The Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy

Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy >> University of Michigan

Michigan Public Policy Survey March 2019

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

By Natalie Fitzpatrick, Debra Horner, and Thomas Ivacko

This report presents the views of Michigan's local government officials regarding poverty and economic hardship among residents in their jurisdiction, as well as assessments of unmet needs for particular services and resources. In addition, the report looks at policies that local governments are adopting or working on in partnership with other local organizations, and whether local leaders think their jurisdiction is doing enough to address poverty in the community. These findings are based on statewide surveys of local government leaders in the Spring 2018 wave of the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS).

>> The Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS) is a census survey of all 1,856 general purpose local governments in Michigan 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. The MPPS investigates local officials' opinions and perspectives on a variety of important public policy issues. Respondents for the Spring 2018 wave of the MPPS include county administrators, board chairs, and clerks; city mayors, managers, and clerks; village presidents, managers, and clerks from 1,372 jurisdictions across the state.

For more information, please contact: closup-mpps@umich.edu/ (734) 647-4091. You can also follow us on Twitter @closup





Key Findings

- Poverty and economic hardship are found in all types of Michigan communities, large to small, urban to rural, north to south, and east to west. Overall, 44% of local officials say more than one in five of their residents struggle to make ends meet, including 7% who say a majority of residents struggle. By comparison, 9% of local officials say very few residents (5% or less) in their jurisdiction struggle.
 - » By region, jurisdictions in the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula are the most likely to say residents struggle with economic hardship, while those in Southeast Michigan are the least likely to say so.
 - » By community size, economic hardship is reported to be more prevalent in both the smallest and largest jurisdictions, compared with mid-size communities.
 - » By urban-rural status, fully-rural jurisdictions are more likely to report a higher prevalence of economic hardship among residents, compared with fully-urban communities.
 - » It is important to note that unusually large percentages of local leaders say they "don't know" answers to a broad range of questions about poverty and economic hardship in their community, compared with many other topics covered in prior MPPS waves.
- The survey asked about eight types of services or resources (such as public transportation, subsidized child care, etc.) that might help struggling residents to make ends meet, including whether there is a need for each in the community, and if so, to what extent the needs are currently being met.
 - » The most common unmet needs reported in Michigan communities are for drug treatment programs (reported by 48% of jurisdictions), affordable housing (46%), public transportation (41%), and workforce development/job training (41%).
 - » These unmet needs are associated with various community characteristics (such as size, region, etc.), but in general, hotspots for unmet needs tend to be found in communities that are rural or only partly-urban, and by region, among those in the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula.
 - » Statewide, 74% of jurisdictions report at least some unmet needs in at least one of the eight types of services included on the survey.
- Overall, 73% of local officials report their government addresses economic hardship in some fashion, including 11% that report discussing at least one of the eight types of services on the survey (while taking no further action), 12% that have a policy or program of their own to address hardships, and 50% that report partnering at least a little with other community organizations to provide services. Meanwhile, 27% of jurisdictions report no involvement in any of these ways.
- Statewide, 60% of Michigan's local leaders believe their jurisdiction is doing about the right amount of work to address poverty and economic hardship among its residents, while 1% think they are doing too much, 17% think too little, and 22% say they don't know.

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Background

Ten years after the end of the Great Recession, Michigan's economy has made significant strides. While the unemployment rate was 15.4% in July 2009, by December 2018 it was only 4.0%. Nonetheless, many Michigan residents still struggle to make ends meet.

For a family of four, the Census Bureau defines poverty as income below \$25,100 in 2018³. On this measure, Michigan ranks worse than most states, at 35th in the nation, with 14% of the population below the federal poverty level in 2018, compared to 12.3% nationally⁴. However, the official poverty rate doesn't necessarily capture a full picture of economic hardship. Many residents who are above the poverty line still struggle in various ways to make ends meet. In fact, a 2018 report from the Urban Institute found that 40% of families in the U.S. had problems meeting at least one type of basic need, such as housing, healthcare, or food⁵.

One measure of these wider challenges is the ALICE (Asset Limited, Income Constrained, Employed) score from the United Way. This score represents the percentage of households where individuals are working, but are unable to afford basic necessities (i.e., housing, food, child care, health care, and transportation). In 2018, 26.6% of Michigan households fell into this category, despite the state's low unemployment rate.

When it comes to the study of poverty and economic hardship in Michigan communities, one important resource is the University of Michigan's Poverty Solutions Initiative. A wide range of information on poverty-related issues in Michigan and beyond is available on the Poverty Solutions website, including a unique set of interactive Michigan maps (https://poverty.umich.edu/datatools). Over the past year, CLOSUP has partnered closely with researchers at Poverty Solutions to develop survey questions for the MPPS that would provide insight about the economic hardship faced by residents in Michigan communities.

As part of the Spring 2018 wave, the MPPS put those questions to local government leaders, asking about a range of issues such as what percentage of local residents they believe struggle to make ends meet, what kinds of services or resources they think would help these residents, whether those needs are being met, and if the local government plays a role in those efforts, including whether or not it should do more.



Where Michigan residents struggle to make ends meet

The Spring 2018 MPPS asked local leaders to estimate the percentage of their jurisdiction's residents who struggle to make ends meet (which may be a larger proportion of residents than is captured simply via the nationally-designated poverty rate). As seen in *Figure 1*, 44% of all local officials report that more than one in five people in their community struggle to make ends meet. In fact, 7% of Michigan officials say a majority of their residents struggle. By comparison, 9% of local leaders say very few (5% or less) of their residents struggle to make ends meet.

