The Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy

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Local leaders' pessimism about Michigan's direction continues, but eases slightly from last year

By Debra Horner and Thomas Ivacko

This report presents the opinions of Michigan's local government leaders regarding the direction in which the state is headed, as well as their evaluations of the job performance of Governor Gretchen Whitmer and the Michigan Legislature. These findings are based on statewide surveys of local government leaders in the spring 2022 wave of the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS)— conducted between April 4 and June 6, 2022—and tracking comparisons to previous spring waves.

The Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS) is an ongoing census survey of all 1,856 general purpose local governments in Michigan conducted since 2009 by the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP). Respondents for the Spring 2022 wave of the MPPS include county administrators, board chairs, and clerks: city mayors, managers, and clerks: village presidents, managers, and clerks: and township supervisors, managers, and clerks from 1,327 jurisdictions across the state.



Key Findings

Statewide, 62% of Michigan's local government officials say the state has gotten off on the wrong track, down slightly from 67% in 2021, yet still one of the highest levels since tracking began in 2011. Meanwhile, only 28% of local leaders say the state is generally going in the right direction, a slight improvement from 23% last year.

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- » As in the past, these views are strongly associated with partisan identification, with most Republicans and Independents pessimistic about the state's direction, compared with Democrats' optimism. Among self-identified Republican local leaders, only 12% say the state is going in the right direction, similar to the 10% who said the same last year. Among Independent local officials there was more notable improvement, with 32% saying the state is currently headed in the right direction, up from 24% in 2021. Meanwhile, nearly three-quarters (72%) of self-identified Democrats remain positive about the direction of the state, up from 63% in 2021.
- Evaluations of Governor Gretchen Whitmer's job performance have also improved slightly, but continue to be underwater. Statewide, 44% of Michigan's local officials rate her performance in 2022 as "poor," a slight improvement from 48% in 2021. Meanwhile, 23% rate her performance as "fair" (up from 19% last year) while 30% rate it as either "excellent" or "good (unchanged from 2021)."
 - » Again, as with ratings of previous Michigan governors, these ratings are correlated with partisanship. Ratings of good or excellent for Governor Whitmer are found among 81% of Democratic local leaders, compared with 38% of Independents and just 10% of Republicans.
 - Local leaders' ratings for the Michigan Legislature saw the most improvement, though they are still lukewarm. Statewide, 27% of local leaders say the Legislature is currently doing a poor job, down sharply from 40% who said the same in 2021. However, most of the improvement came in "fair" ratings. Just 17% give the Legislature's performance an either excellent or good rating (up slightly from 14% last year).
 - » Although relatively few local officials give the Legislature high ratings, improvements were found among all partisans. Overall, 19% of Republican local leaders say the Legislature is doing an excellent or good job, up slightly from 15% last year, and generally in line with assessments by Independents (14%) and Democrats (20%).

Background

Starting in 2011, the MPPS survey has asked Michigan's local government leaders annually whether they feel the state is generally going in the right direction, or if things have gotten off on the wrong track. The survey has also tracked their opinions on the job performance of the sitting governor and the Michigan Legislature. This report presents the views of the chief elected and appointed officials who run local governments in every type of community across Michigan—from the largest and most densely-populated urban areas in the southeast, to the smallest, most rural and sparsely-populated areas of the Upper Peninsula—and reviews the changes over more than a decade.

The MPPS has tracked turbulent times in recent years. The survey's spring wave was launched in late March 2020, just as COVID-19 arrived in the state of Michigan. In the pandemic's initial weeks of April 2020, local officials' assessments of the direction the state was headed and the performance of state officials saw a positive uptick.¹ However, over the course of May and June 2020, those views shifted as COVID-19 spread across the state. Local leaders increasingly reported declines in both "right direction" assessments for the state overall, as well as drops in "excellent" or "good" ratings for state officials.

