

Understanding Firearm Beliefs and Practices Among Missourians: **An Introduction to the Missouri Firearms Survey**



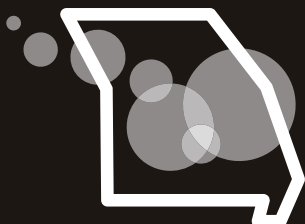
**INSTITUTE FOR FIREARM
INJURY PREVENTION**
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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**Prepared by the University of Michigan
Institute for Firearm Injury Prevention and
Missouri Foundation for Health**

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*Missouri Foundation
for Health*

UNDERSTANDING FIREARM BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG MISSOURIANS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MISSOURI FIREARMS SURVEY

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About the University of Michigan's Institute for Firearm Injury Prevention: The Institute for Firearm Injury Prevention at the University of Michigan fosters collaboration among researchers in disciplines ranging from the social sciences and the arts to engineering and public health to formulate and answer critical questions about firearm injury prevention. Learn more at firearminjury.umich.edu.

About Missouri Foundation for Health: Missouri Foundation for Health is building a more equitable future through collaboration, convening, knowledge sharing, and strategic investment. Working in partnership with communities and nonprofits, MFH is transforming systems to eliminate inequities within all aspects of health and addressing the social and economic factors that shape health outcomes. Learn more at mffh.org.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In July of 2020, Missouri Foundation for Health (MFH) conducted the Missouri Firearms Survey (MFS) of over 1,000 Missouri adults to understand firearm-related beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors within the state with the intent of informing stakeholders interested in firearm injury and death prevention. The purpose of this initial summary report is to characterize the respondents (e.g., firearm owners) from the MFS and set the stage for future reports that will examine detailed trends for specific firearm focus areas (e.g., firearm suicide prevention). We identify **key trends and recommendations** in the initial summary report below:

Key Trends Related to Demographics in the MFS

- The majority of firearm owners in Missouri are white, male, received some type of formal firearms training, and live in a rural or suburban area.
 - **Implications:** Identifying sociodemographic and contextual trends among firearm owners is a starting point for understanding how firearm-related attitudes, beliefs, and practices may vary across and within sub-populations (e.g., veterans, older adults). Researchers, practitioners, and policymakers can use these results to gain a detailed understanding of how sociodemographic and contextual factors influence firearm ownership and injury risk. By taking into account these factors, they can develop tailored firearm injury prevention strategies that address the specific needs of different groups and reduce the risk of firearm-related injuries and deaths.
- Most handgun owners (79%) cited “protection against people” as their primary motivation for firearm ownership, whereas most long gun owners (57%) reported that hunting was their primary motivation for ownership. Regardless of the type of firearm owned, most firearm owners who expressed concerns about experiencing community violence reported owning a firearm for protection, including 97% of handgun owners and 75% of long gun owners.
 - **Implications:** Firearm injury prevention programs may benefit from taking into consideration the diverse reasons for why individuals own firearms, as such programs can foster trust and establish positive relationships with firearm-owning communities. Additional research is needed to investigate how the perceived benefits of firearm ownership may impact firearm safety practices. This could inform the development of firearm injury prevention interventions that are specifically designed to address the unique needs and motivations for firearm ownership.

DATA CONSIDERATIONS

Firearms and firearm ownership are highly divisive topics in the United States. As a result, some survey respondents may feel pressure to respond in a way that they think is socially acceptable. Lack of trust and skepticism may also prevent people from disclosing that they own firearms. Despite this limitation, questions were asked using a web-based survey platform and confidentiality was assured to increase the chance that respondents provide honest answers to the survey questions. Caution should be used when interpreting results of the MFS, as they reflect the views of respondents and may not fully capture the nuance of experiences, attitudes, and beliefs of other Missourians.

INTRODUCTION

Firearm-related injury and death is a public health crisis in the United States. In 2020 the U.S. had 45,222 firearm-related deaths nationwide.¹ Firearms are the second leading cause of death for children and teens, as well as the leading cause of death for young adults in the United States.² The issue of firearm-related injury and death in Missouri is of significant concern, as the state has experienced a 1,426 firearm deaths in 2020, representing an increase of nearly 69% in firearm deaths since 2010.³ This alarming trend is compounded by the fact that Missouri currently ranks sixth in the United States for firearm injury and death, encompassing a wide range of causes including interpersonal violence and suicide by firearm.⁴

Missouri Foundation for Health (MFH) and its partners conducted the Missouri Firearms Survey (MFS) to gain insight into the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors related to firearms among Missourians, with the goal of informing the development and implementation of effective firearm injury prevention policies and practices. This report presents key findings from the MFS, which can serve as a basis for designing evidence-based firearm injury prevention strategies that resonate with individuals who both own and do not own firearms. Moreover, the report underscores the significance of demographic and community-level differences in firearm-related beliefs and behaviors, highlighting the need for equitable and tailored firearm injury prevention efforts that effectively address the needs of diverse populations.

METHODS

Results presented in this report come from the MFS, which was conducted by Ipsos on behalf of MFH in July and August of 2020. Two panel samples (i.e., KnowledgePanel and an opt-in sample) were used to sample Missouri adults aged 18+ in Missouri. Of note, Ipsos oversampled Missouri firearm owners and rural Missourians to generate reliable insights about their firearm-related beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Ipsos implemented a cross-sectional web-based survey, which resulted in a sample of 1,045 Missouri adults (Mean Age = 48.9, SD = 17.7; 47.9% male; 82% white, non-Hispanic; 12% Black, non-Hispanic; 10.1% veterans) and 382 (36.6%) firearm owners. Statistical weighting was used to ensure that the survey data and trends represent firearm-related beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of Missouri adults. Weights were assigned to each respondent to account for differential nonresponse (selection bias), and weights were computed using age, gender, race, ethnicity, educational attainment, census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West), metropolitan area (No, Yes), household income, and homeownership status. Benchmarks for these variables came from the Current Population Survey data and the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey. Weights were utilized for most analyses with the exception of sub-sample analyses (e.g., analyses of only firearm owners).