However, it is important to note that unusually large percentages of local leaders report that they do not know answers to a broad range of questions about poverty and economic hardship in their community, such as the 19% of local officials who say they are uncertain about the percentage of their jurisdiction's residents that struggle to make ends meet.^a These high percentages of "don't know" responses may reflect a number of factors, including that many of Michigan's local governments are in small, rural townships which don't provide many services, and in many cases are not authorized by state law to take action addressing poverty. In addition, federal poverty statistics are not reported annually for small jurisdictions. As a result, local leaders in these places would be understandably less familiar with specific metrics on local needs or related issues, compared with their counterparts in large jurisdictions which provide a wide range of public services, including services to address economic hardship.

The MPPS finds economic hardship is reported in all types of Michigan communities, large to small, urban to rural, north to south, and east to west. However, there is variation. High levels of economic hardship are most frequently reported in both Michigan's smallest jurisdictions (those with fewer than 1,500 residents), as well as in its largest jurisdictions (those with more than 30,000 residents). In those largest jurisdictions, 46% of local officials say more than one in five of their residents struggle to make ends meet (see *Figure 2a*). By contrast, in jurisdictions with 5,001-10,000 residents, a smaller percent (33%) of local leaders say that more than one in five of their residents struggle to make ends meet. Officials from the smallest jurisdictions were the most likely to say they are unsure about the prevalence of economic hardship in their community, with 23% selecting "don't know."

Figure 1
Officials' assessments of the percent of their jurisdiction's residents who struggle to make ends meet

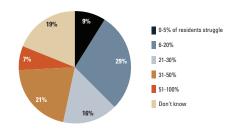
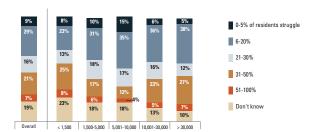


Figure 2a
Officials' assessments of the percent of their jurisdiction's residents
who struggle to make ends meet, by population size



a To investigate the high levels of "don't know" responses further, the MPPS staff compared survey respondents' estimates of poverty levels in their communities against federal poverty statistics and found that local leaders' estimates were relatively accurate. This step itself is complicated, however, due to the survey's response options which were grouped into categories, and also due to gaps in reporting frequency of federal poverty statistics for different kinds of jurisdictions. Contact the authors for more information.



Looking at regional variation, jurisdictions in Michigan's Upper Peninsula and in the Northern Lower Peninsula are more likely than others to say higher percentages of their residents are struggling, while jurisdictions in Southeast Michigan are more likely to report a low percentage of residents struggling (see *Figure 2b*). In both the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula, 53% of local leaders say more than one in five of their residents struggle. In fact, 12% of officials in the Upper Peninsula and 9% in the Northern Lower Peninsula say a majority of residents in their jurisdiction struggle. By contrast, 14% of jurisdictions in Southeast Michigan say very few (0-5%) of their residents struggle to make ends meet, and only 32% say more than one in five residents struggle.

There are also differences reported between rural and urban jurisdictions. The MPPS asks local officials to characterize their own jurisdiction on a spectrum: rural, mostly rural, mostly urban, or urban. As shown in *Figure 2c*, jurisdictions that identify as fully-rural are somewhat more likely to report higher prevalence of economic hardship, compared with other types of communities. Among these fully-rural jurisdictions, 46% of officials say more than one in five of their residents struggle to make ends meet, compared to 43% in mostly rural jurisdictions, 32% in mostly urban jurisdictions, and 41% in urban jurisdictions. Notably, among fully-urban jurisdictions, 16% of officials say very few (0-5%) of their residents struggle to make ends meet, compared with 9% in fully-rural places.

Although not shown here, there are also differences among jurisdictions by other characteristics. Racial and/or ethnic makeup of the jurisdiction is one example. In communities where more than 30% of residents are not white, two-thirds of local leaders (66%) say many of their residents struggle to make ends meet, including 15% who say an outright majority of their residents struggle. By comparison, in jurisdictions where 10% or less of the residents are not white, fewer than half (41%) of those officials say many of their residents struggle to make ends meet, and just 6% say a majority of their residents struggle.

Figure 2b
Officials' assessments of the percent of their jurisdiction's residents who struggle to make ends meet, by region

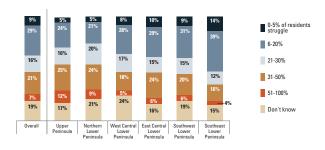
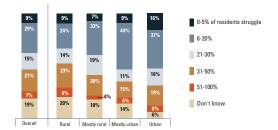


Figure 2c
Officials' assessments of the percent of their jurisdiction's residents who struggle to make ends meet, by urban-rural self-assessment



b Because not all officials characterized their jurisdiction on the urban-rural spectrum, the "overall" bar numbers in figures looking at the urban-rural spectrum may differ slightly from the overall numbers in other figures.



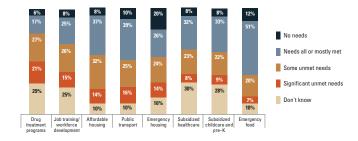
Factors that impact poverty and economic hardship in Michigan communities

To learn more about factors that may impact poverty and economic hardship in Michigan communities, the MPPS also asked local officials about the need for, and availability of, eight different types of resources and services—such as drug treatment programs, emergency housing, etc.—which residents of their community might need to help make ends meet. The survey asked if there is a need for each of the eight types of resources or services in the community, and if so, to what extent those needs are currently being met.

As seen in *Figure 3*, there are some significant differences in how commonly these issues impact communities across the state, according to local leaders. For example, higher unmet needs are reported for drug treatment programs (48% of jurisdictions) and affordable housing (46%), while relatively lower unmet needs are reported for emergency food services (27%). In addition, there are again significant levels of "don't know" responses offered by local leaders for some of the issues.

