

Report from the Crime Prevention Research Center

Concealed Carry Permit Holders Across the United States: 2018*



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Summary

Despite the expectations of many after the 2016 elections, the number of concealed handgun permits has continued increasing. In 2018, the number of concealed handgun permits soared to now over **17.25 million** – a 273% increase since 2007. **7.14% of American adults have permits.** Unlike surveys that may be affected by people’s unwillingness to answer some personal questions, concealed handgun permit data is the only really “hard data” that we have on gun ownership across the United States. Still, an even larger number of people carry because in 14 states people don’t need a permit to carry in all or virtually all those states.

Among the findings of our report:

- Last year, despite the common perception that growth in the number of permit holders would stop after the 2016 election, the number of permits grew by about 890,000.
- Outside the restrictive states of California and New York, about 8.63% of the adult population has a permit.
- In fifteen states, more than 10% of adults have permits, up from just eleven last year.
- Alabama has the highest rate — 22.1%. Indiana is second with 17.9%, and South Dakota is a close third with 17.2%.
- Four states now have over 1 million permit holders: Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Texas.
- Another 14 states have adopted constitutional carry in all or almost all of their state, meaning that a permit is no longer required. However, because of these constitutional carry states, the nationwide growth in permits does not paint a full picture of the overall increase in concealed carry.
- Permits continued to grow much faster for women and minorities. Between 2012 and 2018, the percent of women with permits grew 111% faster for women and the percent of blacks with permits grew 20% faster than for whites. Permits for Asians grew 29% faster than for whites.
- 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.

Figure 1a: Murder Rates and the Percentage of the Adult Population with Permitted Concealed Handguns

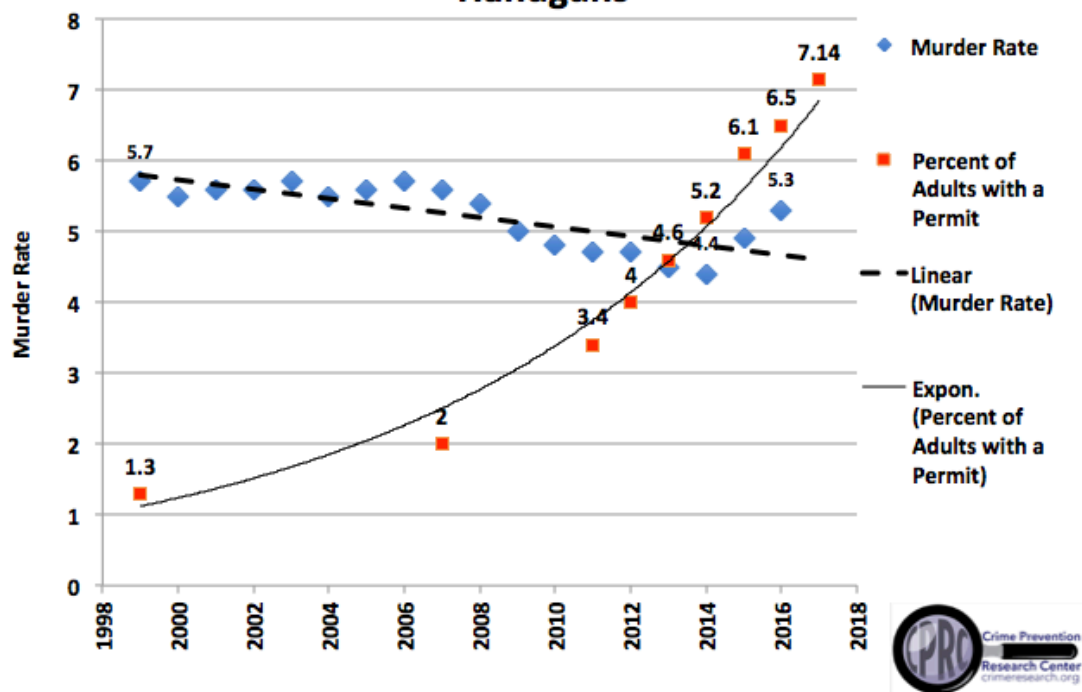
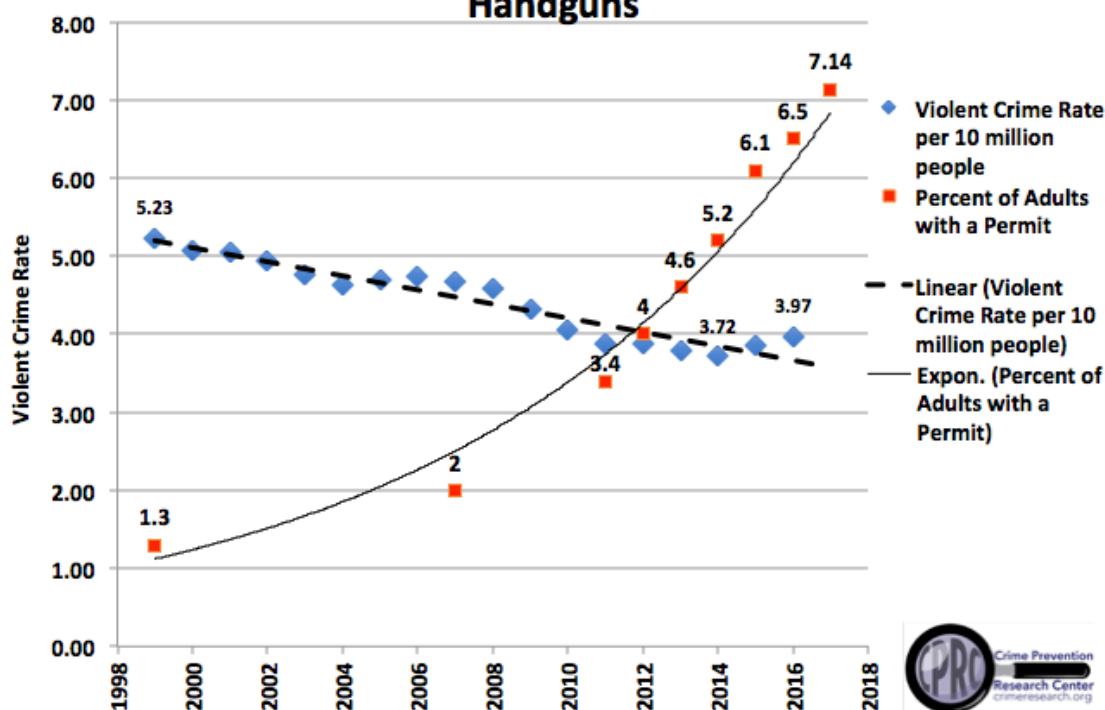


Figure 1b: Violent Crime Rates and the Percentage of the Adult Population with Permitted Concealed Handguns



The Exponential Growth in the Number of Permits

Figures 1a and b show how the percentage of adults with concealed handgun permits has been growing exponentially over time. There were 2.7 million concealed handgun permit holders in 1999, 4.6 million in 2007, 8 million in 2011, 11.1 million in 2014, and now 17.25 million in 2018. The growth in permits has been continuous.

At the same time that there has been an exponential growth in permits, there has been a general linear decline in murder and violent crime rates. Murder rates fell from 5.7 to 5.3 per 100,000, a 7% drop. Overall violent crime fell by 24 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of adults with permits soared by five fold. Such simple evidence by itself isn't meant to show that concealed handgun permits reduce violent crime rates, as many factors account for changes in crime rates, but only that there doesn't seem to be any obvious positive relationship between permits and crime.

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 enacted a concealed handgun permit law in September 2014. Today, permitted concealed handguns are allowed in every jurisdiction of the United States. Some of the increase in permits in earlier years was due to more states having permitted concealed handguns.

But the rules vary greatly from state to state, and generally states have made it easier over time to get permits. There are no fees or training requirements in the fourteen states that do not require permits in all or almost all their state. The average fee for a five-year permit is \$64. California is at the high end of the spectrum, charging up to a \$385 fee and requiring 16 hours of training. The training costs also vary widely. If private trainers are allowed, the costs could be as low as \$250. But some jurisdictions require that applicants go through the same training as law enforcement, and costs can be over \$1,000. Applicants must also demonstrate to their local sheriff that they really need a gun. In many parts of California, permits only go to the most politically connected applicants. 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. You just need to be 21 and pass a background check.

A lot of changes in fees are occurring this year. Texas just reduced its fee from

\$140 to \$40 and Florida from \$60 to \$55. The average fee for state permits fell by 6% from 2017, dropping to \$63.81 (see Table 3).

Not surprisingly, concealed carry is much more popular in states where permits are relatively inexpensive and easy to obtain. Texas has seen dramatic growth in the number of permits after the drop in fees and reduction in training requirements, with it moving from the state with the third most permits to second.

This report will focus on changes in the number of concealed carry permits. From a crime prevention standpoint, the important thing is whether people actually carry guns, not merely whether they are allowed to do so.

All states now allow concealed carry. And they are all issuing more permits. The longer that concealed carry laws have been in effect, the more time that people have had to apply for and receive permits. But President Obama's election in 2008 also seems to have been a major factor. Many have referred to Obama as the best gun salesman ever. Not only did Obama's presidency increase gun sales, it also increased the number of concealed handgun permits.

Conventional wisdom held that the sharp rise in gun sales during Obama's presidency was driven, at least in part, by the threat of gun control. That's why everyone expected gun sales to decline after Trump's victory.

Some evidence indicates that gun sales have cooled down. The National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) has seen a slight drop-off in background checks compared to last year.¹ During the first five months of 2017, background checks were down about 9.3% (998,672) compared to the same period in 2015.

But there are multiple problems with using background checks to measure the number of people buying guns. Some people undergo multiple checks to buy multiple guns, but sometimes multiple guns are sold with a single check.

¹ The NICS background check system does differentiate background checks for concealed handgun permits from other types of background checks. Yet, the permit estimate from the NICS checks consistently implies a much higher number of permits than supplied by the states themselves. For example, Texas says that there were 1,200,746 active permits as of May 31st 2017, but the NICS systems counts 1,413,621 background checks for the permit system, an eighteen percent difference. That gap is due to people moving from Texas, dying, and having their permits revoked, though those reasons don't explain the entire 200,000 difference. While our estimate shows that there are over 17.25 million permits, summing up the NICS permit checks gives a number nearer to 30 million.

Furthermore, people who have already passed a concealed carry background check are not always required to undergo another one when they buy a gun.

Polling is another problematic method of measuring gun ownership. When asked if they own a gun, many people may be reluctant to answer truthfully. They may feel that it's none of the pollster's business, or be afraid to answer because of mass shootings or distrust of government.² Some polls show an increase in gun ownership, while one shows a decrease.³

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 2018, the number is now up to 17.25 million.⁴

After the 2016 election, gun sales slowed down noticeably. After NICS firearm background checks hit their all time peak of 27.4 million in 2016, they fell back to 24.96 during 2017. Yet, while the growth of concealed handgun permits has slowed after the election, they have continued to grow, increasing by 890,000 permits this year.

While concealed handgun permit data is a better measure of changing gun

² 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/>).

³ Several NBC News/Wall Street Journal polls over the last year show that about 47% to 48% of American households own a gun. It is up from 44% in 1999. Another Monmouth University Poll in March found that 46% of Americans lived in households with guns, but if you a portion the 7% who refused to answer so that you assume 46% of them live in households without guns, there would be about 50% that live in homes with guns. The one survey that has shown a consistent drop over time is by the General Social survey, which went from the high 40% range in the early 1970s to the low 30% level in 2014. Crime Prevention Research Center, "Gun ownership remains at 47%, but that probably underestimates the true rate," March 25 2018 (<https://crimeresearch.org/2018/03/problems-with-using-the-general-social-survey-to-measure-gun-ownership/>).

⁴ There are 16.5 million permits to residents in those states. Some people hold a permit outside their state simply because it is recognized in states that they want to travel to other states. For some people that might be their only permit. The two states that issue a lot of permits outside there state are Florida (225,896) and Utah (487,826). New Hampshire (38,874) also seems to have a sizeable number. For some others they might hold more than one permit. The total number of permit holders is between 16.5 and 17.25 million.

ownership rates than NICS checks or polls, it clearly underestimates the true number and growth of people who can legally carry concealed handguns. The scale of that underestimation is increasing over time. There are three reasons for this.

