

Report from the Crime Prevention Research Center

Concealed Carry Permit Holders Across the United States: 2020*



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Summary

During President Trump's administration, the number of concealed handgun permits has soared to over 19.48 million – a 34% increase over 2016. However, while gun sales have set records in 2020, the growth in concealed handgun permits has slowed as many states shutdown their issuance of new permits. Unlike gun ownership surveys that may be affected by people's unwillingness to answer personal questions, concealed handgun permit data is the only really "hard data" that we have. Seventeen states no longer provide data on all the people who are legally carrying a concealed handgun because people in those states no longer need a permit to carry.

Among the findings of our report:

- Last year, the number of permit holders continued to grow by about 820,000. At 4.4% growth over 2019, that is the slowest percent and absolute increase that we have seen since we started collecting this data in 2011, but part of that is due to many states not issuing concealed handgun permits during the Coronavirus pandemic. Another part is in the sixteen Constitutional carry states (plus Montana where a permit is not needed in almost all the state) the number of permits has been declining even though it is clear that more people are legally carrying.
- **7.6% of American adults have permits.** Outside of the restrictive states of California and New York, about 9.2% of the adult population has a permit.
- In fourteen states, more than 10% of adults have permits. Since 2019, Arkansas and Oklahoma have fallen below 10%, but they are now all Constitutional Carry states, meaning that people no longer need a permit to carry. South Carolina's concealed carry rate has risen to above 10%.
- Alabama has the highest concealed carry rate — 28.5%. Indiana is second with 18.7%, and Iowa is third with 15.0%.
- Five states now have over 1 million permit holders: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Florida is the first state to have over 2 million permits.
- Sixteen states have adopted constitutional carry for their entire state, meaning that a permit is no longer required. Because of these constitutional carry states, the nationwide growth in permits does not paint a full picture of the overall increase in concealed carry. But some residents

still choose to obtain permits so that they can carry in other states that have reciprocity agreements.

- In 2020, women made up 26.4% of permit holders in the 14 states that provide data by gender. Seven states had data from 2012 to 2019/2020, and permit numbers grew 101.2% faster for women than for men.
- Three states that have detailed race and gender data for at least a decade show remarkably larger increases in permits for minorities compared to whites. In Texas, black females saw a 3.9 times greater percentage increase in permits than white males from 2002 to 2019. Oklahoma data from 2002 to 2019 indicated that the increase of licenses approved for Asians and American Indians was more than twice the rate for whites. North Carolina had black permits increase twice as fast as whites from 1996 till 2016.
- From 2015 to 2019/2020, in the four states that provide data by race over that time period, the number of black people with permits increased almost 55.6% faster than the number of whites with permits. Asians appear to be the group that has experienced the largest increase in permitted concealed carry, growing 62.9% faster than 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

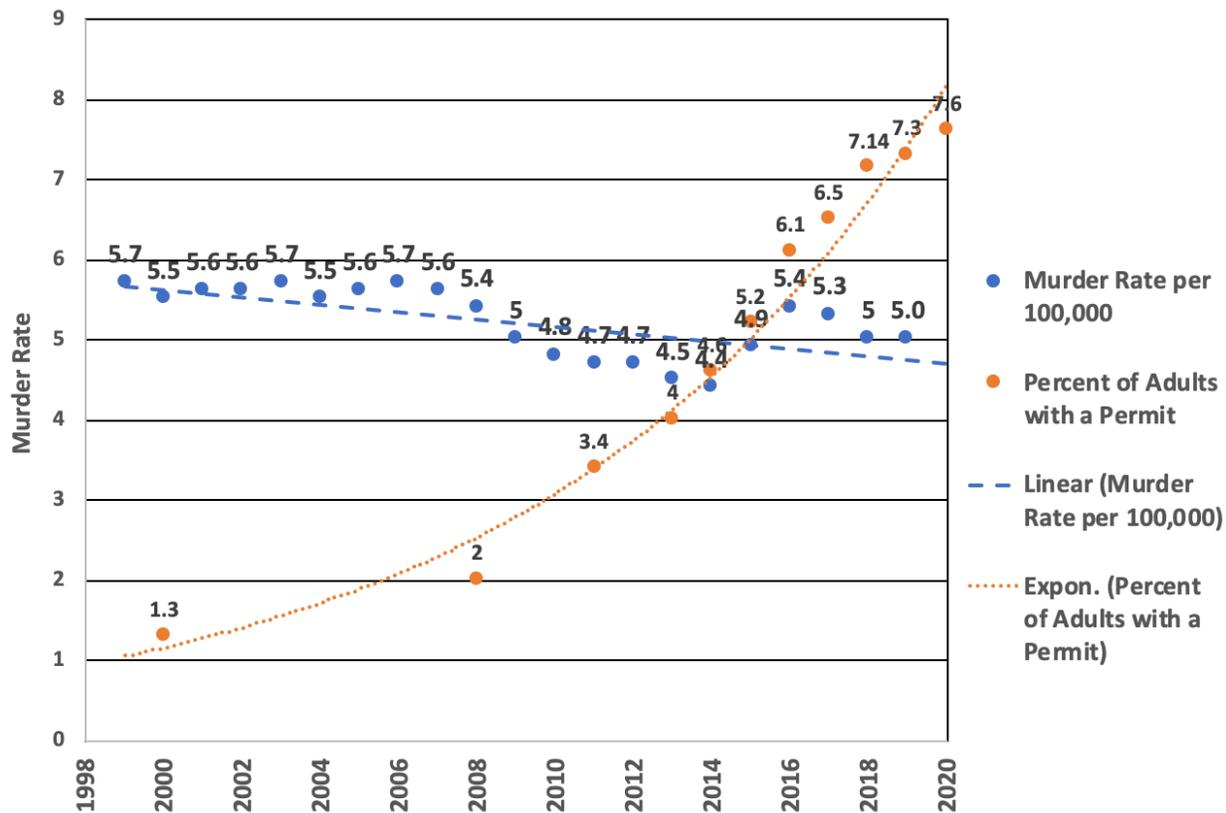
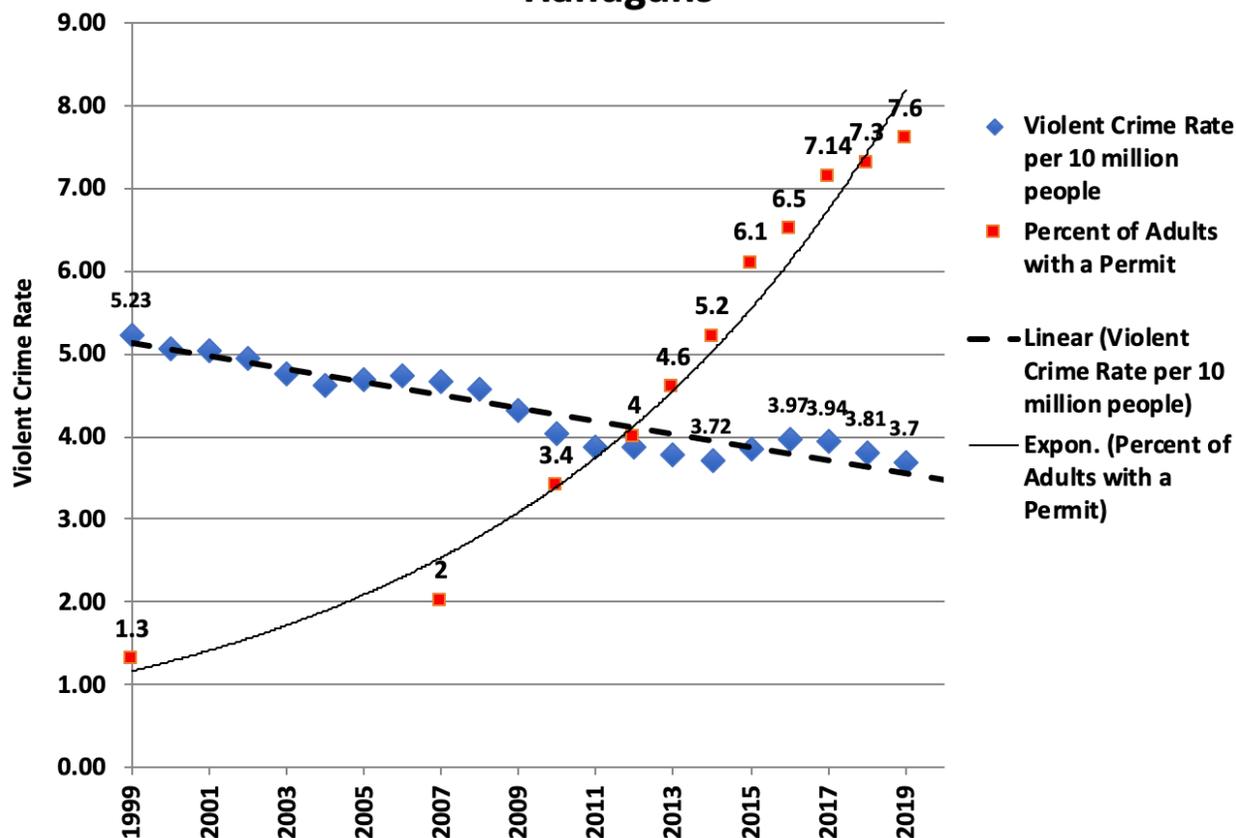


Figure 1b: Violent Crime Rates and the Percentage of the Adult Population with Permitted Concealed Handguns



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 19.48 million in 2020. 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 5.0 per 100,000, a 12% drop. Overall violent crime fell by 29 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 sixteen states Constitutional Carry states that do not require permits in all or almost all their state. (There is also Vermont, but it doesn't issue permits.) The average fee for a five-year permit is \$69.45. California is at the high end of the spectrum, charging approximately a \$300 fee¹ and requiring a minimum of 8 hours of training. The training costs also vary widely, from \$150 to \$800. 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 regular permit valid for five years. Similarly, Pennsylvania has no training requirement and charges \$20 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. Arkansas just reduced its fee from \$142.11 to \$91.9 and Washington from \$48 to \$36. Indiana's 5-year license to carry has become fee exempt since July 1, 2020, while Tennessee's 8-year license fee has dropped from \$100 to 65, effective from January 1, 2020. West Virginia also reduced \$75 fee for a LCDW to \$25, starting on June 1, 2020.

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.