The differences in unmet needs on each of these resources and services are associated with a range of community characteristics, such as size, composition of the resident population, and so on. However, two community characteristics that consistently show differences are 1) location (or region) of the community and 2) where the community falls in a spectrum from fully-urban to fully-rural. These are explored below.

Figure 3
Officials' assessments of the needs for and availability of resources and services in the community





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For each of the eight types of services on the survey, *Table 1* shows differences across Michigan's regions using a measure of "Net Unmet Need." This is calculated by subtracting the percentage of officials who say there are unmet needs from the percentage that say there are no needs at all or that the needs are largely being met. For example, the negative percentages in every region of Michigan for unmet drug treatment program needs show that more jurisdictions say they have unmet needs than say these needs are being met or don't exist in the first place. The Upper Peninsula (-43%) and the Northern Lower Peninsula (-41%) stand out with particularly high net unmet needs for drug treatment programs, while the East Central region (-10%) reports the lowest such net unmet need. This reflects the broader trend that the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula appear to be hotspots for unmet needs. Each of those regions have net negative unmet needs in five of the eight types of services, while the Southwest region has net negative unmet needs in four types. By comparison, Southeast Michigan has just one type of service—drug treatment programs—where unmet needs exceed met needs. Yet, when it comes to emergency food services, in each region more jurisdictions say there are few or no needs than say there are some or significant unmet needs.

Looking statewide at all local jurisdictions combined, three types of services are reported to have unmet needs that exceed met needs: drug treatment programs, job training/workforce development, and affordable housing.

Meanwhile, 74% of jurisdictions overall report that their residents have at least some unmet need for at least one of these eight types of services.

Table 1 "Net Unmet Need" for resources and services in the community, by region

	Overall	Upper Peninsula	Northern Lower Peninsula	West Central Lower Peninsula	East Central Lower Peninsula	Southwest Lower Peninsula	Southeast Lower Peninsula
Drug treatment programs	-25%	-43%	-41%	-18%	-10%	-22%	-17%
Job training/workforce development	-8%	-27%	-29%	-11%	-2%	-6%	19%
Affordable housing	-1%	2%	-32%	-5%	9%	-4%	21%
Public transportation	8%	-4%	10%	3%	26%	3%	6%
Emergency housing	8%	3%	-8%	1%	17%	-2%	30%
Subsidized healthcare	9%	-3%	5%	6%	16%	6%	20%
Subsidized childcare and pre-K programs	10%	-6%	-7%	13%	18%	7%	28%
Emergency food	36%	20%	26%	41%	35%	36%	52%

20% or more net negative unmet needs

10-19% net negative unmet needs

1-9% net negative unmet needs

0-9% net positive needs met

■ 10-19% net positive needs met

20% or more net positive needs met



And *Table 2* shows differences by whether the jurisdiction is urban or rural, or somewhere in between. Across each of the eight types of services, jurisdictions described as fully-urban are the least likely to report net unmet needs, with just one type of service (drug treatment programs) in net negative percentages. Fully-rural jurisdictions report net unmet needs in four types of services, compared to three for mostly rural jurisdictions and two for mostly urban places.

Table 2 "Net Unmet Need" for resources and services in the community, by urban-rural self-assessment

	Overall	Rural	Mostly rural	Mostly urban	Urban	
Drug treatment programs	-24%	-25%	-27%	-18%	-4%	
Job training/workforce development	-8%	-13%	-8%	3%	19%	
Affordable housing	-1%	-5%	-1%	3%	21%	
Public transportation	7%	9%	2%	-2%	36%	
Emergency housing	8%	-4%	5%	7%	28%	
Subsidized healthcare	9%	6%	6%	16%	44%	
Subsidized childcare and pre-K Programs	10%	8%	11%	11%	21%	
Emergency food	36%	32%	39%	41%	60%	
20% or more net negative unmet needs	■ 10-19% net negative unmet needs ■ 1-9% net negative unmet nee					
0-9% net positive needs met	10-19% net posi	tive needs m	et	20% or more net positive needs		

The following sections of this report look at further breakdowns of the eight types of services, including regional and urban-rural breakdowns, in more detail.

Almost half of Michigan jurisdictions report unmet drug treatment needs

Overall, the most commonly cited unmet need across all Michigan communities relates to drug treatment programs (see *Figure 4a*). Almost half (48%) of Michigan's local governments report that their residents have some (27%) or significant (21%) unmet drug treatment needs. At the same time, 17% say such resident needs are all or mostly being met through various programs and services provided in their community, and 6% say there are no needs at all for such assistance. Meanwhile, as with other aspects of economic hardship, there is considerable uncertainty about the need for local drug treatment programs and services, with 29% of local officials saying they are unsure about the level of need in their community.

As noted above, there are differences in officials' perceptions of unmet drug treatment needs when looking across Michigan's regions. Unmet drug treatment needs are most commonly reported in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, where 59% report some or significant unmet needs, and in the Northern Lower Peninsula where 58% report such unmet needs. By contrast, fewer officials report unmet needs in the East Central region (40%).

There are also differences in assessments of drug treatment needs between rural and urban jurisdictions, in particular with fully-urban jurisdictions standing out from the rest. In rural (48%) and mostly rural (50%) jurisdictions, about half of local officials say there are some or significant unmet drug treatment needs in their community, while less than 20% say those needs are all or mostly met (see *Figure 4b*). By contrast, 39% of officials from fully-urban jurisdictions say there are unmet drug treatment needs in their community, while 26% say these needs are being all or mostly met.

Unmet needs for drug treatment programs are also associated with other jurisdiction characteristics. For example, some or significant unmet needs for drug treatment programs are more frequently reported in jurisdictions with at least 30% non-white populations, compared to jurisdictions with smaller non-white populations. For additional breakdowns of service needs by jurisdiction characteristics, see the appendices.