- 1) Permits are not required in 12 states as well as virtually all of Arkansas and Montana. Generally, people in these 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 concealed carry is most common. Indeed, despite the fact that the number of people who carried undoubtedly went up significantly when there were no longer any fees or training requirements to carry, permit growth in the Constitutional Carry states was *only half* the rate as the other states that allow concealed carry.
- 2) Data on concealed carry is not readily available for a few states. For example, New Hampshire only collects data on permits issued to non-residents. They weren't willing to give an exact figure, only giving us 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. In the case of Alabama, we collected data for counties representing 37% of the state's population and then assumed that the rate of concealed carry was similar to the rest of the state. However, this is likely to underestimate the total number of permits, as concealed carry is likely to be less popular in the more urban counties that we had data for, as opposed to more rural counties. A similar process was used for New York.
- 3) For some states, the data is one or more years old and thus misses the recent, accelerated 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. The number of people who carry permitted concealed handguns is clearly related to the cost of getting permission. When there is no cost whatsoever, concealed carry becomes very popular.

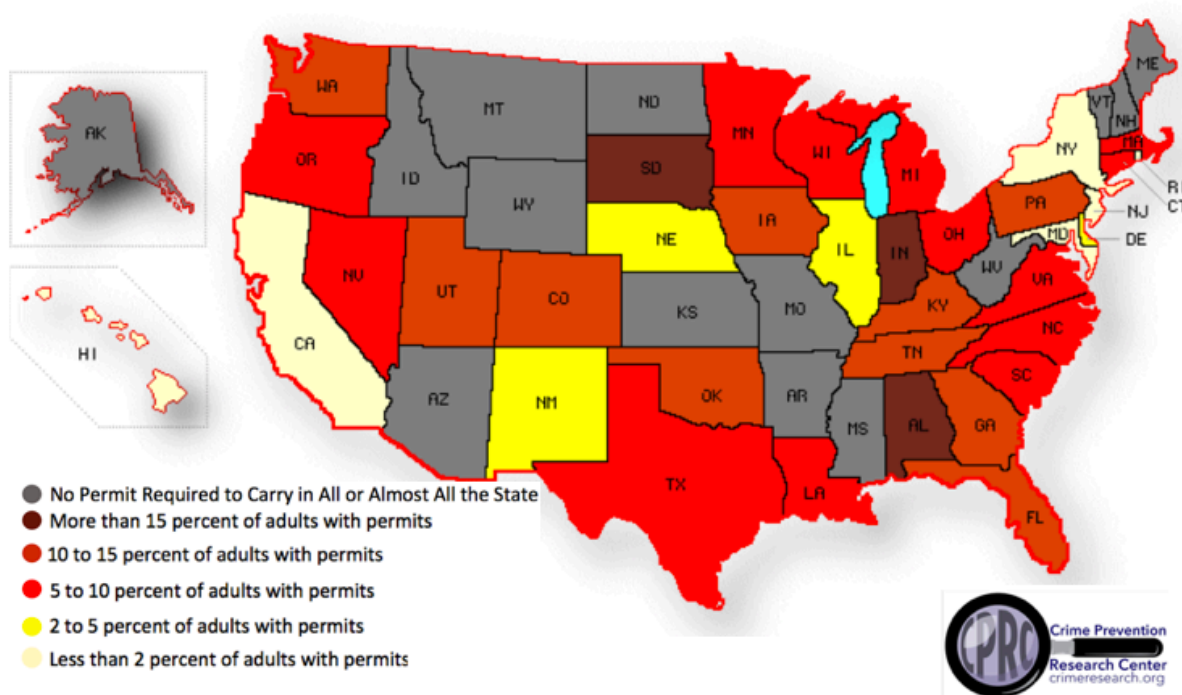
Due to old and missing data, 17.25 million is undoubtedly an underestimate of the total number of Americans with permits. On the other hand, 752,596 permits are

“non-residential,” some of which are issued to people who already have concealed handgun permits from their home states. Most of these non-residential permits are issued by Utah (487,826) and Florida (225,896).

As shown by the map on the next page, every region of the country has both states that don't require permits as well as states where over 10 percent of adults have concealed handgun permits.

There is at least one county in Alabama where almost two-thirds of the adults have a concealed handgun permit (Cleburne with 64.6%). In 2017, there were five counties in Pennsylvania that had about 30% to 50% of their adult populations with concealed handgun permits: Potter (50.3%), McKean (34.6%), Warren (34.6%), Cameron (31.3%), and Armstrong (30.1%).

Figure 2: Percent of adult population with permits by state



While about 7.14% of the adult population has concealed handgun permits, one of the big questions is how frequently permit holders actually carry their guns. The fact that 14 states allow permitless carry doesn't make it any easier to come up with an estimate. But a Pew Research Center Survey last year makes it possible to estimate the percentage of American adults who carry guns and how frequently they carry them ("America's Complex Relationship With Guns," Pew Research Center, June 22 2017). The Pew numbers include both concealed and open carry. In most states, permits are not required for open carry. It might be rare for someone to openly carry a handgun on a regular basis, but open carry may account for a large share of those who carry a gun on occasion. The survey also counts people no matter their reason for carrying, even if it is simply for sport on their way to or at a shooting range or hunting. What it means to carry "some of the time" is also not clearly defined.

The Pew survey thus likely overestimates the number of people who carry, especially those who carry occasionally. There are three relevant sets of numbers from the Pew survey:

- 30% of American adults say that they own a gun
- 72% of the people who own a gun, say they own a handgun or a pistol
- 11% of handgun owners say that they carry all the time, 26% say they carry most or all the time, and 57 percent say that they carry at least some of the time.

With a little multiplication, we find that:

- 2.4% say that they carry all the time.
- 5.4% carry most or all the time.
- 12.3% carry at least some of the time.

To summarize, the total number of permits in the US is at least 17.25 million. Add in people who legally carry without a permit, and the number clearly becomes much larger. While 7.14% of the adult population has permits, the percentage of Americans who say that they carry most or all the time is about three quarters as large at 5.4%.

What does this mean in practice? It means that in most places where people are allowed to carry a concealed handgun, there will be someone carrying a concealed handgun. If the probability that any one person has a concealed handgun permit is 5.4%, in a room with 10 people (assuming that the probabilities are independent), the probability that at least one person will have a permitted

concealed handgun is 43%. In a room with 20 people, that probability goes up to 67%. With 40, that probability rises to 89%.

The Comparing Permit Issuing Rates Across States

As just noted, there is a huge variation in the rate that permits are given out by state. The following two tables provide more specific details on these differences. 7.14% of the adult population has concealed handgun permits. If you exclude the eight May Issue states and the District of Columbia (California, Delaware, DC, Hawaii, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island), where there is discretion on who gets permits, that raises the percent for the other 42 states to 10.14%.

For the vast majority of the US outside of these coastal areas it is very likely that any place that allows people to carry a concealed handgun and

Fifteen states have more than 10% of their adult populations and seventeen states have less than 5%. Alabama continues to lead other states with the largest share of its adult population with permits, about 22%, while California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island all have less than one percent with permits.

Table 1: Number of Permit Holders by State

State	Active Permits	Data Updated
Alabama¥	797,177	State rate based on 4 large counties in June 2018
Alaska†	11,485	June 22, 2018
Arizona†	333,285	June 24, 2018
Arkansas††	227,898	February 9, 2018
California	108,000	March 13, 2018
Colorado	433,483	March 31, 2018
Connecticut	267,330	July 2, 2018
Delaware	18,096	January 31, 2018
District of Columbia	1,482	June 29, 2018
Florida	1,931,719 total, 1,705,823 residential	July 31, 2018
Georgia	1,006,946	June 30, 2018
Hawaii	-	December 31, 2016
Idaho†	121,984	June 18, 2018
Illinois	300,705	June 18, 2018
Indiana	869,829	July 1, 2018
Iowa	289,060	December 31, 2017
Kansas†	85,000	July 5, 2018
Kentucky	374,132	December 31, 2017
Louisiana	204,625	December 31, 2017

Florida is the state that has issued the most concealed carry permits at **1.93 million**, followed by Texas with **1.314 million**.

Maine†	42,000	June 30, 2018
Maryland	20,628	May 31, 2018
Massachusetts	401,452	June 28, 2018
Michigan	628,923	April 2, 2018
Minnesota	284,954	July 31, 2018
Mississippi†	46,598	June 21, 2018
Missouri†	160,184	December 31, 2012
Montana*	52,982	February 6, 2018
Nebraska	61,781	July 1, 2018
Nevada	126,995	May 1, 2018
New Hampshire†	38,874 non-residential/at least 50,000 residential	December 31, 2017
New Jersey	1,212	2012-2013
New Mexico	45,115	June 29, 2018
New York¥	100,549	March to July 2018, Broome, Herkimer, Nassau, Oneida, Rockland, and Saratoga Counties were used to make this calculation for the state outside of New York City. NYC data was also used.
North Carolina	640,702	June 18, 2018
North Dakota†	48,356	February 8, 2018
Ohio	703,476	March 31, 2018
Oklahoma	287,786	December 31, 2017
Oregon	261,155	February 5, 2018

Pennsylvania	1,310,263	February 9, 2018
Rhode Island	2,288	June 19, 2018
South Carolina	324,923	January 1, 2018
South Dakota	107,276	May 31, 2018
Tennessee	618,752	June 1, 2018
Texas	1,314,432	May 31, 2018
Utah	713,550 total, 225,724 residential	June 30, 2018
Vermont†	No permits issued	
Virginia	398,239	June 18, 2018
Washington	583,001	July 3, 2018
West Virginia†	163,098	January 18, 2017
Wisconsin	333,217	June 15, 2018
Wyoming†	31,994	June 15, 2018
TOTAL	17,248,117	

† 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 the vast majority of counties in Arkansas. For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.

¥ Data are only available at the county level for Alabama or New York State. For Alabama, we were able to get permit data information for the following counties: Baldwin, Cullman, Jackson, Jefferson, Madison, and Montgomery. 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
Alabama¥	22.11%
Indiana	17.92%
South Dakota	17.17%
Pennsylvania	13.49%
Georgia	13.28%
Iowa	12.56%
Utah*	12.43%
Tennessee	12.35%
West Virginia†	11.87%
Kentucky	11.38%
Washington	10.45%
Florida*	10.44%
Arkansas††	10.40%
Colorado	10.34%
Oklahoma	10.21%
Idaho†	9.95%
Connecticut	9.82%
North Dakota†	8.79%
South Carolina	8.59%
Michigan	8.44%

North Carolina	8.35%
Oregon	8.25%
Ohio	8.13%
Wisconsin	7.72%
Wyoming†	7.70%
Massachusetts	7.59%
Minnesota	6.95%
Montana††	6.69%
Texas	6.57%
Arizona†	6.42%
Virginia	6.29%
Louisiana	6.04%
Nevada	5.67%
New Hampshire†*	4.80%
Nebraska	4.50%
Kansas†	4.08%
Maine†	4.02%
Missouri†	3.55%
Illinois	3.20%
New Mexico	2.97%
Delaware	2.48%
Alaska†	2.20%
Mississippi†	2.17%
New York‡	0.67%
Maryland	0.46%
California	0.37%
Rhode Island	0.28%
District of Columbia	0.27%

New Jersey	0.02%
Hawaii	0.00% (0.02% if include permits for private security)
Vermont†	Not Applicable
<p>†States were 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.</p> <p>†† Permits not required to carry in 99.4 percent of Montana (areas outside of city limits). Most counties in Arkansas will not prosecute people for carrying without a permit. For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.</p> <p>* Only Florida's, New Hampshire's and Utah's residential permits are included here.</p> <p>¥ Estimates made using a sample of permits from some counties within the state.</p>	

