

Report from the Crime Prevention Research Center

Concealed Carry Permit Holders Across the United States

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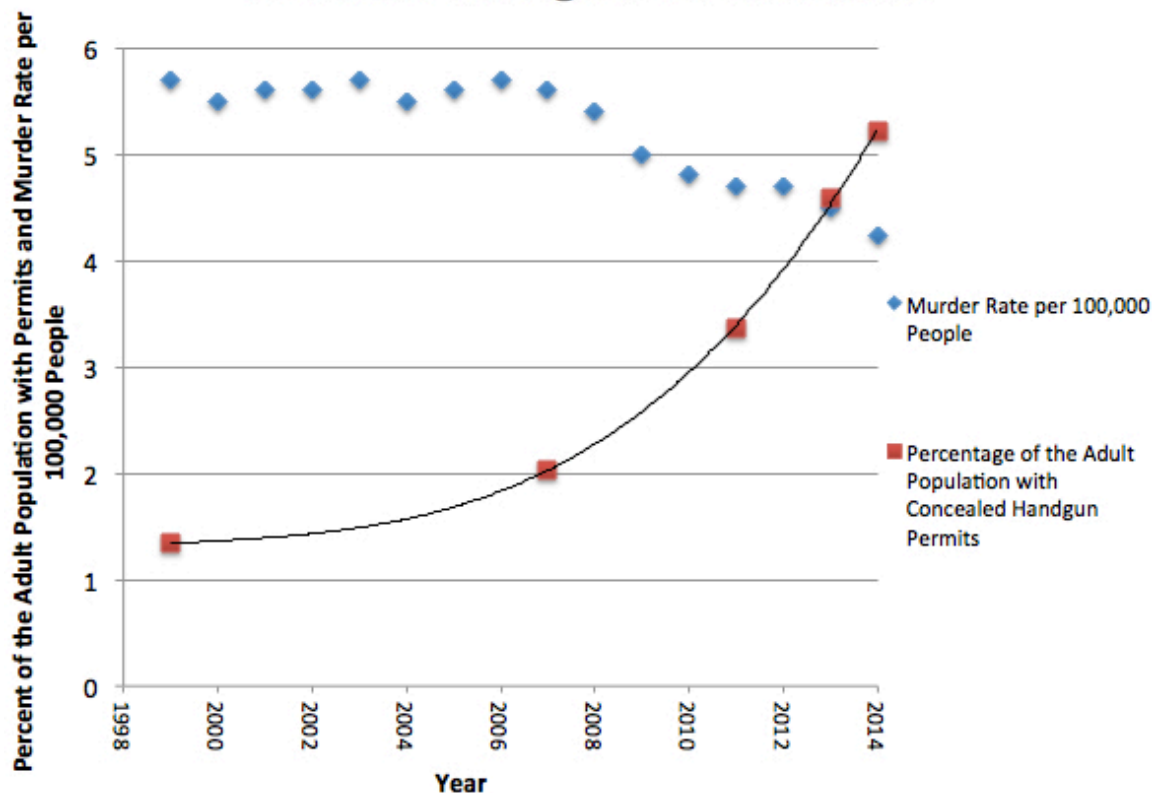
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Summary

Since President Obama's election the number of concealed handgun permits has soared, growing from 4.6 million in 2007 to over 12.8 million this year. Among the findings in our report:

- The number of concealed handgun permits is increasing at an ever-increasing rate. Over the past year, 1.7 million additional new permits have been issued – a 15.4% increase in just one single year. This is the largest ever single-year increase in the number of concealed handgun permits.
- 5.2% of the total adult population has a permit.
- Five states now have more than 10% of their adult population with concealed handgun permits.
- In ten states, a permit is no longer required to carry in all or virtually all of the state. This is a major reason why legal carrying handguns is growing so much faster than the number of permits.
- Since 2007, permits for women has increased by 270% and for men by 156%.
- Some evidence suggests that permit holding by minorities is increasing more than twice as fast as for whites.
- Between 2007 and 2014, murder rates have fallen from 5.6 to 4.2 (preliminary estimates) per 100,000. This represents a 25% drop in the murder rate at the same time that the percentage of the adult population with permits soared by 178%. Overall violent crime also fell by 25 percent over that period of time.
- Regression estimates show that even after accounting for the per capita number of police and people admitted to prison and demographics, the adult population with permits is significantly associated with a drop in murder and violent crime rates.
- Concealed handgun permit holders are extremely law-abiding. In Florida and Texas, permit holders are convicted of misdemeanors or felonies at one-sixth the rate that police officers are convicted.

Murder Rates have fallen as the Percentage of the Adult Population with Permitted Concealed Handguns has Increased



Background

Over the years, more and more states have adopted laws to allow individuals to obtain concealed carry permits. Illinois was the last state to do so, with the first permits issued in March 2014. Even Washington, D.C. started issuing permits earlier this year. Today, permitted concealed handguns are allowed in every jurisdiction in the United States.

But the rules vary greatly from state to state. Some states don't even require permits, with no fees or training required. Some states make it easy and cheap to get a permit. In South Dakota, the fee to obtain the four-year permit is only \$10, with no training requirement. Similarly, in Pennsylvania, the permit only costs \$19 for five years and there is no training requirement. By contrast, Illinois charges a \$150 fee and requires 16 hours of training. With training and range time, it may cost as much as \$300, meaning the total dollar costs of getting a permit in Illinois

is about \$450. Not surprisingly, concealed carry is much more popular in states where permits are relatively inexpensive and easier to obtain.

This report will focus on the increase in concealed carry. Obviously, the main focus from a crime prevention point of view is whether people *actually* do carry guns, not whether they are allowed to do so.

Unsurprisingly, the number of permits has grown faster than the number of states that allow concealed carry. This is because in each state, the longer the law is in effect, more and more people have gradually applied and received permits. But there appears to be another factor: President Obama's election in 2008. Not only did Obama's election increase gun sales, it also increased the number of concealed handgun permits.

Initially the increase in permits was slow, growing from roughly 2.7 million permit holders in 1999 to 4.6 million in 2007. But the number of concealed handgun permits literally exploded during the Obama presidency. For December 2011, the federal Government Accountability Office estimated that there were at least 8 million concealed handgun permits. By the June 2014, it was 11.1 million; in 2015, 12.8 million.

In other words, during the eight years from 1999 to 2007, the number of permits increased by about 240,000 per year. During the next four years, the number of permits surged by 850,000 per year. Then from the end of 2011 to 2013 the yearly increase rose by 1,550,000. And during the last year the increase has continued to accelerate to 1,700,000.