Figure 4aOfficials' assessments of local drug treatment program needs, by region

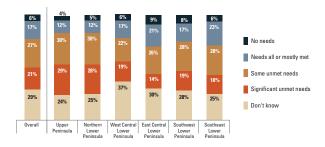
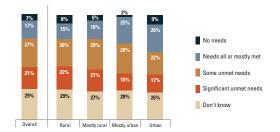


Figure 4bOfficials' assessments of local drug treatment program needs, by urban-rural self-assessment





Unmet affordable housing needs reported in many jurisdictions, especially in the Northern Lower Peninsula

Closely trailing unmet drug treatment needs (again, reported by 48% of jurisdictions overall) are unmet needs for more affordable housing to help struggling Michigan residents. Overall, 46% of local officials say residents in their jurisdiction have some (32%) or significant (14%) unmet needs for affordable housing (see *Figure 5a*). At the same time, over one-third (37%) say their residents' affordable housing needs are all or mostly met, while just 8% say affordable housing is not needed at all in their jurisdiction. Unlike most of the other seven topics surveyed, there are relatively few "don't know" responses (10% overall) regarding affordable housing.

By region, nearly two-thirds (61%) of jurisdictions in the Northern Lower Peninsula report some (35%) or significant (26%) unmet needs for affordable housing. Unmet needs are also reported in almost half of jurisdictions in Southwest Michigan (48%), West Central Michigan (46%), and the Upper Peninsula (46%). By contrast, a majority (57%) of officials from Southeast Michigan say their community either has no needs for affordable housing (11%) or that those needs are all or mostly being met (46%), while just 36% report remaining unmet needs.

In addition to regional differences, there are significant differences along the urban-rural spectrum. As shown in *Figure 5b*, fully-urban jurisdictions are much more likely to report either no needs or that needs are all or mostly met (60%). By comparison, fully rural jurisdictions are the least likely type to say there are no affordable housing needs or that they are all or mostly met (41%).

The need for and availability of affordable housing also varies by jurisdiction size and other characteristics. A majority of local officials from larger jurisdictions (those with populations over 10,000) say their residents have some or significant unmet needs for affordable housing, while smaller jurisdictions are more likely to report that there are no needs for affordable housing in their community or that such needs are all or mostly met (see *Appendix A*).

For additional breakdowns by other community characteristics, see *Appendices B-E*.

The remaining six types of services or resources with lower rates of reported unmet needs are presented below, broken down either by region or urban-rural status. Again, more breakdowns are available in the appendices.

Figure 5a
Officials' assessments of local affordable housing needs, by region

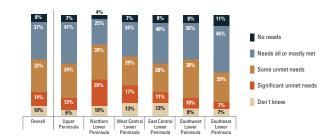
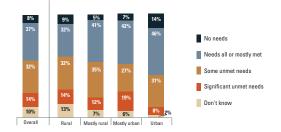


Figure 5b
Officials' assessments of local affordable housing needs, by urbanrural self-assessment





Public transportation

Overall, 41% of Michigan jurisdictions report their residents have unmet public transportation needs (e.g. bus or ride services, etc.), while 49% say there are no needs, or the needs are being met (see *Figure 6*). The most significant unmet needs for public transportation are reported in the Upper Peninsula (26%), while jurisdictions in the East Central region are the least likely to report significant unmet needs (10%). Meanwhile, jurisdictions in the Northern Lower Peninsula (51%) and East Central Lower Peninsula (58%) are the most likely to say these needs don't exist or are all or mostly met.

Subsidized childcare

Statewide, 31% of jurisdictions say their residents have some (22%) or significant (9%) unmet needs for subsidized childcare and pre-K programs. However, as shown in *Figure 7*, unmet need is significantly more common in Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula jurisdictions compared to the rest of the state. In fact, as seen in *Table 1* earlier, the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula regions have negative net unmet needs for subsidized childcare and pre-K, as more jurisdictions in those regions report some or significant unmet needs (42%) than say there are no such needs or these needs are all or mostly met (36% in the Upper Peninsula and 35% in the Northern Lower Peninsula).

Emergency housing

As with affordable housing, unmet emergency housing needs (e.g., homeless shelters, domestic violence shelters, warming centers) are most commonly reported in the Northern Lower Peninsula, where 46% of jurisdictions report some or significant unmet needs (see *Figure 8*). Unmet emergency housing needs are also a common concern in the Southwest Lower Peninsula, where 44% of local officials say there are some or significant unmet needs. In both regions, more jurisdictions report unmet emergency housing needs than report that such needs are met or do not exist. Meanwhile, a majority of officials (59%) from Southeast jurisdictions report their residents either have no emergency housing needs (26%) or that these needs are all or mostly met (33%).

More data on regional needs to help residents make ends meet is available in *Appendix B*.

Figure 6
Officials' assessments of local public transportation needs, by region

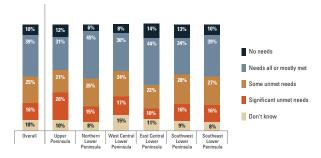


Figure 7
Officials' assessments of local subsidized childcare needs, by region

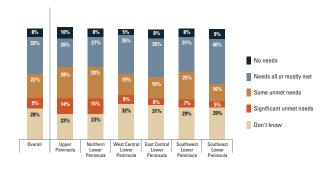
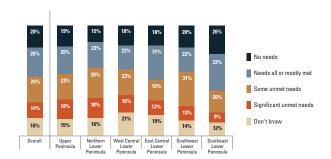


Figure 8
Officials' assessments of local emergency housing needs, by region





Job training and workforce development

Now looking at differences along the urban-rural spectrum, Michigan's urban jurisdictions are more likely than rural ones to say job training and workforce development needs don't exist or are currently all or mostly met. In fully-urban jurisdictions, 50% of officials report that there are no such needs for their residents (13%) or that their residents' job training and workforce development needs are all or mostly met (37%), and just 6% say that there are significant unmet needs (see *Figure 9*). In mostly urban, mostly rural, and rural jurisdictions, significant unmet needs for job training and workforce development are more commonly reported.