¹ The \$100 cap on processing fees for concealed firearm licenses has gone away since January 1, 2020. County sheriffs can now charge "an amount equal to the actual costs for processing the application," according to AB 1297 by Assemblyman Kevin McCarty, D-Sacramento.

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.

While gun sales cooled down some during the last half of 2019, they have exploded during 2020. During the first eight months of 2020, gun sales were 74% greater than the first eight months of 2019 and much higher than the same period in any previous year.

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. 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

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

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 2020, the number is now up to 19.48 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 0.82 million permits this year.

While concealed handgun permit data is a better measure of changing gun 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 16 states as well as virtually all of 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 actually carried undoubtedly went up significantly when there were no longer any fees or training requirements to carry, the number of permits in Constitutional Carry states actually *fell* by 14,937.

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 18.75 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 their states are Florida (221,440) and Utah (424,531). New Hampshire (28,408) 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 18.75 and 19.48 million.

- 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.
- 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, 19.48 million is undoubtedly an underestimate of the total number of Americans with permits. On the other hand, 731,931 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 (424,531) and Florida (221,440). We also found some non-residential permits for Maine (14,628), New Hampshire (28,408) and Virginia (42,924).

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 four counties in Pennsylvania that had between 30% and 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 2a: Types of Concealed Carry States

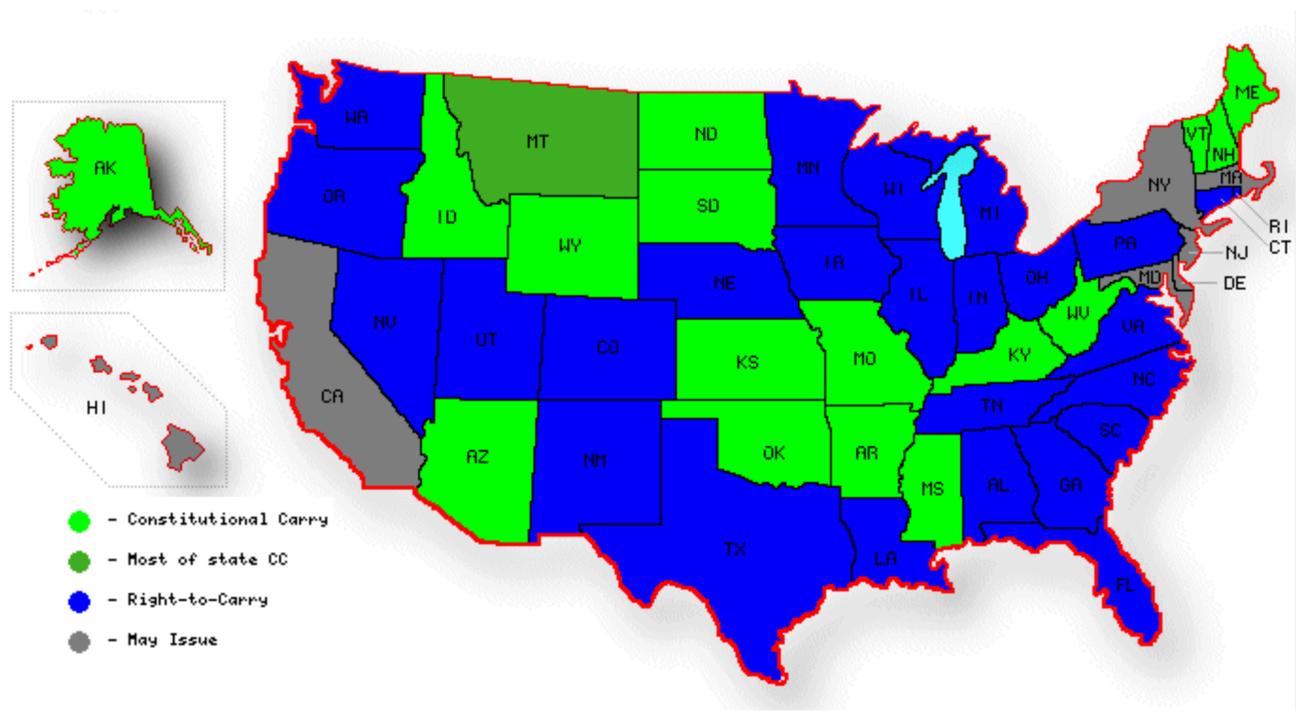
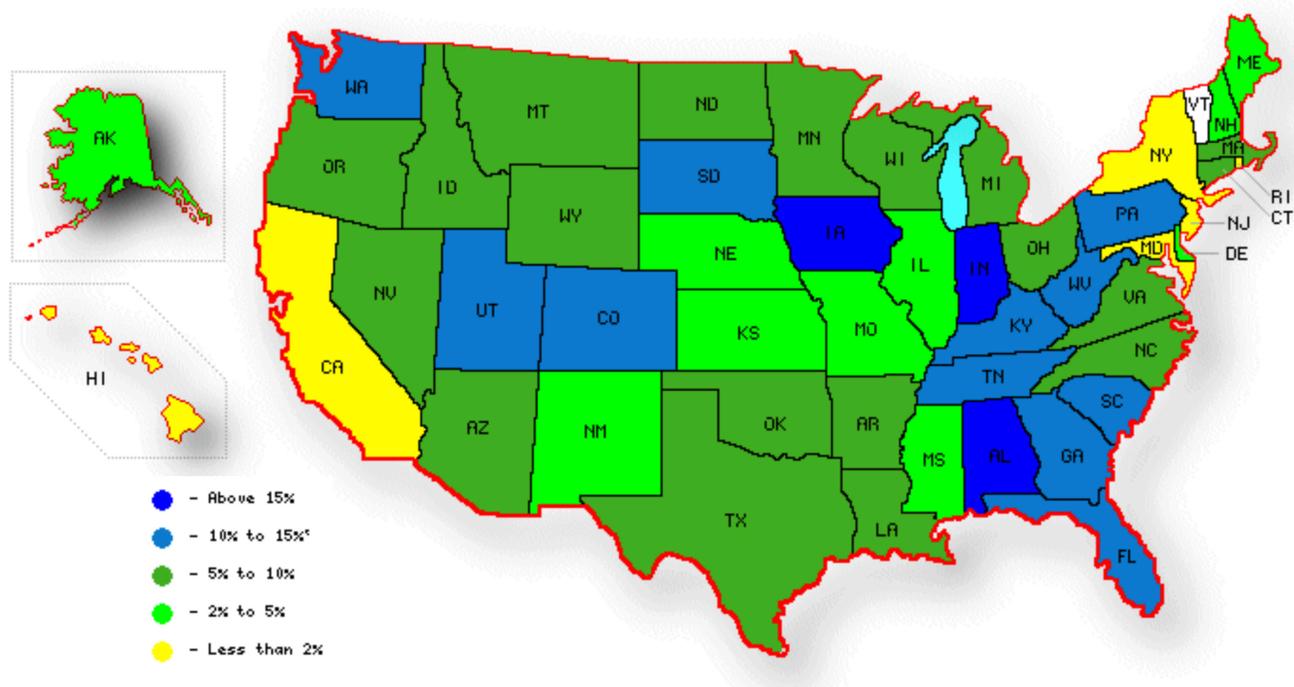


Figure 2b: Percent of Adults with Concealed Handgun Permits



While about 7.6% 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 16 states allow permitless carry doesn't make it any easier to come up with an estimate. But a 2017 Pew Research Center Survey 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 19.48 million. Add in people who legally carry without a permit, and the number clearly becomes much larger. While 7.6% of the adult population has permits, the percentage of Americans who say that they carry most or all the time is about 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%.

Growth in Permits Subdued because of Coronavirus Pandemic

While gun sales have soared, the growth in the number of concealed handgun permits has been much smaller. First, gun sales soared as the Coronavirus prevented police from responding to many calls either because officers were quarantined or departments sought to reduce the contact that police had with those who might be infected. In addition, jails and prisons releasing large numbers of inmates. Later as riots consumed many major cities, politicians ordered police to stand down and not respond to calls. Politicians also defunded many police departments.

Even in normal times, police themselves realize that they virtually always arrive on the crime scene after the crime has occurred. But these aren't normal times. One would think that the same forces driving up gun ownership would also drive up the number of concealed handgun permits. Yet, while both have increased, there is a simple reason that concealed handgun permits have not increased as much as gun sales: many states stopped issuing new permits for many months because of the virus. A partial list of thirteen states includes: Florida,⁵ Georgia,⁶

⁵ Joe Daraskevich, "New concealed carry license applications on hold in Florida due to coronavirus outbreak," WOKV Radio (Jacksonville, Florida), March 23, 2020 (<https://www.wokv.com/news/local/new-concealed-carry-license-applications-hold-florida-due-coronavirus-outbreak/Mv3laFf1qoQStp1WtCVwcP/>).

⁶ Tyler Estep, "Coronavirus pauses processing of Georgia weapons carry licenses," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, March 18, 2020 (<https://www.ajc.com/news/local/coronavirus-pauses-processing-georgia-weapons-carry-licenses/cDhxTH10qc5Ak8zXUqr7aJ/>).

Louisiana, Michigan,⁷ Missouri,⁸ Montana,⁹ Nevada,¹⁰ North Carolina (some counties),¹¹ Ohio (some counties),¹² Oregon,¹³ Pennsylvania,¹⁴ and Washington state.¹⁵

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. 7.6% of the adult population has concealed handgun permits. If you exclude the nine May Issue states and the District of Columbia (California, Connecticut, 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 41 states to 9.9%.

⁷ Gus Burns, "Michigan police not physically responding to some calls in order to avoid coronavirus spread," MLive, March 17, 2020 (<https://www.mlive.com/public-interest/2020/03/michigan-police-not-physically-responding-to-some-calls-in-order-to-avoid-coronavirus-spread.html>).

⁸ Ashley Hoak, "Gov. Parson suspends late fees for concealed carry license renewals," KTVO Television, April 2, 2020 (<https://ktvo.com/news/local/gov-parson-suspends-late-fees-for-concealed-carry-license-renewals>).

⁹ Perry Backus, "Ravalli County justice system up and running despite coronavirus," Ravalli Republic, March 23, 2020 (https://ravallirepublic.com/news/state-and-regional/crime-and-courts/article_f8397ca6-af8e-59ae-a67b-a9d50c94e021.html).

¹⁰ Staff, "Gov Sisolak taps ex-MGM CEO to head new Coronavirus task force," The Nevada Independent, March 16, 2020 (<https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/coronavirus-live-blog-week-two>).

