

Concealed Carry Permit Holders Across the United States: 2016



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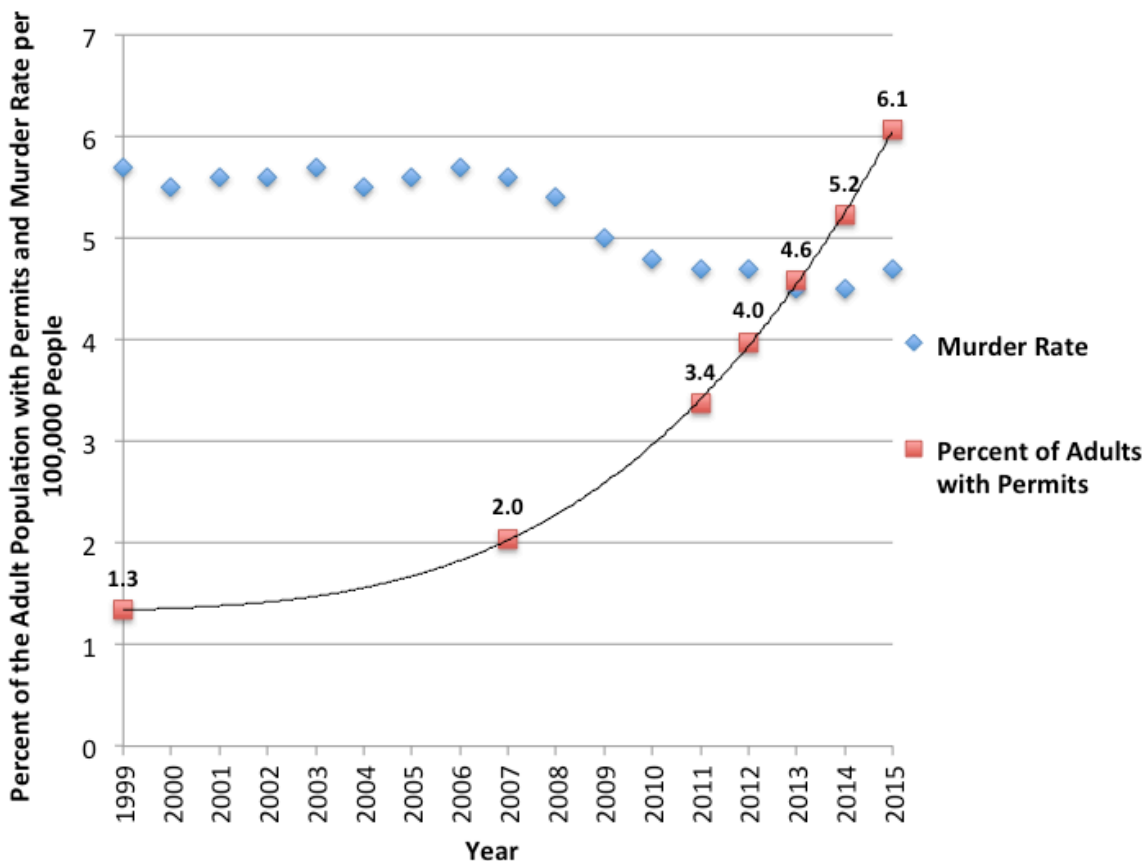
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Summary

During President Obama's administration, the number of concealed handgun permits has soared to over 14.5 million – a 215% increase since 2007. Among the findings of our report:

- The increase in the number of concealed handgun permits last year set *another record*, increasing by 1.73 million. That is slightly greater than previous record of 1.69 million set the last year.
- 6.06% of the total adult population has a permit.
- In ten states, more than 10% of adults have concealed handgun permits. Indiana has the highest rate — 15%. South Dakota is close behind with 14.7%.
- Florida, Pennsylvania, and Texas each have over a million residents who are active permit holders.
- In another 11 states, a permit is no longer required to carry in all or virtually all of the state. Thus the growth in permits does not provide a full picture of the overall increase in concealed carry.
- Between 2012 and 2016, in states that provide data by gender, the number of women with permits has increased twice as quickly as the number of men with permits.
- Some evidence suggests that permit-holding is increasing about 75% more quickly among minorities than among whites.
- Between 2007 and 2015, murder rates fell from 5.6 to 4.7 (preliminary estimate) per 100,000. This represents a 16% drop. Overall violent crime fell by 18 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of adults with permits has soared by 190%.
- Regression estimates show a significant association between increased permit ownership and a drop in murder and violent crime rates. Each one percentage point increase in rates of permit-holding is associated with a roughly 2.5 percent drop in the murder rate. This holds true even after accounting for the number of police per capita, demographics, and the percentage of the population that is incarcerated,
- Concealed handgun permit holders are extremely law-abiding. In Florida and Texas, permit holders are convicted of misdemeanors and felonies at one-sixth of the rate at which police officers are convicted.