By the spring of 2021, local leaders' concerns with the state's overall direction skyrocketed, reflecting ongoing political struggles over pandemic policies and a series of extraordinary events at both the state and national levels, including widespread racial justice protests in the summer of 2020, a planned kidnapping of the Governor, an election during the pandemic with ensuing controversies and the attack on the Capitol in Washington D.C., and more.²

Since then, however, Michigan's communities and local governments have seen a huge infusion of economic support from the federal and state governments, including the \$1.9 billion for Michigan counties and \$1.8 billion for metropolitan areas through the American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA)³ and potentially more than \$4 billion in transportation, water, broadband, and electric vehicle charging infrastructure projects through the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA).⁴ The promise of these funds have helped boost economic and job growth in the state,⁵ even as Michigan heads into what looks to be a particularly tumultuous election season in 2022.⁶ The Spring 2022 MPPS once again asked Michigan's local leaders for their assessments of the state's direction, and, on balance, they continue to be pessimistic about where Michigan is headed and critical of the job performance of both the state's Democratic Governor and its Republican-led Legislature, but there has been a slight easing of these sentiments over the past year.

Despite a slight improvement from last year, most Michigan local officials continue to say the state is on the wrong track

During the past year, concerns have abated slightly among Michigan's local government leaders about the direction in which the state is headed, after last year's record high pessimism. Nonetheless, 62% statewide say Michigan is currently on the "wrong track" (see *Figure 1a*). Meanwhile, just over a quarter (28%) believe the state is heading in the right direction, up from 23% in 2021. Approximately 10% of local leaders say they "don't know" how to evaluate the state's direction.

These assessments are more pessimistic than the current opinions of Michigan voters statewide. According to a May 2022 survey commissioned by the Detroit Regional Chamber, approximately half of Michigan voters (50%) say the state is off on the wrong track while 32% say it is on the right track.⁷ Key to that difference between assessments of local officials and voters statewide is partisan identification, as described below.

The MPPS has tracked the connection between local officials' partisanship and their views of the state's direction since MPPS tracking began in 2011, and the 2022 survey responses continue to show deep divisions in how different partisan groups perceive the direction of the state.

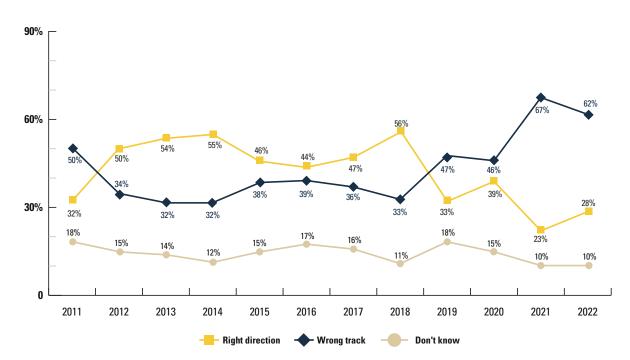
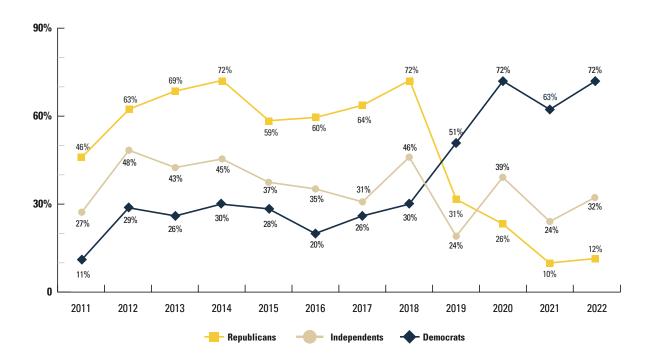
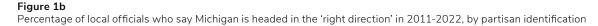


Figure 1a Percentage of local officials who say Michigan is headed in the 'right direction' or is off on the 'wrong track,' 2011-2022 Officials who self-identify as Republican make up the majority of Michigan's local leaders, a key difference compared to the breakdown of Michigan residents. Michigan has 1,240 townships—most of which are small in terms of population, and rural—compared with 533 cities and villages and 83 counties. As a result, most of the local governments in the MPPS census survey are represented by Republican local leaders. For example, according to responses on the 2022 MPPS, 57% of Michigan local government leaders self-identify as Republicans, while 18% say they are Independents, and 25% identify as Democrats. By comparison, according to Michigan State University's 2021 State of the State Survey of Michigan residents, 37% of Michigan voters self-identified as Republicans, 21% as Independents, and 42% as Democrats.⁸