Table 3: Cost of Getting Permits by State 2018				
State	Permit Type	Initial Handgun Carry Permit Fee	Length Permit is Valid (years)	Cost to carry for 5 years
Alabama	Concealed pistol permit	\$5-\$20 per year (Varies by County)	1-5 years (chosen by applicant)	\$25-\$100 (Varies by County)
Alaska†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$87	5	\$87
Arizona†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$60	5	\$60
Arkansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$142.11; age 65+ \$90.61 (Includes on-line application and background check fee.)	5	\$142.11; age 65+ \$90.61
California	Concealed carry weapons license (May Issue only)	Local fee not to exceed \$100 for new license.; State DOJ charges another \$95. Local fingerprinting costs of between \$20 and \$40. A few jurisdictions require psychological screening test that can run up to \$150. Training fees in some areas are as high as over \$1,000. The licensing authority may charge an additional fee, not to exceed \$25, for processing the application for a license renewal.	2	\$150 to \$300 (Varies by Issuing Agency)
Colorado	Concealed handgun permit	\$52.5 plus additional fees (Varies by County)	5	\$52.5 plus additional fees (Varies by County)

Connecticut	Permit to carry pistol or revolver permit	\$192 = \$70 (Temporary Local Permit Cost) + \$75 (State Permit Cost) + \$12 (Federal Processing Fee) + \$35 (State Processing Fee).	5	\$192
Delaware	Concealed deadly weapon permits	\$65 for issuing; \$65 for renewal	initial application valid for 3 years; renewal every 5 years thereafter	\$91
District of Columbia	Concealed carry pistol license	\$110=\$75(Application Fee)+\$35(Fingerprint Processing Fee)	2	\$275
Florida	Concealed weapon or firearms license	\$97=\$55(Initial License Fee) + \$42 (Fingerprint Fee)	7	\$69.3
Georgia	Firearms license	\$75 average fee (Varies by County)	5	\$75 average fee (Varies by County)
Hawaii	License to carry handgun	\$42	Individual permits to acquire handguns are required for each transaction and must be used with 10 days of issue. A permit to acquire shotguns and rifles is good for one year from the date of issue for any number of transactions.	\$42
Idaho†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$20 plus additional fees (Varies by County)	5	\$20 plus additional fees (Varies by County)

Illinois	Concealed carry handgun license	\$150 for 5 years for residents; \$300 for 5 years for non-residents	5	\$150 for 5 years for residents; \$300 for 5 years for non-residents
Indiana	License to carry handgun	4 year Personal Protection: \$10 (\$5 Refundable) for local fee and \$30 for state fee; Lifetime Personal Protection/ No Current License: \$50 (\$30 Refundable) for local fee and \$75 for state fee; All NEW license applications incur a \$11.95 fee for IDEMIA Electronic Fingerprinting.	4	\$50
Iowa	Permit to carry weapons	\$50	5	\$50
Kansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$112=\$79.5(Attorney General)+\$32.5(Local Sheriff's Office)	4	\$140
Kentucky	Permit to carry concealed handgun	\$60=\$20(Local Sheriff's Office)+\$40(Kentucky State Treasurer)	5	\$60
Louisiana	Concealed handgun carry permit	\$125; age 65+ \$62.5	5	\$125; age 65+ \$62.5
Maine†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	Resident, \$35 for an original application and \$20 for a renewal; Nonresident, \$60 for an original or renewal application	4	\$40 for residents; \$75 for non-residents
Maryland	Handgun wear and carry permit	\$75 plus fingerprint fees	initial application valid for 2 years; renewal every 3 years thereafter	\$125=\$75(Initial)+\$50(Renewal)
Massachusetts	License to carry	\$100	6	\$83.3

Michigan	Concealed pistol license	\$100	4-5	\$100
Minnesota	Permit to carry pistol	not to exceed \$100 (Varies by County)	5	\$100
Mississippi†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$112	5	\$112
Missouri†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	not to exceed \$100 for application	5	\$100
Montana *	Concealed carry handgun permit (Not required outside city limits)	\$55=\$50(Issuance Fee) + \$5 (Fingerprint Processing Fee); \$25 for renewal	4	\$61.3
Nebraska	Permit to carry a concealed handgun	\$100	5	\$100
Nevada	Concealed carry handgun permit	not to exceed \$60 (FBI fees will be extra)	5	\$60 (FBI fees will be extra, assume \$27.50)
New Hampshire†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$10 for resident; \$100 for nonresident	5	\$10 for resident; \$100 for nonresident
New Jersey	Concealed carry handgun permit	\$20	2	\$50
New Mexico	Concealed handgun carry permit	\$100=\$56(Application Fee paid to NMDPS) + \$44(Background Check paid to Cogent) for application; \$75=\$31(Application Fee paid to NMDPS)+\$44(Background Check paid to Cogent) for renewal	4	\$118.8

New York‡	Firearms license to carry concealed	Usually about \$100, but varies by county = permit fee generally not to exceed \$10 + safety classes are usually also required	5	\$10 (Varies by County)
New York City	Concealed carry handgun license	\$427=\$340(License Fee)+\$87(Fingerprint Processing Fee)	3	\$711.7
North Carolina	Concealed handgun permit	\$90=\$80(Non-refundable Fee) + \$10 (Fingerprinting Processing Fee)	5	\$90
North Dakota†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$60	5	\$60
Ohio	License to carry a concealed handgun	\$67	5	\$67
Oklahoma	Self defense act license	\$100 for 5-year license; \$200 for 10-year license	5	\$100
Oregon	Concealed handgun license	\$65 for new; \$50 for renewal	4	\$77.5
Pennsylvania	License to carry handgun	\$20	5	\$20
Rhode Island	License to carry a concealable weapon	\$40	4	\$50
South Carolina	Concealed weapon permit	\$50	5	\$50
South Dakota	Concealed Pistol Permit	\$10	5	\$10
Tennessee	Handgun carry permit	\$100 for 8-year license; \$300 for lifetime license	8	\$62.5
Texas	License to carry a handgun	\$40 (as of September 1 2017)	5	\$40
Utah	Concealed firearm permit	\$52 for resident; \$62 for nonresident	5	\$52 for resident; \$62 for nonresident

Vermont†	No permits required/does not issue permits	N/A	N/A	N/A
Virginia	Concealed handgun permit	not to exceed \$50 for resident; not to exceed \$100 for nonresident	5	\$50 for resident; \$100 for nonresident
Washington	Concealed pistol license	\$48 (some law enforcement agencies will laminate your license for an extra charge)	5	\$48
West Virginia†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$100=\$75(Application Fee)+\$25(if approved)	5	\$100
Wisconsin	Concealed weapon license	\$40=\$30(Application Fee)+\$10(Background Check Fee)	5	\$40
Wyoming†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$64	5	\$64
	Average cost of because of the permit to carry within a state (The fee in pure Constitutional Carry states is zero. Since permits are required in parts of Arkansas and Montana, the state permit fees are used.)			\$63.81
	Average cost of because of the permit to carry within a state (The fee in pure Constitutional Carry states and for those parts of Arkansas and Montana that don't require a permit to carry is zero.)			\$59.82
<p>† States where permits not required to carry within the state. Permits only obtained to carry outside of state.</p> <p>†† Permits not required to carry in 99.4 percent of Montana and most counties in Arkansas will not prosecute people for not having a permit. For those people, the only reason that they would obtain a permit is to carry in other states.</p>				

The Changing Gender and Race of Permit Holders

Twelve states, with about 6.8 million permit holders between them, have reported permit data by gender for 2018. Among those states, women averaged 26% of permit holders. The states represent all regions of the country: Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Washington State. (Our previous estimate of the percent of permits held by women was higher, but we had more state that reported those numbers.)

For eight states, we have the data to make a comparison over at least a six-year period. All of these states experienced a general upward trend in female permit holders, though Oklahoma and Texas experienced slight drops in 2018.

- Arizona: the percentage of permit holders who are women rose from 20.7% in 2012 to 21.2% in 2016 and 22.0% in 2018.
- Connecticut: from 24.3% in 2012 to 33.3% in 2016.
- Florida: from 18% in May 2012 to 24.1% in May 2016 and 26.3% in June 2018.
- Indiana: from 18.0% in June 2012 to 23.9% in June 2016 and 27.4% in March 2018.
- Louisiana: from 18.3% in 2009 to 24.1% in 2016 and 25.6% in 2018.
- North Carolina: from 21.3% in June 2012 to 27.5% in June 2016 to 28.7% in March 2017.
- North Dakota: from 11.2% in 2010 to 24.9% in 2014.
- Oklahoma: from 28.9% in 2012 to 36.3% in 2016 to 34.1% in 2018.
- Tennessee: from 25.9% in 2012 to 34.3% in 2016 to 34.9 in 2018.
- Texas: from 22.00% in 2012 to 28.0% in 2016 to 27.5% in 2018.

- Washington State: between 2005 and 2014, “the growth rate for women getting new permits [was] twice as fast as that of men.”⁵ We don’t know the exact percentages in those two years, but by 2017, women held 25.2% of permits.

In the eight states where we have data by gender for both 2012 and 2018, the number of permits increased by 207% for women and by 103% for men — a 101% faster rate among women.

Five states have data on permit issuance by race for 2012 and 2018. In these states (Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Oklahoma, and Texas) the number of permits grew at a 20% faster rate for blacks than for whites.

Several states provide detailed data since 2002 or earlier. Texas provides detailed information on both race and gender from 1996 through 2014.⁶ The data indicate that permitting has increased fastest among 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.

After Texas reduced its minimum training hours from ten to four in 2012, the growth in permit-holding by Asians, blacks, and American Indians reached by far its most rapid phase. While the number of blacks with permits grew by 71% in the four years prior to the reduced training requirement, it grew by almost 140% in the four years after 2012. The growth rate of permits for American Indians also doubled after the training requirements were reduced.

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 2016, the rate of growth was 2.22 times faster than among white females.

North Carolina has detailed data on the race of permit holders from 1996 to 2016.

⁵ 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/>).

⁶ 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.

Again, Asians show the largest growth, followed by American Indians and then Blacks. The growth rate for blacks is still about twice as fast as that for whites.

Oklahoma data from 2002 to 2016 also show a similar pattern. Asians and American Indians tied for the fastest growth rate. The growth in the number of Blacks permits was about 50% greater than the growth for white permit holders.