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



Background

"I think that we've got to reign in what has become an almost article of faith that anybody can have a gun anywhere, anytime. And I don't believe that is in the best interest of the vast majority of people. . . . carrying guns in public places. . . ."

Hillary Clinton, May 6, 2016 at the National Council for Behavioral Health

"You can say what you want, but if they had guns -- if our people had guns, if they were allowed to carry -- it would have been a much, much different situation."

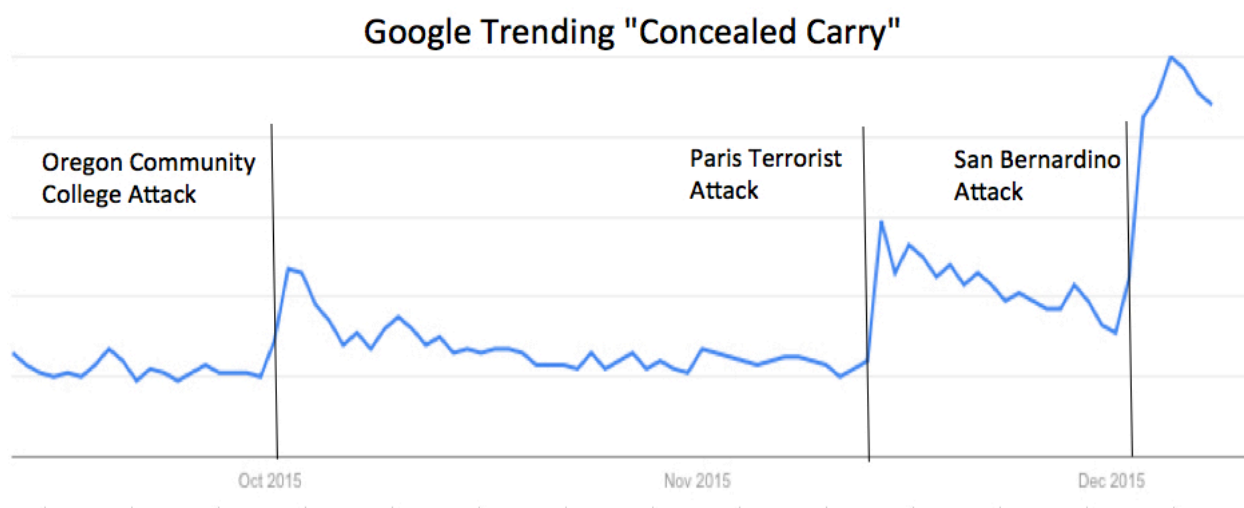
Donald Trump speaking after the Paris and San Bernardino Terrorist attacks, November 14, 2015 in Beaumont, Texas.

“More people would have been killed [if someone at the Orlando Nightclub massacre had a permitted concealed handgun].”

Bill Clinton speaking at the Clinton Global Initiative America Conference on June 14, 2016

Whether people should be allowed to carry permitted concealed handguns has become a contentious issue in this year's presidential campaign.

A simple Google Trends search shows that people's interest in concealed carry has spiked in the wake of recent mass public shootings. Take the three attacks that occurred last fall. Interest similarly spiked after the attacks in Orlando and elsewhere.



These attacks have also been followed by sharp increases in the number of permits being issued. With over 1.73 million new concealed handgun permits issued in just the last year — bringing the total to 14.5 million — Americans have clearly done more than simply look up information on the Internet about concealed handgun permits.

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

But the rules vary greatly from state to state. There are no fees or training

requirements in the eleven states that do not require permits. The average fee for a five-year permit is \$74. At one end is Illinois, which charges a \$150 fee and requires 16 hours of training. The training may cost \$250, resulting in a total monetary cost of about \$400. By contrast, South Dakota has no training requirement and charges only \$10 for a four-year permit. Similarly, Pennsylvania has no training requirement and charges \$19 for a five-year permit.

Not surprisingly, concealed carry is much more popular in states where permits are relatively inexpensive and easy to obtain.

This report will focus on the increase in concealed carry. Obviously, the important thing from a crime prevention standpoint is whether people actually carry guns, not whether they are allowed to do so.

It's not just that more states now allow concealed carry. There has also been an increase in permits within each state. The longer that concealed carry laws have been in effect, the more time that people have had to apply for and receive 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.

Previously, the increase in permits had been relatively slow, growing from roughly 2.7 million permit holders in 1999 to 4.6 million in 2007. But the number of concealed handgun permits exploded during the Obama presidency. In December 2011, the Government Accountability Office estimated that there were at least 8 million concealed handgun permits. By June 2014, it was 11.1 million. Now, in 2016, the number is up to over 14.5 million.