The rapid increase in concealed carry permits is also mirrored by the rapid increase in gun sales. NICS background checks soared from 11.2 to 21 million between 2007 and 2014. The sale of guns accelerated further over the last two years -- averaging 14 million during 2008 to 2011 and over 20 million during 2012 and 2013.

But both polling and NICS checks provide only imperfect measures of gun ownership. Polling relies on people's willingness to reveal whether they own a gun. And the changing political environment after mass shootings or a growing distrust of government may affect people's willingness to reveal that they own a gun.¹

NICS checks don't suffer from trust issues, but the number of checks do not measure the number of people buying guns or how many guns are being sold with

each check. Further, NICS background check are not always required for gun purchases, such as in some state for people who have already passed a background check to get a concealed handgun permit.

Concealed handgun permit data is a third measure and has the advantage of being hard data.

Still the number of permits clearly underestimates the true number of people who can legally carry concealed handguns. There are three reasons for this.

- 1) Permits are not required in seven states (soon likely eight states) as well as virtually all of Idaho and Montana. Generally, people in those states only obtain permits so that they can carry concealed when travelling outside of their home state. With no fees or other requirements, these seven states undoubtedly can be assumed to be the ones where people most frequently legally carry concealed guns.
- 2) Data is not readily available for every state. For example, New Hampshire only collects data for permits issued to non-residents. New York simply doesn't collect this data at the state level, and it is a very cumbersome process to obtain data from a large number of individual counties or cities.
- 3) For some states, the data is one or more years old and thus misses the recent growth in permits.

As more and more states do not require a permit, the number of permits holders will increasingly underestimate the number of people who can legally carry a handgun.

Explaining the Number of Permits Issued

For states requiring permits, the percent of adults with permits can be easily explained by how costly it is to get permits, how many years concealed carry laws have been in effect, and whether government officials have discretion in issuing permits.² Among our findings:

- Each \$10 increase in fees reduces the percent of adults with permits by about a half a percentage point.
- Each 10 years that the permit law has been in effect increases the

percent of adults with permits by 1.5 percentage points.

-- Giving government officials discretion in who gets permits, reduces the percent of adults with get permits by more than two-thirds.

Deterring Crime

Deterrence isn't just a matter of whether states have adopted right-to-carry laws. It very much depends on the percentage of the population with permits. The large majority of peer-reviewed academic research by economists and criminologists concludes that permitted concealed handguns reduce violent crime. The debate is between those claiming that concealed handgun permits reduce crime and those denying any effect (for a survey, see Lott, "What a balancing test will show for right-to-carry laws," *University of Maryland Law Review* (2012): 1205-1218).

Nonetheless, most research focuses on what states allow right-to-carry, not the more relevant question of how many people are actually carrying. (Only peer-reviewed studies by John Lott in the second and third editions of *More Guns, Less Crime* (University of Chicago Press, 2000 and 2010) use the number of permits to measure the impact of concealed carry laws.) While crime rates have been falling nationally since 1991, the empirical tests measure whether crime rates fall in those states that issue permits to the largest percent of their adults relative to other states.

The five states in 2013 that allowed concealed carry without a permit had much lower murder and violent crime rates than the five jurisdictions with the lowest permit rates. Indeed, the murder rate was 33 percent lower in the states not requiring permits. The violent crime rate was 32 percent lower. (If Idaho and Montana are included in the list of states that allow carrying without permits, the results become stronger.) Murder and violent crime rates are also lower in the 25 states with the highest permit rates than the rest of the country.

Of course, such a comparison is far too simplistic. Unfortunately, despite their common use, simple cross-sectional comparisons can be very misleading. There are many factors that influence crime, but it is often too difficult to account for them with purely cross-sectional comparisons. Looking at how crime rates vary before and after changes in a state's permit rules allows one to account for the differences across states.

But an even better approach is to take advantage of the fact that different states

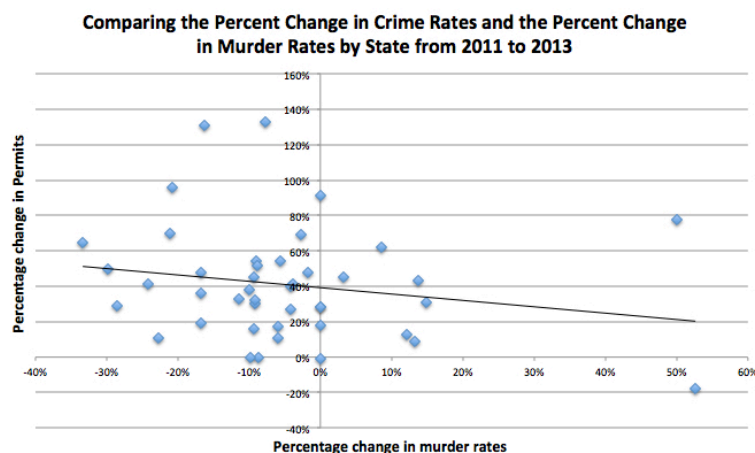
have adopted concealed handgun laws in different years and that they issue permits at different rates (see the Appendix for a large and growing peer-reviewed literature on this point that shows letting law-abiding citizens carry guns reduces violent crime). The approach combines following state crime rates over time across all the states with changes in the percent of the adult population with permits. Doing so consistently finds a very strong relationship between more permits and less violent crime (e.g., Lott, *More Guns, Less Crime*, University of Chicago Press 2010 and Lott, 2012).

The current analysis here doesn't provide such sophisticated estimates simply because the necessary data will not be available for at least a couple years. Thus, it should only be viewed as suggestive.

Between 2007 and 2014, murder rates fell from 5.6 to 4.23 (preliminary crime estimate) per 100,000 – a 25 percent drop in the murder rate. At the same time, that the percentage of the adult population with permits soared by 178 percent. Overall violent crime also fell by the same percentage, 25 percent.³

After accounting for the per capita number of police and new prison admissions as well as demographics, this state level permit data suggests that each one percentage point increase in the percent of the adult population holding permits is roughly associated with a 25 percent drop in the murder rate.⁴

Since the latest state level crime data is only available through 2013, the 2011 and 2013 permit and murder data shows that those states that had the biggest increases in permits had the biggest percentage drop in murder rates. A 10 percent increase in the share of the adult population with permits reduces the murder rate by 1.4 percent.⁵



The Changing Gender of Permit Holders

Data for seven states shows a general upwards trend in the percentage of permit holders who are women.