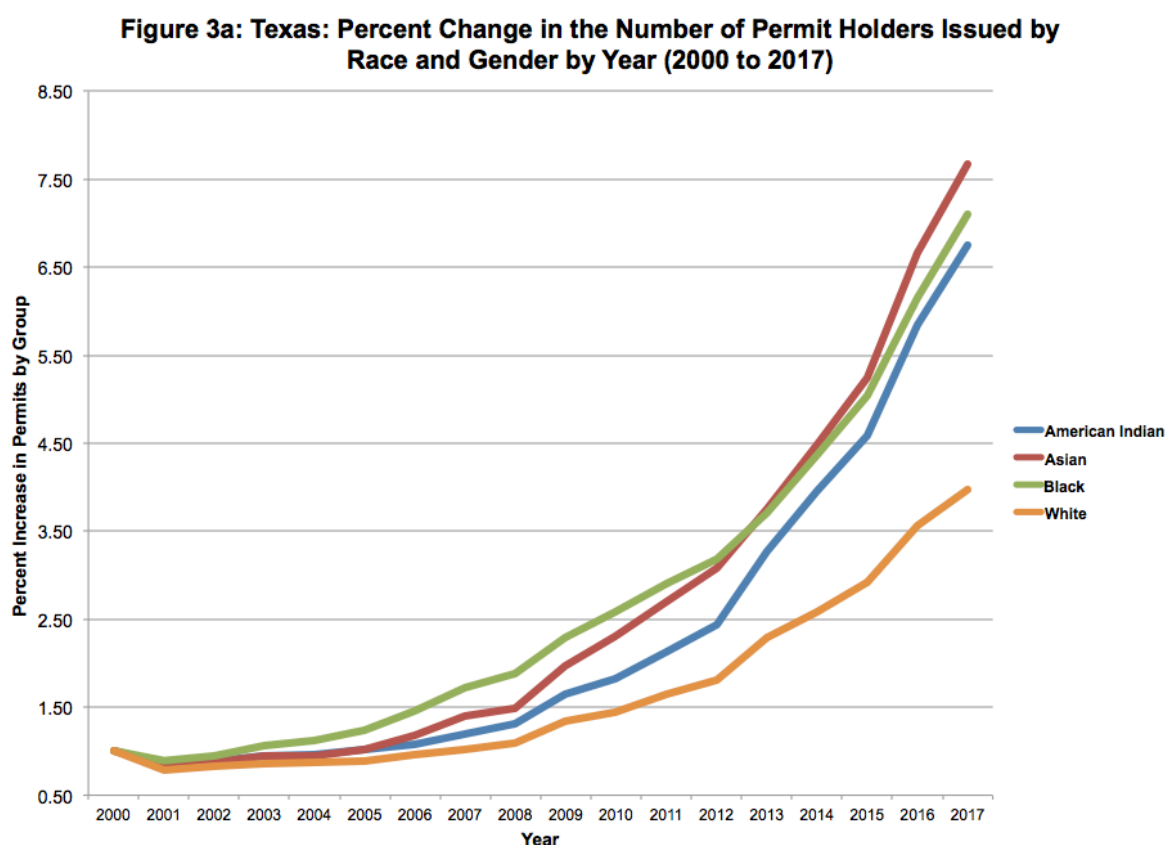


Figure 3b: Texas: Percent Change in the Number of Permit Holders Issued by Race and Gender by Year (2000 to 2017)

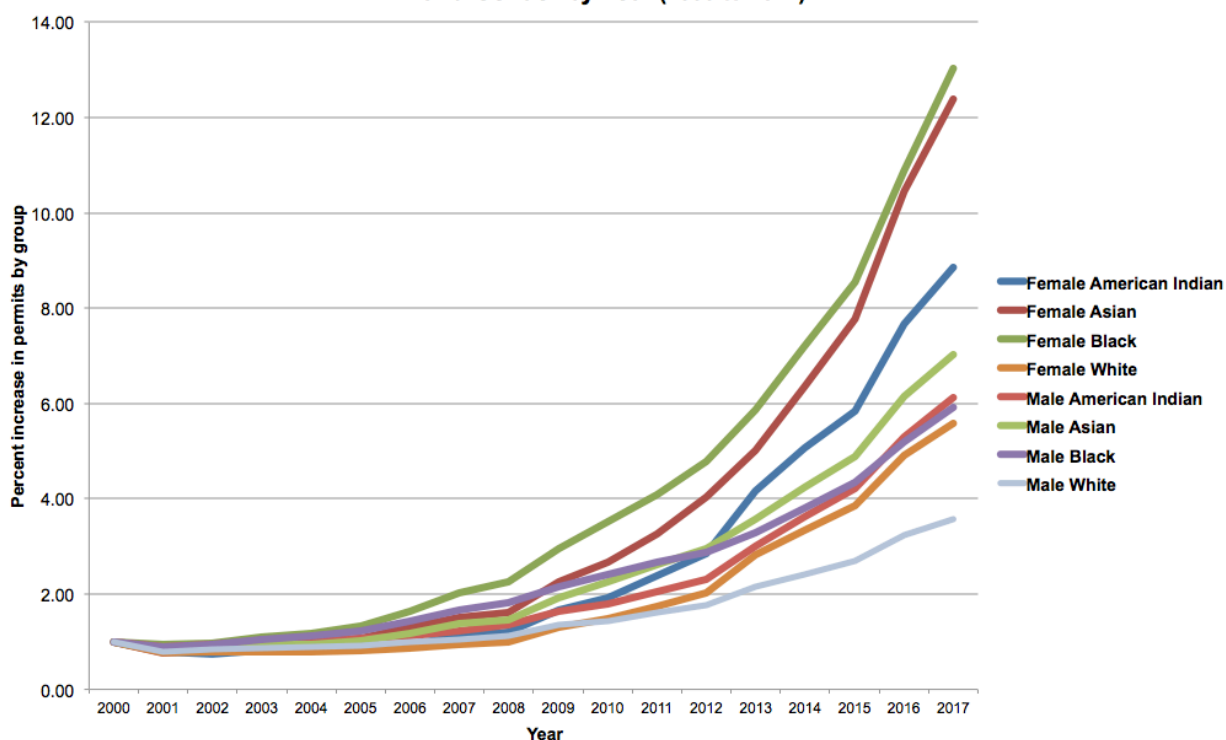


Figure 3c: Percent of Texas Permit Holders who are Black

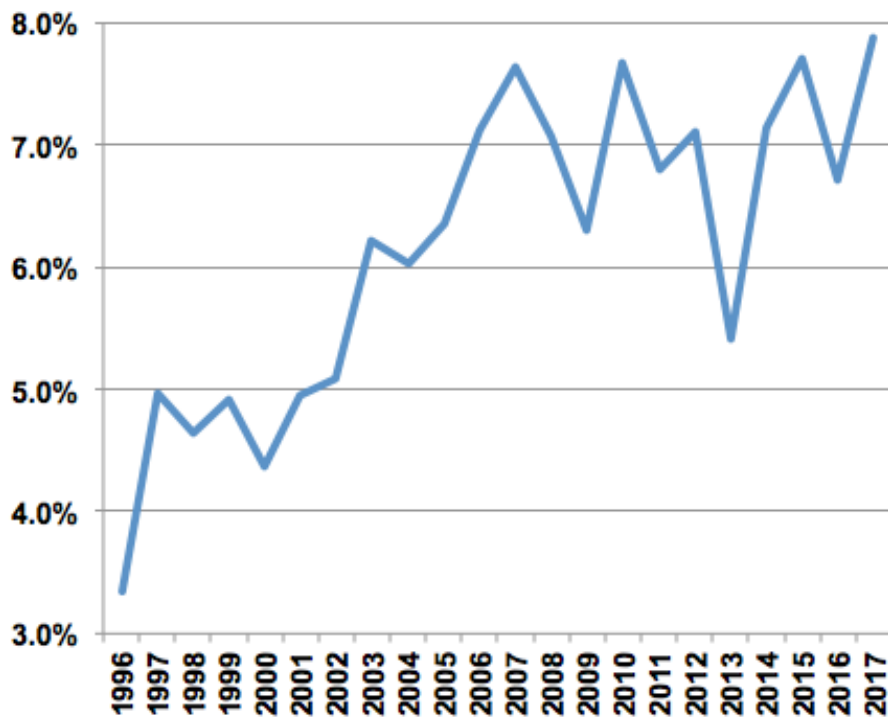


Figure 3d: Percent of Texas Permit Holders who are Female

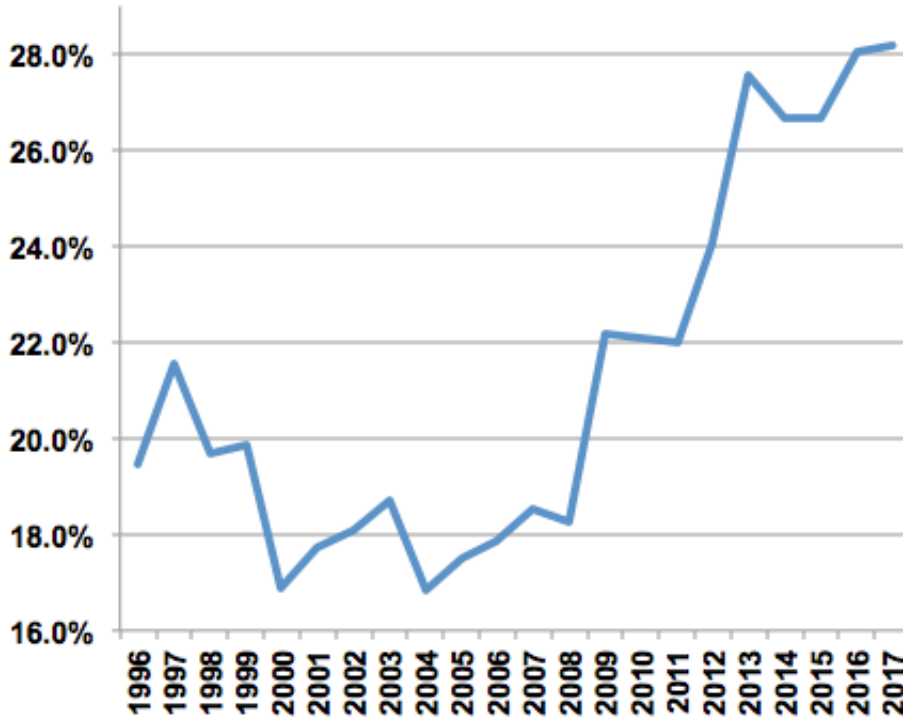


Figure 4a: North Carolina: Percent Change in the Number of Active Permit Holders Issued by Race by Year