Looking over time, while Republican Governor Rick Snyder was in office from 2011–2018, Republican local officials consistently expressed more optimism about the state's direction, compared with Democrats and Independents. However, since the beginning of Democratic Governor Gretchen Whitmer's administration in 2019, the views of Republicans and Democrats have flipped. Today, only 12% of Republican local officials say the state is going in the right direction, just the slightest uptick from the 10% in 2021, but still near the lowest level among Republicans since tracking began (see *Figure 1b*). Meanwhile, Independent local officials report a small increase in optimism, though just a third (32%) say Michigan is going in the right direction. By comparison, most Democratic local officials (72%) are optimistic about the direction of the state, up from last year's 63%.

While other factors are likely to impact local leaders' assessments of the state's direction, such as economic conditions, public health crises like the COVID pandemic, and more, the strong correlation between assessments and partisanship has remained steady throughout more than a decade of tracking on the MPPS and is also a fundamental factor in assessments of the Governor's job performance, as discussed below.





Despite continuing concerns about the direction of the state and nation, optimism about individual jurisdictions remains high

The MPPS also often asks local leaders for their views on the direction of both the country as a whole, and of their own local county, township, city, or village. While partisan differences are clear at the state and national levels, when it comes to confidence in their jurisdiction's direction, local leaders are almost uniformly positive. As shown in *Figure Ic*, the concerns among Republican and Independent local leaders about the direction in which Michigan is headed are mirrored by even stronger concerns about the US overall. Just 9% of Republicans say the U.S. is currently headed in the right direction, and 16% of Independents say the same. Meanwhile, just over half (52%) of Democrats are confident in the direction of the U.S.

Despite those differences in local leaders' confidence about other levels of government, when it comes to gauging the direction of their own local jurisdiction, local leaders overwhelmingly give their local communities high marks. Statewide, 90% of both Republicans and Democrats say their own jurisdictions are headed in the right direction, as do 88% of Independents.

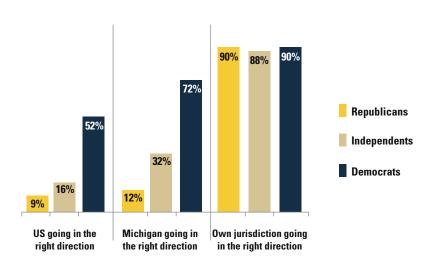


Figure 1c Percentage of local officials who say the US, Michigan, and their own jurisdiction is headed in the 'right direction' in 2022, by partisan identification

While still underwater, ratings for Governor Whitmer improve slightly

Turning back to the state level, the MPPS has also asked local officials to evaluate the job performance of the sitting governor, starting in 2009 with Governor Jennifer Granholm, through Governor Rick Snyder's two terms, and now with Governor Gretchen Whitmer.

In 2020, Governor Whitmer's ratings started relatively high at the beginning of COVID-19's appearance in Michigan, but then declined precipitously over the course of the survey field period, and stayed relatively low into 2021.⁹ This year, local leaders remain critical overall, with just 30% saying she is doing an "excellent" or "good" job, unchanged from last year (see *Figure 2a*). Meanwhile, 44% rate Governor Whitmer's performance today as "poor," down slightly from 48% last year, and 23% rate it as "fair," up slightly from 19% a year ago. Only 3% of local leaders say they are unsure how to rate Governor Whitmer's performance.