In other words, during the eight years from 1999 to 2007, the number of permits increased by about 240,000 annually. During the next four years, the number of permits surged by 850,000 annually. Then, in 2012 and 2013, the yearly increase accelerated to 1,550,000. Then 1,690,000 last year and 1,730,000 this year.

The rapid increase in concealed carry permits is mirrored by a rapid increase in gun sales. The National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) checks soared from 11.2 to 23.1 million between 2007 and 2015. Sales in 2016 have grown at an even faster pace.

Polls show a less drastic increase in gun ownership. But polling relies on people's willingness to reveal whether they own a gun, which may be affected by mass shootings or by growing distrust of government.¹

The background check measure has the problem of not being able to tell us the number of people buying guns. Some people undergo multiple checks, and sometimes multiple guns are sold with a single check. Furthermore, people who have already passed a concealed carry background check are not always required to undergo another one for buying a gun.

Concealed handgun permit data is a third measure of gun ownership. But 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 ten states as well as virtually all of Montana. Generally, people in those states only obtain permits so that they can carry concealed when traveling outside of their home state. With no fees or other requirements, these states are probably the ones where people most frequently legally carry concealed guns.
- 2) Data is not readily available for a few states. For example, New Hampshire only collects data on permits issued to non-residents, though we were given a conservative estimate. Alabama and New York simply don't collect this data at all on the state level, and it is a very cumbersome process to obtain data from a large number of individual counties or cities. We would collect data for some counties and then assume that rate is similar for the rest of the state.
- 3) For some states, the data is one or more years old and thus misses the recent growth in permits.

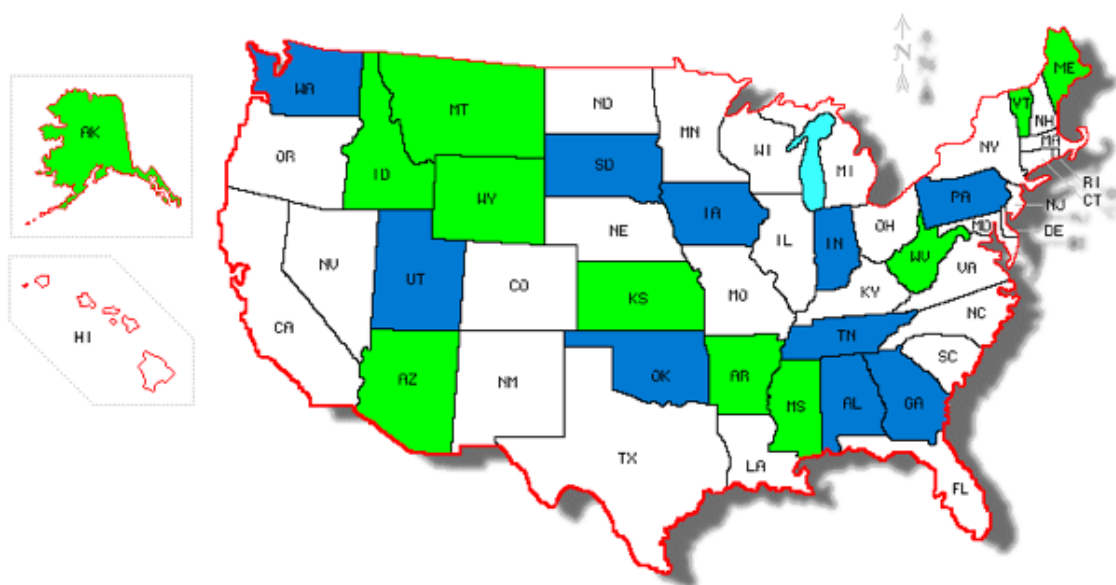
As more and more states decide not to require permits, the number of people who can legally carry a handgun will increasingly outpace the number of permit holders.

Due to old and missing data, 14.5 million is undoubtedly an underestimate of the total number of Americans with permits. On the other hand, at least 687,840 of these permits are "non-residential" permits, some of which are issued to people who already have concealed handgun permits from their home states. Most probably get a non-residential permit in place of their state permit simply because permits from states such as Utah and Florida are honored in the vast majority of states. Most of these non-residential permits are issued by Utah and Florida.

As the map on the next page shows, every part of the country has both states with over 10 percent of the adult population with concealed handgun permits and has a state that also doesn't require people to have a permit to carry.

To summarize, the total number of permits in the US is at least 14.53 million. Add in people who legally carry without a permit, and the number clearly becomes much larger. The total number of Americans with permits could possibly be lower than 14.53 million, but is most likely in excess of that figure.