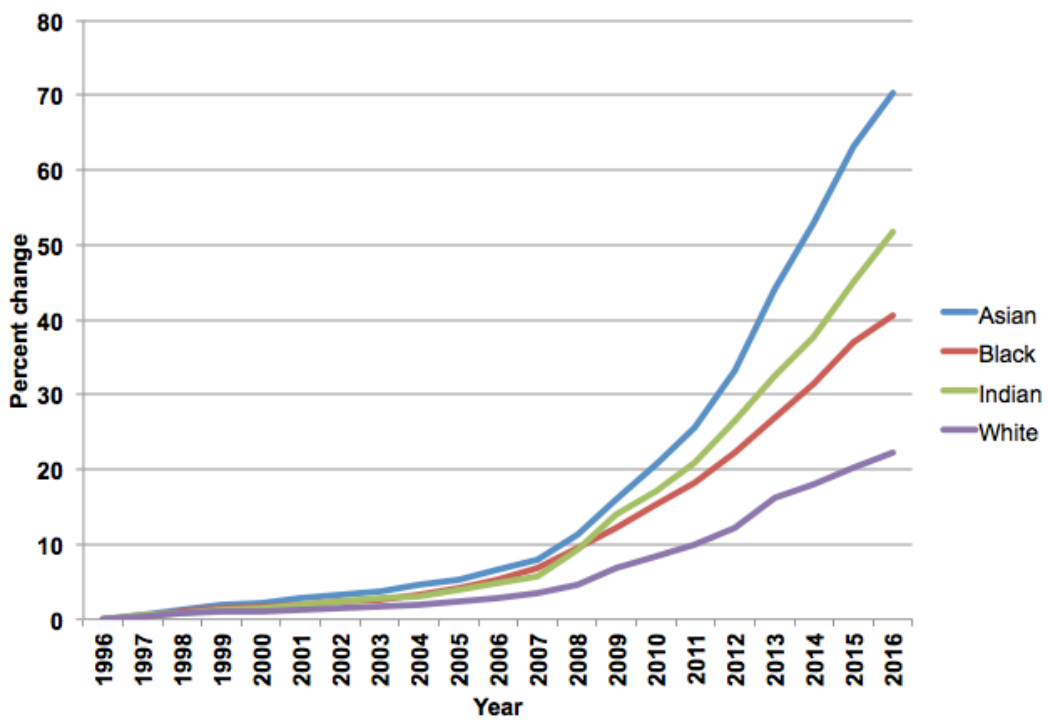


Figure 4b: North Carolina: Percent of Permits held by Blacks

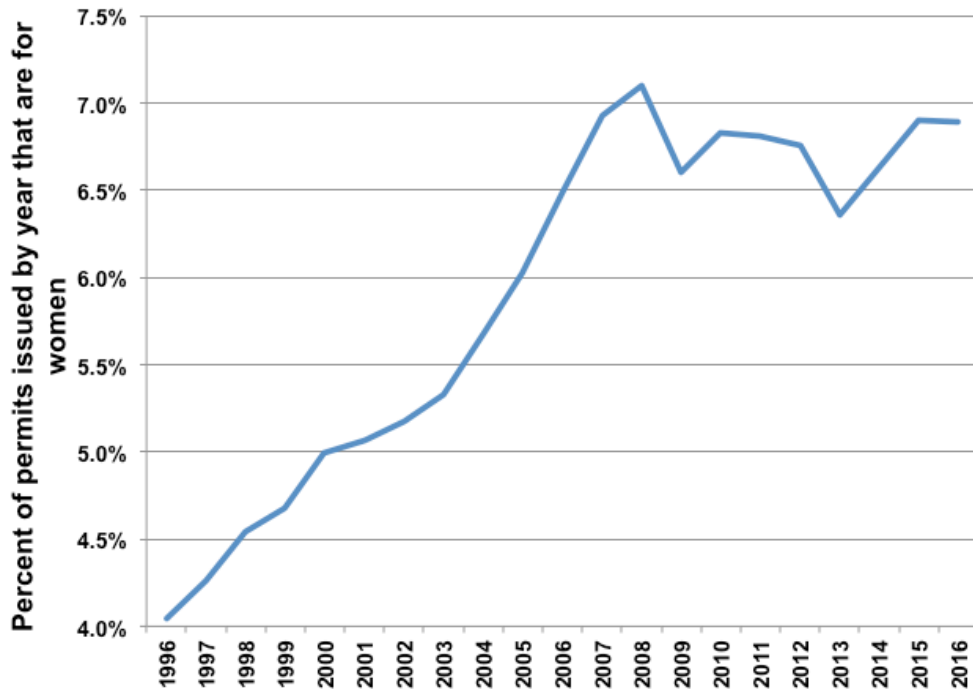


Figure 4c: North Carolina: Percent of Permits held by Women

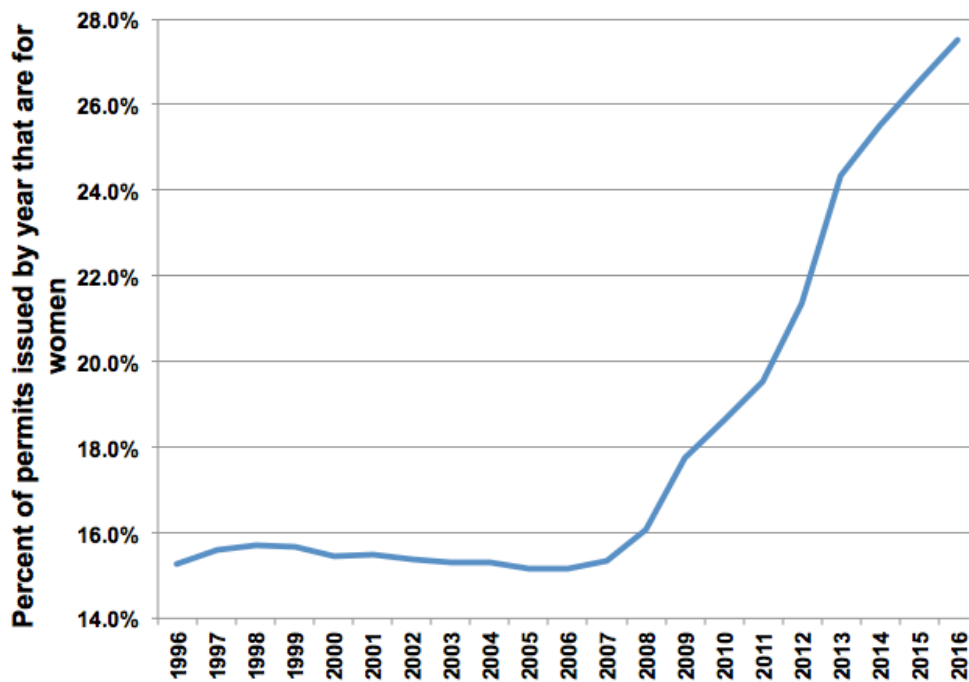


Figure 5a: Oklahoma Percent Change in Number of Active Permit Holders Issued by Race by Year

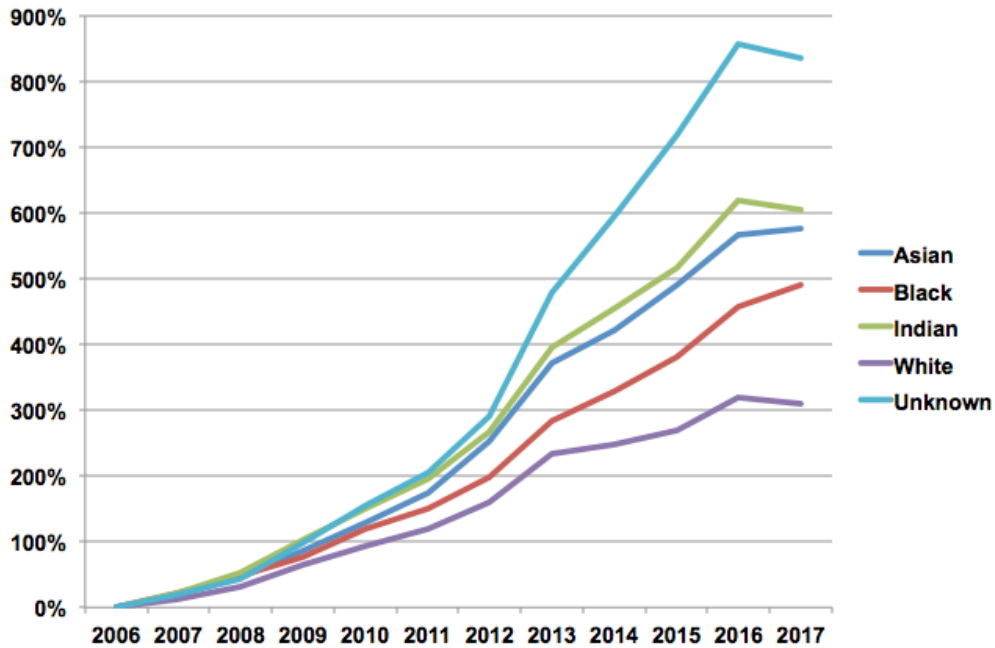
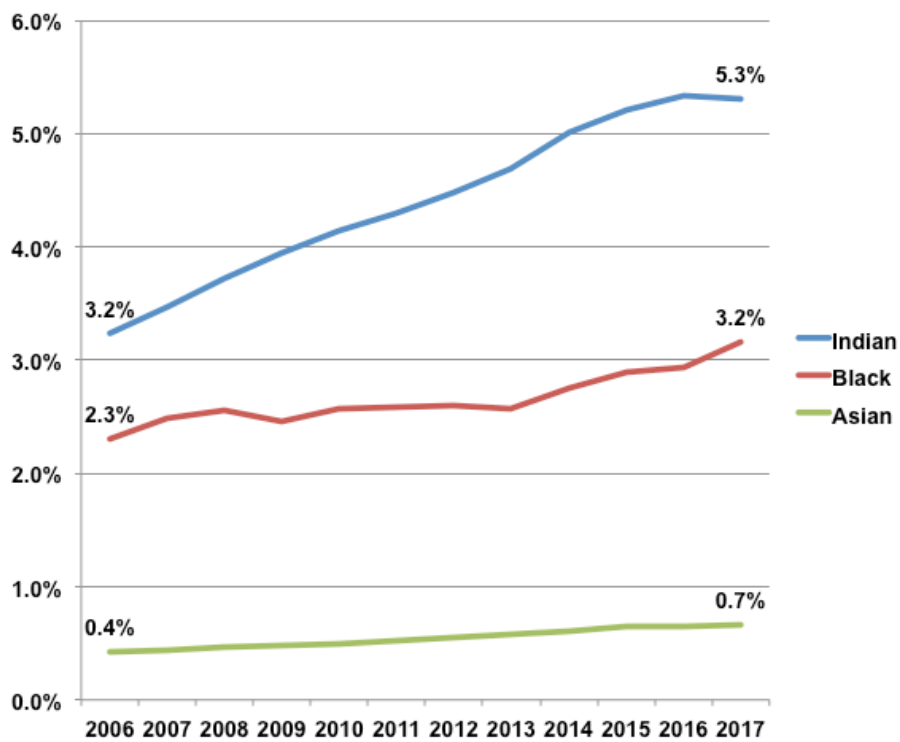


Figure 5b: Oklahoma Percent of Permit Holders by Race



Evidence that Los Angeles County Officials discriminate against Hispanic and Women when giving out permits

In 2013, *LA Weekly* obtained a list of the 341 concealed carry permit holders in Los Angeles County, California.⁷ That is only about 0.0045% of the **7.7 million** adults living in the county in 2013. *LA Weekly* pointed out that the people given permits were judges, reserve deputy sheriffs, and a small group who gave campaign contributions or gifts to then-Sheriff Lee Baca. Something that *LA Weekly* didn't do was look at the list to determine the race of those lucky few getting permits. In Los Angeles County in 2013, about **48.1%** of the people living there were Hispanic, 9% were black, and 50.7% women.

To check the race of those who received permits, we used two approaches. First, we did Google searches as well as searches on social media to find information on people. Using this, we identified the race of 135 people: 4 Hispanics (3%), 7 blacks (5.2%), 15 Asians (11.1%), and 109 whites. Only 16 were females (11.9%). Hispanics and women had much lower permitting rates than the general population and the rates that those groups obtained concealed handgun permits in places that don't allow authorities discretion in determining whether people have a justifiable need to carry a gun for protection. Asians were not as different than their 14.4% of the population in 2013.

For all 341 names, we used a **website** that listed the probability that the last name is Hispanic.⁸ We included any last name as Hispanic when the probability of them being Hispanic was at least 5%. Doing that implied that a total of just 22 of the 341 people could be Hispanic (6.5%), still a number dramatically lower than their share of the population. There are three names that we couldn't classify as male or female (Bobbie, Tracy, Robbie), but if you assume that they are all women, only 26 of the 341 permit holders are women (7.6%).

By comparison, this is dramatically lower than 29% of the permit holders being women that we found for eight states in 2012. Eight states that had similar information on race showed that 11% of permit holders were black.

⁷ Gene Maddaus, "Who's Packing Heat In L.A. County? Sheriff Lee Baca's Gun Permit List Includes Many Personal Friends," *LA Weekly*, February 14 2013 (<http://www.laweekly.com/news/whos-packing-heat-in-la-county-sheriff-lee-bacas-gun-permit-list-includes-many-personal-friends-4174664>).

⁸ The website that we used is called "Most common last names for Latinos in the U.S." (<http://names.mongabay.com/data/hispanic.html>).

Previous work that we have done has discussed the impact of how gun control in **Chicago** on the poor obtaining handguns.⁹ In Chicago and DC, the zip codes that have guns under Democrat rules tend to be higher income and much more heavily white areas.

Partial List of People who are facing death threats and prevented from getting permits in states with discretionary permitting rules

-- Cases in San Francisco¹⁰

- Woman who had a criminal protective order (2014)
- Corrections officer, denied three times, last time in October 2013. Inmates had clearly threatened him.
- Former Del Norte County (California) deputy district attorney who was worried that past felons that he had put in prison would harm him.

-- New Jersey

- Israel Albert Almeida had evidence that a “tenant's live-in boyfriend threatened to kill him” (2015).¹¹
- Marc Stephens faced multiple death threats (2013)¹²
- Lt. Col. Terry Russell “applied for a concealed carry permit as military personnel and especially personnel that work at highly sensitive

⁹ John R. Lott, Jr., “Can poor people be trusted with guns?”

Fox News, March 12 2013 (<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2013/03/12/can-poor-people-be-trusted-with-guns.html>).

¹⁰ Matt Drange, “Want to carry a concealed gun? Live in Sacramento, not San Francisco,” Reveal, June 12 2015 (<https://www.revealnews.org/article/want-to-carry-a-concealed-gun-live-in-sacramento-not-san-francisco/>).

¹¹ Joe Carlson, “Second Amendment group backs Andover Twp. man’s bid to carry gun,” New Jersey Herald, March 1 2015 (<http://www.njherald.com/story/28230557/second-amendment-group-backs-andover-twp-mans-bid-to-carry-gun#>).