- Florida: the percentage of permit holders who are women rose from 18% in May 2012 to 23.1% in June 2015.
- Indiana: from 18.0% in June 2012 to 22.7% in March 2015.
- Louisiana: from 18.3% in 2009 to 24.8% in 2014.
- North Dakota: from 11.2% in 2010 to 24.9% in 2014.
- Tennessee: from 23.3% in 2008 to 29.3% in 2014.
- Texas: from 17.26 in 2004 to 26.7% in 2014.
- Washington State: between 2005 and 2014 “the growth rate for women getting new permits is twice as fast as that of men.”⁶

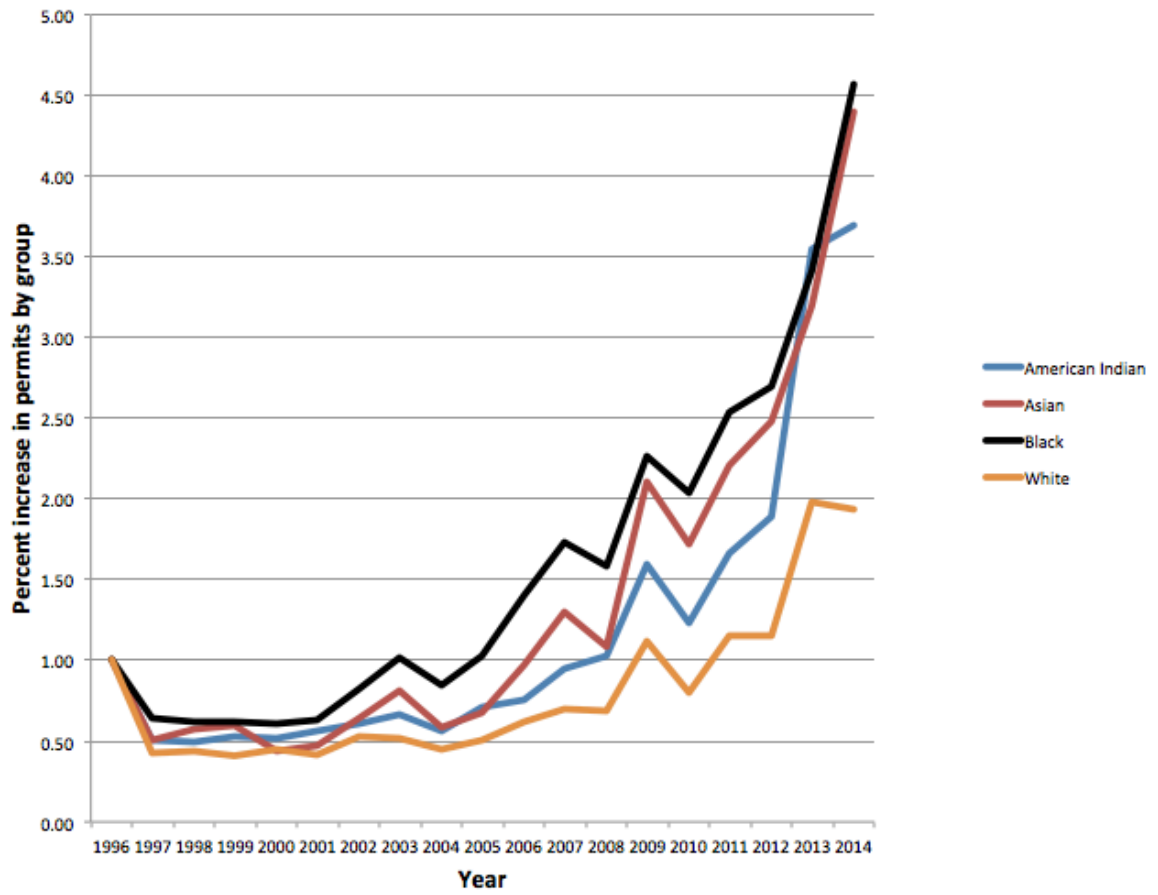
Assuming that these changes in the shares of permits held by men and women for these seven states is similar, the number of permits since 2007 has increased by 270% for women and by 156% for men.

There is also some very limited data on permit issuance by race. Texas provides detailed information on both race and gender from 1996 through 2014.⁷ Their data indicates that permitting has increased fastest by blacks, followed closely by Asians. Indeed, while whites still hold the vast majority of permits, the number of black permit holders has grown more than twice as fast as the number for whites.