¹¹ Conversation with Paul Valone, Grass Roots North Carolina.

¹² Staff, "Coronavirus: Some Ohio Sheriffs suspending Concealed Handgun License applications and renewals," Buckeye Firearms Association, March 19, 2020 (<https://www.buckeyefirearms.org/coronavirus-some-ohio-sheriffs-suspending-concealed-handgun-license-applications-and-renewals>).

¹³ Jayati Ramakrisnan, "Gun sales spike in Oregon as coronavirus spreads." Oregon Live, March 29, 2020 (<https://www.oregonlive.com/coronavirus/2020/03/gun-sales-spike-in-oregon-as-coronavirus-spreads.html>).

¹⁴ William Bender, Jessica Calefati and Mike Newall, "Police in Philly and other Pa. counties stop issuing license-to-carry permits to gun owners amid coronavirus outbreak," Philadelphia Inquirer, March 20, 2020 (<https://www.inquirer.com/health/coronavirus/coronavirus-philadelphia-gun-permits-concealed-carry-police-20200320.html>).

¹⁵ "Coronavirus: Some States Have Stopped Issuing Concealed Handgun Permits," Crime Prevention Research Center, April 8, 2020 (<https://crimeresearch.org/2020/04/coronavirus-some-states-have-stopped-issuing-concealed-handgun-permits/>).

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 will have someone carrying their gun.

Fourteen states have more than 10% of their adult populations and sixteen states and the District of Columbia have less than 5%. Alabama continues to lead other states with the largest share of its adult population with permits, about 28.5%, while California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maryland, New Jersey, and Rhode Island all have less than one percent with permits.

The average cost of being able to carry in states has increased by 5.6% (\$3.12) to \$59.20. However, if you want a permit so that you can carry in states outside of the state that you are in, permit costs have increased by only \$0.44 to \$79.21.

Table 1: Number of Permit Holders by State

State	Active Permits	Data Updated
Alabama¥	1,085,404	June 30, 2020
Alaska†	11,719	July 22, 2020
Arizona†	359,370	July 5, 2020
Arkansas††	216,550	August 7, 2019
California	120,582	July 1, 2018
Colorado	554,589	June 30, 2020
Connecticut	271,591	March 11, 2020
Delaware	21,315	August 10, 2020
District of Columbia	4,574	July 17, 2020
Florida	2,143,213 Residential permits = 1,921,773, non-residential permits = 221,440	July 31, 2020
Georgia¥	1,107,722	June 30, 2020
Hawaii	-	December 31, 2016
Idaho†	111,380	July 20, 2020
Illinois	332,135	February 27, 2020
Indiana	967,091	July 1, 2020
Iowa	364,798	July 20, 2020
Kansas†	89,000	July 21, 2020
Kentucky†	406,616	December 31, 2019
Louisiana	290,862	December 31, 2019

Florida is the state that has issued the most concealed carry permits at **2.14 million**, followed by Texas with **1.52 million** and Pennsylvania with **1.42 million**.

Maine†	Resident: 26,172; Non- resident: 14,628	July 23, 2020
Maryland	27,760	June 30, 2020
Massachusetts	405,346	July 30, 2020
Michigan	663,460	July 1, 2020
Minnesota	316,044	August 6, 2020
Mississippi†	46,598	June 21, 2016
Missouri†	160,184	December 31, 2012
Montana*	57,236	July 22, 2020
Nebraska	71,650	June 1, 2020
Nevada	132,299	July 1, 2020
New Hampshire†	28,408	June 30, 2020
New Jersey	1,212	2012-2013
New Mexico	34,165	July 28, 2020
New York¥	196,132	June 2020
North Carolina	703,396	July 21, 2020
North Dakota†	48,356	February 8, 2018
Ohio	710,085	March 31, 2020
Oklahoma†	272,026	July 20, 2020
Oregon	275,655	July 2, 2020
Pennsylvania	1,417,050	July 20, 2020
Rhode Island	2,008	July 29, 2020
South Carolina	516,341	July 17, 2020
South Dakota†	91,372	July 31, 2020
Tennessee	681,420	July 1, 2020
Texas	1,520,079	July 20, 2020

Utah	692,308 total, 267,777 residential	June 30, 2020
Vermont†	N/A	N/A
Virginia	Resident: 638,458; Non- resident: 42,924	July 1, 2020
Washington	655,700	August 19, 2020
West Virginia†	147,327	May 28, 2020
Wisconsin	398,079	July 19, 2020
Wyoming†	29,817	July 20, 2020
TOTAL	19,482,206	

† 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 for three states, Alabama, Georgia and New York State, were obtained by looking at NICS background checks for concealed handgun permits. These data are not perfect. We got similar numbers using select county data for some counties in New York State and then extrapolating up to the state rate, but the table only reports the NICS data. For New York we relied on Herkimer, Monroe, Oneida, Saratoga 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¥	28.45%
Indiana	18.73%
Iowa	15.02%
Pennsylvania	13.94%
South Dakota†	13.69%
Georgia¥	13.65%
Tennessee	12.81%
South Carolina	12.79%
Colorado	12.33%
Utah*	11.77%
Kentucky†	11.74%
Florida*	11.14%
Washington	11.02%
West Virginia†	10.28%
Connecticut	9.57%
Virginia*	9.57%
Arkansas††	9.34%
Oklahoma†	9.05%
Wisconsin	8.74%
North Carolina	8.59%
Michigan	8.46%
Idaho†	8.32%

North Dakota†	8.31%
Oregon	8.23%
Louisiana	8.17%
Ohio	7.79%
Massachusetts	7.32%
Minnesota	7.29%
Texas	7.04%
Montana††	6.81%
Wyoming†	6.70%
Arizona†	6.37%
Nevada	5.54%
Nebraska	4.91%
Kansas†	4.02%
Illinois	3.37%
Missouri†	3.36%
Delaware	2.77%
New Hampshire†	2.57%
Maine†*	2.39%
Alaska†	2.12%
New Mexico	2.11%
Mississippi†	2.05%
New York‡	1.27%
District of Columbia	0.79%
Maryland	0.59%
California	0.39%
Rhode Island	0.23%
New Jersey	0.02%

Hawaii	0.00% (0.02% if include permits for private security)
Vermont†	Not Applicable
<p>†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.</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, Maine's, Virginia's, and Utah's residential permits are included here.</p> <p>¥ Estimates made using data from NICS background checks for concealed handgun permits.</p>	

Table 3: Cost of Getting Permits by State 2020				
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	\$88.25	5	\$88.25
Arizona†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$60	5	\$60
Arkansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$91.90; age 65+: \$66.15 (Includes on-line application and background check fee.)	5	\$91.90; age 65+: \$66.15
California	Concealed carry weapons license (May Issue only)	The fee is determined by the DOJ, and shall be "an amount equal to the actual costs for processing the application." The total cost includes admin/background fees, fingerprint and training costs, and psychological testing fees of up to \$150 if required by the licensing authority (Varies by Issuing Agency)	2	DOJ and local fees: Around \$250-\$350 (Varies by Licensing Authority)
Colorado	Concealed handgun permit	\$52.5 plus additional fees up to \$100 (Varies by County)	5	\$52.5 plus additional fees up to \$100 (Varies by County)
Connecticut	Permit to carry pistol or revolver permit	Residents: \$228.25 = \$70 (Temporary Local Permit Cost) + \$75 (State Background Check) + \$13.25 (Federal Background Check) + \$70 (State Permit Cost); Non-residents with valid permit by recognized jurisdiction: \$158.25 = \$75	5	\$228.25 for residents; \$158.25 for non-residents

		(State Background Check) + \$13.25 (Federal Background Check) + \$70 (State Permit Cost)		
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	\$75 (Application Fee) + \$35 (Fingerprint Processing Fee if your fingerprints are not already on file with the Metropolitan Police Department)	2	\$222.5
Florida	Concealed weapon or firearms license	\$97 = \$55 (Initial License Fee) + \$42 (Fingerprint Fee); Tax collector offices may charge an additional convenience fee of up to \$22 for new licenses.	7	\$69.3
Georgia	Firearms license	\$75 average fee for licensing and fingerprinting (Varies by County)	5	\$75 average fee (Varies by County)
Hawaii	License to carry handgun	\$10	1	\$10
Idaho*	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$20 plus additional fees for processing fingerprints and materials (Varies by County)	5	\$20 plus additional fees (Varies by County)
Illinois	Concealed carry handgun license	\$150 for residents; \$300 for out-of-state residents	5	\$150 for residents; \$300 for out-of-state residents
Indiana	License to carry handgun	Five Year Personal Protection: \$0; Lifetime Personal Protection/No Current License: \$50 (\$30 Refundable) for local fee and \$75 for state fee; All NEW license applications incur a \$12.95 fee for IDEMIA Electronic Fingerprinting.	5 or Lifetime	\$12.95

Iowa	Permit to carry weapons	\$50	5	\$50
Kansas†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$132.5 = \$100 (Attorney General) + \$32.5 (Local Sheriff's Office); \$25 for renewal	4	\$138.75
Kentucky†	Permit to carry concealed handgun	\$60 = \$20 (Local Sheriff's Office) + \$40(Kentucky State Treasurer)	5	\$60
Louisiana	Concealed handgun carry permit	Five Year Permit: \$125 (age 21-64) or \$62.5 (age 65+); Lifetime Permit: \$500 (age 21-64) or \$250 (age 65+)	5 or Lifetime	\$125; age 65+: \$62.5
Maine†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	Residents: \$35 for an original application and \$20 for a renewal; Nonresidents: \$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 for original; \$50 for renewal	initial application valid for 2 years; renewal every 3 years thereafter	\$125 plus fingerprint fees
Massachusetts	License to carry	\$100	6	\$83.3
Michigan	Concealed pistol license	\$100	4-5	\$100
Minnesota	Permit to carry pistol	not to exceed the actual and reasonable direct cost of processing the application or \$100 (Varies by County)	5	Up to \$100 (Varies by County)
Mississippi†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$112	5	\$112
Missouri†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	a nonrefundable fee not to exceed \$100 for processing an application (Varies by County)	5	Up to \$100 (Varies by County)