¹² Chris Eger, “New Jersey man fights state gun permit law all the way to Supreme Court,” Guns.com, January 30 2017 (<http://www.guns.com/2017/01/30/new-jersey-man-fights-state-gun-permit-law-all-the-way-to-supreme-court/>).

areas (like the Picatinny Armory) are at higher risk of terrorist attacks.” (2016)¹³

-- New York

-- John Stossel, Fox News Host, New York City 2013: Denied a permit despite providing evidence of many death threats.¹⁴

-- Sean McCarthy served as a key witness that sent members of the “Pagans Outlaw Motorcycle Club” to prison. In 2017, he tried to get a permit as he was worried that he faced retribution.¹⁵

-- Washington, DC

-- In 2016, Corrections Officers Robert Smith, Ronald DuBerry, Harold Bennette, and Maurice Curtis, who had all received death threats from inmates that they had once guarded, were finally granted permit licenses but only after a case that they took to the DC Circuit Court.¹⁶

Permit Holders are Extremely Law-abiding

It is very rare for permit holders to violate the law. In order to appreciate how incredibly rare these violations are, one needs to remember that there are over 17.25 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*,

¹³ Sam Hooper, “CCW Weekend: What Constitutes “Good Cause” In May-Issue States,” November 5 2016 (<http://dailycaller.com/2016/11/05/ccw-weekend-what-constitutes-good-cause-in-may-issue-states/>).

¹⁴ “The Insane Gun Laws of NYC,” Fox News, November 16 2013 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24jRaxXT7JQ>).

¹⁵ Michael O’Keeffe, “Former club manager sues county over gun permit denial,” *Newsday*, March 30 2017 (<http://www.newsday.com/long-island/former-club-manager-sues-county-over-gun-permit-denial-1.13340941>).

¹⁶ Fox News, “DC must let ex-prison guards pack heat, federal court rules,” Fox News, June 3 2016 (<http://www.foxnews.com/us/2016/06/03/dc-must-let-ex-prison-guards-pack-heat-federal-court-rules.html>).

police committed an average of 703 crimes per year from 2005 to 2007.¹⁷ 113 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.

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 crimes 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 indisputable.

Even given the low conviction rate for police, concealed carry permit holders are even more law-abiding than police. Between October 1, 1987 and June 30 2017, Florida revoked 11,189 concealed handgun permits for misdemeanors or felonies.¹⁸ This is an annual revocation rate of 10.4 permits per 100,000. In Texas in 2016 (the last year for which data is available), 148 permit holders were convicted of a felony or misdemeanor – a conviction rate of 12.3 per 100,000.¹⁹ Combining Florida and Texas data, we find that permit holders are convicted of misdemeanors and felonies at less than a sixth of 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. 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.

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ Concealed Weapon or Firearm License Summary Report, October 1, 1987 - June 30 2017 (http://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf).

¹⁹ The conviction rates of permit holders during that year is available here (<https://www.dps.texas.gov/RSD/LTC/Reports/ConvictionRatesReport2016.pdf>).

Table 4: Revocation Rates for permit holders for any reason in 2017, revocations for firearm violations are less than 1/10th the rate that excludes revocations for changing residency.

State	Rate	Source
Arizona (Year before August 5, 2018)	0.363%	http://www.leg.state.co.us/library/reports.nsf/ReportsDoc.xsp?documentId=D6727350F8E058DB87256E6600773612
Colorado**	0.099%	http://www.leg.state.co.us/library/reports.nsf/ReportsDoc.xsp?documentId=D6727350F8E058DB87256E6600773612
Florida (year before July 31, 2018)	0.065%	https://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf and year earlier sheet
Kentucky	0.19%	https://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf
Louisiana	0.084%	https://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7499/118851/cw_monthly.pdf
Maryland	0.658%	Patrick Mccrory, Maryland State Police Licensing Division
Massachusetts	0.079%	Michaela Dunne, Manager of Law Enforcement & Justice Services, Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services (617) 660-4682
Michigan	0.305%	https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/CPL_Annual_Report_01-04-2018_611131_7.pdf
Minnesota*	0.217%	https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/ooc/news-releases/Pages/BCA-releases-2017-permit-to-carry-annual-report.aspx
Ohio	0.062%	https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/CPL_Annual_Report_01-04-2018_611131_7.pdf
Oklahoma	0.022%	https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/ooc/news-releases/Pages/BCA-releases-2017-permit-to-carry-annual-report.aspx
Tennessee	0.075%	https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/CPL_A

		nual_Report_01-04-2018_611131_7.pdf
Texas	0.013%	https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/ooc/news-releases/Pages/BCA-releases-2017-permit-to-carry-annual-report.aspx
Utah	0.028%	https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/CPL_A_nual_Report_01-04-2018_611131_7.pdf
Washington State	0.038%	Teresa Clark, Washington Department of Licensing, Public Disclosure
Wisconsin	0.366%	https://www.doj.state.wi.us/sites/default/files/dles/ccw/2017%20Annual%20CCW%20Statistical%20Report.pdf
<p>*Revocations for non-traffic violations.</p> <p>** Excludes revocations for change in residency.</p>		

Listed above are the recent revocation rates in 16 states. Most of these rates include revocations for any reason, including people moving out of the state, and for the states where the revocation rates are higher than hundredths of a percentage point are due to residency revocations. People can also lose their permits for some types of traffic violations, for forgetting to have their permits with them, or for being charged with or convicted on a violent misdemeanor or felony. In Ohio, most of these revocations were apparently a result of handgun course teachers not spending the required number of hours teaching their classes.²⁰

²⁰ "Concealed carry instructor allegedly gave out 170 invalid training certificates," The News-Herald (Ohio), May 25 2015 (<http://www.news-herald.com/general-news/20150525/concealed-carry-instructor-allegedly-gave-out-170-invalid-training-certificates>); "About 50 gun permits invalid after two instructors accused of forgery," The Columbus Dispatch, July 15 2016 (<http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2016/07/14/Concealed-carry-permits-bad.html>); Lynn Thompson, "Silent Justice for gun permits," Bryan (Ohio) Times, February 4 2015 (http://www.bryantimes.com/news/local/article_35d9b7bd-10c7-5d86-b9fe-a56843d73d91.html); "CCW Instructors get jail for cutting class short," Lima (Ohio) News, November 25 2014 (<http://limaohio.com/archive/18890>);

Since permit holders commit virtually no crimes, right-to-carry laws can't increase violent crime rates (see appendix).²¹

Deterring Crime

Many factors affect crime rates: arrest and conviction rates, policing policies, prison, demographics, income, poverty, and education. But concealed carry laws are also part of the 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 of the academic research, 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 actually have permits. (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 sharply in those states with the largest percentage of permit holders.

In 2014, the seven states with constitutional carry had much lower rates of murder and violent crime than did the seven jurisdictions with the lowest percentages 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 concealed carry rates 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 rates, 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 concealed carry laws.

²¹ A detailed discussion of these numbers and how the percentages are calculated is available here (<https://crimeresearch.org/2017/07/badly-flawed-misleading-donohue-aneja-weber-study/>).

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). We 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 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.²²

Instead of just comparing states that don't require permits with those that do, it is also possible to look just at states that require permits. After accounting for the per capita number of police, new prison admissions, and demographics, this state level permit data suggests that each 20 percent increase in the rate of adults with permits (about one percentage point) is roughly associated with a 15 percent drop in the murder rate. Since the latest state level crime data is only available through 2014, the 2011 and 2014.²³

Using permit and murder data from 2011 through 2014, we find that states with the sharpest increases in permits had the largest percentage drops in murder rates. A 10 percent increase in the share of the adult population with permits reduces the murder rate by 1.4 percent.²⁴

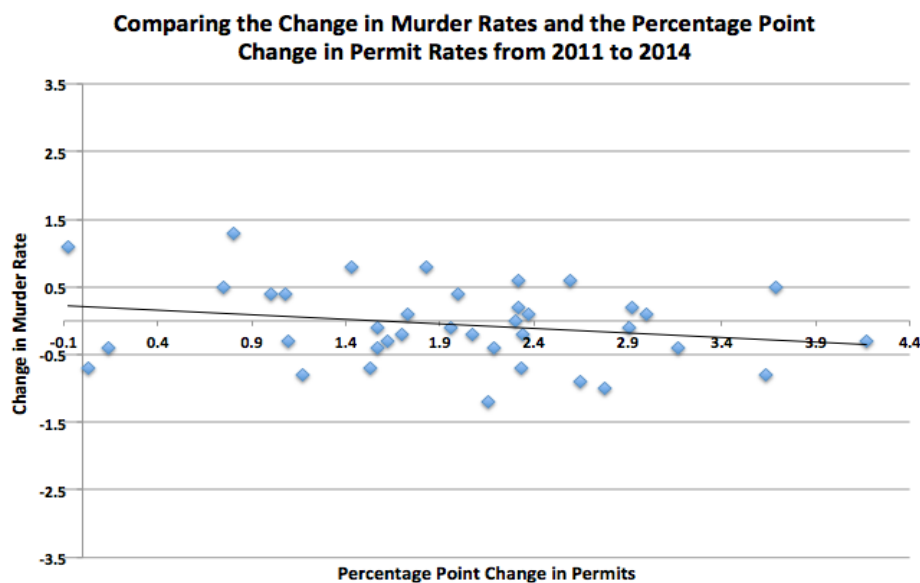
²² Regressing the natural log of the murder rate on the percent of the adult population with permits, the number of full-time sworn police officers per 1,000 Americans, and a time trend finds:

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

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

²³ 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).

²⁴ 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:

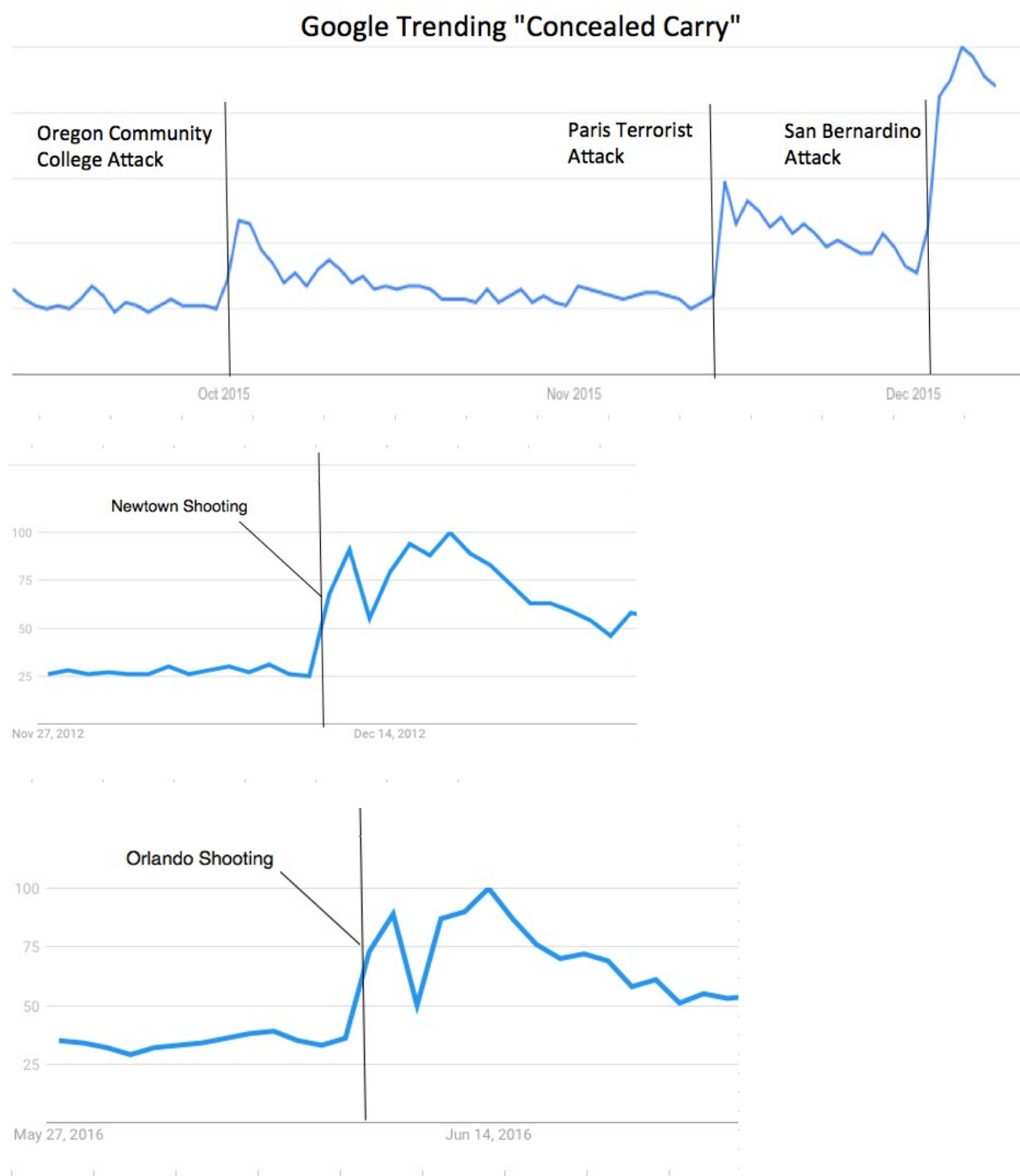
Percent change in murder rates = $-.136$ (1.38) the percent change in the share of the adult population + $.212$ (0.99) Constant

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).