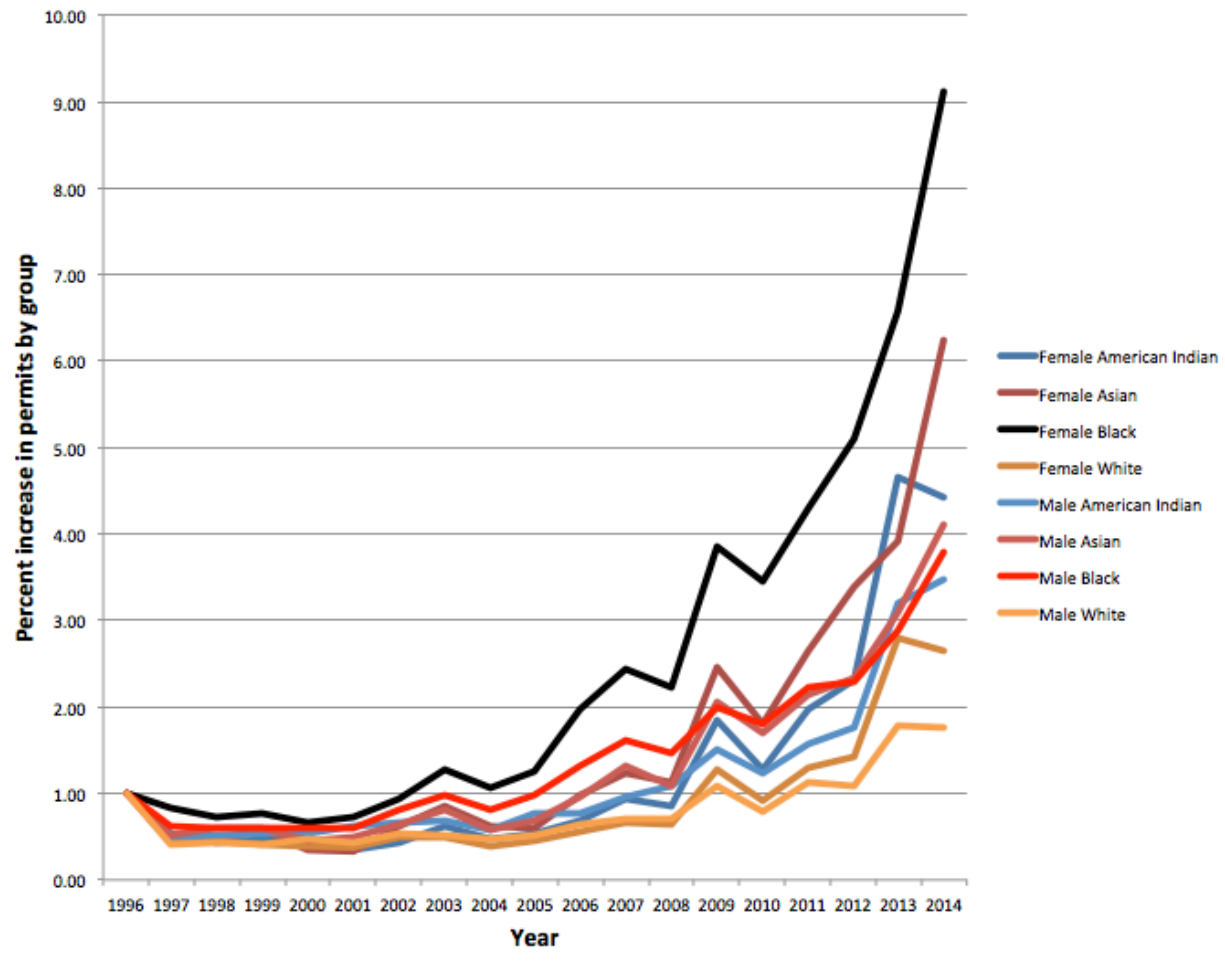
The growth in permits by Asians, blacks, and American Indians has grown by far the fastest after the training requirements were reduced from a minimum of 10 hours to a minimum of four in 2013. Between 2012 and 2014, the number of black permit holders increased from 10,389 to 17,594. Asian permit holders grew from 3,286 to 5,822. Reducing the cost of obtaining permits seems to have had its biggest impact on minorities getting permits.

When permit data is broken down simultaneously by both race and gender, American Indian, Asian, black, and white females all saw their rate of holding permits grow much faster than the rates for males in those racial groups. Of particular interest, black females are clearly the fastest growing concealed handgun permit group, increasing by 3.44 times faster than white females.

Texas: Percent Change in the Number of Permit Holders Issued by Race and Gender by Year



Texas: Percent Change in the Number of Permit Holders Issued by Race and Gender by Year



Permit Holders are Extremely Law-abiding

Permit holders on rare occasion violate the law. But in order to truly appreciate how incredibly rare those problems are one needs to remember that there are over 12.8 million permit holders in the US. Indeed, it is impossible to think of any other group in the US who is anywhere near as law-abiding.

To get an idea of just how law-abiding concealed handgun permit holders are, compare them to police. According to a study in *Police Quarterly*, the period from January 1, 2005 to December 31, 2007 saw an average of 703 crimes by police per year.⁸ 113 of these involved firearms violations. This is likely to be an underestimate since not all police crimes receive media coverage. The authors of the study may also have missed some media reports.

So how law-abiding are police? With about 685,464 full-time police officers in the US at that time, that translates into about 103 crimes by police per hundred thousand officers. For the US population as a whole over those years, the crime rate was 37 times higher -- 3,813 per hundred thousand people.

Perhaps police crimes are underreported due to leniency from fellow officers, but whatever the reason the gap between police and the general citizenry is so vast that this couldn't account for more than a small fraction of the difference.

Concealed carry permit holders are even more law-abiding. Between October 1, 1987 and June 30, 2015, Florida revoked 9,999 concealed handgun permits for misdemeanors or felonies.⁹ This is an annual rate of 12.8 per 100,000 permit holders. In Texas in 2013, the last year the data is available, 158 permit holders were convicted of misdemeanors or felonies – a rate of 22.3 per 100,000.¹⁰ Combining the Florida and Texas data together implies that permit holders are convicted of misdemeanors and felonies at less than a sixth the rate for police officers.

Firearms violations among police occur at a rate of 16.5 per 100,000 officers. Combining the data for permit holders in Florida and Texas, it is only 2.4 per 100,000.¹⁰ That is only 1/7th the rate for police officers. The data are similar in other states.

Why are the Number of Permits Increasing?

The surge in concealed handgun permits close follows what polls show to be people's changing views on guns. Take a series of polls by the Pew Research Center. In December 2012, respondents by a 48 to 37 percentage point margin thought owning a gun "protected them from being crime victims" versus "putting people's safety at risk."¹¹ By December 2014, people's positive impression of guns had grown further to 57 versus 38 percentage points.

Other polls by Gallup and ABC News-Washington Post found similar changes.¹² Their questions are phrased more narrowly to just ask whether having a gun in the home makes the home safer or more dangerous, but the change has been dramatic. For example, in 2000, Gallup found that only 35 percent of Americans thought that owning a gun made their home safer. By 2014, that had soared to 63 percent.

It isn't just that Americans think that having a gun makes them individually safer. They also feel better knowing that their neighbors are armed. A Rasmussen poll from this past June found that by a 68 to 22 percent margin Americans "feel safer in a neighborhood where guns are allowed."¹³

In addition, the PEW poll helps explain why blacks and women have seen such a large increase in concealed handgun permits. The poll showed that percentage of blacks with this favorable view of guns soared by 25 percentage points, the largest increase seen in any group. The increase for women wasn't nearly as large, just 11 percentage points, but that was still larger than the 8 percentage point increase for men.