Montana††	Concealed carry handgun permit (Not required outside city limits)	\$55 = \$50 (Issuance Fee) + \$5 (Fingerprint Processing Fee); \$25 for renewal	4	\$61.25
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	Up to \$60 (FBI fees will be extra)
New Hampshire†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$10 for residents; \$100 for non-residents	5	\$10 for residents; \$100 for non-residents
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	\$118.75
New York‡	Firearms license to carry concealed	\$10-\$200 plus fingerprint fees (Varies by County)	5 or Lifetime	\$10-\$200 plus fingerprint fees (Varies by County)
New York City	Concealed carry handgun license	\$340 plus fingerprint fees	3	\$566.67 plus fingerprint fees
North Carolina	Concealed handgun permit	\$80 (Non-refundable Fee) plus fingerprint fees up to \$10	5	\$90
North Dakota†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$60	5	\$60
Ohio	License to carry a concealed handgun	\$67 for applicants with 5+ years residency;	5	\$67 for 5+ years residents;

		\$77 for applicants with less than 5 years residency		\$77 for less than 5 years residents
Oklahoma†	Self defense act license	\$125 = \$25 (Local Sheriff's Office) + \$100 for 5-year license	5 or 10	\$125
Oregon	Concealed handgun license	\$65 = \$15 (Fingerprint Check Fee paid to State Police) + \$50 (Local Sheriff's Office) for issuance; \$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	\$65	8	\$40.63
Texas	License to carry a handgun	\$40 for an original LTC; \$40 for renewal	initial licenses valid for 4 years; renewal licenses valid for 5 years	\$48
Utah	Concealed firearm permit	\$53.25 for residents; \$63.25 for non-residents	5	\$53.25 for residents; \$63.25 for non-residents
Vermont†	No permits required/does not issue permits	N/A	N/A	N/A
Virginia	Concealed handgun permit	not to exceed \$50 for residents; \$100 for non-residents	5	\$50 for residents; \$100 for non-residents
Washington	Concealed pistol license	\$36 plus fingerprinting fees	5	\$36 plus fingerprinting fees

West Virginia†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$50 = \$25 (Application Fee) + \$25 (if approved)	5	\$50
Wisconsin	Concealed weapon license	\$40 = \$30 (Application Fee) + \$10 (Background Check Fee)	5	\$40
Wyoming†	Constitutional carry/permit for reciprocity with other states	\$64 (Attorney General/DCI) plus processing and fingerprinting fee (Local Sheriff's Office)	5	\$64 plus processing and fingerprinting fee
	Average cost of permits (Looks at the cost of permits even if it isn't necessary to have a permit in a Constitutional Carry state.)			\$79.21
	Average cost of permits (The fee in pure Constitutional Carry states is zero.)			\$59.02
<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

Fourteen states, with about 8.4 million permit holders between them, have reported permit data by gender for 2020 (Louisiana and Tennessee have that data for 2019). Among those states, women averaged 26.4% of permit holders – essentially unchanged from 2019. The states represent all regions of the country: Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Montana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington. No longer including North Carolina in the count

For seven states, we have the data to make a comparison over at least a seven or eight-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 20.8% in 2012 to 21.2% in 2016 to 22.0% in 2018 to 22.6% in 2020.
- Connecticut: from 16.7% in 2012 to 22.3% in 2018 to 23.1% in 2020.
- Florida: from 18.0% in May 2012 to 24.1% in May 2016 and 26.3% in June 2018 and 27.1% in July 2020.
- Indiana: from 19.6% in 2012 to 23.8% in 2015, 27.6% in 2018 and 28.4% in July 2020.
- Louisiana: from 18.3% in 2009 to 24.1% in 2016, 25.6% in 2018, and 25.0% in 2019.
- North Carolina: from 21.3% in June 2012 to 27.5% in June 2016 to 28.7% in March 2017 (the state stopped providing this information after 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 33.1% in 2018 and 28.4% in 2019.
- Tennessee: from 25.9% in 2012 to 34.3% in 2016 to 34.9% in 2018 to 35.0% in 2019.

- Texas: from 22.0% in 2012 to 27.5% in 2018 and 28.0% in July 2020.
- Washington State: between 2005 and 2014, “the growth rate for women getting new permits [was] twice as fast as that of men.”¹⁶ We don’t know the exact percentages in those two years, but by 2017, women held 25.2% of permits and 26.0% in August 2020.

In the seven states where we have data by gender for both 2012 and the latest year 2019/2020, the number of permits increased by 204% for women and by 101% for men — a 101.2% faster rate among women.

Fewer states are releasing data on the race of permit holders. Four states have data on permit issuance by race for 2015 and 2019/2020. In these states (Arizona, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas) the number of permits grew at a 55.6% faster rate for blacks than for whites. Permits for Asians grew 62.9% faster than whites.

Several states provide detailed data since 2002 or earlier. Texas provides detailed issuance information on both race and gender from 1996 through 2019.¹⁷ 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 permits for Asians, blacks, and American Indians reached by far its most rapid phase. While the number of permits to blacks 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 black females have had the fast growth. The rates of permit holding among American Indian,

¹⁶ 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/>).

¹⁷ 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.

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 more than three times faster than among white females.

North Carolina has detailed data on the race of permit holders from 1996 to 2016. 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 2019 also show a similar pattern. Asians are the fastest growing groups, with Blacks and American Indians tied for second the fastest growth rate. The growth in the number of Blacks permits was almost twice the growth for white permit holders.

Figure 3a: Texas-Percent Change in the Number of Permit Holders by Race by Year (2000 to 2019)

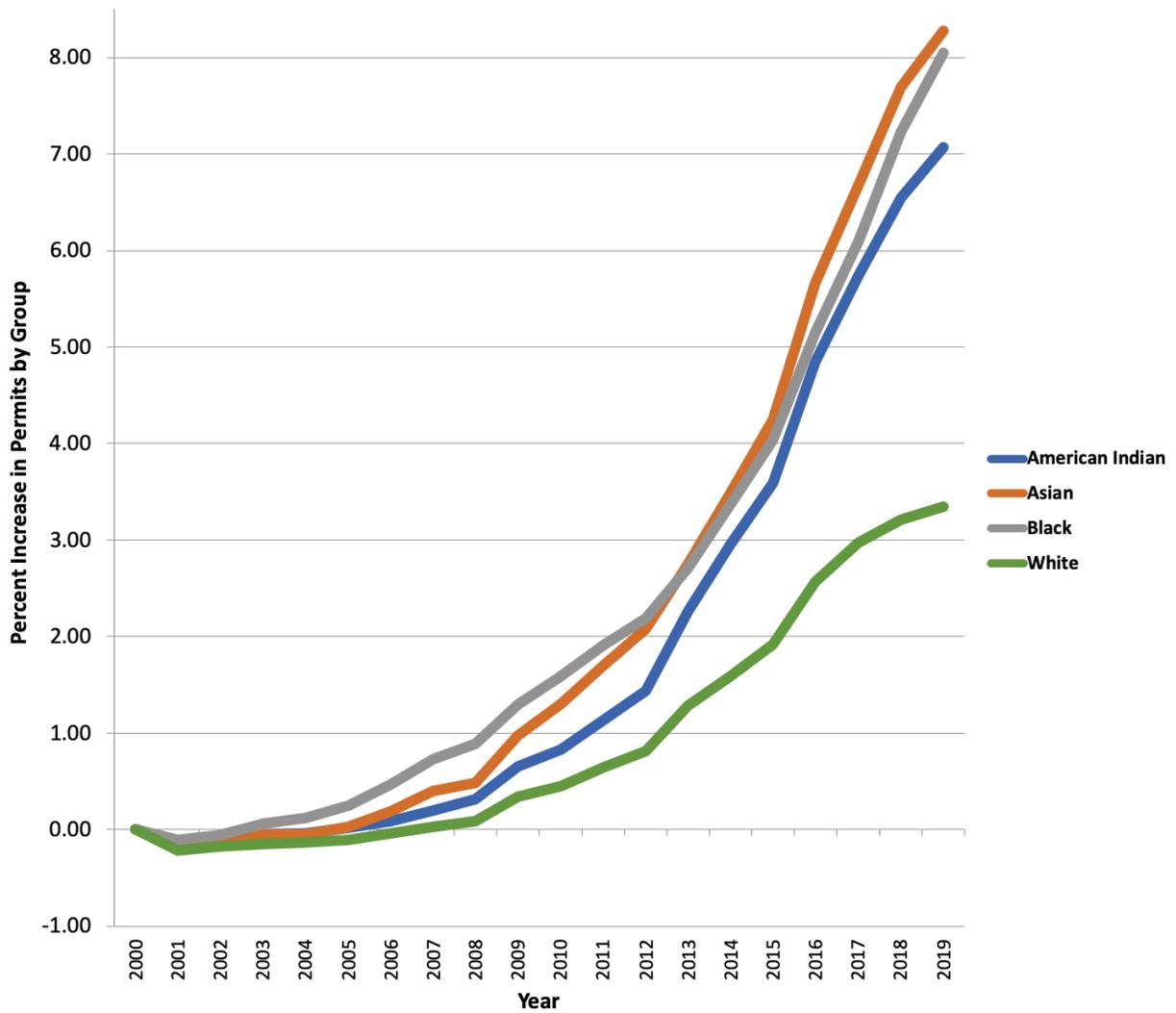


Figure 3b: Texas-Percent Change in the Number of Permit Holders by Race and Gender by Year (2000 to 2019)