Why is the Number of Permits Increasing?

A simple Google Trends search shows that people's interest in concealed carry has spiked in the wake of recent mass public shootings. Here is the search activity after four notable attacks.



These attacks have also been followed by sharp increases in the number of

permits being issued. With about 890,000 new concealed handgun permits issued in just the last year — bringing the total to 17.25 million — Americans have clearly done more than simply look up information on the Internet.

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, 48% of respondents said that owning a gun “protected them from being crime victims” as opposed to 37% who answered that it would be “putting people’s safety at risk.”²⁵ By December 2014, people’s positive impressions of gun ownership had grown to a margin of 57-to-38.

Similar changes can be seen in polls by Gallup and ABC News-Washington Post.²⁶ They asked 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 of Americans “feel safer in a neighborhood where guns are allowed.”²⁷

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 gun ownership. 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.

²⁵ 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/>).

²⁶ 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/>).

²⁷ 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, fees for permits, and the length of time that a permit is valid.

State	Data Source
Alabama	<p>Counties used to estimate the number of concealed handgun permit in the state are Baldwin County, Cullman County, Madison County, Cleburne County, Montgomery County, Jackson County, Jefferson County, and Shelby County.</p> <p>Chad Petri, "Pistol Permit Prices Vary Across Counties," WKRG.COM, March 19 2016 http://wkrg.com/2016/03/19/pistol-permit-prices-vary-across-counties/</p>
Alaska*	<p>Eric Gaffney, Records & Licensing Supervisor, Division of Statewide Services, Alaska Department of Public Safety (907) 269-5634</p> <p>Alaska Department of Public Safety, Permits & Licensing - Concealed Handgun Permits https://dps.alaska.gov/Statewide/R-I/PermitsLicensing/ACHP-FAQ https://dps.alaska.gov/getmedia/0440c0e0-2f58-4406-9101-65ca34a2e2f6/ACHP-Statutes-and-Regs.pdf;.aspx</p>
Arizona*	<p>Arizona Department of Public Safety, Concealed Weapons and Permits - Statistics and Fees http://www.azdps.gov/services/public/cwp</p> <p>Arizona Administrative Code, Department of Public Safety (DPS) - Concealed Weapons Permits R13-9-204 http://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/Title_13/13-09.pdf</p>
Arkansas	<p>Bill Sadler, Arkansas State Police - Public Information Officer Arkansas State Police – Concealed Handgun Carry Licensing https://www.ark.org/aspllicense/chcl_application/chcl.aspx</p> <p>Arkansas Code - Concealed Handgun Carry Licensing §5-73-302</p>

	https://static.ark.org/eeuploads/asp/Arkansas_concealed_handgun_carry_license_rules_effective_1-1-2018.pdf
California	<p>Kristopher Hooks, "New 'enhancements' to system will make getting concealed weapons permits easier," ABC 10, December 20 2016 http://www.abc10.com/news/local/new-enhancements-to-process-will-make-getting-concealed-weapons-permits-easier/375499761 California Penal Code sections 26185, 26190, and 26220</p>
Colorado	<p>Colorado General Assembly – Statutory Reports http://www.leg.state.co.us/library/reports.nsf/ReportsDoc.xsp?documentId=D6727350F8E058DB87256E6600773612 CBI Firearms InstaCheck Unit – Firearm Statistics https://www.colorado.gov/pacific/cbi/currentyearstatistics CBI Firearms InstaCheck Unit – Concealed Handgun Permit (CHP) Fees https://www.colorado.gov/pacific/cbi/chpfees CBI Firearms InstaCheck Unit – Concealed Handgun Permit (CHP) Statutes C.R.S. 18-12-204 http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/colorado/?app=00075&view=full&interface=1&docinfo=off&searchtype=get&search=C.R.S.+18-12-204</p>
Connecticut	<p>Janet K. Ainsworth, Staff Attorney 3/Ethics Liaison, Department of Emergency Services and Public Protection, Special Licensing and Firearms - Connecticut State Pistol Permit http://www.ct.gov/despp/cwp/view.asp?a=4213&q=494614 https://www.ct.gov/despp/lib/despp/slfu/dps-769-c_pistol_permit_instructions_to_applicants_rev_12-01-17.pdf</p>
Delaware	<p>Susan Judge, Court Administrator, Superior Court of Delaware Delaware Courts - Concealed Deadly Weapons http://courts.delaware.gov/superior/weapons.aspx</p>
District of Columbia	<p>Karimah Bilal, Public Affairs Specialist, Office of Communications (PIO), Metropolitan Police Department</p>

	<p>Metropolitan Police Department - Applying for a Concealed Carry Pistol License https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/applying-concealed-carry-pistol-license Code of the District of Columbia § 7–2509.03 https://beta.code.dccouncil.us/dc/council/code/titles/7/chapters/25/</p>
Florida	<p>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 Concealed Weapon or Firearm: Section 790.06, Florida Statutes, Fee Schedule http://www.freshfromflorida.com/content/download/7438/118429/License_Fees.pdf Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services, Concealed Weapon License – Renew Your License https://www.freshfromflorida.com/Consumer-Resources/Concealed-Weapon-License/Renew-Your-Concealed-Weapon-License</p>
Georgia	<p>Georgiacarry.org The State of Georgia - Applying for a Firearms License https://georgia.gov/popular-topic/applying-firearms-license</p>
Hawaii	<p>Hawaii Firearm Registrations Summary http://freebeacon.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/2016-KPD-firearm-reg-rots-1.pdf http://freebeacon.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Firearm-Registrations-in-Hawaii-2015.pdf Hawaii Rifle Association - Hawaii Gun Laws http://hawaiirifleassociation.org/hawaii-gun-laws/</p>
Idaho	<p>Leila McNeill, CPM, Operations Officer, Bureau of Criminal Identification, Idaho State Police Idaho Statutes 18-3302 https://legislature.idaho.gov/statutesrules/idstat/Title18/T1</p>

	8CH33/SECT18-3302/
Illinois	E-mail: Illinois State Police, Freedom of Information Officer FOIA_Officer@isp.state.il.us https://www.ispfsb.com/Public/AboutTheAct.aspx
Indiana	Indiana State Police Firearms Licensing Statistics by County https://www.in.gov/isp/files/ISP_Firearms_Licensing_Statistics_2018_Issued_and_Active_2nd_Quarter.pdf Indiana State Police, Firearms Licensing Fee Schedule http://www.in.gov/isp/3065.htm
Iowa	Ross Loder, Bureau Chief, Program Services Bureau, Administrative Services Division, Iowa Department of Public Safety Iowa Department of Public Safety, Division of Administrative Services – Weapon Permit Information and Forms http://www.dps.state.ia.us/asd/weapon_permits.shtml Chapter 724 of the Iowa Code and Administrative Rules, 661, Chapter 91
Kansas	Charles W. Klebe, Director & Assistant Attorney General, Concealed Carry, Private Detective & Bail Enforcement Agent Licensing Units Kansas Application for Concealed Carry Handgun License and Qualifying Information, Office of Attorney General Derek Schmidt https://ag.ks.gov/docs/default-source/forms/concealed-carry-application.pdf?sfvrsn=20 Kansas Personal and Family Protection Act [K.S.A 75-7c01 et. seq] https://ag.ks.gov/docs/default-source/documents/concealed-carry-faqs.pdf?sfvrsn=6
Kentucky	Kentucky State Police http://kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw-home/ccdw-annual-stats-reports/ Dana Peacock, Program Coordinator, Kentucky State Police,

	<p>Criminal ID & Records, C.C.D.W. Section</p> <p>Kentucky State Police, Concealed Deadly Weapons</p> <p>http://kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw-home/ccdw-faqs/</p>
Louisiana	<p>Louisiana Department of Public Safety</p> <p>http://www.lsp.org/handguns.html</p> <p>Louisiana Concealed Handgun Permit Application Packet</p> <p>http://www.lsp.org/pdf/chApplication.pdf</p>
Maine	<p>State Representative Rich M. Cebra who interceded with the Maine State Police for us.</p> <p>State of Maine Laws Relating to Permit to Carry Concealed Handguns</p> <p>http://www.maine.gov/dps/msp/licenses/documents/Weapons/CFP%20Booklet.pdf</p>
Maryland	<p>Patrick Mccrory, Licensing Division, Maryland State Police</p> <p>Matt Labudzki, IT Lead Programmer Analyst, Information Technology and Communications Division, Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services</p> <p>Maryland State Police - Handgun Wear and Carry Permit</p> <p>http://mdsp.maryland.gov/Organization/Pages/CriminalInvestigationBureau/LicensingDivision/Firearms/WearandCarryPermit.aspx</p>
Massachusetts	<p>Michaela Dunne, Manager of Law Enforcement & Justice Services, Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services</p> <p>Massachusetts Government - Gun Ownership in Massachusetts</p> <p>http://www.mass.gov/eea/agencies/dfg/dfw/education-events/hed/gun-licensing-requirements.html#TrainingRequirements</p>
Michigan	<p>Michigan State Police - CPL Applications by County and Status</p> <p>https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/All_Statuses_Report_April_2_2018_619274_7.pdf</p>

	<p>Michigan State Police - Concealed Pistol License Renewal Information</p> <p>http://www.michigan.gov/msp/0,4643,7-123-1878_1591_3503_4654-10955--,00.html</p> <p>https://www.michigan.gov/msp/0,4643,7-123-1878_1591_3503_4654-10929--,00.html</p>
Minnesota	<p>Judith M. Strobel, JD, MBA, Senior Legal Analyst, Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension</p> <p>Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension - Firearms</p> <p>https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/bca/bca-divisions/administrative/Pages/firearms.aspx</p> <p>Minnesota Statutes 624.714</p> <p>https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/cite/624.714</p>
Mississippi	<p>M/Sgt. Odis Easterling, Director, Firearm Permit Unit</p> <p>Mississippi Department of Public Safety – Firearm Permit Application</p> <p>https://www.dps.state.ms.us/firearms/firearms-permit-unit/firearms-permits-faqs/</p>
Missouri	<p>Email: Missouri State Highway Patrol</p> <p>mshppied@mshp.dps.mo.gov</p> <p>Committee on Legislative Research, Oversight Division</p> <p>1360-04</p> <p>http://lawcenter.giffords.org/concealed-weapons-permitting-in-missouri/</p>
Montana †	<p>Eric Sell, Communications Director, Montana Department of Justice</p> <p>Montana Code 45-8-322</p> <p>http://leg.mt.gov/bills/mca/title_0450/chapter_0080/part_0030/section_0220/0450-0080-0030-0220.html</p>
Nebraska	<p>Email: Nebraska State Patrol nsp.ccw@nebraska.gov</p> <p>Nebraska State Patrol – Conceal Carry</p> <p>https://statepatrol.nebraska.gov/vnews/display.v/SEC/Services%7CConcealed%20Carry%20Permits%3E%3EConceal%20Carry%20FAQ</p>