Number of Permit Holders by State

State	Active Permits	Data Updated
Alabama	470,005	Mid-2014
Alaska†	8041	December 31 2014
Arizona†	239,259	July 5, 2015
Arkansas†	176,123	March 17, 2015
California	70,234	December 2014
Colorado	165,528	December 31, 2014
Connecticut	230,000	March 1, 2015
Delaware	11,718	March 3, 2015
District of Columbia	31	June 13, 2015
Florida	1,415,301	June 30, 2015
Georgia	750,000	December 31, 2014
Hawaii	183	January 1, 2010
Idaho††	110,024	February 19, 2015
Illinois	103,000	March 2015
Indiana	595,361	June 30, 2015
Iowa	220,000	December 2014
Kansas†	94,093	March 2015
Kentucky	277,972	December 31, 2013
Louisiana	137,570	December 31, 2014
Maine	36,000	March 18, 2015
Maryland	14,454	June 16, 2015
Massachusetts	326,841	April 2, 2015
Michigan	610,943	June 30, 2015
Minnesota	194,905	April 30, 2015
Mississippi†	63,900	December 1, 2011
Missouri	171,000	December 31, 2012
Montana ††	43,567	March 17, 2015
Nebraska	37,045	March 9, 2015
Nevada	90,228	February 20, 2015
New Hampshire ^o	34,315	March 20, 2015
New Jersey	1,212	2012-2013
New Mexico	40,794	December 31, 2014
New York‡	15,000 (est)	September 2014
NYC	5,700	12/10
North Carolina	484,630	June 10, 2015
North Dakota	40888	December 31, 2013
Ohio	462,800	March 31, 2015
Oklahoma	217,724	March 2, 2015
Oregon	211,223	March 8, 2015
Pennsylvania	1,064,360	April 15th, 2015
Rhode Island	3,473	March 18, 2015

Florida is the state that has issued the most concealed carry permits at 1.4 million, followed by Pennsylvania with 1.1 million.

South Carolina	253,339	February 10, 2015
South Dakota	81,222	March 19, 2015
Tennessee	504,384	June 10, 2015
Texas	841,500	April 2015
Utah*	603,144 total/ 202,637 residents	March 31, 2015
Vermont†		
Virginia	387,054	March 16, 2015
Washington	482,852	February 28, 2015
West Virginia	126,514	December 2013
Wisconsin	253,116	May 2015
Wyoming†	29,870	December 31, 2014
TOTAL	12,802,740	

† States where permits not required to carry within the state. Permits only obtained to carry outside of state.

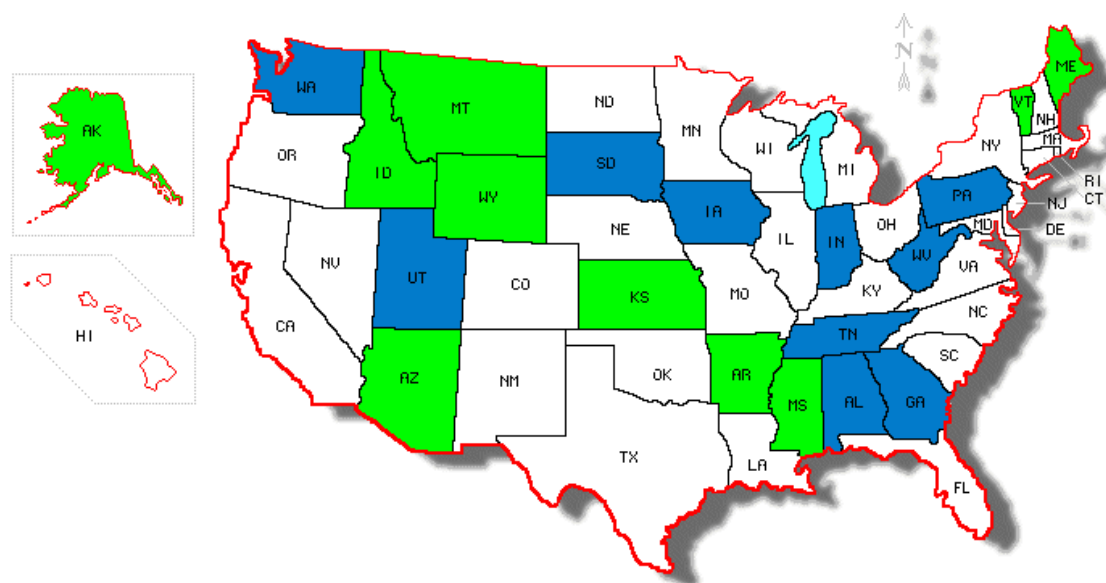
†† Permits not required to carry in 99.4 percent of Montana and a similar percentage of Idaho. For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.

* Utah's total permits as well as those issued only to residents are included here.

º New Hampshire's permit numbers only include out-of-state permits.

¥ Data are not available for New York State, so we assumed a 0.1% permitting rate based on Herkimer, Suffolk, Monroe, and Suffolk Counties as well as New York City
<http://crimepreventionresearchcenter.org/2014/09/more-misleading-information-from-bloombergs-everytown-for-gun-safety-on-guns-analysis-of-recent-mass-shootings/>. For NYC, Gawker used a FOIA release of NYPD licensees. 114 pages of carry licenses with 50 names each = 5,700.
<http://gawker.com/5974190/here-is-a-list-of-all-the-assholes-who-own-guns-in-new-york-city>

Percent of adult population with permits by state



- Top 10 states with the greatest percentage of the adult population with permits
- States that don't require permits to carry (including Idaho and Montana)

State	% of Population with cc permit
Alabama	12.64%
South Dakota	12.30%
Indiana	11.62%
Pennsylvania	10.64%
Tennessee	10.21%
Utah††	9.38%
Georgia	9.35%
Iowa	9.33%
West Virginia	8.87%
Washington	8.83%
Idaho *	8.62%
Florida ^o	8.52%
Connecticut	8.36%
Arkansas†	7.85%
Michigan	7.73%
Kentucky	7.67%
Oklahoma	7.28%
North Dakota	7.20%

Oregon	7.06%
Wyoming†	6.62%
South Carolina	6.59%
Massachusetts	6.27%
Virginia	5.78%
Wisconsin	5.69%
Montana *	5.53%
North Carolina	5.47%
Ohio	4.77%
Arizona†	4.76%
Minnesota	4.62%
Nevada	4.23%
Kansas†	4.23%
Colorado	4.06%
Texas	4.05%
Louisiana	3.85%
Missouri	3.75%
Maine	3.57%
New Hampshire	3.39%
Mississippi†	2.79%
New Mexico	2.53%
Nebraska	2.53%
Delaware	1.60%
Alaska†	1.42%
Illinois	1.09%
Rhode Island	0.42%
Maryland	0.30%
California	0.24%
New York‡	0.10%
Hawaii	0.02%
New Jersey	0.02%
District of Columbia	0.01%
Vermont†	Not available

†States where permits not required to carry within the state. Permits only obtained to carry outside of state. These numbers will dramatically underestimate the true rate that guns are legally carried concealed in these states.

* Permits not required to carry in 99.4 percent of Montana and a similar percentage in Idaho. For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.

†† Only Utah's permits to residents are included here.

‡ Florida's number includes a significant number of out of state residents.