While most survey questions were closed-ended (multiple choice), a few open-ended questions (written answers) were utilized in the survey to gain deeper insights about firearm-related beliefs and practices among Missourians. Data analysis involved characterizing firearm-related beliefs and attitudes among Missouri adults using summary statistics (e.g., proportions, cross-tabulations). We also computed summary statistics to characterize firearm-related beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors among Missouri firearm owners. To provide context to the survey results, we examined firearm-related outcomes across sociodemographic factors (i.e., age, gender, race/ethnicity, education level, and veteran status) and contextual factors (i.e., community type, having a child at home). Lastly, the majority of these questions were adapted from the National Firearms Survey, originally authored by the faculty of the Harvard Injury Control Research Center.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS OF THE MISSOURI FIREARM SURVEY

Overall Makeup of All Survey Respondents

MFS respondents varied across demographic and contextual factors. Respondents comprised roughly equal numbers of males and females (47.9% and 52.1%, respectively). Most respondents identified as white and non-Hispanic, (81.7%), and a notable proportion of respondents were 60 years or older (33.8%). Most residents lived in a rural (29.1%) or suburban area (42.1%). Thirty percent of respondents had at least one child under the age of 18 living in the home and 10.1% of the respondents were veterans. The vast majority of respondents (95.3%) had completed high school and 28.4% reported having completed a bachelor’s degree or higher.

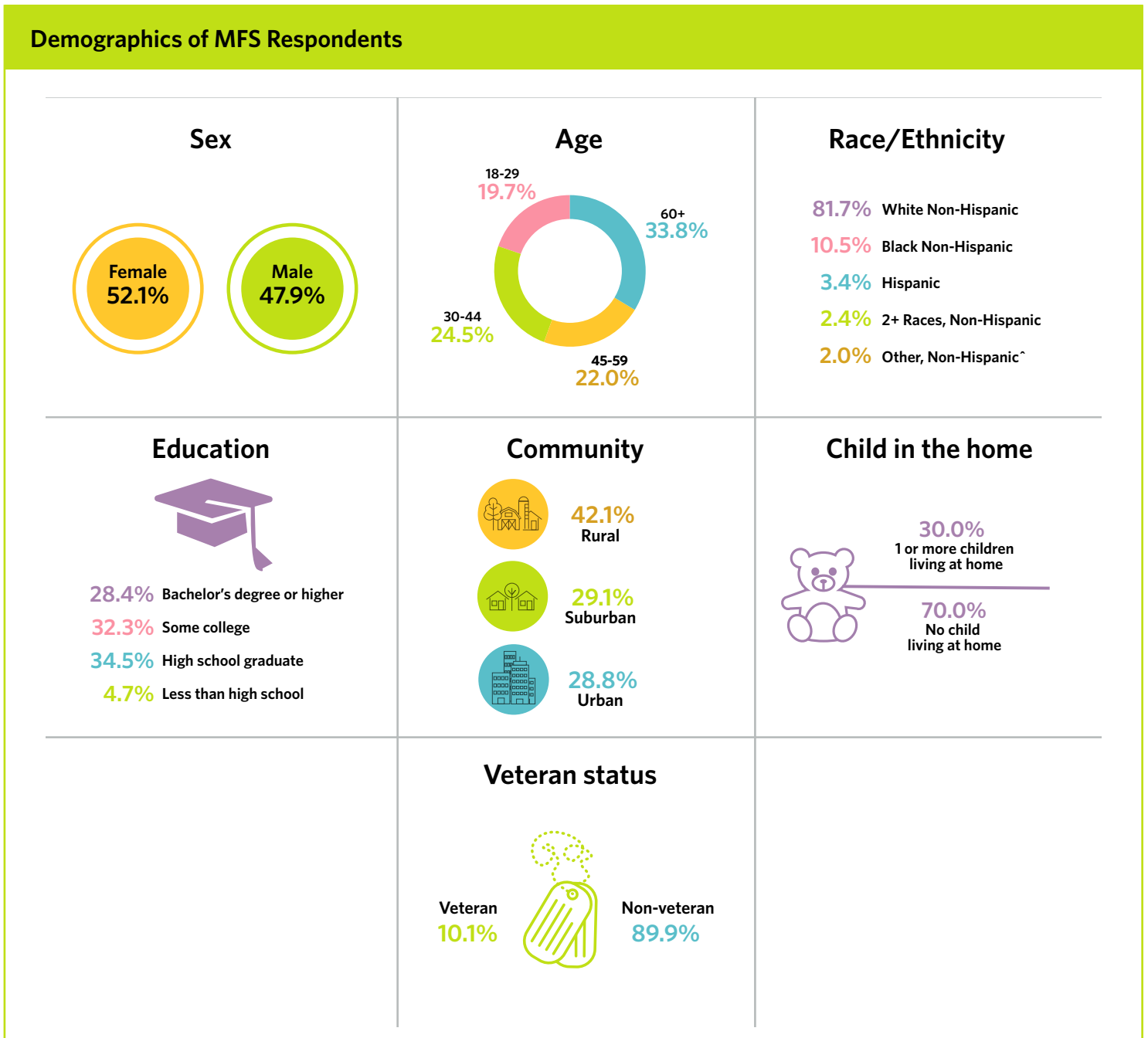


Figure 1

*=The “other” racial group includes American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some “other” racial/ethnic group specified in a write-in response.

Over half of all Missourians surveyed reported having a gun in their home.

Figure 2 displays the geographic distribution of Missouri Firearms Survey respondents, demonstrating their representation from major metropolitan areas such as St. Louis, Kansas City, Columbia, and Springfield, as well as suburban and rural communities across the state. This diverse geographic distribution of the sample allows for a more nuanced understanding of firearm-related beliefs and behaviors across Missouri's communities.