Percent of adult population with permits by state



Blue Top 10 states with the greatest percentage of the adult population with permits (excluding Constitutional Carry states)

Green States that don't require permits to carry (including Montana)

Explaining the Number of Permits Issued

In a given state, the percentage of adults with permits can be easily explained by the costs of obtaining a permit, 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 causes a half a percentage point decrease in the proportion of adults with permits.
- Each 10 years that the permit law has been in effect causes a 1.5 percentage point increase in the proportion of adults with permits.
- Government discretion in issuing permits is associated with a two-thirds reduction in the percentage of adults with permits.

Deterring Crime

Many factors affect crime rates, among them: arrest and conviction rates, policing policies, prison, demographics, income, poverty, and education. But concealed carry laws are also part of this story, especially when a large percentage of the population has permits. The overwhelming majority of peer-reviewed academic research by economists and criminologists concludes that ownership of permitted concealed handguns causes a reduction in violent crime. The debate is between those claiming a reduction in 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).

Most research, however, 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). Empirical tests should measure whether crime rates fell relatively more sharply in those states with the largest percentage of permit holders.

In 2014, the seven states that allowed concealed carry without a permit had much lower rates of murder and violent crime than did the seven jurisdictions with the lowest percentage of permit holders. Indeed, the murder rate was 31 percent

lower in the states not requiring permits. The violent crime rate was 28 percent lower.

Compared to the rest of the country, the 25 states with the highest rates of permit-holding experienced markedly lower rates of murder and violent crime.

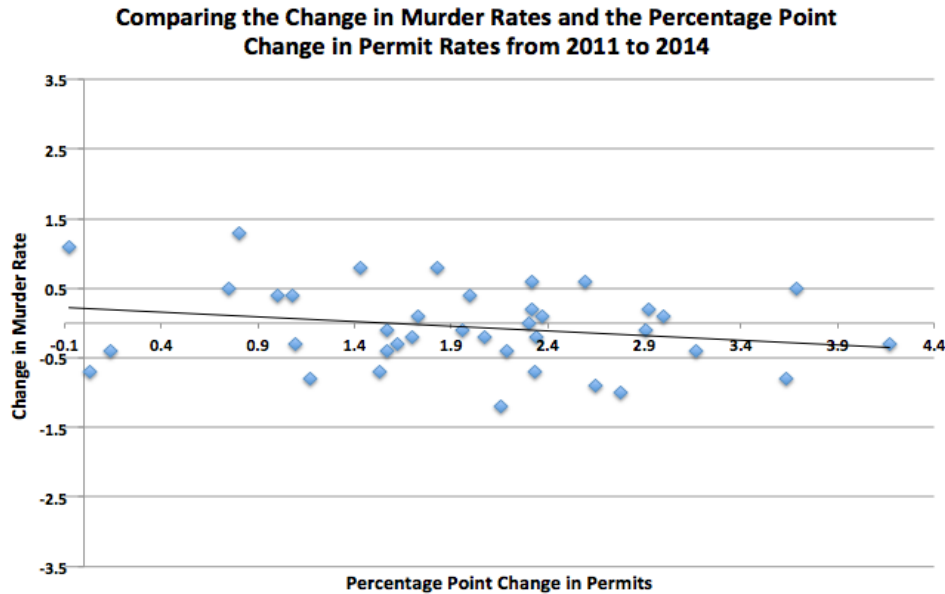
Of course, such a comparison is far too simplistic. There are many factors that influence crime, and simple, cross-sectional comparisons are unable to account for all of them. We can account for differences across states only by looking at how crime rates vary before and after changes in a state's permit rules.

States have adopted concealed handgun laws in different years and issued permits at different rates. This allows for revealing comparisons (see Appendix for a large and growing body of peer-reviewed literature). One must look across states and compare changes in crime rates with changes in the rates of permit holding. Doing so has consistently revealed 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).

Our analysis presented here doesn't provide such sophisticated estimates simply because the necessary data will not be available for at least a couple of years. Thus, this report should only be viewed as suggestive.³

Instead of just comparing states that don't require permits with those that do, it is also possible to look at states that require permits. 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 2014, the 2011 and 2014 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 show a general upward trend in the percentage of permit holders who are women.