Notes

* Rujun Wang and Roger Lott provided valuable research assistance in producing this report.

1. There are a number of polls that show this increasing distrust of government. The Pew Research Center describes the trust in government a “near historic lows.” See for example, Pew Research Center, Public Trust in Government: 1958-2014, November 13, 2014 (<http://www.people-press.org/2014/11/13/public-trust-in-government/>).

2. To calculate what influences whether people get permits, we ran a simple regression on the right-to-carry and may issue states, excluding the six states that do not require that people have to have permits to legally carry a concealed handgun. The absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses.

Percent of adult population with permits = 0.00148 (1.61) years that the right-to-carry law has been in effect + 0.0229 (0.84) whether the right-to-carry law was in effect before 1977 - 0.044 (1.87) May Issue law with discretion on who gets a permit - 0.00051 (2.71) Fees for getting permit - 0.00035 (0.17) Hours of training required to get permit + 0.085 (3.21) Constant

	Average
Years Right-to-Carry Law in effect by 2014	11.14
Fee	\$66.99
Hours	5.57

3. Regressing the natural log of the murder rate on the percent of the adult population with permits, the number of full-time sworn police officers per 1,000 Americans, and a time trend finds:

$\ln(\text{murder rate}) = -.2499 (7.15) \text{ percent of adults with permits} -.8197 (5.50) \text{ police per 1,000 Americans} - 0.0023 (3.41) \text{ Prison Population per 100,000 people} + 0.0068 (2.51) \text{ year time trend} -8.95 (1.76)$
Constant

Using the percent of the population in prison instead of a time trend produced very similar results.

4. To estimate this we ran a couple simple regressions on the murder rate on the percentage of adult population with permits as well as with and without state and year fixed effects. There is a lot of noise in these estimates both because the permit numbers come from many different years as well as the estimated number of murders in 2013. These estimates have a great deal of measurement error and should only be taken as suggestive. That said, the simplest estimate regressing the murder rate on the percentage of the adult population with permits produces a coefficient and absolute t-statistics of -12.68 (1.66). With fixed effects, the estimate was 6.8 (0.82).

5. Regressing the percent change in murder rates on the percent change in the share of the adult population between 2011 and 2013 gives us this:

Percent change in murder rates = -.123 (1.49) the percent change in the share of the adult population -.072 (0.96) Dummy for States that Allowed Carrying Without a Permit + .010 (0.24) Constant

F-statistics = 1.36, Adjusted R-squared = 0.0169

We used the GAO report on percent of the population with permits for 2011

(<http://www.gao.gov/assets/600/592552.pdf>). There were errors in the GAO report for Maine and Connecticut. For example, in 2011, the GAO states that there were only 4,000 concealed handgun permits. That would imply an amazing 725 percent increase in permits between 2011 and 2013. For a permitting system that had been around for decades and no recent change in their laws, it would be surprising to have any state see that type of change. Maine's Special Investigations Unit told us that there were in fact 24,000 in 2011. Possibly the GAO simply left off the number "2" when then recorded this information. In Connecticut, we had a smaller number of permits in 2011 (115,000).

6. Justin Mayo, Brian M. Rosenthal, and Erika Schultz, "Concealed-carry permits skyrocket, especially for women," *The Seattle Times*, May 31, 2014 (<http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/concealed-carry-permits-skyrocket-especially-for-women/>).

7. Those who indicated that they were of multiple races were excluded because people's willingness to say that they are of multiple races has changed over time. Thus it is not possible to know how much of the change is due to people's willingness to identify themselves this way or an actual change in the number of people in this category.

8. Phil Stinson, J Liederbach and TL Freiburger, "Exit Strategy: An Exploration of Late-Stage Police Crime," *Police Quarterly* December 2010 13: 413-435. Data on the number of full-time law enforcement employees is available from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports from 2005 to 2007, Table 74 (https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/05cius/data/table_74.html).

9. Concealed Weapon or Firearm License Summary Report, October 1, 1987 - June 30, 2015 (http://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf).

10. The number of permit holders in Texas in 2013 is available here (<https://www.txdps.state.tx.us/rsd/chl/reports/ActLicAndInstr/ActiveLicandInstr2013.pdf>). The conviction rates of permit holders during that year is available here (<https://www.txdps.state.tx.us/RSD/CHL/Reports/ConvictionRatesReport2013.pdf>).

11. Pew Research Center, "Growing Public Support for Gun Rights: More Say Guns Do More to Protect Than Put People at Risk," December 10, 2014 (<http://www.people-press.org/2014/12/10/growing-public-support-for-gun-rights/>).

12. Justin McCarthy, "More Than Six in 10 Americans Say Guns Make Homes Safer," Gallup, November 7, 2014 (http://www.gallup.com/poll/179213/six-americans-say-guns-homes-safer.aspx?utm_source=alert&utm_medium=email&utm_content=morelink&utm_campaign=syndication). Scott Clement and Peyton Craighill, "Majority of Americans say guns make homes safer," *Washington Post*, April 18, 2013 (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2013/04/18/majority-of-americans-say-guns-make-homes-safer/>).

13. Rasmussen Reports, "Americans Prefer Living in Neighborhoods With Guns," June 12, 2015 (http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/current_events/gun_control/americans_prefer_living_in_neighborhoods_with_guns).

Data Sources for Number of Concealed Handgun Permits

State	Data Source
Alabama	Brendan Kirby, "No state carries concealed more than Alabama, but does it affect crime?," Al.com, September 12, 2014 (http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2014/09/no_state_carries_concealed_mor.html).
Alaska*	Eric Gaffney, Records & Licensing Supervisor, Division of Statewide Services, Alaska Department of Public Safety (907) 269-5634
Arizona*	Arizona Department of Public Safety, Statistics - Concealed Weapons permits http://www.azdps.gov/Services/Concealed_Weapons/Statistics/
Arkansas	Bill Sadler, Arkansas State Police - Public Information Officer
California	Brandon Combs, Calguns Foundation
Colorado	COLORADO GENERAL ASSEMBLY - STATUTORY REPORTS http://www.leg.state.co.us/library/reports.nsf/ReportsDoc.xsp?documentId=D6727350F8E058DB87256E6600773612
Connecticut	email reply from the Connecticut Department of Emergency Services and Public Protection
Delaware	Delaware Criminal Justice Information System
District of Columbia	Andrea Noble, "Federal judge halts D.C.'s 'good reason' concealed carry requirement," Washington Times, May 18, 2015 http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/may/18/dc-good-reason-gun-ownership-requirement-halted-by/?page=all
Florida	Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services Division of Licensing Concealed Weapon or Firearm License Summary Report http://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf
Georgia	Georgiacarry.org
Hawaii	GAO says zero permits. Legally Armed says 183 security guards in 2010. http://www.hawaiireporter.com/hawaii-firearms-registrations-reach-record-high-after-70-percent-jump/123
Idaho	Teresa Baker, Public Information Officer, Idaho State Police, 700 S. Stratford Dr., Meridian, ID 83642 208.884.7122
Illinois	Richard Pearson, Illinois State Rifle Association
Indiana	Indiana State Police Firearms Licensing Statistics by County http://www.in.gov/isp/files/ISP_Firearms_Licensing_Statistics_2015_2nd_Quarter.pdf
Iowa	Lauren Blanchard, "Boom: Iowa gun permits soar five-fold since 2010," Fox News January 23, 2015 http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2015/01/23/boom-iowa-gun-permits-soar-five-fold-since-2010/
Kansas	Tim Carpenter, "Legislature approves unlicensed conceal-carry bill," Topeka