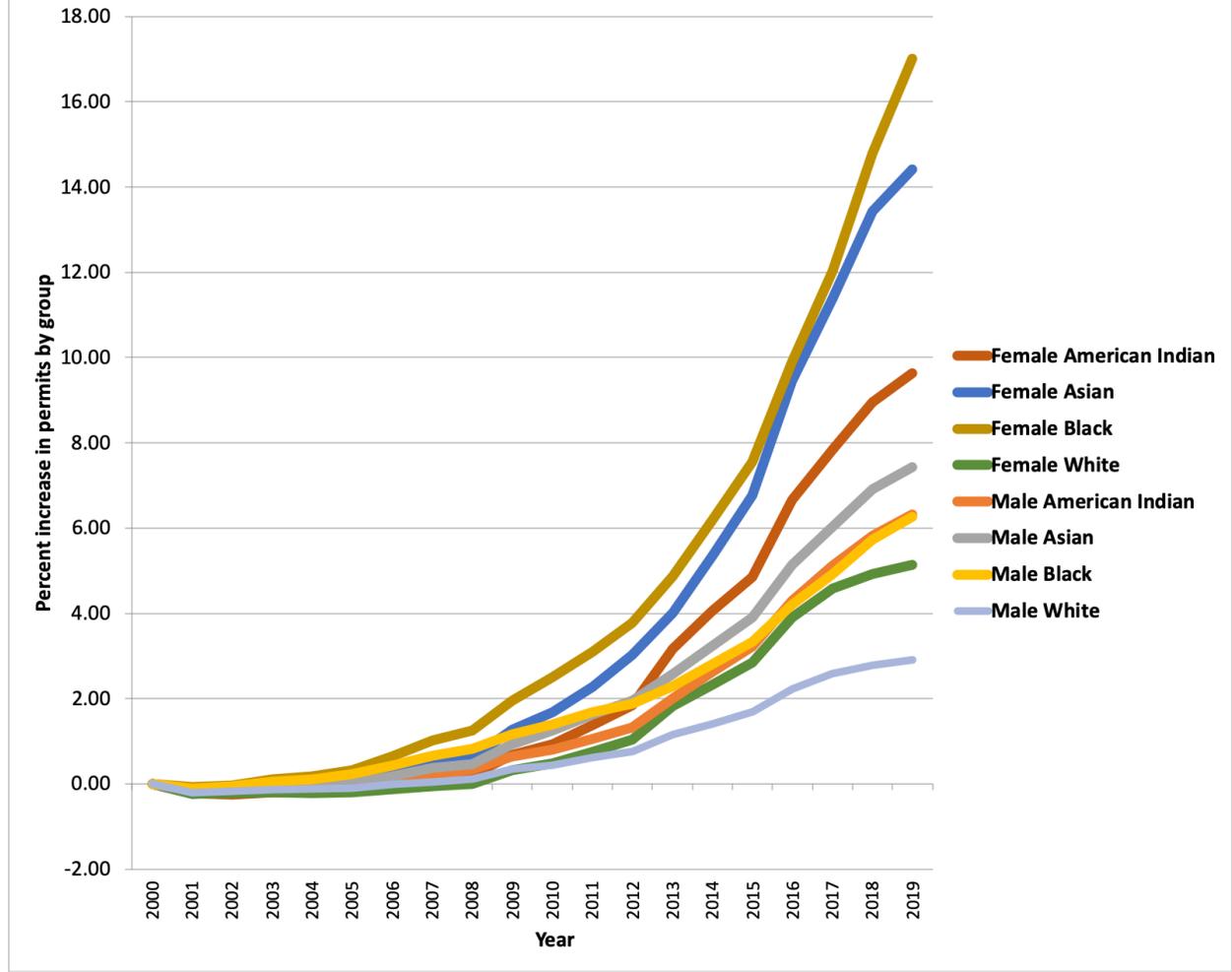


Figure 3c: Percent of Texas Permit Issued to Holders who are Black by Year (1996-2019)

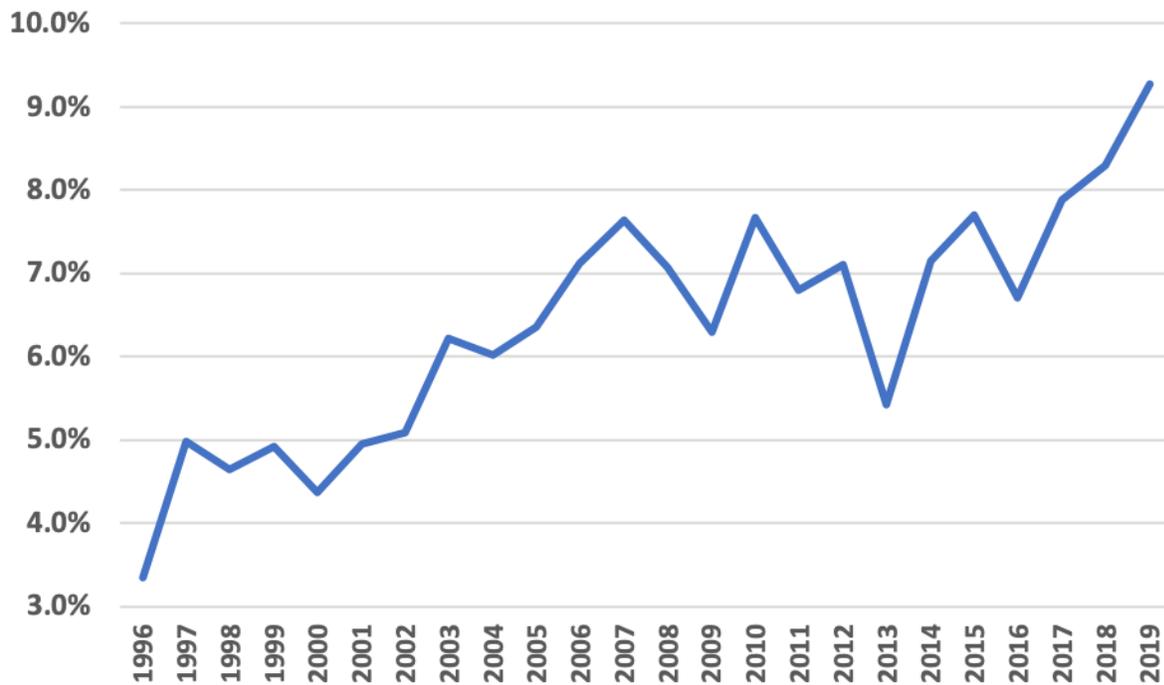


Figure 3d: Percent of Texas Permit Issued to Holders who are Female by Year (1996-2019)

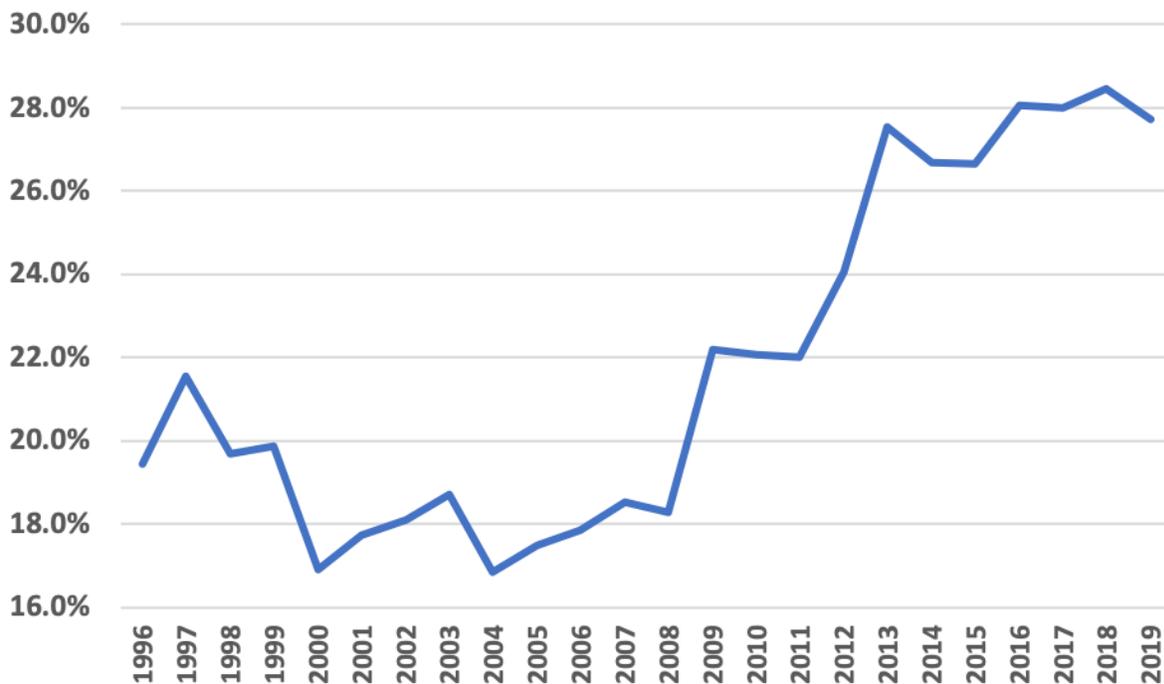


Figure 4a: North Carolina: Percent Change in the Number of Active Permit Holders Issued by Race by Year