- Arizona: the percentage of permit holders who are women rose from 20.7% in 2012 to 21.2% in 2016
- Florida: from 18% in May 2012 to 24.1% in May 2016.
- 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 Carolina: from 21.3% in June 2012 to 27.5% in March 2015
- North Dakota: from 11.2% in 2010 to 24.9% in 2014.
- Tennessee: from 23.3% in 2008 to 31.2% in 2016.
- Texas: from 17.26 in 2004 to 25.8% in 2015.
- Washington State: between 2005 and 2014, “the growth rate for women getting new permits [was] twice as fast as that of men.”⁶

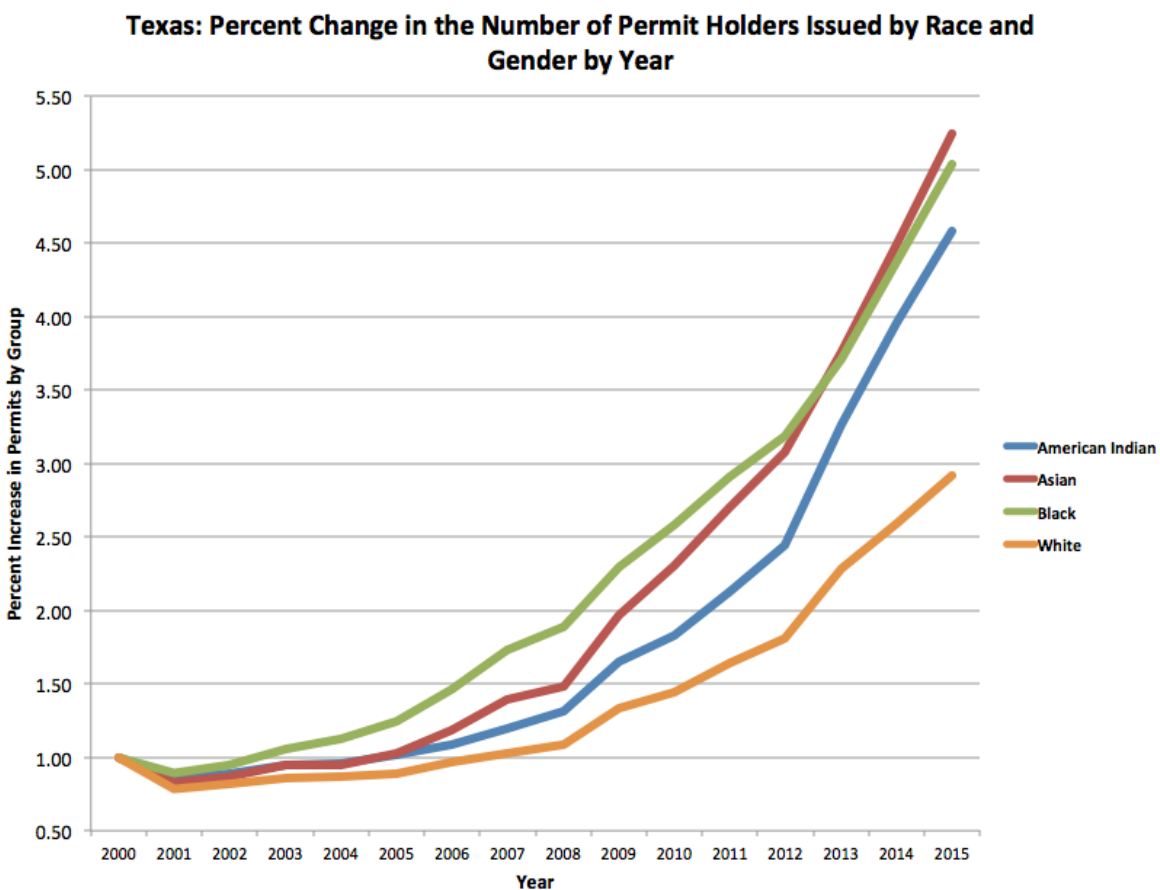
In eight states where we have data by gender, since 2012 the number of permits has increased by 161% for women and by 85% for men.