Nevada	<p>Nevada Department of Public Safety http://rccd.nv.gov/uploadedFiles/gsdnvgov/content/Resources/Active%20CCW%20by%20SO%20(1%20MAY%2018)%20Final.pdf Nevada Code - Concealed Firearms https://www.leg.state.nv.us/NRS/NRS-202.html http://www.nevadacarry.org/concealed-carry.html</p>
New Hampshire	<p>Sergeant Michael. J. McQuade, Permits and Licensing Unit Commander State of New Hampshire Department of Safety https://www.nh.gov/safety/divisions/nhsp/ssb/permitslicensing/documents/dssp260.pdf</p>
New Jersey	<p>State of New Jersey N.J.S.2C:58-3 and N.J.S.2C:58-4 http://www.njleg.state.nj.us/2016/Bills/S3500/3124_I1.HTM</p>
New Mexico	<p>Teasha J. Roybal, Law Enforcement Records Bureau, IPRA Coordinator -Department of Public Safety New Mexico Department of Public Safety - Concealed Handgun Carry https://www.dps.nm.gov/index.php/concealed-carry-faqs?highlight=WyJjb25jZWFsZWQiXQ== https://www.dps.nm.gov/templates/g5_hydrogen/custom/PDFs/Concealed%20Carry%20License/FILLABLE/NMAC%20CCW%20Booklet%20FILLABLE.pdf</p>
New York NYC	<p>Counties used to estimate the number of concealed handgun permit in the state are Herkimer County, Nassau County, Rockland County, Oneida County, Saratoga County and Broome County Westchester County. New York State Police – Firearms https://troopers.ny.gov/Firearms/ Police Department, City of New York, Handgun License Application http://www1.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/permits/HandGunLicenseApplicationFormsComplete.pdf</p>
North Carolina	<p>Beth A. Starosta-Desmond, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Information and Identification</p>

	<p>Section, Assistant Special Agent in Charge North Carolina Firearms Laws http://www.ncdoj.gov/getdoc/32344299-a2a7-4ae5-99fd-9018262f64ac/NC-Firearms-gun-Laws.aspx</p>
North Dakota	<p>North Dakota Attorney General - Concealed Weapon Licenses https://attorneygeneral.nd.gov/public-safety/concealed-weapons-licenses North Dakota Attorney General - Online Application Process https://attorneygeneral.nd.gov/public-safety/concealed-weapons-licenses/obtaining-north-dakota-concealed-weapon-license/online North Dakota Concealed Weapon License https://attorneygeneral.nd.gov/sites/ag/files/documents/CWL-Manual.pdf</p>
Ohio	<p>Ohio Attorney General http://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Files/Publications/Publications-for-Law-Enforcement/Concealed-Carry-Publications/Concealed-Carry-Statistics Ohio's Concealed Carry Laws and License Application http://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Files/Publications-Files/Publications-for-Law-Enforcement/Concealed-Carry-Publications/Concealed-Carry-Laws-Manual-%28PDF%29</p>
Oklahoma	<p>Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation http://www.ok.gov/osbi/ Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation - Handgun Licensing https://www.ok.gov/osbi/Handgun_Licensing/How_to_apply_as_a_first_time_license_holder_or_expired_renewal.html</p>
Oregon	<p>Patricia Whitfield, Director, CJIS Division, Oregon State Police Oregon State Legislature 166.292 https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/bills_laws/ors/ors166.html</p>

Pennsylvania	<p>Corporal Adam Reed, Communications Office Director, Pennsylvania State Police Pennsylvania Statutes Title 18 Pa.C.S.A. Crimes and Offenses § 6109. Licenses http://www.legis.state.pa.us/WU01/LI/LI/CT/HTM/18/00.061.009.000..HTM</p>
Rhode Island	<p>Lisa A. Pinsonneault, Special Assistant Attorney General, The State of Rhode Island Office of the Attorney General State of Rhode Island Attorney General http://www.riag.ri.gov/home/pistol_renewal_form.pdf</p>
South Carolina	<p>South Carolina Law Enforcement Division http://www.sled.sc.gov/CWPStats.aspx?MenuID=CWP South Carolina Concealed Weapon Permit Application http://www.sled.sc.gov/documents/CWP/CWPApplicationForm.pdf South Carolina Code of Laws 23-31 http://www.scstatehouse.gov/code/t23c031.php</p>
South Dakota	<p>South Dakota Secretary of State – Concealed Pistol Permits http://sdsos.gov/general-services/concealed-pistol-permits/default.aspx</p>
Tennessee	<p>Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security https://www.tn.gov/content/dam/tn/safety/documents/Current_HG_PermitHolders.pdf Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security - Handgun Carry Permits https://www.tn.gov/safety/handgunmain.html</p>
Texas	<p>Texas Department of Public Safety - Reports & Statistics http://www.dps.texas.gov/rsd/LTC/reports/demographics.htm http://www.dps.texas.gov/rsd/LTC/reports/ActLicAndInstr/ActiveLicandInstr2017.pdf Mandy Tennill, Records Analyst, Operations and Shared Services, Regulatory Services Division, Texas Department of Public Safety Texas License to Carry a Handgun (LTC) Fee Table http://www.dps.texas.gov/RSD/LTC/documents/LTCFeeSch</p>

	<p>edule.pdf Texas Department of Public Safety, Regulatory Services Division - License to Carry A Handgun https://www.dps.texas.gov/RSD/LTC/faqs/index.htm</p>
Utah††	<p>Utah Department of Public Safety, Firearm Statistical Review, Second Quarter 2018 https://bci.utah.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2018/07/2018Q2.pdf Utah Department of Public Safety, Concealed Firearm Permits https://bci.utah.gov/concealed-firearm/</p>
Vermont*	<p>No permits required to carry. No permits offered for those who carry out of state.</p>
Virginia	<p>Michael S. Matthews, Manager, Firearms Transaction Center, Virginia State Police E-mail: Virginia Department of State Police foia@vsp.virginia.gov http://www.vsp.state.va.us/Firearms_ResidentConcealed.shtml http://www.vsp.state.va.us/Firearms_NonresidentConcealed.shtm</p>
Washington	<p>Email: Washington State Department of Licensing Public Records https://wadolpublicrecords.nextrequest.com/ Washington State Department of Licensing - Concealed pistol license http://www.dol.wa.gov/business/firearms/faconcealreq.html</p>
West Virginia	<p>West Virginia Code §61-7-4 http://www.legis.state.wv.us/wvcode/chapterentire.cfm?chap=61&art=7&section=4#01</p>
Wisconsin	<p>Walt Neverman, Director – Crime Information Bureau, Wisconsin CSO / Nlets Rep, NCIC Subcommittee Chair Wisconsin Department of Justice - Concealed Carry Annual Reports https://www.doj.state.wi.us/dles/cib/conceal-</p>

	<p>carry/concealed-carry-annual-reports Wisconsin Department of Justice – Concealed Carry https://concealedcarry.doj.wi.gov/ccwonline/steps/startApplication.html;jsessionid=686F87BE01355D5D7E378AAD060F6284.ccwonline1#!</p>
Wyoming*	<p>Heather Calvert, Wyoming Division of Criminal Investigation, Criminal Justice Records Analyst - Concealed Firearm Permits Wyoming Division of Criminal Investigation - Concealed Firearm Permits http://wyomingdci.wyo.gov/dci-criminal-justice-information-systems-section/concealed-firearms-permits/cfp-faq</p>

Appendix on rates that permit holders are convicted of violent crimes.

Louisiana: Here are the percentages of permit holders who were charged or convicted of any type of felony, whether violent or nonviolent (aggravated assault is one type of felony, but felonies also typically include traffic violations). Including charged cases skews the number substantially, since permit holders have very low conviction rates in general. After all, permit holders are usually arrested even if they used their guns in justifiable self-defense. Police and prosecutors can't just let them off the hook until they are sure about what happened. The vast majority of these cases are unlikely to involve firearms, however. (reports)

2016: 16. Percent of permit holders who are charged or convicted of a felony: 0.0092%

2015: 19. Percent of permit holders who are charged or convicted of a felony: 0.0123%

2014: 15. Percent of permit holders who are charged or convicted of a felony: 0.0109%

Share of violent crimes

2015: There were 25,208 violent crimes in Louisiana, with 19 felony charges or convictions against permit holders. Assuming that these felonies were all violent and that the accused were guilty of the charges, permit holders would account for just **0.08%** of the total. Again, this is an overestimate of permit holders' share of violent crimes.

2014: There were 23,983 violent crimes in Louisiana, with 15 felony charges or convictions against permit holders. Assuming that these felonies were all violent and that the accused were guilty of the charges, permit holders would account for just **0.06%** of the total. Again, this is an overestimate of permit holders' share of violent crimes.

Michigan: Below is the percentage of permit holders who were convicted of aggravated assault (with and without a weapon)

2015-2016: 17. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an aggravated assault: 0.003%

2014-2015: 11. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an aggravated assault: 0.002%

Also, the percentage of permit holders who were convicted of any type of violent crime (Murder, manslaughter, criminal sexual conduct, armed robbery, unarmed robbery, aggravated assault)

2015-2016: 22. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a violent crime: 0.00396%

These 22 cases compare to a total of 41,231 violent crimes in Michigan, that is a 0.053% share.

2014-2015: 18. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a violent crime: 0.00352%

These 18 cases compare to a total of 42,348 violent crimes in Michigan, that is a 0.044% share.

Minnesota: Permit revocations due to any type of assault

2015: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

2014: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

2013: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

2012: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

2011: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

2010: 0. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an assault: 0.000%

There were 7,094 aggravated assaults in Minnesota in 2015 and no concealed handgun permit holders were convicted of these crimes.

Oregon: Permit holders who were convicted of any type of felony, violent or nonviolent. The vast majority of these cases are unlikely to involve firearms.

2016: 19. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0074%

There were 10,468 violent crimes in Oklahoma in 2015. Even though felonies involve more violent crimes, the 19 felonies that permit holders were convicted of in 2016 equal only 0.182% of violent crimes.

Oklahoma: Permit holders who were convicted of any type of felony. (reports)

2016: 20. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0071%

2015: 16. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0062%

2014: 15. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0069%

2013: 15. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0078%

2012: 10. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: Unknow rate because we don't have permit data for 2012.

There were 16,506 violent crimes in Oklahoma in 2015. Even though felonies involve more violent crimes, the 16 felonies that permit holders were convicted of equal only 0.097% of violent crimes.

Tennessee: Revocations due to any type of assault other than vehicular assault

2016: Zero. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a non-vehicular assault: 0.000%

2015: Zero. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a non-vehicular assault: 0.000%

Permit holders who were convicted of any type of felony.

2016: 29. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0049%

2015: 31. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of a felony: 0.0061%

There were 40,400 violent crimes in Tennessee in 2015. Even though felonies involve more violent crimes, the 31 felonies that permit holders were convicted of equal only 0.077% of violent crimes.

Texas: Convictions for aggravated assault with any type of weapon

2016: 8. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an aggravated assault: 0.00067%

2015: 10. Percent of permit holders who are convicted of an aggravated assault: 0.0011%

There were 67,727 aggravated assault in Texas in 2015. Even though felonies involve more violent crimes, the 31 felonies that permit holders were convicted of equal only 0.077% of violent crimes.

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.

Academic advisory 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.

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Arthur Z. Berg, M.D. is a Distinguished Life Fellow of the American Psychiatric Association and former member of the APA Violence Task Force. He was founding Psychiatrist-in-Chief at Beverly Hospital (emeritus) and former Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. A recent article that Dr. Berg had in the *Wall Street Journal* on multiple victim public shootings is available [here](#).

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