Subsidized healthcare

A majority of fully-urban jurisdictions (60%) also report that their residents don't have needs for subsidized healthcare (e.g. federally qualified health centers, CHIP, Medicaid, etc.) or that needs are all or mostly met. In other types of jurisdictions, officials are more likely to say their residents have some or significant unmet need for subsidized healthcare (see *Figure 10*).

Emergency food

Finally, as shown in *Figure 11*, fewer jurisdictions statewide (27%) report some or significant unmet needs for emergency food (e.g., food pantries, soup kitchens, etc.) compared to the seven other service areas, and a majority of local governments (51%) say their residents' needs are all or mostly met, while 12% report no needs in the first place. Unmet needs are reportedly lowest in fully-urban jurisdictions (17%) and highest in fully-rural places (28%), including significant unmet needs for emergency food services in 9% of rural communities.

More data on urban/rural needs to help residents make ends meet is available in *Appendix C*.

Figure 9
Officials' assessments of local workforce development and job training needs, by urban-rural self-assessment

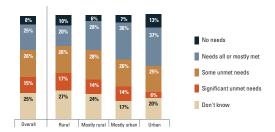


Figure 10
Officials' assessments of local subsidized healthcare needs, by urbanrural self-assessment

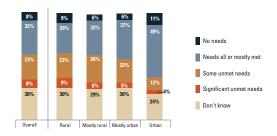
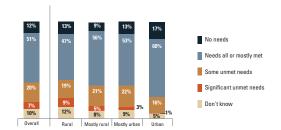


Figure 11
Officials' assessments of local emergency food needs, by urban-rural self-assessment



What Michigan jurisdictions are doing to address poverty and economic hardship

Addressing poverty and economic hardship is not necessarily an area of responsibility for all local governments. In fact, many of Michigan's local governments are small rural townships, some of which have no full-time employees and provide very few services beyond mandated activities that include property assessing, tax collection, and election administration. To better understand whether and how local governments across the state may be working to address poverty and economic hardship, the MPPS asked local governments whether they: 1) are discussing the eight different types of services reviewed above; 2) have any policies or programs to address economic hardship, and 3) partner with any other organizations to address these issues.

Table 3 shows the percentage of local governments that have discussed each of the eight different types of services included on the survey within the last 12 months. Public transportation is the most commonly discussed topic among the eight, with over a quarter (26%) of officials statewide saying it has been a topic of discussion in the past year. The top four topics of discussion (public transportation, affordable housing, drug treatment programs, and job training) match the top four types of services reported as having any unmet needs across the state, though not necessarily in the same order. About half (48%) of jurisdictions did not report that they are actively discussing any of the eight issues.

Meanwhile, beyond Michigan's standard property tax exemptions for residents below the poverty level,⁷ only 13% of jurisdictions statewide report having formal programs or policies of their own to address poverty. As shown in *Figure 12a*, Michigan's largest jurisdictions are significantly more likely to have their own programs or policies (37%), compared with smaller jurisdictions.

By jurisdiction type, as shown in *Figure 12b*, counties (22%) and cities (20%) are more likely to have their own policies or programs that address economic hardship, compared with townships (12%) and villages (7%).

Among the 13% of jurisdictions overall that report having their own policies or programs, the MPPS asked local officials to describe those that are particularly effective (or ineffective) for addressing poverty or economic hardship in their jurisdiction. Local officials primarily mention property tax exemptions (including some beyond the standard state-imposed exemption), community development block grants, and help from outside non-profits/charities. However, even in jurisdictions that have their own policies, some local officials report that their government has limited resources, and relies on the county or local organizations to provide services to residents experiencing economic hardship.

Table 3

Percent of officials who report various types of services have been a topic of discussion within their local government in last 12 months

Types of Services	Total
Public transportation	26%
Affordable housing	24%
Drug treatment programs	20%
Job training/workforce development	17%
Emergency housing	10%
Emergency food	10%
Subsidized healthcare	5%
Subsidized childcare and pre-K	4%
No items selected	48%

Figure 12a
Percent of jurisdictions with own policies or programs to address poverty and economic hardship, by population size

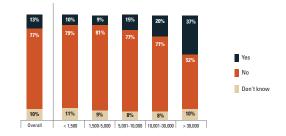
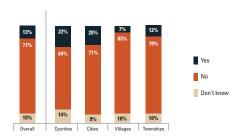


Figure 12b
Percent of jurisdictions with own policies or programs to address poverty and economic hardship, by jurisdiction type





Voices Across Michigan

Quotes from local leaders discussing policies or programs in their jurisdiction to address poverty or economic hardship

"Our guidelines for tax exemption are 25% higher than the poverty guidelines."

"We work closely with County initiated programs such as meals on wheels home deliveries and also programs such as (CDBG) Community Development Block Grants which assist people in low income designated areas."

"We administer several CDBG programs and fund non-profits that offer programming for low to moderate income families. Many of these have been successful; particularly, I believe that the home loan/home needs programs have been helpful for families who need assistance with basic home repairs—windows, furnace, etc."

"We do not provide direct human services, rather we allocate around 1% of the General Fund to support local non-profits/ agencies that provide those services."