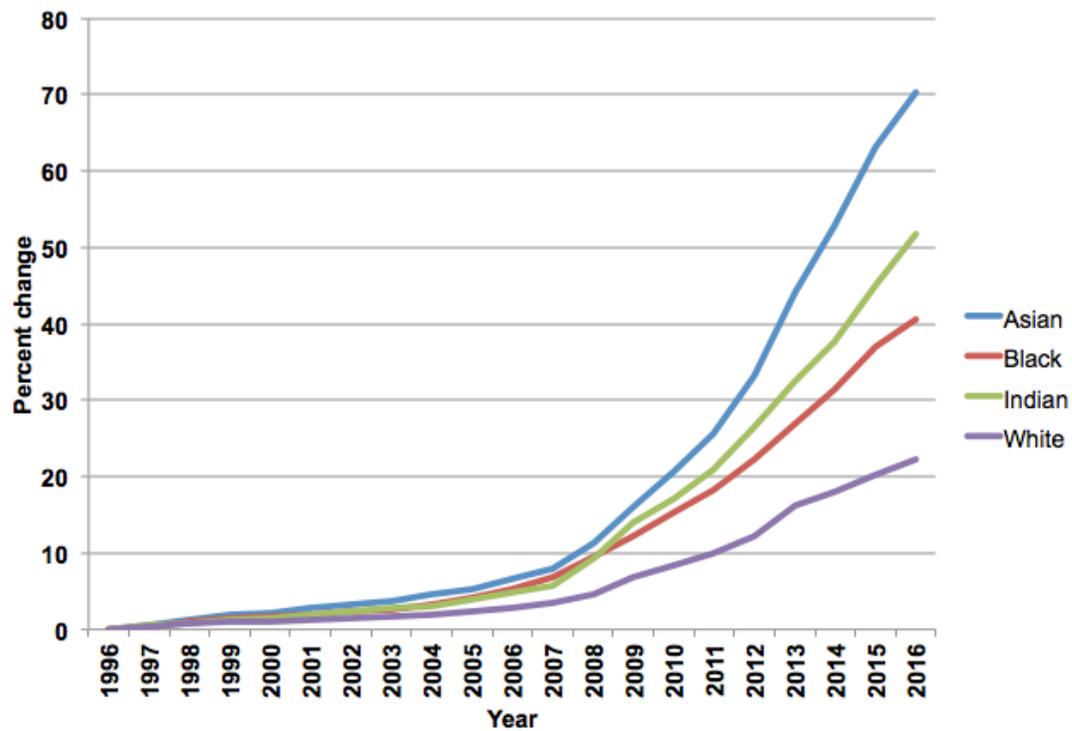


Figure 4b: North Carolina: Percent of Permits held by Blacks

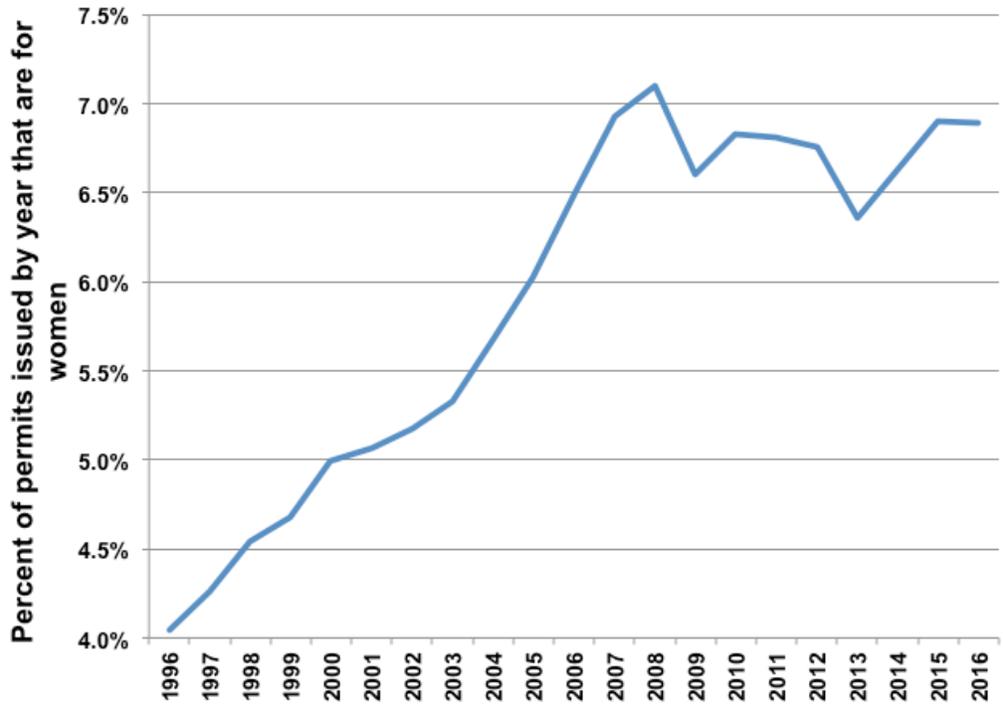


Figure 4c: North Carolina: Percent of Permits held by Women

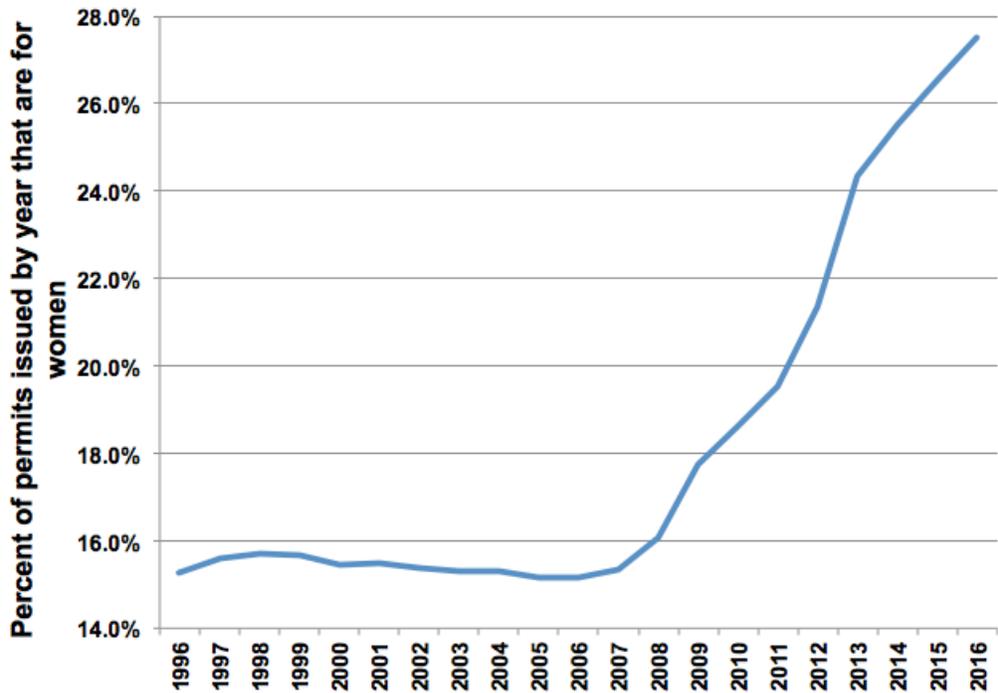


Figure 5a: Oklahoma-Percent Change in the Number of Active Permit Holders Issued by Race by Year

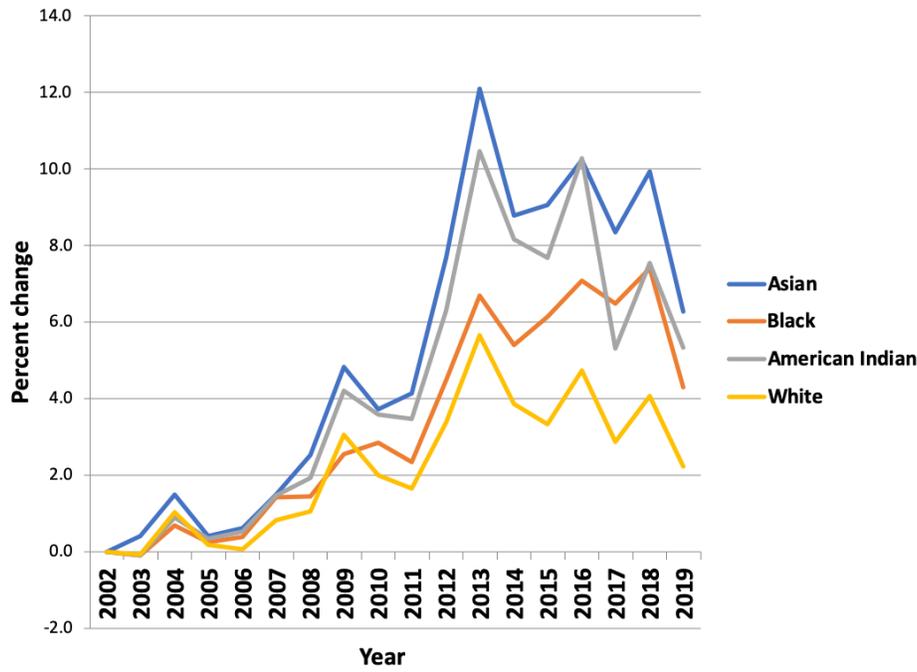
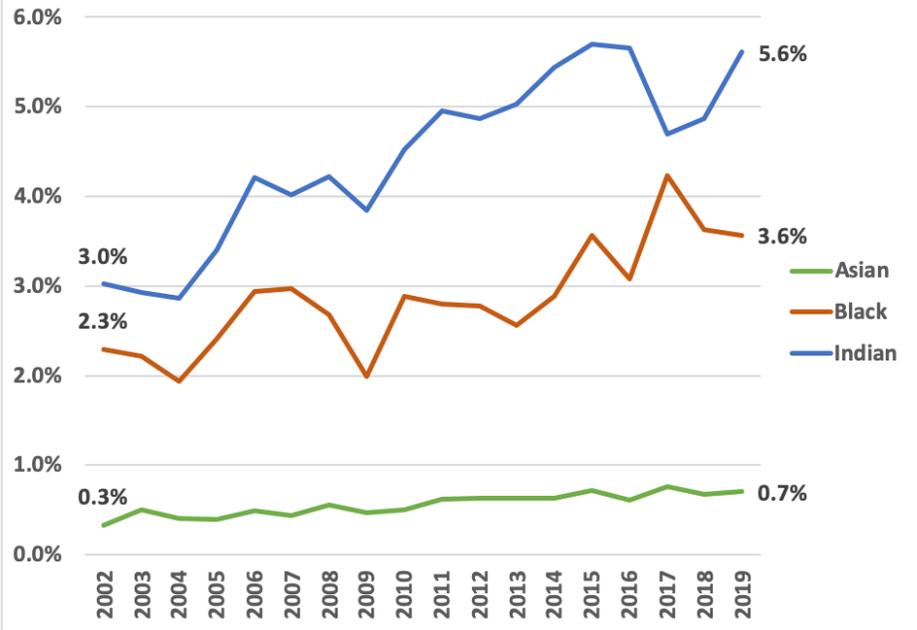


Figure 5b: Oklahoma-Percent of Permit Holders Issued by Race



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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.

¹⁸ 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>).

¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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 Francisco²¹

- 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).²²
- Marc Stephens faced multiple death threats (2013)²³
- Lt. Col. Terry Russell “applied for a concealed carry permit as military personnel and especially personnel that work at highly sensitive

²⁰ 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>).

²¹ 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/>).

²² 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#>).

²³ 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)²⁴

-- New York

-- John Stossel, Fox News Host, New York City 2013: Denied a permit despite providing evidence of many death threats.²⁵

-- 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.²⁶

-- 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.²⁷

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 19.48 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

²⁴ 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/>).

²⁵ "The Insane Gun Laws of NYC," Fox News, November 16 2013 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24jRaxXT7JQ>).

²⁶ Michael O'Keefe, "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>).

²⁷ 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>).

committed an average of 703 crimes per year from 2005 to 2007.²⁸ 113 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 June 30, 2019 and July 31, 2020, Florida revoked 1,268 concealed handgun permits for any reason, including misdemeanors or felonies. With over 2 million permit holders during this period, this is a rate in the hundredths of one percentage point. In Texas in 2019 (the last year for which data is available), 199 permit holders were convicted of a felony or misdemeanor – a conviction rate of 13.1 per 100,000. Combining Florida and Texas data, 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.

²⁸ 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).

