

may experience frustration with their lack of agency regarding campus carry but can develop a dialogue with faculty, staff, and students on public safety, civic engagement, and political change. Being on the front lines, however, may take a toll in terms of reduced competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Thus, they may have higher levels of burnout regarding campus carry.

Four issues of implementation are particularly relevant for all student and academic services staff. First, when campus carry is implemented, administrators must keep in mind the nature and timing of the interactions between students and practitioners. Staff generally meet in private offices for counseling sessions, which could increase the risk to individual staff members if an agitated student with a gun arrives for advising. Likewise, academic and student services professionals who work in a cubicle or open area are at more risk from a single 'lone wolf' shooter with a gun. Finally, many academic and student services staff members work outside of the traditional 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. working hours. They need security plans for addressing gun issues that occur when working alone after hours and when walking to their transportation.

The participants spoke with concern of the additional training and support for managers, administrators, and those working in departments with more resources. These women felt much less safe as a result of their lower rank and salary. It is demoralizing and stratifying to give senior-level administrators protections and training when those who work on the front lines interacting with students receive little protection. Staff in departments or divisions with fewer resources should have the same training and security as those in offices with more resources.

### **Summary**

This article has reported the vexing issues involved in campus carry and the difficulties in implementing campus carry policies by student and academic services staff

members. Clearly, there are serious issues of safety, security, human resources, and equity that should be explored in detail. In addition, additional support is necessary for those working with students who are at risk for violence. Thus, those who research student life and work in student and academic services must be involved in setting the narrative and policies on campus carry.

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