"We have a program to grant extensions for payment of utility bills based on hardship. This program has been used repeatedly to allow persons with overdue payments to gain time to obtain assistance with their utility bills."

"We are a small rural township and depend on the county government to assist persons in need."

"Sadly, I would say no current policies are working particularly well because we lack the financial resources to become effective in these types of efforts."

Partnering with local groups

While few jurisdictions overall report having their own policies or programs to address poverty and economic hardship, more than one-third (36%) of jurisdictions say they partner with local organizations to provide resources or services for low-income residents somewhat (27%) or a great deal (9%), as shown in *Figure 13a*. An additional 27% say they also partner with local groups, although just "very little," while 30% say they do not partner with others at all.

These partnerships take place to a greater extent in counties and cities than in villages and townships. Among counties, 53% of officials say their jurisdiction partners somewhat (28%) or a great deal (25%) with local organizations. Among cities, 56% of officials say their government partners somewhat (37%) or a great deal (19%) with other groups to address economic hardship. Only 7% of county officials and 11% of city officials say their government does not partner with outside organizations at all, compared with 25% of villages and 37% of townships. Meanwhile, 46% of village officials say they partner somewhat (36%) or a great deal (10%), compared to just 27% of townships that report partnering with others somewhat (22%) or a great deal (5%). As noted earlier, some of these townships may provide very few, if any, services beyond the three mandated services of property assessing, tax collection, and election administration.

Not surprisingly, by population size, partnerships are also much more common among the largest jurisdictions than among smaller jurisdictions, since larger jurisdictions are the types of places with larger staffs that provide a wide range of services (see *Figure 13b*).

Figure 13a
Extent of jurisdiction's partnerships with local organizations to address poverty and economic hardships, by jurisdiction type

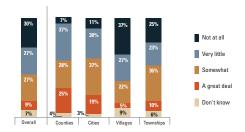
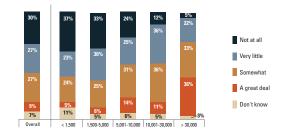


Figure 13b
Extent of jurisdiction's partnerships with local organizations to address poverty and economic hardship, by population size





From discussing the issues to providing or partnering on services, most Michigan local governments have at least some involvement in addressing poverty and economic hardship

The MPPS constructed an index to gauge jurisdictions' overall involvement in addressing poverty and economic hardship by combining their survey responses regarding whether they are discussing any of the eight issues, partnering with other organizations, and/or have policies or programs of their own. This index shows that poverty and economic hardship are in fact being discussed and/or acted on to some extent in most (73%) jurisdictions across the state, while about a quarter (27%) of jurisdictions report no involvement with these issues at all (see Figure 14a). Overall, 11% of jurisdictions say they are talking about at least one issue related to economic hardship while taking no further action (partnerships or programs of their own). An additional 50% partner with outside organizations but do not have policies of their own. And finally, 12% have policies or programs of their own to address poverty and economic hardship (see note below)^c.

By region, jurisdictions in Southeast Michigan are the most likely to have some level of involvement in these issues, with just 20% reporting no involvement at all. This corresponds to findings reported above that show the Southeast region being more likely to report that their residents' needs are being currently met across the eight types of services examined.

And again reflecting that rural jurisdictions tend to provide fewer services of any kind compared with their urban counterparts, fully- and mostly rural jurisdictions are significantly more likely than urban ones to report having no involvement in these issues. Still, as shown in *Figure 14b*, a strong majority (70%) of fully-rural jurisdictions report at least some level of involvement, whether just discussing the issues (12%), by partnering with others (47%), or even having policies or programs of their own (11%).

Figure 14a

Jurisdiction's overall involvement in issues related to poverty and

economic hardship, by region

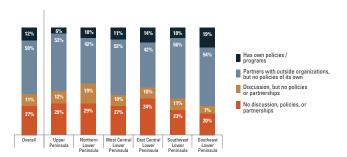
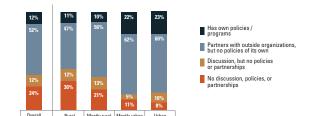


Figure 14b

Jurisdiction's overall involvement in issues related to poverty and economic hardship, by urban-rural self-assessment



c Due to non-responses to individual questions, percentages from the index, which includes data from more officials overall, may not match the responses to the original question exactly



Do local leaders think they are doing enough?

While, as noted above, 74% of local officials report their residents have at least one type of unmet need that would help make ends meet, most (60%) personally believe their jurisdiction does about the right amount currently to address local poverty and economic hardship (see *Figure 15a*). Meanwhile, 17% say their jurisdiction does too little, 1% say they do too much, and 22% say they don't know.

There are not particularly large or systemic differences in these views when broken down by community population size, geographic region, or level of urbanization. Instead, and perhaps not surprisingly, local officials' assessments of whether their jurisdiction is doing enough to address poverty and economic hardship are most strongly correlated with overall reported economic hardship in their community, and with the extent of unmet service and resource needs among their residents.

Among jurisdictions that report significant unmet needs in six or more of the eight service areas, 59% say their jurisdiction doesn't do enough to address economic hardship, compared to 20% in jurisdictions with significant unmet needs in just one to two service areas, and 10% in jurisdictions that do not report any significant unmet needs (see *Figure 15b*).