Revocation Rates for permit holders in 2020		
State	Rate	Source
Alaska	0.102%	Eric Gaffney, Records & Licensing Supervisor, Criminal Records & Identification Bureau, Department of Public Safety (907) 269-5634
Arizona	0.005%	https://www.azdps.gov/services/public/cwp?qt-cwp_menu_=11#qt-cwp_menu_
Connecticut	0.911%	Imisa Rivera, Unit Supervisor, Special Licensing & Firearms Unit (860) 685-8011
Florida	0.059%	https://www.fdacs.gov/content/download/7499/file/cw_monthly.pdf
Louisiana	0.067%	http://www.lsp.org/pdf/2019_CHP_Annual_Legislative_Report.pdf
Maryland	1.091%	Patrick McCrory, Maryland State Police, Licensing Division Services (410) 653-4465
Massachusetts	0.051%	Michaela Dunne, Manager of Law Enforcement & Justice Services, Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services (617) 660-4682
Michigan	0.373%	https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/CPL_Annual_Report_2018-2019_Final_675899_7.pdf
Montana	0.126%	John Barnes, Attorney General's Office, Montana Department of Justice (406) 444-2031
New Mexico	0.029%	Sophia C. Padilla, IPRA Coordinator, Department of Public Safety, Law Enforcement Records Bureau, Department of Public Safety (505) 827-9199
North Carolina	0.146%	Shannon Hanes, Business and Technology Application Analyst, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (919) 582-8600

Ohio	0.132%	https://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Files/Reports/Concealed-Carry-Annual-Reports-(PDF)/2019-CCW-Annual-Report
Oklahoma	0.038%	https://osbi.ok.gov/publications/self-defense-act-statistics
South Carolina	0.212%	https://www.sled.sc.gov/cwp.html#stats
Tennessee	0.147%	https://www.tn.gov/content/dam/tn/safety/documents/handgun/HandgunCarryPermitsReport2019.pdf
Texas	0.051%	https://www.dps.texas.gov/RSD/LTC/Reports/2019Calendar/byRace_Gender/4LicensesRevoked.pdf
Utah	0.073%	https://bci.utah.gov/firearm-transfers/history-overview-statistics/firearm-transfer-concealed-firearm-permit-statistics/
Virginia*	0.149%	Michael S. Matthews, Manager of Firearms Transaction Center, Va. State Police (804)674-2210
Washington	0.108%	Gaylene Schave, Washington Public Disclosure Coordinator
Wisconsin	0.250%	Ashley Hein, Program and Policy Analyst, Office of Open Government, Wisconsin Department of Justice (608) 267-2220
*Virginia resident concealed handgun permits data.		

Listed above are the recent revocation rates in 20 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.²⁹

²⁹ "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->

Since permit holders commit virtually no crimes, right-to-carry laws can't increase violent crime rates (see appendix).³⁰

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

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>);

³⁰ 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/>).

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.

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.³¹

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 2014.³²

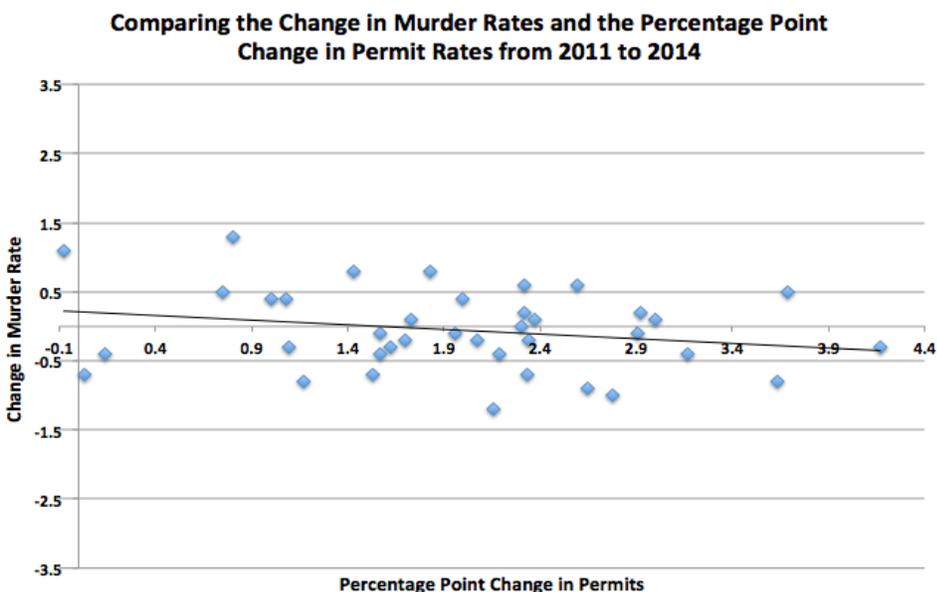
³¹ Regressing the natural log of the murder rate on the percent of the adult population with permits, the number of full-time sworn police officers per 1,000 Americans, and a time trend finds:

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

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

³² 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

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.³³



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).

³³ 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:

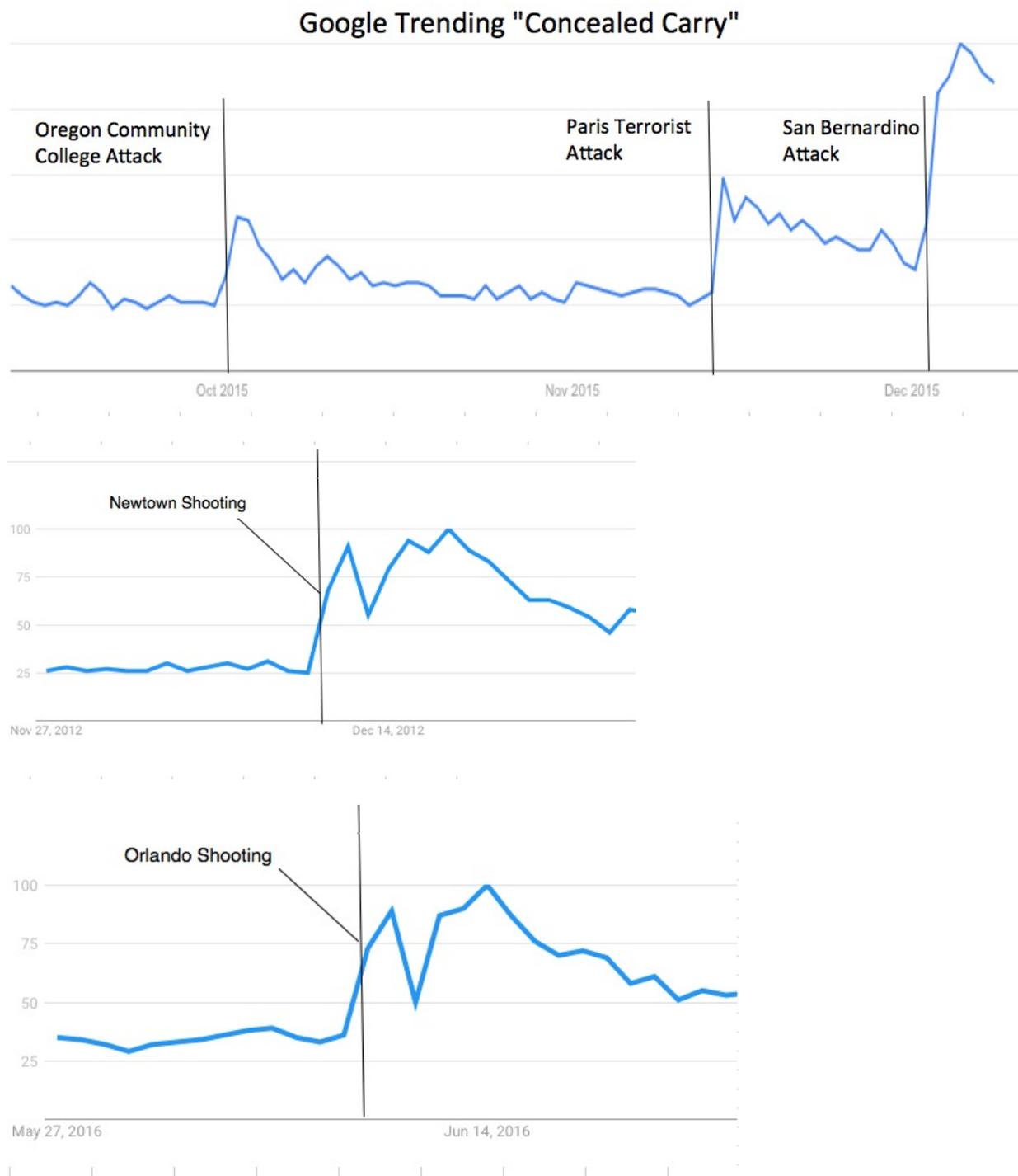
Percent change in murder rates = - .136 (1.38) the percent change in the share of the adult population + .212 (0.99) Constant

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 0.82 million new concealed handgun permits issued in just the last year — bringing the total to 19.48 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.”³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.”³⁶

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.

³⁴ 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/>).

³⁵ 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/>).