There is also some very limited data on permit issuance by race. Texas provides

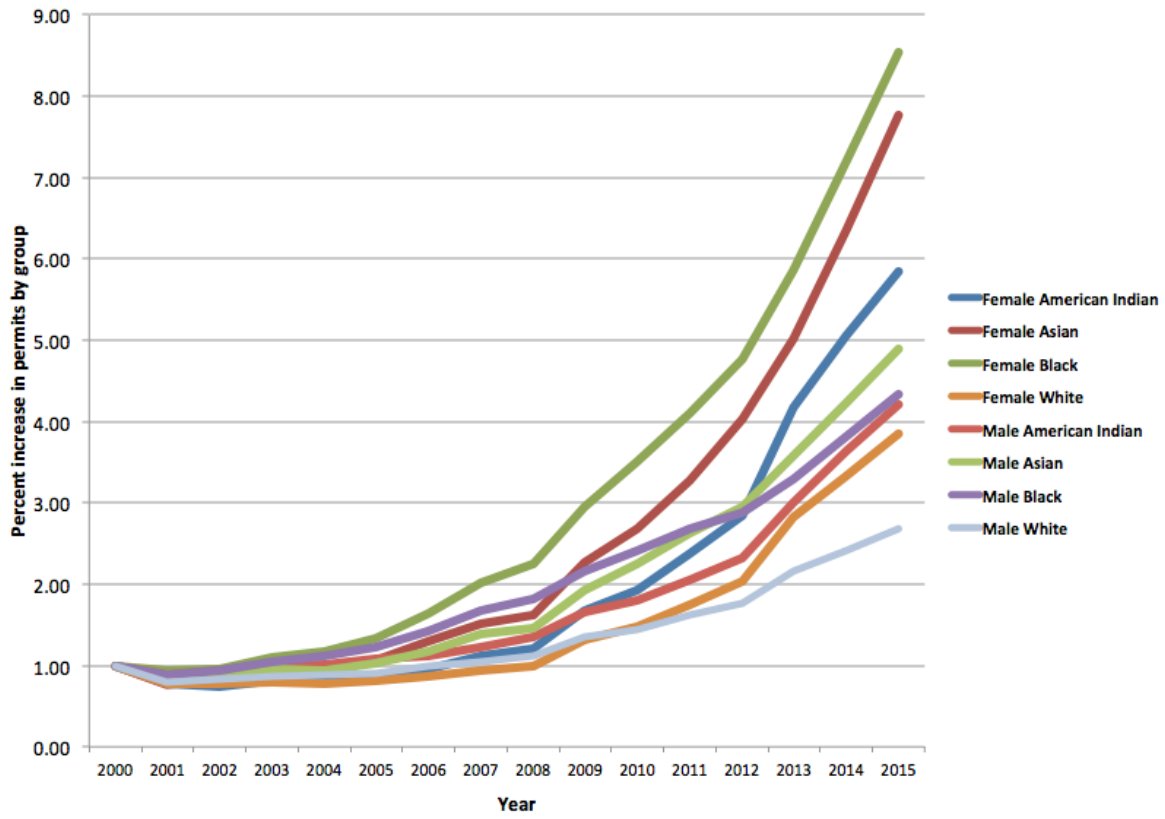
detailed information on both race and gender from 1996 through 2014.⁷ The state's data indicate that permitting has increased fastest for blacks, followed closely by Asians. While whites still hold the vast majority of permits, the number of black permit holders has grown more than twice as quickly as the number of white permit holders.

The growth in permit-holding by Asians, blacks, and American Indians was by far the fastest after the minimum training requirements were reduced from 10 hours to 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.

When permit data is broken down by race and gender, we find that rates of permit holding among American Indian, Asian, black, and white females all grew much faster than the rates for males in those racial groups. Concealed carry has increased most rapidly among black females. From 2000 to 2015, the rate of growth was 3.81 times faster than among white females.



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



Permit Holders are Extremely Law-abiding

It is very rare for permit holders to violate the law. In order to 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 that is anywhere near as law-abiding.

To get an idea of just how law-abiding concealed handgun permit holders are, we need only compare them to police. According to a study in *Police Quarterly*, police committed an average of 703 crimes per year from 2005 to 2007.⁸ 113 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 U.S. from 2005 to 2007, we find that there were about 103 crimes per hundred thousand officers. For the U.S. population as a whole, 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 the vast crime gap between police and the general populace is really undeniable.

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

Among police, firearms violations occur at a rate of 16.5 per 100,000 officers. Among permit holders in Florida and Texas, the rate is only 2.4 per 100,000.¹⁰ That is just 1/7th of the rate for police officers. But there's no need to focus on Texas and Florida — the data are similar in other states.

Why is the Number of Permits Increasing?

The surge in concealed handgun permits corresponds closely with opinion polls on guns. Take a series of polls by the Pew Research Center. In December 2012, respondents said by a margin of 48-to-37 percent that owning a gun, “protected them from being crime victims” as opposed to “putting people’s safety at risk.”¹¹ By December 2014, people’s positive impression of guns had grown to a margin of 57-to-38.

Similar changes were found in polls by Gallup and by ABC News-Washington Post.¹² They ask a more narrow question: whether having a gun in the home makes the home safer or more dangerous. The change has been dramatic. In 2000, Gallup found that only 35 percent of Americans thought that owning a gun made their home safer. By 2014, that number had soared to 63 percent.