	Capital-Journal, March 26, 2015 http://cjonline.com/news/state/2015-03-25/legislature-approves-unlicensed-conceal-carry-bill
Kentucky	Kentucky State Police http://www.kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw_reports.html
Louisiana	Louisiana Department of Public Safety http://www.lsp.org/handguns.html
Maine	Sergeant Michael P. Johnston Special Investigations Unit 164 State House Station Augusta, ME 04333 Office: (207) 624-7212
Maryland	Sergeant John Casey, Maryland State Police Handgun Permit Unit Commander
Massachusetts	Michaela Dunne Manager of Law Enforcement & Justice Services Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services, 200 Arlington Street, Suite 2200 Chelsea, MA 02150 p. 617.660.4682 f. 617.884.4601 michaela.dunne@state.ma.us
Michigan	Michigan State Police http://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/ccw_county_report_273948_7.pdf
Minnesota	Minnesota Association of Defensive Firearm Instructors http://www.madfi.org/permitcount.asp
Mississippi	Email: oeasterling@dps.ms.gov < oeasterling@dps.ms.gov >;
Missouri	Email: Missouri State Highway Patrol mshppied@mshp.dps.mo.gov
Montana †	John Barnes, Department of Justice, Montana
Nebraska	Nebraska State Patrol / Criminal investigation division, nsp.webmaster@nebraska.gov
Nevada	Nevada Department of Public Safety http://johnrlott.blogspot.com/2015/03/nevadas-concealed-handgun-permits-surge.html
New Hampshire	Sergeant Sean R. Haggerty, New Hampshire State Police, Permits and Licensing Unit
New Jersey	New Jersey State Police/ Firearm investigation office, Glenn Ross #5092, Assistant Unit Head, lpp5092@gw.njsp.org
New Mexico	New Mexico Department of Public Safety http://www.dps.state.nm.us/index.php/nm-concealed-carry/concealed-handgun-carry-statistics/
New York NYC	Assuming a 0.1% permitting rate based on Herkimer, Suffolk, Monroe, and Suffolk Counties as well as New York City http://crimepreventionresearchcenter.org/2014/09/more-misleading-information-from-bloombergs-everytown-for-gun-safety-on-guns-analysis-of-recent-mass-shootings/ , for NYC Gawker FOIA release of NYPD licensees. 114 pages of carry licenses with 50 names each = 5,700. http://gawker.com/5974190/here-is-a-list-of-all-the-assholes-who-own-guns-in-new-york-city
North Carolina	NC Attorney General, email from public information officer
North Dakota	North Dakota Attorney General http://www.ag.nd.gov/BCI/CW/GeneralInfo/CWLIssuedCounty.pdf
Ohio	Ohio Attorney General http://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Files/Publications/Publications-for-Law-

	Enforcement/Concealed-Carry-Publications/Concealed-Carry-Statistics
Oklahoma	http://www.ok.gov/osbi/
Oregon	Department of State Police, Central Records Section, 503-378-3725
Pennsylvania	uniformed Public Information Officer Tpr. Adam Reed, Pennsylvania State Police, areed@pa.gov
Rhode Island	William Karalis < WKaralis@riag.ri.gov >
South Carolina	South Carolina Law Enforcement Division http://www.sled.sc.gov/CWPStats.aspx?MenuID=CWP
South Dakota	Ashley.Klapperich@state.sd.us / 605-773-5002
Tennessee	<i>TN Dept of Safety and Homeland Security</i> http://crimepreventionresearchcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Tennessee-permits-06102015.png
Texas	Tom Benning, "Texas Legislature's push for gun issues triggered by politics," Dallas Morning News, April 13, 2015; the number for December 31, 2014 is available here https://www.txdps.state.tx.us/rsd/chl/reports/ActLicAndInstr/ActiveLicandInstr2014.pdf
Utah††	Utah Department of Public Safety, Firearm Statistical Review, First Quarter 2015 http://bci.utah.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2015/01/2015Q1.pdf
Vermont*	No permits required to carry. No permits offered for those who carry out of state.
Virginia	obtained from Corinne Geller, Public Relations Director, Va State Police
Washington	Washington Department of Licensing, 360.902.3600
West Virginia	Kris Wise Maramba, " " Logan Banner (West Virginia), August 13, 2014 http://www.loganbanner.com/news/news/50264451/Concealed-weapons-permits-quadrupled-in-West-Virginia
Wisconsin	Anne E. Schwartz, Director of Communications and Public Affairs, Department of Justice, Office of Attorney General Brad Schimel, 17 W. Main St. P.O. Box 7857, Madison, WI 53707-7857, Direct Phone: (608) 266-6686
Wyoming*	Anthony Bouchard, Wyoming Gun Owners

Appendix of some academic research showing that right-to-carry laws reduce violent crime

Links embedding in paper titles.

John R. Lott, Jr. and David B. Mustard, *Crime, Deterrence, and Right-to-Carry Concealed Handguns*, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 1997.

William Alan Bartley and Mark A Cohen, *The Effect of Concealed Weapons Laws: An Extreme Bound Analysis*, *Economic Inquiry*, April 1998. (Copy available [here](#))

Stephen G. Bronars and John R. Lott, Jr., *Criminal Deterrence, Geographic Spillovers, and Right-to-Carry Concealed Handguns*, *American Economic Review*, May 1998.