Figure 15a

Officials' assessments of whether the jurisdiction is doing the right amount to address local poverty and economic hardship

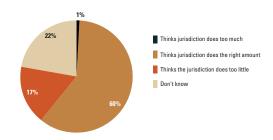
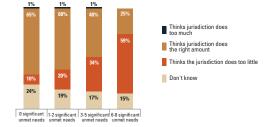


Figure 15b

Officials' assessments of whether the jurisdiction is doing the right amount to address local poverty and economic hardship, by number of significant unmet needs





Conclusion

Despite Michigan's improvement on a wide array of economic metrics in the decade since the end of the Great Recession, a significant percentage of Michigan residents and households continue to experience economic hardship. When it comes to official poverty statistics, Michigan ranks 35th in the nation, with a poverty rate of 14% compared to the U.S. national average of 12.3%. And on the Spring 2018 MPPS, officials from nearly half (44%) of all Michigan local jurisdictions estimate that at least one in five residents in their community struggle to make ends meet, including 7% of officials who say a majority of residents struggle.

The MPPS finds that poverty and economic hardship are present in all kinds of Michigan communities, in every corner of the state. At the same time, the survey finds variation in levels of reported hardship, based on a number of key community characteristics. The state's largest and smallest communities tend to report higher levels of hardship compared with mid-size jurisdictions. By region, jurisdictions in the Upper Peninsula and Northern Lower Peninsula tend to report more hardship compared to other areas of the state. And fully-rural jurisdictions are more likely than fully-urban ones to report high percentages of hardship, with residents struggling to make ends meet.

Governments at all levels—national, state, and local—provide or partner in delivering a variety of programs aimed at helping people who suffer economic hardship, but not all communities get the services they need, and not all governments are involved in these ways. Across eight type of services examined on the MPPS that could help residents make ends meet, local leaders report that the highest unmet needs in their community are for drug treatment programs, affordable housing, public transportation, and job training. The level of need and approaches to providing these and other related services vary significantly across the state.

Although providing services to help struggling residents is not necessarily a responsibility for all local governments in Michigan, the MPPS finds that 73% of jurisdictions statewide report they are involved in some fashion, whether it is simply discussing ways to help residents, running programs or providing services themselves, or partnering with outside organizations to address residents' needs. Meanwhile, most local leaders (60%) think their own jurisdiction is doing about the right amount in these kinds of efforts, while 17% believe they are not doing enough.

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. 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 2018 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 2018 wave was conducted from April 9 – June 8, 2018. A total of 1,372 jurisdictions in the Spring 2018 wave returned valid surveys (65 counties, 237 cities, 177 villages, and 893 townships), resulting in a 74% response rate by unit. The margin of error for the survey for the survey as a whole is +/- 1.35%. 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 three ways—by jurisdiction type (county, city, township, or village); by population size of the respondent's community, and by the region of the respondent's jurisdiction—are available online at the MPPS homepage: http://closup.umich.edu/mpps.php.

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.



Appendices

Appendix A Need for services, by community population size

•		Overall	Population <1,500	Population 1,500-5,000	Population 5,001- 10,000	Population 10,001- 30,000	Population > 30,000
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	10%	7%	8%	4%	3%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	37%	35%	38%	43%	34%	37%
Affordable housing	Some unmet needs	32%	29%	32%	29%	43%	33%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	14%	12%	13%	16%	24%
	Don't know	10%	12%	11%	7%	4%	3%
	Not needed in our community at all	20%	24%	16%	28%	14%	7%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	26%	18%	28%	29%	39%	40%
Emergency housing	Some unmet needs	24%	20%	25%	22%	30%	33%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	17%	13%	7%	9%	13%
	Don't know	16%	20%	17%	14%	7%	7%
	Not needed in our community at all	12%	15%	10%	17%	8%	2%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	51%	45%	53%	55%	61%	59%
Emergency food	Some unmet needs	20%	18%	20%	19%	22%	29%
	Significant unmet needs	7%	9%	6%	3%	4%	4%
	Don't know	10%	12%	10%	6%	6%	6%
	Not needed in our community at all	10%	13%	11%	10%	3%	3%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	39%	35%	39%	41%	46%	46%
Public transportation	Some unmet needs	25%	22%	23%	33%	35%	27%
transportation .	Significant unmet needs	16%	15%	17%	13%	14%	22%
	Don't know	10%	14%	11%	4%	1%	2%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	10%	6%	12%	7%	1%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	32%	28%	32%	35%	33%	47%
Subsidized healthcare	Some unmet needs	23%	23%	22%	21%	27%	23%
nournouro	Significant unmet needs	8%	7%	8%	5%	9%	6%
	Don't know	30%	31%	31%	27%	24%	23%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	12%	5%	12%	6%	1%
Subsidized	There are needs, but most or all are being met	33%	28%	35%	36%	36%	41%
childcare and pre-K	Some unmet needs	22%	22%	22%	18%	25%	24%
programs	Significant unmet needs	9%	9%	9%	5%	11%	10%
	Don't know	28%	29%	30%	28%	22%	24%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	12%	6%	11%	5%	1%
Job training	There are needs, but most or all are being met	25%	20%	24%	32%	38%	45%
/ workforce	Some unmet needs	26%	25%	26%	24%	30%	27%
development	Significant unmet needs	15%	16%	16%	12%	12%	14%
	Don't know	25%	28%	28%	22%	14%	13%
	Not needed in our community at all	6%	9%	5%	8%	3%	1%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	17%	14%	18%	19%	20%	25%
Drug treatment programs	Some unmet needs	27%	26%	25%	31%	33%	32%
programo	Significant unmet needs	21%	18%	23%	16%	20%	29%
	Don't know	29%	33%	29%	26%	23%	12%