It's not just that Americans think that having a gun makes them safer as individuals. They also feel better knowing that their neighbors are armed. A Rasmussen poll from this past June found that a 68-to-22 percent margin Americans “feel safer in a neighborhood where guns are allowed.”¹³

A poll by PEW helps to explain why there has been such a large increase in concealed handgun permits among blacks and women. The poll shows a 25 percentage point increase in the proportion of blacks with a favorable view of guns. This is the largest increase of any group. The increase among all women was 11 percentage points, and the increase among men was 8 percentage points.

Table 1: Number of Permit Holders by State

State	Active Permits	Data Updated
Alabama	513,209	June, 2016
Alaska†	8,770	June, 2016
Arizona†	272,622	June, 2016
Arkansas†	202,722	June, 2016
California	59,808	December 31, 2015
Colorado	248,478	December 31, 2015
Connecticut	229,000	March 3, 2016
Delaware	13,275	July, 2016
District of Columbia	74	May 17, 2016
Florida††	1,581,742 total/ 1,369,923 residential	June 30, 2016
Georgia	945,000	December 31, 2015
Hawaii	168	March 21, 2013
Idaho†	130,760	June 14, 2016
Illinois	180,583	June 14, 2016
Indiana	728,976	June 14, 2016
Iowa	267,149	December 31, 2015
Kansas†	100,493	January 31, 2016
Kentucky	277,972	December 31, 2014
Louisiana	154,707	December 31, 2015
Maine†	36,000	March 18, 2015
Maryland	16,152	April 30, 2016

Florida is the state that has issued the most concealed carry permits at **1.58 million**, followed by Pennsylvania with **1.2 million**.

Massachusetts	360,263	June 1, 2016
Michigan	556,136	June 1, 2016
Minnesota	221,712	February 1, 2016
Mississippi†	46,598	June 21, 2016
Missouri	160,184	December 31, 2012
Montana *	50,300	June 1, 2016
Nebraska	48,579	June 1, 2016
Nevada	104,123	June 1, 2016
New Hampshire	34,315 non-residential/ at least 44,000 residential	March 20, 2015
New Jersey	1,200	2012-2013
New Mexico	40,330	June 20, 2016
New York‡	40,794	September 2014
North Carolina	530,092	June 20, 2016
North Dakota	40,872	December 31, 2015
Ohio	549,730	March 31, 2016
Oklahoma	256,612	May 27, 2016
Oregon	226,255	February 1, 2016
Pennsylvania	1,193,146	June 20, 2016
Rhode Island	2,813	February 1, 2016
South Carolina	276,084	December 31, 2015
South Dakota	91,785	May 31, 2016
Tennessee	560,933	June 1, 2016
Texas	1,052,073	May 1, 2016
Utah††	660,012 total/ 230,306 residential	June, 2016

Vermont†	No permits issued	
Virginia	426,280	June 13, 2016
Washington	515,065	January 1, 2016
West Virginia†	147,801	February 28, 2015
Wisconsin	300,000	March 24, 2016
Wyoming†	27,347	January 19, 2016
TOTAL	14,533,094	

† 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>.

Table 2: Ranking States by Percent of the Adult population with Permits	
State	% of Adult Population with concealed carry permit
Indiana	15.0%
South Dakota	14.7%
Alabama	14.1%
Georgia	12.7%
Pennsylvania	12.2%
Utah ^{††}	11.6%
Iowa	11.5%
Tennessee	11.4%
Idaho [†]	11.1%
West Virginia [†]	10.4%
Washington	9.6%
Arkansas [†]	9.2%
Oklahoma	9.0%
Florida ^{††}	8.7%
Kentucky	8.4%
Connecticut	8.4%
New Hampshire	7.5%
South Carolina	7.5%
Michigan	7.4%
Oregon	7.4%
North Dakota	7.3%

North Carolina	7.1%
Wisconsin	6.9%
Massachusetts	6.9%
Virginia	6.8%
Montana *	6.4%
Wyoming†	6.3%
Ohio	6.3%
Colorado	6.1%
Minnesota	5.5%
Arizona†	5.4%
Texas	5.4%
Nevada	4.8%
Kansas†	4.8%
Louisiana	4.5%
Nebraska	3.5%
Missouri	3.5%
New Mexico	2.6%
Maine†	2.3%
Mississippi†	2.1%
Illinois	1.9%
Delaware	1.8%
Alaska†	1.6%
Maryland	0.4%
Rhode Island	0.3%
New York‡	0.3%
California	0.2%
New Jersey	0.0%
Hawaii	0.0%

District of Columbia	0.0%
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 (areas outside of city limits). For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.

†† Only Florida and Utah's residential permits are included here.