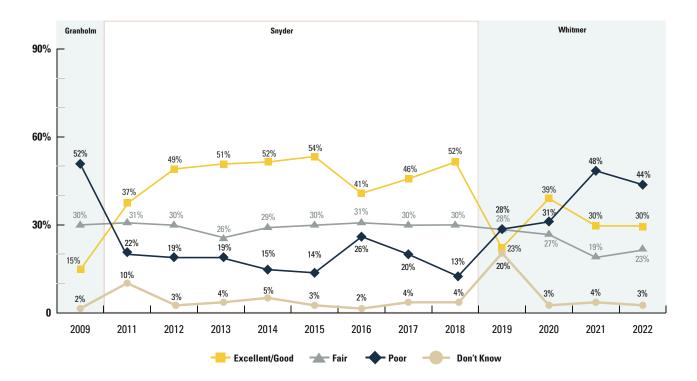
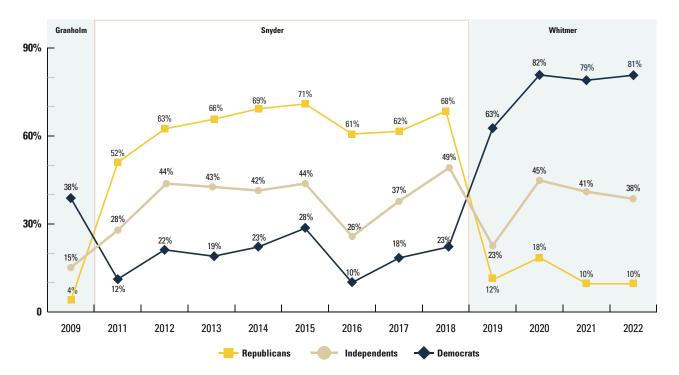


Figure 2a

Local officials' evaluations of Governor Whitmer's performance compared with previous Governors' performances, 2009-2022

Like assessments of the state's direction, these ratings on job performance are also correlated with partisanship. As shown in *Figure 2b*, 81% of Democratic local leaders currently give Governor Whitmer positive ratings, up slightly from 79% last year. Among Independents, 38% give her positive ratings in 2021, down from 41% in 2021. Meanwhile, just 10% of Republican local leaders rate Governor Whitmer's performance as good or excellent in 2022, unchanged from last year. While not shown in the figure, this year 62% of Republican local officials rate Governor Whitmer's performance as poor, compared to 67% who said the same last year.

Figure 2b



Percentage of local officials who rate the Governor's performance as 'excellent' or 'good' in 2009-2022, by partisan identification

Michigan Legislature's performance ratings also improve

Changes in evaluations of the Michigan Legislature's performance have been much less dramatic than those for the governor, perhaps reflecting the continuous Republican control of the legislature since this tracking began. However, the past few years have seen significant swings in the Legislature's evaluations, first in the positive direction in 2020, then sharply negative last year. Now, in 2022, local leaders have swung back towards more positive ratings for the Legislature again. Although few believe the Michigan Legislature is doing an outright excellent or good job (17%), the percent who view it as poor dropped from 40% last year to 27% today. Meanwhile, around half (51%) of local officials now rate its performance as fair, compared to 42% who said the same in 2021 (see *Figure 3a*).

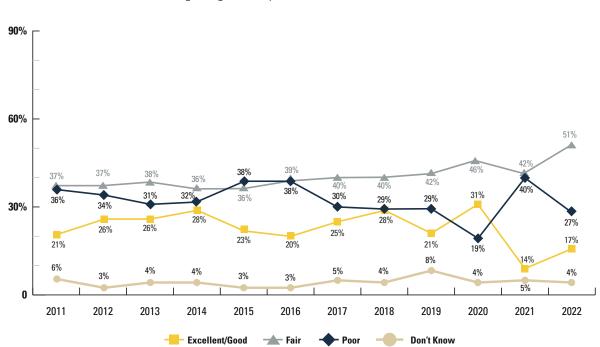
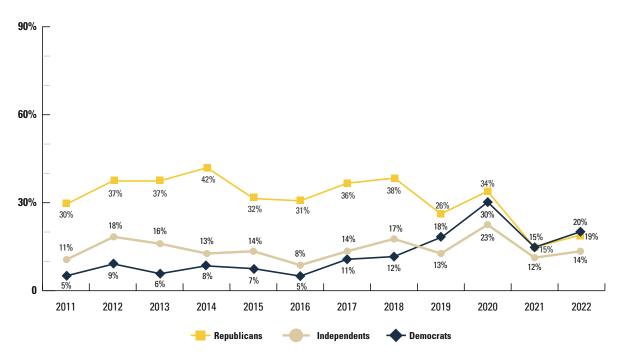