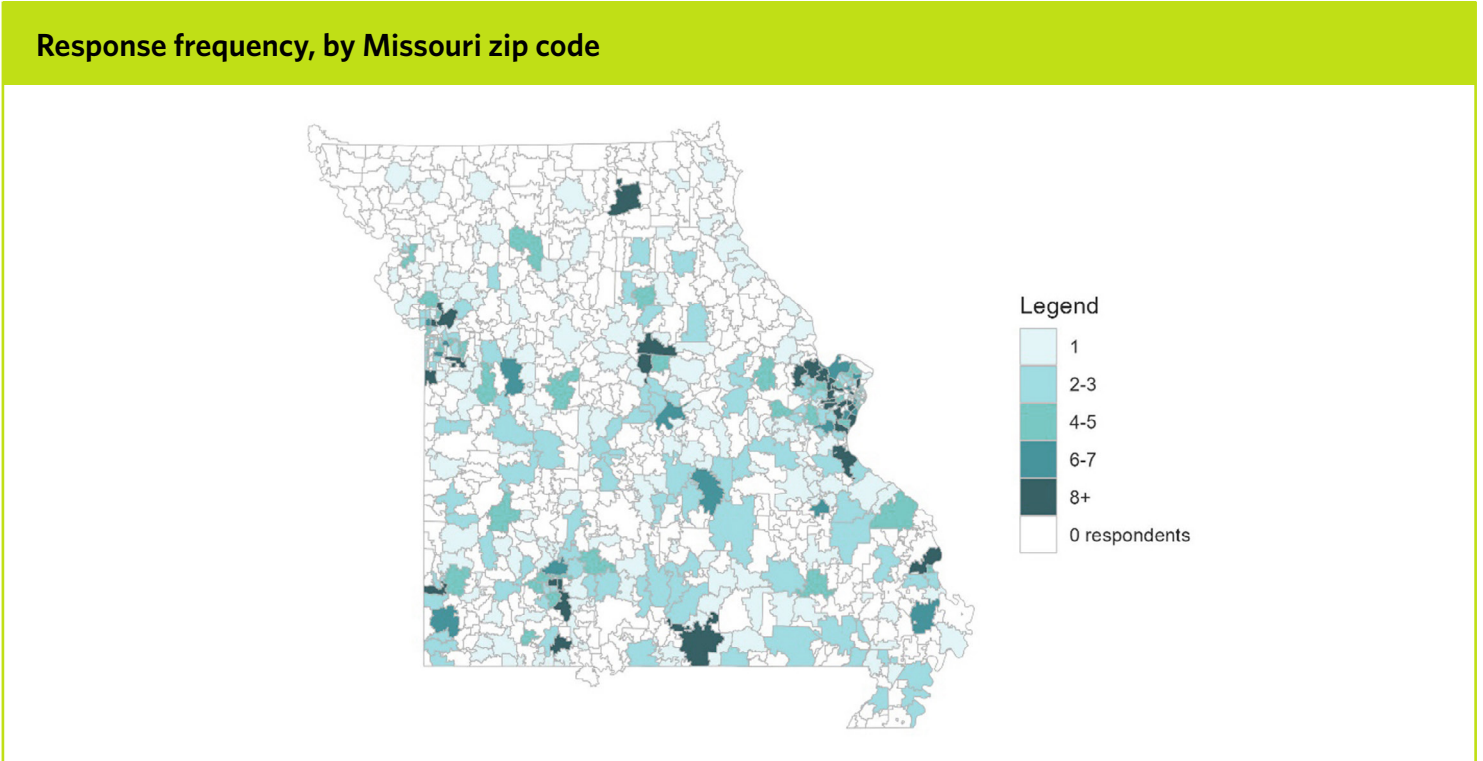


Figure 2

Regarding firearm access and training, 36.6% of respondents personally owned at least one firearm, which could include handguns, long guns, and/or black powder guns. Additionally, over half of the respondents (52.4%) reported currently having at least one firearm in their home, regardless of personal ownership, and 63.8% indicated that firearms were present in their home while growing up. Lastly, 32.5% of all survey respondents reported having received formal firearms training.

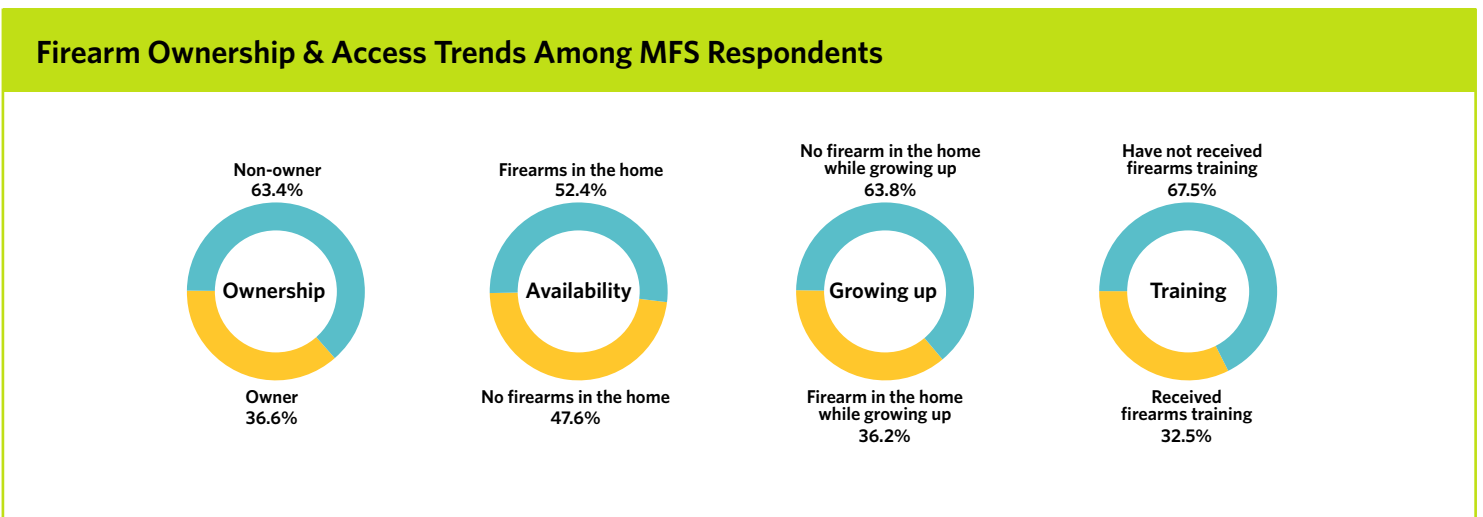


Figure 3

The majority of firearm owners in Missouri are white, male, received formal firearms training, and live in a rural or suburban area.

Characteristics of Firearm Owners

Over one third of the MFS respondents were firearm owners (36.6%). Over two-thirds (66%) of owners identified as male and 34% of owners identified as female. The majority of firearm owners reported residing in rural (34.9%) or suburban areas (40.8%). Most firearm owners reported having completed high school (96.3%) while 27.1% earned a bachelor's degree or higher. Regarding race and ethnicity of firearm owners, 85.3% identified as white and non-Hispanic, 7.7% identified as Black and non-Hispanic, 3.5% identified as Hispanic, and 2.7% responded that they identify as American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some "other" group. Nearly one in three (29.1%) firearm owners had at least one child living in their household, and 18.1% were veterans. Lastly, 79.9% of firearm owners had a firearm in their home while growing up, and 60% received some form of formal firearms training (see Figure 4).