John R. Lott, Jr., “The Concealed –Handgun Debate,” *Journal of Legal Studies*, January 1998: 221-243

David Mustard, *The Impact of Gun Laws on Police Deaths*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

Bruce L. Benson and Brent D. Mast, *Privately Produced General Deterrence*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

Florenz Plassmann and T. Nicolaus Tideman, *Does the Right to Carry Concealed Handguns Deter Countable Crimes?: Only a Count Analysis Can Say*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

Carlisle E. Moody, *Testing for the Effects of Concealed Weapons Laws: Specification Errors and Robustness*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

David E. Olson and Michael D. Maltz, *Right-to-Carry Concealed Weapon Laws and Homicide in Large U.S. Counties: The Effect on Weapon Types, Victim Characteristics, and Victim-Offender Relationships*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

Thomas B. Marvell, *The Impact of Banning Juvenile Gun Possession*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001.

John R. Lott, Jr. and John E. Whitley, *Safe-Storage Gun Laws: Accidental Deaths, Suicides, and Crime*, *Journal of Law and Economics*, October 2001

John R. Lott, Jr. and John E. Whitley, *Measurement Error in County-Level UCR Data*, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, June 2003, Volume 19, Issue 2, pp 185-198

Florenz Plassmann and John Whitley, *Confirming More Guns, Less Crime*, *Stanford Law Review*, 2003

Eric Helland and Alexander Tabarrok, *Using Placebo Laws to Test “More Guns, Less Crime,”* *Advances in Economic Analysis and Policy*, 4 (1): Article 1, 2004.

John R. Lott, Jr. and William Landes, *Multiple Victim Public Shootings, Bombings, and Right-to-Carry Concealed Handgun Laws: Contrasting Private and Public Law Enforcement*, published in *The Bias Against Guns* (2003).

Florenz Plassmann and John R. Lott, Jr., *More Readers of Gun Magazines, But Not More Crimes*.

John R Lott, Jr., “More Guns, Less Crime” (University of Chicago Press, 2010, 3rd edition).

Carlisle E. Moody, Thomas B. Marvell, Paul R Zimmerman, and Fasil Alemante, “*The Debate on Shall-Issue Laws*,” *Review of Economics & Finance*, 2014

Mark Gius, "An examination of the effects of concealed weapons laws and assault weapons bans on state-level murder rates," *Applied Economics Letters*, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2014

Carlisle E. Moody and Thomas B. Marvell, "The Debate on Shall-Issue Laws," *Econ Journal Watch*, volume 5, number 3, September 2008 It is also available here.

Carlisle E. Moody and Thomas B. Marvell, "The Debate on Shall Issue Laws, Continued," *Econ Journal Watch*, Volume 6, Number 2 May 2009

Carlisle E. Moody, Thomas B. Marvell, and John R. Lott, Jr., "Did John Lott Provide Bad Data to the NRC? A Note on Aneja, Donohue, and Zhang," *Econ Journal Watch*, Volume 10, Number 1, January 2013

Carlisle E. Moody and Thomas B. Marvell, "On the Choice of Control Variables in the Crime Equation" by Carlisle E. Moody and Thomas B. Marvell, *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, Volume 72, Issue 5, pages 696–715, October 2010.

John R. Lott, Jr., *More Guns, Less Crime: A Response to Ayres and Donohue's 1999 book review in the American Law and Economics Review*, *Yale Law & Economics Research Paper No. 247*, 1999.

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John R. Lott, Jr., Comment on 'The Deterrence of Crime Through Private Security Efforts: Theory and Evidence', *Crime Prevention Research Center*, November 2014.

Academic advisory board

Chair of the Board: William M. Landes is the Clifton R. Musser Professor Emeritus of Law and Economics, and Senior Lecturer at the University of Chicago Law School. Mr. Landes has written widely on the application of economics and quantitative methods to law and legal institutions, including multiple victim public shootings, hijacking of airplanes, and the bail system. Landes has been an editor of the Journal of Law and Economics (1975–1991) and the Journal of Legal Studies (1991–2000), is past president of the American Law and Economics Association, and is a member of the American Economic Association, the Mont Pelerin Society, and the Council of Economic Advisers of the American Enterprise Institute. He is also a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Members

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Tim Groseclose is the Marvin Hoffenberg Professor of American Politics at UCLA. He holds appointments in the political science and economics departments at the university. In 1987, he received his B.S. in Mathematical Sciences from Stanford University. In 1992, he received his PhD from Stanford’s Graduate School of Business. He is the author of over two dozen scholarly articles as well as the book **Left Turn: How Liberal Media Bias Distorts the American Mind**. Given the extensive media bias on guns, Professor Groseclose’s expertise on identifying media bias will be important. He contributes to the blog, www.Ricochet.com, and is an active tweeter at [@Tim_Groseclose](https://twitter.com/Tim_Groseclose) (https://twitter.com/Tim_Groseclose). You can learn more about him and his writings at www.timgroseclose.com.

Jonathan M. Karpoff is the Washington Mutual Endowed Chair in Innovation Professor of Finance at the University of Washington Foster School of Business. Karpoff has published pathbreaking research on the topics of corporate crime and punishment as well as corporate governance. He is the associate editor for the Journal of Finance, Journal of Financial Economics, Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis, Management Science, Managerial and Decision Sciences, and The North American Journal of Economics and Finance. He has received a long list of academic awards.

Joyce Lee Malcolm is the Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second Amendment at George Mason University Law School. She has a Ph.D. in history and is internationally known for her books **Guns and Violence: The English Experience**, Harvard University Press (November 24, 2004), and **To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an**

Anglo-American Right, Harvard University Press (March 2, 1996). **Guns and Violence** provides a comprehensive history and examination of changes in murder rates in England from the middle ages to the current day. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and she has held positions at Princeton University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Cambridge University. Malcolm also served as the Director, Division of Research Programs for the National Endowment for the Humanities during 2005-2006.

Scott E. Masten is Professor of Business Economics and Public Policy in the University of Michigan Stephen M. Ross School of Business, where he has been a faculty member since 1984. A leading scholar in the area of transaction cost economics, Professor Masten's research focuses on issues at the intersection of law, economics, and organization. In addition to his primary appointment, he has held appointments as the Louis and Myrtle Moskowitz Research Professor in Business and Law at Michigan, John M. Olin Faculty Research Fellow at Yale Law School, John M. Olin Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law at the University of Virginia Law School, and Visiting Professor in the University of Michigan Law School. He was President of the International Society for New Institutional Economics in 2008-09, is a co-editor of the *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, and serves on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Law, Economics & Organization* and *Managerial and Decision Economics*.

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