Figure 3a Local officials' evaluations of the Michigan Legislature's performance, 2011-2022 By contrast with evaluations of the state's direction and of Governor Whitmer's performance, partisan differences in evaluations of the Legislature have narrowed over the last few years, and nearly disappeared in 2021. (see *Figure 3b*). It is notable that Republicans' positive evaluations remain low, given their prior trends. Up until 2020, around 30-40% of Republican local leaders typically gave Michigan's Republican-led Legislature positive ratings. However, in 2021, just 15% said the Legislature was doing an excellent or good job, and that has only risen to 19% in 2022. In fact, this year Democratic local leaders give the Republican-led Michigan Legislature equal or even slightly higher ratings compared with local Republican leaders.

Figure 3b

Percentage of local officials who rate the Legislature's performance as 'excellent' or 'good' in 2011-2022, by partisan identification



Conclusion

Over the past five years, the percentage of local leaders who are optimistic about the direction in which Michigan is headed has declined by half. Compared with 2018, when 56% of local officials said the state was headed in the right direction, today only 28% say the same. Although there has been a slight increase in these assessments since last year, nonetheless nearly two-thirds (62%) of local officials believe Michigan is off on the wrong track today. This is driven by Republican local officials, of whom only 12% say the state is going in the right direction, compared with 32% of officials who are Independents and 72% who identify as Democrats.

However, despite partisan differences in concerns about the state (and nation) as a whole, local officials across the board are overwhelmingly optimistic about the direction in which their own local jurisdictions are headed, with 90% saying their local jurisdiction is headed in the right direction.

Assessments of the job performance both of Governor Gretchen Whitmer and of the Michigan Legislature have risen slightly in the past year, but fewer than a third of local leaders statewide give either the Governor (30%) or the state legislature in Lansing (17%) an excellent or good rating in 2022.

Notes

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Survey Background and Methodology

The MPPS is an ongoing survey program, interviewing the leaders of Michigan's 1,856 units of general purpose local government, conducted by the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP) at the University of Michigan in partnership with the Michigan Municipal League, Michigan Townships Association, and Michigan Association of Counties. Surveys are conducted each spring (and prior to 2018, were also conducted each fall). The program has covered a wide range of policy topics and includes longitudinal tracking data on "core" fiscal, budgetary and operational policy questions and designed to build-up a multi-year time-series.

In the Spring 2022 iteration, surveys were sent by the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP) via the internet and hardcopy to top elected and appointed officials (including county administrators and board chairs: city mayors and managers: village presidents, clerks, and managers: and township supervisors, clerks, and managers) from all 83 counties, 280 cities, 253 villages, and 1,240 townships in the state of Michigan.

The Spring 2022 wave was conducted from April 4 – June 6, 2022. A total of 1,327 jurisdictions in the Spring 2022 wave returned valid surveys (62 counties, 202 cities,

167 villages, and 896 townships), resulting in a 71% response rate by unit. The margin of error for the survey for the survey as a whole is +/- 1.44%. The key relationships discussed in the above report are statistically significant at the p<.05 level or below, unless otherwise specified. Missing responses are not included in the tabulations, unless otherwise specified. Some report figures may not add to 100% due to rounding within response categories. Quantitative data are weighted to account for non-response. "Voices Across Michigan" verbatim responses, when included, may have been edited for clarity and brevity. Contact CLOSUP staff for more information.

Detailed tables of the data analyzed in this report broken down several ways—by jurisdiction type (county, city, township, or village); by population size of the respondent's community, by the region of the respondent's jurisdiction: and by self-identified rural, mostly rural, mostly urban, or urban categories—will be available online at the MPPS homepage: closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey

The survey responses presented here are those of local Michigan officials, while further analysis represents the views of the authors. Neither necessarily reflects the views of the University of Michigan, or of other partners in the MPPS.