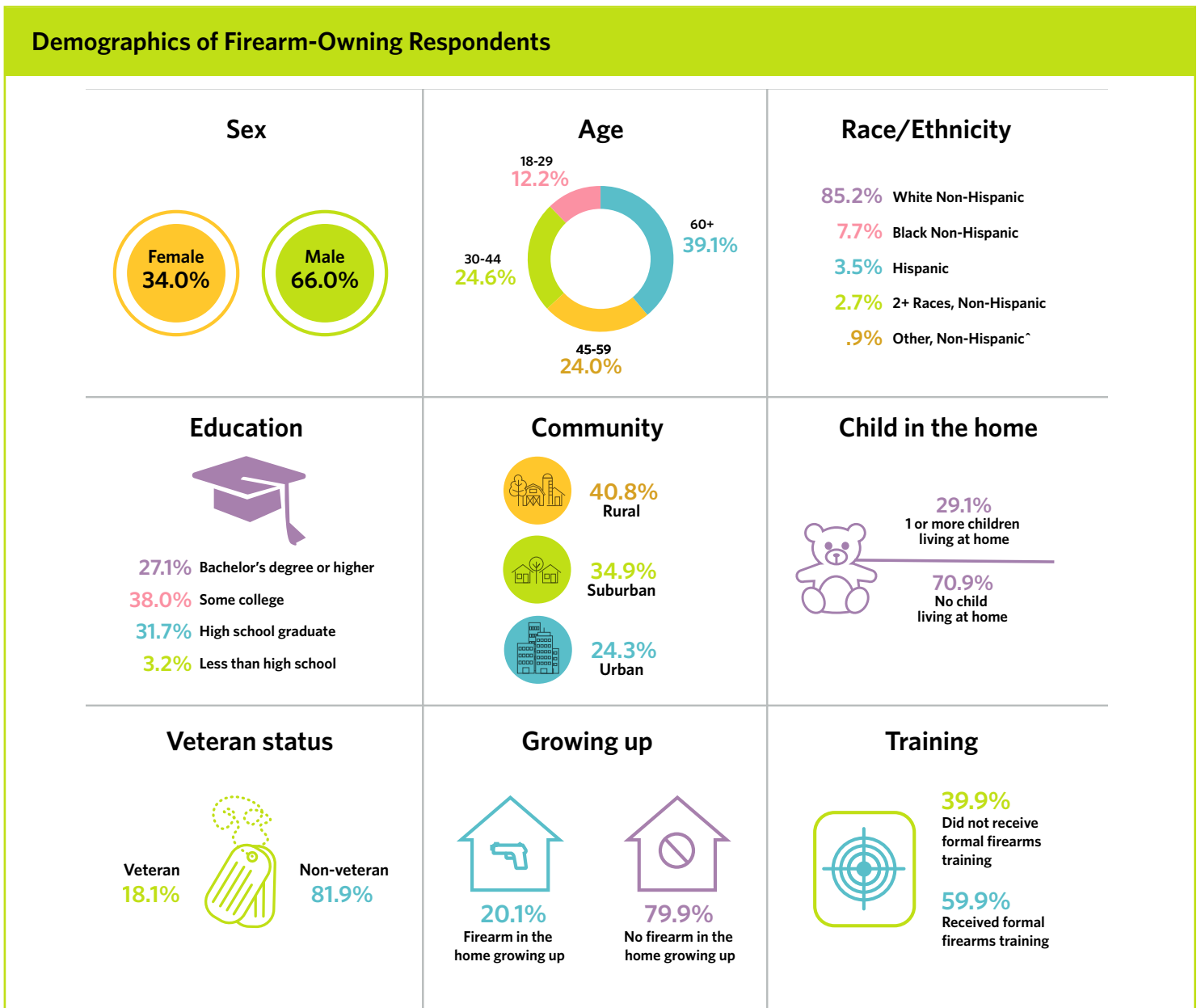


Figure 4

*=The "other" racial group includes American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some "other" racial/ethnic group specified in a write-in response.

Firearm owners cited protection from other people as the primary reason for owning any type of gun.

Reasons for Firearm Ownership

The primary motivation cited for firearm ownership among MFS respondents was protection against other people (69.5%), regardless of the type of firearm owned. However, motivations for owning specific types of firearms varied. Handgun owners primarily cited protection against other people (80.5%) as their reason for ownership, followed by sport shooting (35.3%), protection against animals (21.9%), hunting (16.2%), for a collection (13.0%), receiving as a gift (5.0%), work (4.4%), and other reasons (6.4%).

Ownership motivations for long guns were slightly different, with a majority of respondents reported that their primary motivation for owning a long gun was hunting (57.5%). Other reasons included sport shooting (43.2%), protection against other people (38.3%), protection against animals (28.2%), for a collection (19.0%), receiving as a gift (9.1%), work (0.8%), and other reasons (4.9%).

Concerns about potential violence in one's community may drive the motivation for owning a handgun or long gun for protection. Among firearm owners who expressed fear about experiencing violence in their neighborhood,

97% of handgun owners and 75% of long gun owners reported owning their firearm(s) for protection against other people.

For both handgun and long gun owners, "other" reasons for ownership were reported in write-in responses. These reasons were similar across firearm types and included having inherited or been gifted a gun, protection against unspecified threats, ownership for target or hobby purposes, desire to exercise one's Second Amendment rights, and "just because."