³⁶ 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 includes Cleburne County, Houston County, Jackson County, and Shelby County.</p> <p>Chad Petri, "Sheriffs, police chiefs oppose ending concealed carry permits," Times Daily, February 20, 2019. https://www.timesdaily.com/news/sheriffs-police-chiefs-oppose-ending-concealed-carry-permits/article_d49d2fab-5f75-572f-8826-12d640323d7c.html</p>
Alaska*	<p>Eric Gaffney, Records & Licensing Supervisor, Criminal Records & Identification Bureau, Alaska Department of Public Safety Alaska Department of Public Safety, Permits & Licensing - Concealed Handgun Permits https://dps.alaska.gov/statewide/r-i/permitslicensing/achp-faq</p>
Arizona*	<p>Arizona Department of Public Safety, Concealed Weapons and Permits - Statistics and Fees http://www.azdps.gov/services/public/cwp 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 Arkansas Code - Concealed Handgun Carry Licensing §5-73- 302 https://static.ark.org/eeuploads/asp/Arkansas_concealed_handgun_carry_license_rules_effective_1-1-2018.pdf</p>
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 "How to Get a CCW Permit in California", Pride Legal, April 19, 2019 https://pridelegal.com/ccw-permit-california/</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</p>

	<p>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>Imisa Rivera, Unit Supervisor, Special Licensing & Firearms Unit https://portal.ct.gov/DESPP/Division-of-State-Police/Special-Licensing-and-Firearms/State-Pistol-Permit https://portal.ct.gov/-/media/DESPP/CSP/files/DPS-799-C.pdf?la=en</p>
Delaware	<p>Linda M. Carmichael, Chief Staff Attorney, Delaware Superior Court Delaware Courts - Concealed Deadly Weapons http://courts.delaware.gov/superior/weapons.aspx</p>
District of Columbia	<p>Alaina Gertz, Public Affairs Specialist, Office of Communications, Metropolitan Police Department Metropolitan Police Department - Applying for a Concealed Carry Pistol License https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/applying-license-carry-handgun 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 – Concealed Weapon License FAQ https://www.freshfromflorida.com/Consumer-Resources/Concealed-Weapon-License/Concealed-Weapon-License-FAQ</p>
Georgia	<p>NICS Firearm Checks https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/nics_firearm_checks_-_month_year_by_state_type.pdf/view 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/ Kanoho, Paul & Brannon, Johnny, "Straight shooting: an objective review of Hawaii firearm laws and related statistics", Honolulu, HI: Legislative Reference Bureau, December 2018 http://lrbhawaii.org/reports/legrpts/lrb/2018/18-01.pdf</p>

Idaho	Jennifer Hecock, ISP/BCI Auditing and Training Specialist/Applicant, Idaho State Police Idaho Statutes 18-3302 https://legislature.idaho.gov/statutesrules/idstat/Title18/T18CH33/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 https://www.in.gov/isp/files/Quarterly%20Statistics%20Q2%202020_2nd.pdf Indiana State Police, Firearms Licensing Fee Schedule https://www.in.gov/isp/3065.htm
Iowa	Rusty Ringler, Program Services Bureau Chief, Iowa Department of Public Safety, Program Services Bureau Iowa Department of Public Safety, Division of Administrative Services – Weapon Permit Information and Forms https://dps.iowa.gov/divisions/administrative-services/weapons-permit Chapter 724 of the Iowa Code and Administrative Rules, 661, Chapter 91
Kansas	Sara Miller, Licensing Unit Director, Office of Kansas Attorney General Derek Schmidt 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-CCDW Annual Stats Reports http://kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw-home/ccdw-annual-stats-reports/ Lewis Shane Adams, Administrative Specialist III, Kentucky State Police, Criminal ID & Records, C.C.D.W. Section Kentucky State Police, Concealed Deadly Weapons http://kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw-home/ccdw-faqs/
Louisiana	Louisiana Department of Public Safety http://www.lsp.org/handguns.html Louisiana Concealed Handgun Permit Application Packet http://www.lsp.org/pdf/chApplication.pdf http://www.lsp.org/handguns.html#apply
Maine	Tyler Y. Stevenson, Sgt. Maine State Police, Special Investigations Unit State of Maine Laws Relating to Permit to Carry Concealed Handguns http://www.maine.gov/dps/msp/licenses/documents/Weapons/CFP%20Booklet.pdf

Maryland	Patrick Mccrory, Licensing Division, Maryland State Police Matt Labudzki, IT Lead Programmer Analyst, Information Technology and Communications Division, Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services Maryland State Police - Handgun Wear and Carry Permit https://mdsp.maryland.gov/Organization/Pages/CriminalInvestigationBureau/LicensingDivision/Firearms/WearandCarryPermit.aspx
Massachusetts	Michaela Dunne, Manager of Law Enforcement & Justice Services, Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services Massachusetts Government - Gun Ownership in Massachusetts https://www.mass.gov/info-details/gun-ownership-in-massachusetts#Training%20Requirements
Michigan	Michigan State Police - CPL Applications by County and Status https://www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/All_Statuses_Report_647845_7.pdf Michigan State Police - Concealed Pistol License Renewal Information http://www.michigan.gov/msp/0,4643,7-123-1878_1591_3503_4654-10955-,00.html https://www.michigan.gov/msp/0,4643,7-123-1878_1591_3503_4654-10929--,00.html
Minnesota	Judith M. Strobel, JD, MBA, Senior Legal Analyst, Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension State of Minnesota Department of Public Safety Permit to Carry Report 2019 https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/bca/bca-divisions/administrative/Documents/2019-Permit-to-Carry-Report.pdf Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension – Permit to Carry https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/bca/bca-divisions/administrative/Pages/Permit-to-Carry-FAQ.aspx Minnesota Statutes 624.714 https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/cite/624.714
Mississippi	Robert E. Wentworth, Staff Officer, Legal Dept., MS Dept. of Public Safety Department of Public Safety – Firearm Permit Application https://www.dps.state.ms.us/firearms/firearms-permit-unit/firearms-permits-faqs/
Missouri	Email: Missouri State Highway Patrol mshppied@mshp.dps.mo.gov Committee on Legislative Research, Oversight Division 1360-04 http://lawcenter.giffords.org/concealed-weapons-permitting-in-missouri/
Montana †	John Barnes, Attorney General’s Office, Montana Department of Justice Montana Code 45-8-322 http://leg.mt.gov/bills/mca/title_0450/chapter_0080/part_0030/section_0220/0450-0080-0030-0220.html
Nebraska	Email: Nebraska State Patrol nsp.ccw@nebraska.gov Cody Thomas, Public Relations Director, Nebraska State Patrol

	Nebraska State Patrol – Conceal Carry https://statepatrol.nebraska.gov/sites/default/files/chpapplicationfillable.pdf
Nevada	Nevada Department of Public Safety https://rccd.nv.gov/Resources/Carry_Concealed_Weapon_(CCW)_Permit/ Nevada Code - Concealed Firearms https://www.leg.state.nv.us/NRS/NRS-202.html http://www.nevadacarry.org/concealed-carry.html
New Hampshire	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
New Jersey	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
New Mexico	Sophia C. Padilla, IPRA Coordinator, Department of Public Safety, Law Enforcement Records Bureau New Mexico Department of Public Safety - Concealed Handgun Carry https://www.dps.nm.gov/concealed-carry-faqs https://www.dps.nm.gov/images//ConcealCarry/NMAC_11-1-2019.pdf
New York NYC	Counties used to estimate the number of concealed handgun permit in the state includes Herkimer County, Oneida County, and Saratoga County. New York State Police – Firearms https://troopers.ny.gov/Firearms/ Police Department, City of New York, Handgun License Application https://licensing.nypdonline.org/new-app-instruction/
North Carolina	Shannon Hanes, Business and Technology Application Analyst, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation North Carolina Firearms Laws https://ncdoj.gov/law-enforcement-training/law-enforcement-liason/concealed-weapon-reciprocity/
North Dakota	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/C WL-Manual.pdf
Ohio	Ohio Attorney General https://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Media/Reports Ohio’s Concealed Carry Laws and License Application https://www.ohioattorneygeneral.gov/Files/Publications-Files/Publications-for-Law-Enforcement/Concealed-Carry-Publications/Concealed-Carry-Laws-Manual-(PDF).aspx
Oklahoma	Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation-Handgun Licensing-Self-Defense Act Statistics https://osbi.ok.gov/handgun-licensing/sda-statistics

	Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation-Handgun Licensing-Application Instructions https://osbi.ok.gov/handgun-licensing/application-instructions
Oregon	Kyle Kanaeholo, Public Records Request Coordinator, Central Records Section, Oregon State Police Oregon State Legislature 166.292 https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/bills_laws/ors/ors166.html
Pennsylvania	Trooper Brent Miller, Communications 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 Pennsylvania State Police-Firearms Information-Carrying Firearms in Pennsylvania https://www.psp.pa.gov/firearms-information/Pages/Carrying-Firearms-in-Pennsylvania.aspx
Rhode Island	Kayla E. O'Rourke, Special Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, The State of Rhode Island, Office of the Attorney General http://webserver.rilin.state.ri.us/Statutes/TITLE11/11-47/11-47-12.HTM
South Carolina	<u>South Carolina Law Enforcement Division- Concealed Weapon Permit</u> https://www.sled.sc.gov/cwp.html <u>South Carolina Concealed Weapon Permit Application</u> http://www.sled.sc.gov/documents/CWP/CWPApplicationForm.pdf <u>South Carolina Code of Laws 23-31</u> http://www.scstatehouse.gov/code/t23c031.php
South Dakota	South Dakota Secretary of State – Concealed Pistol Permits http://sdsos.gov/general-services/concealed-pistol-permits/default.aspx
Tennessee	Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security https://www.tn.gov/content/tn/safety/stats/handgun.html Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security - Handgun Carry Permits https://www.tn.gov/safety/tnhp/handgun/permittypes.html
Texas	Texas Department of Public Safety - Reports & Statistics http://www.dps.texas.gov/rsd/LTC/reports/demographics.htm 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/LTCFeeSchedule.pdf Texas Department of Public Safety, Regulatory Services Division - License to Carry A Handgun https://www.dps.texas.gov/RSD/LTC/faqs/index.htm
Utah++	Utah Department of Public Safety-Firearm Transfer/Concealed Firearm Permit Statistics https://bci.utah.gov/firearm-transfers/history-overview-statistics/firearm-transfer-concealed-firearm-permit-statistics/ Utah Department of Public Safety, Concealed Firearm Permits https://bci.utah.gov/concealed-firearm/how-do-i-apply-for-a-concealed-firearm-permit/

Vermont*	No permits required to carry. No permits offered for those who carry out of state.
Virginia	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.shtm http://www.vsp.state.va.us/Firearms_NonresidentConcealed.shtm
Washington	Email: Washington State Department of Licensing Public Records https://wadolpublicrecords.nextrequest.com/ Washington State Department of Licensing - Concealed pistol license https://www.dol.wa.gov/business/firearms/faconcealreq.html https://www.dol.wa.gov/business/firearms/fafees.html
West Virginia	Lt Scott M. Pettry, Director of Criminal Records, West Virginia State Police West Virginia Code §61-7-4 https://code.wvlegislature.gov/61-7-4/ Attorney General-Gun Reciprocity-Frequently Asked Questions https://ago.wv.gov/gunreciprocity/Pages/FAQ.aspx
Wisconsin	Ashley Hein, Program & Policy Analyst, State of Wisconsin Department of Justice, Office of Open Government Wisconsin Department of Justice - Concealed Carry Annual Reports https://www.doj.state.wi.us/dles/cib/conceal-carry/concealed-carry-annual-reports Wisconsin Department of Justice – Concealed Carry https://concealedcarry.doj.wi.gov/ccwonline/steps/startApplication.html?jsessionid=686F87BE01355D5D7E378AAD060F6284.ccwonline1#!
Wyoming*	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

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.

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