Previous MPPS reports

Internet presence among Michigan local governments: websites, online services, and experience with virtual meetings (May 2022)

Michigan local leaders' views on recycling: current challenges and opportunities for improvement (April 2022)

Recycling Issues, Policies, and Practices among Michigan Local Governments (March 2022)

Michigan local leaders report little change in the tone of civic discourse in their communities, but are concerned about local impacts of increasingly hostile national partisan politics (January 2022)

Michigan local government officials report improved fiscal health after a year of COVID-19, but not yet back to pre-pandemic levels (December 2021)

Michigan local officials' assessments of American democracy at the state and federal levels decline sharply (November 2021)

The lingering impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on Michigan communities and local governments (October 2021)

Michigan local governments report fewer economic challenges one year into the COVID-19 pandemic, and describe efforts to support local businesses (September 2021)

Local leaders' views on Michigan's initial COVID-19 vaccine rollout in Spring 2021 (August 2021)

Local leaders' concerns about Michigan's direction spike, while evaluations of state leaders sink over the past year (July 2021)

Michigan local leaders' views on state's new approach to electoral redistricting (February 2021)

COVID-19 pandemic sparks Michigan local leaders' concerns for fiscal health (December 2020)

The functioning of democracy at the local level: a compendium of findings from the Michigan Public Policy Survey of local leaders (December 2020)

Energy Issues and Policies in Michigan Local Governments (October 2020)

Michigan local leaders expect increased challenges for the 2020 election, but are confident about administering accurate elections (October 2020)

Michigan Local Energy Survey (MiLES): Intergovernmental collaboration on sustainability and energy issues among Michigan local governments (September 2020)

Confidence in the accuracy of Michigan's 2020 Census count among local leaders was not very high, slips further (August 2020)

Michigan local leaders expect mixed impacts from expanded voter registration and absentee voting reforms (July 2020)

Local leaders' evaluations of Michigan's direction and Governor's performance during the COVID-19 pandemic's arrival (July 2020)

The initial impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Michigan communities and local governments (June 2020)

Energy policies and environmental leadership among Michigan's local governments (January 2020)

Mixed signals continue for Michigan local governments' fiscal health, while future outlooks worsen (December 2019)

Michigan local officials' views on the next recession: timing, concerns, and actions taken (October 2019)

Michigan local government preparations and concerns regarding the 2020 U.S. Census (September 2019)

New Governor, new evaluations of the direction Michigan is headed among local leaders (August 2019)

Positive working relationships reported among Michigan's local elected officials (June 2019)

Community poverty and the struggle to make ends meet in Michigan, according to local government leaders (March 2019)

The state of community civic discourse, according to Michigan's local government leaders (December 2018)

Despite sustained economic growth, Michigan local government fiscal health still lags (November 2018)

Michigan local government leaders' views on medical and recreational marijuana (September 2018)

Rising confidence in Michigan's direction among local leaders, but partisan differences remain (July 2018)

Michigan local government officials weigh in on housing shortages and related issues (June 2018)

Approaches to land use planning and zoning among Michigan's local governments (May 2018)

Workforce issues and challenges for Michigan's local governments (January 2018)