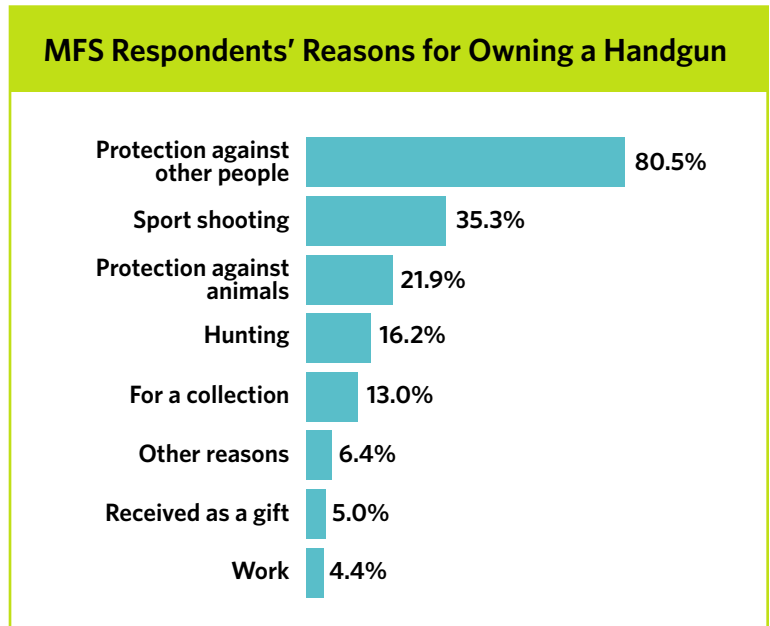


Figure 5

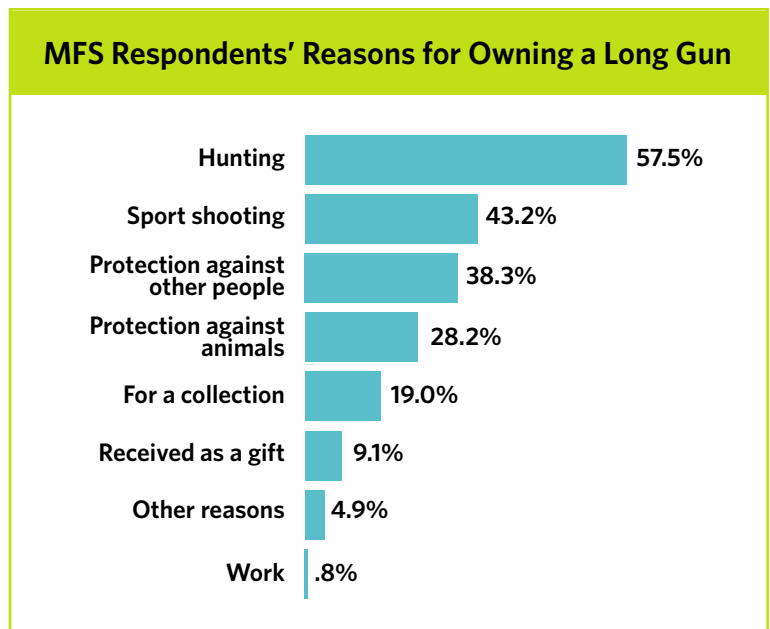


Figure 6

Missouri Data in Context: The demographic characteristics of firearm owners in Missouri are comparable to the rest of the country. Missouri does, however, have a higher percentage of veteran gun owners, rural gun owners, and white gun owners than the U.S. on average.⁵ Despite this, national estimates have demonstrated growing rates of gun ownership among Black Americans and women.^{6,7} From 2019 to 2020, 1.5 million Americans purchased firearms for the first time; nearly half of these were women and one-fifth were Black.⁶

Missouri firearm ownership trends align with trends observed at the national level. According to the 2017 Pew Research Center study (nationally representative data), 72% of gun owners in the US owned a handgun, while in Missouri, this proportion was slightly higher (76%). The same study found that 62% of firearm owners in the US own a long gun, while in Missouri, long gun ownership rates were slightly higher (65.8%).

Motivations for firearm ownership among Missourians are similar to those found in national studies, with protection being the primary reason for ownership for most firearm owners.^{8,9} Researchers have documented that higher rates of exposure to community violence can increase the likelihood of firearm ownership.¹⁰ However, even among individuals who do not fear community violence, protection is a significant motivating factor for firearm ownership. To this end, research have found that handgun ownership is often associated with a culture that emphasizes protection and self-defense, while long gun ownership is often associated with hunting culture.^{11,12}

Implications for research and practice: Firearm owners represent a variety of backgrounds, demographics, geographies, and beliefs. Researchers, practitioners, and policymakers need to account for these differences. As the demographics of firearm owners continue to evolve, it is important for researchers to investigate how demographics and cultural identities influence the motivations and perceived benefits of firearm ownership. Such research can inform the development of interventions are culturally tailored and relevant to diverse groups. These demographic trends can inform a multitude of future firearm injury prevention strategies, which will be covered in future reports on the MFS.

Motivations for firearm ownership varies from protection against other people to sport shooting. Thus, it is important that firearm safety solutions such as storage-based interventions are tailored to align with the reasons why individuals choose to own their firearms. For example, if the main reason for possessing a handgun is to ensure personal safety, biometric lock boxes equipped with palm or fingerprint scanners can offer quick firearm access during emergencies while preventing unauthorized use by other adults and children residing in the same home. Another example is if someone possesses a long gun for hunting or as a part of a collection, interventions could involve discounts for gun cabinets designed to hold several guns or larger guns. The cabinets can have a manual lock or a biometric lock, depending on the model. Thus, there is a pressing demand for firearm safety measures that correspond to the motivations behind individuals' decision to possess firearms.

Acknowledging and addressing the key motivations for firearm ownership are critical to effectively engaging with firearm owners in firearm injury prevention. This can be achieved by integrating norms, attitudes, and languages of firearm culture into firearm injury prevention programs. For example, framing firearm suicide risk prevention strategies as a way to protect family members may be appealing to individuals who own a firearm for protection. Thus, tailoring prevention efforts to the values and motivations of firearm owners may enhance engagement and receptiveness to firearm injury prevention programs.

The majority of people who live in a household with guns but do not personally own one are female, have not received formal firearms training, and live in a rural or suburban area.

Characteristics of Non-Owners that Live in a Home with Firearms

According to the MFS survey, approximately 15.8% of respondents reported living in a home with a firearm but not owning any firearms themselves. Among these respondents, the majority identified as female (86.7%) and self-identified as non-Hispanic, white (80.1%). In addition, most of these respondents lived in rural (39.4%) or suburban areas (42.8%) and graduated high school (96.9%). Moreover, nearly one in three non-firearm owners with a firearm in the home reported living with at least one child (35.2%), and a small percentage (1.9%) were veterans. Lastly, 61.5% of these respondents reported growing up in a household with a firearm, and 16.6% received formal firearms training (see Figure 7).