Table 3: Cost of Getting Permits by State				
State	Permit Type	Initial Handgun Carry Permit Fee	Length Permit is Valid (years)	Cost to carry for 5 years
Alabama	Concealed handgun permit	\$10 per year	1-5 years (chosen by applicant)	\$50
Alaska†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$89.75	5	0
Arizona†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$60.00	5	0
Arkansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$144.94 age 65+ \$93.44	5	0
California	Carry concealed weapons license (May Issue only)	\$100 local processing fee plus additional fees	2	\$250
Colorado	Concealed handgun permit	\$52.50 plus additional fees	5	\$52.50
Connecticut	Permit to carry Pistols or Revolvers	\$70.00	5	\$70
Delaware	License to carry concealed deadly weapon	\$65	5	\$65
District of Columbia	Concealed carry handgun permit	\$75	2	\$187.50
Florida	Concealed weapon or firearms license	\$70	7	\$70
Georgia	Firearms license	\$75.00 average fee. Varies by county.	5	\$75
Hawaii	License to carry handgun	\$10.00	1	\$10
Idaho†	Concealed handgun permit	\$20.00	5	0

Illinois	Concealed carry handgun license	\$150	5	\$150
Indiana	License to carry handgun	\$49.95 or \$134.95 lifetime	4	\$62.44
Iowa	Permit to carry weapons	\$50.00	5	\$50
Kansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$100 to Attorney General. \$32.50 to local Sheriff's Office	4	0
Kentucky	Permit to carry concealed handgun	\$60.00	5	\$60
Louisiana	Concealed handgun carry permit	\$125.00 or \$500 lifetime	5	\$125
Maine†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$35	4	0
Maryland	Handgun wear and carry permit	\$75.00 plus fingerprint fees	3	125
Massachusetts	Firearm carry license	\$100	6	\$100
Michigan	Concealed pistol license	\$100	4	\$125
Minnesota	Permit to carry pistol	not to exceed \$100. determined by Sheriff	5	\$100
Mississippi†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$80	5	\$80
Missouri	Concealed carry gun permit	\$100	5	\$100
Montana *	Concealed carry handgun permit	\$50	4	\$50
Nebraska	Permit to carry a concealed handgun	\$100	5	\$100
Nevada	Concealed carry handgun permit	\$98.25	5	\$98
New Hampshire	Pistol & Revolver License	\$10 resident \$100 non-resident	4	\$10

New Jersey	Concealed Carry handgun permit	\$65	2	\$65
New Mexico	Concealed handgun carry permit	\$100	4	\$100
New York [‡]	Firearms license to carry concealed	generally not to exceed \$10. Cost varies by county	5	\$10
New York City	Concealed carry handgun license	\$429.75	3	\$430
North Carolina	Concealed handgun permit	\$80 plus \$10 fingerprints	5	\$90
North Dakota	Concealed weapons permit	\$25	5	\$25
Ohio	License to carry a concealed handgun	\$67	5	\$67
Oklahoma	Self defense act license	\$85	5	\$85
Oregon	Concealed handgun license	\$65	4	\$65
Pennsylvania	License to carry handgun	\$20	5	\$20
Rhode Island	License to carry a concealable weapon	\$40	4	\$40
South Carolina	Concealed weapon permit	\$50	5	\$50
South Dakota	Concealed Pistol Permit	\$10	5	\$10
Tennessee	Handgun carry permit	3 yrs \$102.50), 4 yrs \$115.00, 5 yrs \$127.50, 6 yrs \$140.00, 7 yrs \$152.50 Lifetime \$500 (renewal N/A)	3-7 (Also Lifetime permit)	\$140
Texas	License to carry a handgun	\$140	5	\$140
Utah	Concealed Firearm Permit	\$39.00 resident \$49.00 non-resident	5	\$39
Vermont†	NO PERMITS REQUIRED/DOES NOT ISSUE PERMITS	N/A	N/A	0
Virginia	Concealed handgun permit	not to exceed \$50.00	5	\$50

Washington	Concealed pistol license	\$36	5	\$36
West Virginia†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$75 plus \$25 if approved= \$100	5	\$100
Wisconsin	Concealed weapon license	\$40	5	\$40
Wyoming†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$75	5	\$75
	Average			\$74

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:

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

0.0068 (2.51) 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 2014 gives us this:

Percent change in murder rates = -.136 (1.38) the percent change in the share of the adult population + .212 (0.99) Constant

F-statistics = 1.92, Adjusted R-squared = 0.0242

We used the GAO report on percent of the population with permits for 2011 (<http://www.gao.gov/assets/600/592552.pdf>). There were obvious 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	Requests for data from second and third largest counties June 29, 2016.
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	TN Dept of Safety and Homeland Security 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

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.

John R. Lott, Jr., Right-to-Carry Laws and Violent Crime Revisited: Clustering, Measurement Error, and State-by-State Break downs, American Enterprise Institute Working paper, 2004.

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

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