Local leaders' views on elections in Michigan: accuracy, problems, and reform options (November 2017) Michigan local government officials report complex mix of improvement and decline in fiscal health, but with overall trend moving slowly upward (October 2017) Michigan local leaders want their citizens to play a larger role in policymaking, but report declining engagement (August 2017) Michigan local leaders' views on state preemption and how to share policy authority (June 2017) Improving communication, building trust are seen as keys to fixing relationships between local jurisdictions and the State government (May 2017) Local leaders more likely to support than oppose Michigan's Emergency Manager law, but strongly favor reforms (February 2017) Local government leaders' views on drinking water and water supply infrastructure in Michigan communities (November 2016) Michigan local leaders say property tax appeals are common, disagree with 'dark stores' assessing (October 2016) Local officials say Michigan's system of funding local government is broken, and seek State action to fix it (September 2016) Michigan local governments report first declines in fiscal health trend since 2010 (August 2016) Michigan local leaders' doubts continue regarding the state's direction (July 2016) Hospital access primary emergency medical concern among many Michigan local officials (July 2016) Firefighting services in Michigan: challenges and approaches among local governments (June 2016) Most local officials are satisfied with law enforcement services, but almost half from largest jurisdictions say their funding is insufficient (April 2016) Local leaders say police-community relations are good throughout Michigan, but those in large cities are concerned about potential civil unrest over police use-of-force (February 2016) Report: Responding to budget surplus vs. deficit: the preferences of Michigan's local leaders and citizens (December 2015) Michigan's local leaders concerned about retiree health care costs and their governments' ability to meet future obligations (October 2015) Fiscal health rated relatively good for most jurisdictions, but improvement slows and decline continues for many (September 2015) Confidence in Michigan's direction declines among state's local leaders (August 2015) Michigan local government leaders' views on private roads (July 2015) Few Michigan jurisdictions have adopted Complete Streets policies, though many see potential benefits (June 2015) Michigan local leaders have positive views on relationships with county road agencies, despite some concerns (May 2015) Michigan local government leaders say transit services are important, but lack of funding discourages their development (April 2015) Michigan local leaders see need for state and local ethics reform (March 2015) Local leaders say Michigan road funding needs major increase, but lack consensus on options that would raise the most revenue (February 2015) Michigan local government leaders' views on employee pay and benefits (January 2015) Despite increasingly formal financial management, relatively few Michigan local governments have adopted recommended policies (December 2014) Most Michigan local officials are satisfied with their privatized services, but few seek to expand further (November 2014) Michigan local governments finally pass fiscal health tipping point overall, but one in four still report decline (October 2014) Beyond the coast, a tenuous relationship between Michigan local governments and the Great Lakes (September 2014) Confidence in Michigan's direction holds steady among state's local leaders (August 2014) Wind power as a community issue in Michigan (July 2014) Fracking as a community issue in Michigan (June 2014) The impact of tax-exempt properties on Michigan local governments (March 2014) Michigan's local leaders generally support Detroit bankruptcy filing despite some concerns (February 2014) Michigan local governments increasingly pursue placemaking for economic development (January 2014)

Views on right-to-work legislation among Michigan's local government leaders (December 2013) Michigan local governments continue seeking, and receiving, union concessions (October 2013) Michigan local government fiscal health continues gradual improvement, but smallest jurisdictions lagging (September 2013) Local leaders evaluate state policymaker performance and whether Michigan is on the right track (August 2013) Trust in government among Michigan's local leaders and citizens (July 2013) Citizen engagement in the view of Michigan's local government leaders (May 2013) Beyond trust in government: government trust in citizens? (March 2013) Local leaders support reforming Michigan's system of funding local government (January 2013) Local leaders support eliminating Michigan's Personal Property Tax if funds are replaced, but distrust state follow-through (November 2012) Michigan's local leaders satisfied with union negotiations (October 2012) Michigan's local leaders are divided over the state's emergency manager law (September 2012) Fiscal stress continues for hundreds of Michigan jurisdictions, but conditions trend in positive direction overall (September 2012) Michigan's local leaders more positive about Governor Snyder's performance, more optimistic about the state's direction (July 2012) Data-driven decision-making in Michigan local government (June 2012) State funding incentives increase local collaboration, but also raise concerns (March 2012) Local officials react to state policy innovation tying revenue sharing to dashboards and incentive funding (January 2012) MPPS finds fiscal health continues to decline across the state, though some negative trends eased in 2011 (October 2011) Public sector unions in Michigan: their presence and impact according to local government leaders (August 2011) Despite increased approval of state government performance, Michigan's local leaders are concerned about the state's direction (August 2011) Local government and environmental leadership: views of Michigan's local leaders (July 2011) Local leaders are mostly positive about intergovernmental cooperation and look to expand efforts (March 2011) Local government leaders say most employees are not overpaid, though some benefits may be too generous (February 2011) Local government leaders say economic gardening can help grow their economies (November 2010) Local governments struggle to cope with fiscal, service, and staffing pressures (August 2010) Michigan local governments actively promote U.S. Census participation (August 2010) Fiscal stimulus package mostly ineffective for local economies (May 2010) Fall 2009 key findings report: educational, economic, and workforce development issues at the local level (April 2010) Local government officials give low marks to the performance of state officials and report low trust in Lansing (March 2010) Local government fiscal and economic development issues (October 2009)

All MPPS reports are available online at: http://closup.umich.edu/mpps-publications

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