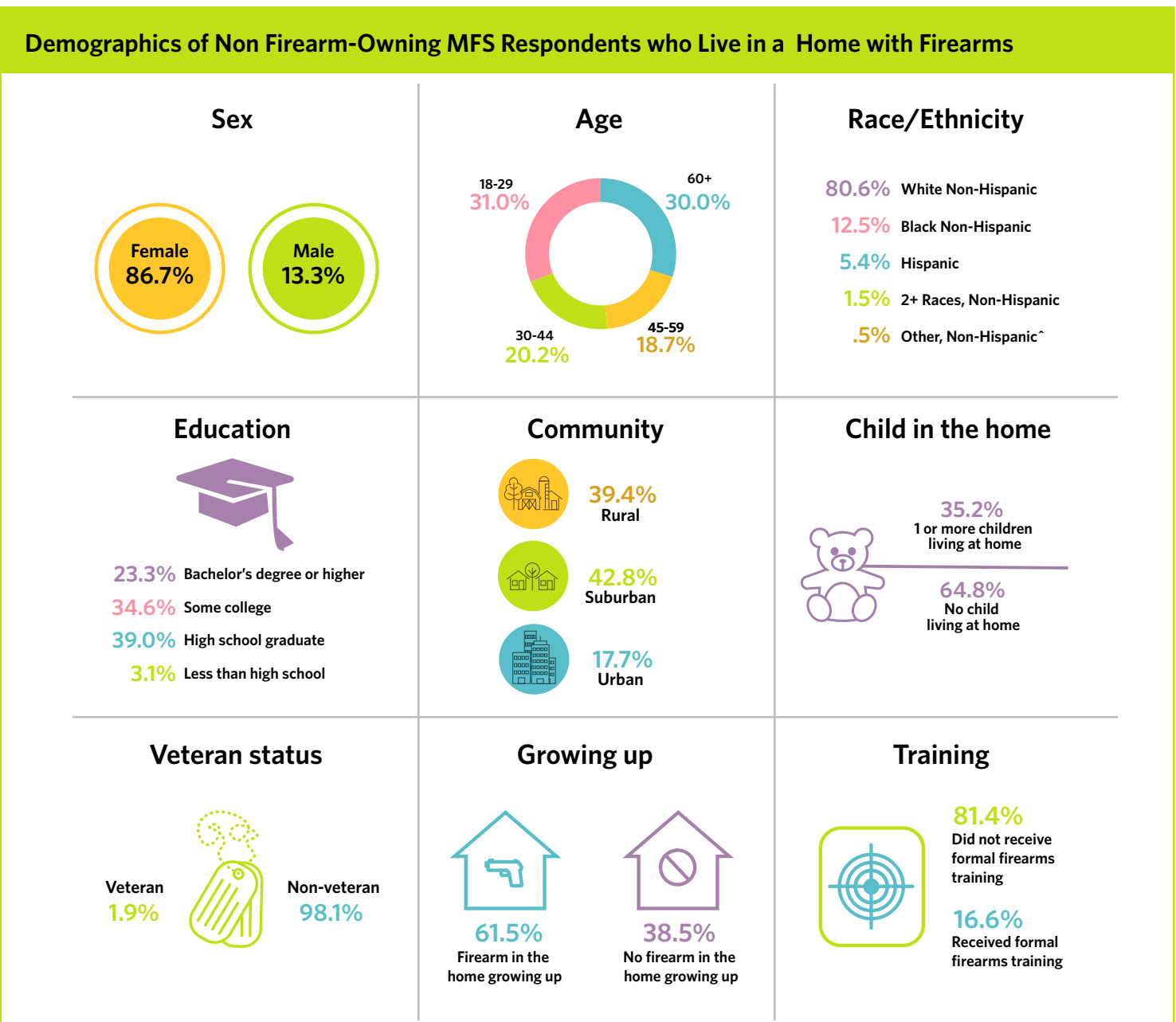


Figure 7

*=The "other" racial group includes American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some "other" racial/ethnic group specified in a write-in response.

Of note, 22.9% of non-firearm owners living in a household with firearms experienced a period in the last five years without any firearms present. In contrast, firearm owners were less likely (13.1%) to report a time within the past five years when they had no firearms in their homes compared to non-firearm owners living in a household with firearms. The primary reason for having a firearm in the home now was for protection against strangers (52.5%), followed by sporting use (22.3%), hunting (6.9%), for protection against people I know (3%), for a collection (2.47%), and for other reasons (22.3%), including protection from home invasion, inheriting or being gifted a firearm, and living with a gun enthusiast.

Missouri Data in Context: To date, researchers have not examined the demographic characteristics of non-owners who live in a home with a firearm. Based on 2017 Pew Research Center data, 11% non-owners in the US reported living with someone who owns a firearm.¹⁷ Among these individuals, only 19% reported ever using the firearm.¹⁷ In Missouri, the rate of non-owners who live in a home with a firearm is approximately 5% higher than the national estimate, which may reflect the higher rate of firearm ownership overall in Missouri. Moreover, a significant demographic distinction between firearm owners and non-owners in households with firearms was gender, with males being more likely to possess firearms than not own firearms while living in a household where a firearm is present. This highlights the importance of understanding the characteristics of non-owners who live in homes with firearms, as the presence of firearms in the household increases the risk of household members dying by firearm homicide and suicide, regardless of personal ownership.^{18,19}

The MFS data may also reflect an increase in firearm acquisition and subsequent exposure, which is consistent with recent national findings. Specifically, the National Firearm Survey from 2022 study revealed that over 11 million people who did not have firearms present in their home prior to 2019 are now exposed to firearms, including 5 million children.²⁰ Moreover, in Missouri, of the non-owners who live in a home with a firearm, about 23% reported not having a firearm in the home within the past five years but now have one.

Implications for Research and Practice: Non-owners who live in households with firearms are an important demographic group for firearm injury prevention researchers and practitioners to consider in their analysis and intervention. People living with firearm owners may have significant influence over storage practices and other firearm safety behaviors in the household. Gauging their knowledge of firearm safety practices in the household and ensuring they understand how to mitigate the risk for firearm injury is important to firearm injury prevention work. Firearm injury prevention programs should work with non-owners living in a household with a firearm to educate and build awareness about storage practices to prevent unintentional injury and suicide.

The majority of people who do not own or live in a household with guns are female and live in urban and suburban areas, and did not grow up in a household with guns.

Characteristics of Participants Who Did Not Own or Live in a Household with Firearms

Among MFS respondents, 45.6% did not personally own firearms and did not live in homes with firearms. Of these participants, 45.34% identified as male and 54.7% identified as female, and the majority self-identified as non-Hispanic white (79.6%). Most lived in urban (35.9%) or suburban areas (47.4%) and had completed high school or greater (94.6%). Nearly one in three participants who did not own or live in a household with firearms had at least one child living with them (29%), 6.6% were veterans, and 16.5% received formal firearms training. Lastly, 45.7% of these respondents had a firearm in their home while growing up, which is a rate that is far lower compared to firearm owners or non-owners living in a home with a firearm.

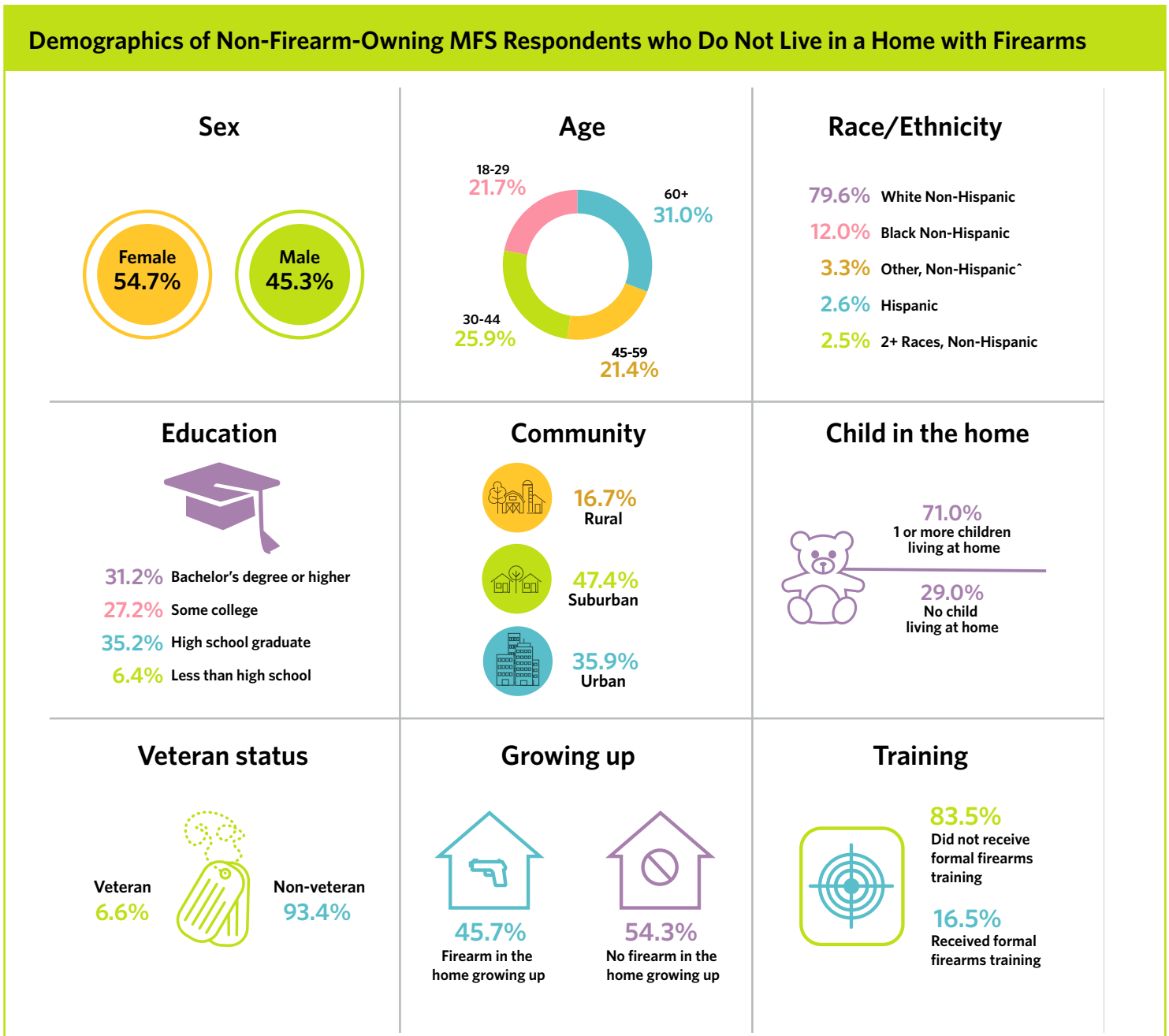


Figure 8

*=The "other" racial group includes American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some "other" racial/ethnic group specified in a write-in response.

11.1% of participants that reported not personally owning or living in a household with firearms at the time of the survey indicated that there was a time within the last five years when they or someone they lived with owned a firearm. The primary reason for no longer having a firearm in the home is because the respondent no longer lives with the person who owned firearms (30.5%). Additional reasons included choosing to sell or otherwise get rid of guns (20.9%) and gun was lost or stolen (7.7%). 30.9% of respondents also reported not knowing why they no longer own firearms or have firearms in the home.

“Other” reasons provided in write-in responses included not needing their firearms, selling firearms because they needed money, having children, losing firearms to theft, and feeling like having firearms in the home was not “safe” or “wise,” not being able to afford a gun, and being restricted from owning firearms due to a felony conviction.

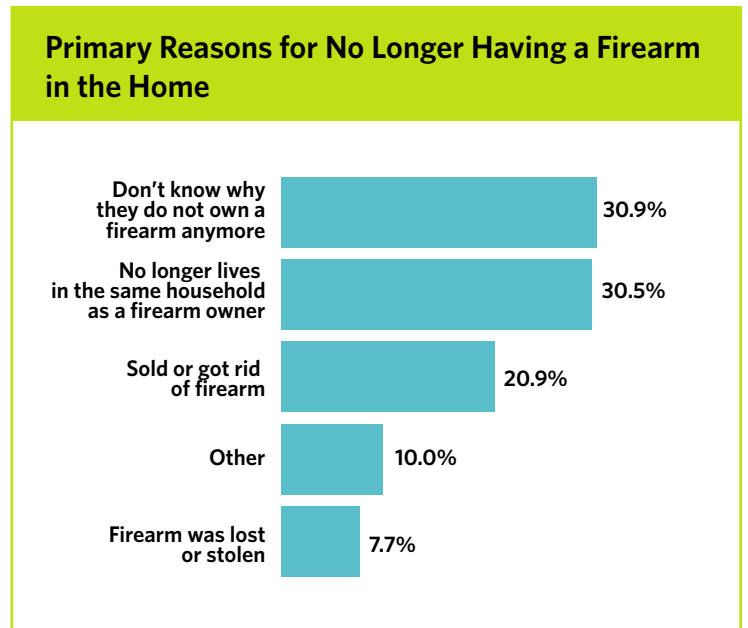


Figure 9

Missouri Data in Context: Based on the 2017 Pew Research Center study (a nationally representative study), 48% of adults in the US reported never owning a firearm nor living in a household with one, which is similar to the percentage of non-firearm owners in Missouri who also do not live in a household with a firearm - 45.6%. Notably, 16% of non-owners living in households without firearms in Missouri has received firearms training. This may reflect past personal or family ownership, since 45.7% of participants who did not own or live in a household with firearms at the time of the survey reported growing up in a home with firearms and 11% reported owning a firearm or living with a firearm owner in the past five years but did not have a firearm (or live in a home with a firearm) at the time of the survey. This likely suggests a level of familiarity with the culture surrounding firearm ownership, despite not owning a firearm themselves. Assumptions cannot be made about current ownership or exposure. This data also does not allow for cultural assumptions on people who do not currently own a firearm or live with a firearm owner.

Implications for research & practice: The inclusion of non-owners is critical to gaining a broader understanding of people’s relationship to firearms. While national demographics for non-owners are not available, the MFS data provides a first look at the demographic and contextual characteristics of non-owners. Non-owners may be integral to changing norms around communicating to others about firearm safety and encourage firearm practices that minimize risk of injury and death to self or others. For instance, there is the opportunity to train healthcare providers in having conversations with patients about firearm safety, even if they do not personally own guns. Moreover, non-owners may have valuable insights into cultural and societal factors that contribute to firearm injury in their communities (e.g., community health workers, tribal council members). By understanding these factors, firearm injury prevention practitioners can develop tailored messaging and interventions that address the unique cultural and societal context of firearm ownership and use in a particular community.

FUTURE REPORTS FROM THE MISSOURI FIREARM SURVEY

Firearm injury and death is a significant public health concern in the United States, and addressing this crisis requires prevention programs, policies, and research that incorporates the values and expertise of affected communities. The MFS provides a first look at firearm attitudes, beliefs, and practices among Missourians across different demographic and contextual backgrounds. To inform effective and equitable firearm injury prevention programs, future examination of the Missouri Firearm Survey data will include:

- Firearm Suicide:
 - Contextualize perceptions of risk, beliefs, and intentions around firearm suicide among Missourians who do and do not own firearms.
- Home Safety and Storage:
 - Explore safety perceptions and protection as motivation for firearm ownership and their influence on firearm storage practices.
- Firearms Training:
 - Identify attitudes and experiences with firearm training across different demographic and contextual factors, as well as the relationship between training and intent to engage in various firearm safety practices.
- Firearms in the Community:
 - Highlight Missourians' attitudes about carrying firearms in public spaces, the role of background checks, and how law enforcement should be involved in firearm ownership.

LIMITATIONS

We note a few limitations of the MFS that should be considered when interpreting the results. First, because the MFS was administered only once, the results of the survey reflect a single point in time. We cannot make causal statements (e.g., community violence causes a more positive attitude about carrying firearms in public places) using this data, nor can we speak to changes in beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, or behaviors over time. Nevertheless, the MFS can inform actions public health professionals and invested partners in the firearm injury prevention field can take to intervene. Second, as is often the limitation with surveys, results may need to be cautiously interpreted as respondents may feel pressure to respond in a way that they think is socially acceptable or agreeable. However, online surveys, such as the MFS, have been shown to reduce response biases and yield accurate estimates of participant characteristics than survey administration processes, such telephone surveys.²¹ Additionally, researchers have validated responses to firearm questions on random-digit dial surveys.²² Finally, while our survey data represents firearm beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors for Missouri adults, we are unable to summarize the data at the county-level. Thus, future data collection efforts should examine firearm outcomes at the county-level to inform the development of firearm injury prevention programs to account for the specific needs of each county. For example, certain counties may be most impacted by firearm homicides, requiring a more robust interpersonal firearm violence prevention response. Despite these limitations, results from the MFS provide deep insight into Missourian's perceptions, practices, and beliefs regarding firearm-related topics. This information is useful for the implementation of intervention and education strategies that can be tailored specifically to Missouri populations.

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APPENDIX A. DATA BIOGRAPHY

The data biography included as an appendix to this report provides information about who created this data, as well as information on how, where, when, and why it was collected. The purpose of this data biography is to help those engaging with this report understand where the data come from and its strengths and potential limitations.

Who collected the data?

Ipsos Public Affairs (Ipsos) conducted the Missouri Firearms Survey on behalf of Missouri Foundation for Health.

Who owns the data?

The data are owned by Missouri Foundation for Health.

How were the data collected?

The data were collected using Ipsos' KnowledgePanel, a probability-based web panel designed to be representative of the United States and opt-in panel sources. The opt-in panel, a non-probability-based sample, was used to supplement the KnowledgePanel sample for the main sample of general population adults age 18+ in Missouri, and also to oversample Missouri firearm owners and rural Missouri adults. The two samples were combined through Ipsos' calibration methodology to create a total sample. The survey was administered in English. Members of the KnowledgePanel were recruited by email and provided a link directing them to the web-based survey.

Why were the data collected?

The data were collected to enhance Missouri Foundation for Health's understanding of the impact of firearm violence and improve ability to address firearm-related deaths and injuries in Missouri communities.

Where were the data collected?

The data were collected only in the state of Missouri. To be eligible to participate, respondents were required to reside in Missouri, which was confirmed based on the ZIP code they provided at the beginning of the survey.

When were the data collected?

Data were collected July 2020 to August 2020.

What was the relative sample size?

The sample size of respondents that completed the survey was 1,045 Missourians.

How was the sample selected?

Ipsos recruits panel members by using address-based sampling (ABS) methods. Once household members are recruited for the panel and assigned to a study sample, they are notified by email for survey taking, or panelists can visit their online member page for survey taking.

Who was included and excluded from the sample?

Those who were eligible to take part in the survey included non-institutionalized adults over the age of 18 who live in Missouri. Additionally, Missouri firearm owners and rural Missourians were oversampled to ensure large enough sample sizes of these groups for analysis purposes. Those who were ineligible to participate included anyone under the age of 18 and adults over the age of 18 who did not provide a Missouri zip code. Ipsos reported a 97% overall response rate. Some participants were excluded in our analyses if they did not answer all study variables resulting in less than 5% missingness in all analyses.