Appendix B Need for services, by region

Need for services, by	region	Overall	Upper Peninsula	Northern Lower Peninsula	West Central Lower Peninsula	East Central Lower Peninsula	Southwest Lower Peninsula	Lower
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	7%	4%	7%	8%	8%	11%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	37%	41%	25%	34%	40%	36%	46%
Affordable housing	Some unmet needs	32%	34%	35%	29%	28%	38%	29%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	12%	26%	17%	11%	10%	7%
	Don't know	10%	6%	10%	13%	13%	8%	7%
	Not needed in our community at all	20%	19%	15%	18%	18%	20%	26%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	26%	25%	23%	22%	31%	22%	33%
Emergency housing	Some unmet needs	24%	23%	28%	23%	19%	31%	20%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	18%	18%	16%	13%	13%	9%
	Don't know	16%	15%	16%	21%	19%	14%	12%
	Not needed in our community at all	12%	14%	8%	8%	13%	14%	16%
	There are needs, but most or all are being	51%	43%	50%	56%	48%	49%	57%
Emergency food	Some unmet needs	20%	25%	24%	17%	18%	22%	17%
,	Significant unmet needs	7%	12%	8%	6%	8%	5%	4%
	Don't know	10%	7%	9%	13%	14%	11%	6%
	Not needed in our community at all	10%	12%	6%	8%	14%	13%	10%
	There are needs, but most or all are being	39%	31%	45%	36%	44%	34%	39%
Public	Some unmet needs	25%	21%	26%	24%	22%	28%	27%
transportation	Significant unmet needs	16%	26%	15%	17%	10%	16%	16%
	Don't know	10%	10%	8%	15%	11%	9%	8%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	2%	8%	8%	7%	9%	10%
0	There are needs, but most or all are being met	32%	34%	33%	29%	33%	28%	36%
Subsidized healthcare	Some unmet needs	23%	29%	25%	24%	17%	24%	21%
nounnouno	Significant unmet needs	8%	10%	11%	7%	7%	7%	5%
	Don't know	30%	24%	24%	32%	36%	32%	28%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	10%	8%	5%	8%	8%	9%
Subsidized	There are needs, but most or all are being met	33%	26%	27%	35%	35%	31%	40%
childcare and pre-K	Some unmet needs	22%	28%	28%	19%	19%	25%	16%
programs	Significant unmet needs	9%	14%	14%	8%	6%	7%	5%
	Don't know	28%	23%	23%	32%	31%	29%	29%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	8%	5%	6%	9%	11%	11%
Job training	There are needs, but most or all are being met	25%	18%	19%	25%	25%	24%	37%
/ workforce development	Some unmet needs	26%	25%	32%	27%	25%	27%	21%
development	Significant unmet needs	15%	28%	21%	15%	11%	14%	8%
	Don't know	25%	20%	23%	27%	31%	25%	23%
	Not needed in our community at all	6%	4%	5%	6%	9%	8%	6%
Drug treatment	There are needs, but most or all are being met	17%	12%	12%	17%	21%	17%	23%
programs	Some unmet needs	27%	30%	30%	22%	26%	28%	28%
	Significant unmet needs	21%	29%	28%	19%	14%	19%	18%
	Don't know	29%	24%	25%	37%	30%	28%	25%



Appendix C Need for services, by urban-rural status

		Overall	Rural	Mostly rural	Mostly urban	Urban	Don't know
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	5%	7%	14%	5%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	37%	32%	41%	42%	46%	34%
Affordable housing	Some unmet needs	32%	32%	35%	27%	31%	0%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	14%	12%	19%	8%	26%
	Don't know	10%	13%	7%	6%	2%	34%
	Not needed in our community at all	20%	23%	14%	24%	19%	30%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	26%	19%	32%	33%	46%	20%
Emergency housing	Some unmet needs	24%	23%	27%	26%	18%	0%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	17%	13%	9%	8%	7%
	Don't know	16%	19%	15%	9%	9%	43%
	Not needed in our community at all	12%	13%	9%	13%	17%	20%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	51%	47%	56%	53%	60%	37%
Emergency food	Some unmet needs	20%	19%	21%	22%	16%	7%
	Significant unmet needs	7%	9%	5%	3%	1%	7%
	Don't know	10%	12%	8%	9%	5%	30%
	Not needed in our community at all	10%	13%	8%	1%	14%	5%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	39%	35%	39%	45%	52%	47%
Public transportation	Some unmet needs	25%	22%	29%	31%	22%	23%
	Significant unmet needs	16%	17%	16%	17%	8%	7%
	Don't know	10%	13%	7%	6%	5%	19%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	6%	6%	11%	16%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	32%	29%	32%	37%	49%	31%
Subsidized healthcare	Some unmet needs	23%	23%	26%	22%	12%	0%
	Significant unmet needs	8%	9%	6%	5%	4%	7%
	Don't know	30%	30%	29%	30%	24%	45%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	6%	7%	11%	28%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	33%	31%	36%	33%	35%	26%
Subsidized childcare and pre-K programs	Some unmet needs	22%	22%	23%	20%	21%	13%
and pro it programs	Significant unmet needs	9%	10%	8%	9%	4%	0%
	Don't know	28%	28%	28%	30%	29%	33%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	10%	6%	7%	13%	28%
Job training	There are needs, but most or all are being met	25%	20%	28%	36%	37%	15%
/ workforce	Some unmet needs	26%	26%	28%	26%	25%	6%
development	Significant unmet needs	15%	17%	14%	14%	6%	7%
	Don't know	25%	27%	24%	17%	20%	44%
	Not needed in our community at all	6%	8%	5%	2%	9%	16%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	17%	15%	18%	25%	26%	15%
Drug treatment programs	Some unmet needs	27%	26%	29%	29%	22%	6%
p. 0 g. dillo	Significant unmet needs	21%	22%	21%	16%	17%	7%
	Don't know	29%	29%	27%	28%	26%	55%



Appendix D
Need for services, by percent of community that is non-white

		Overall	0-10% Non-white Population	10-30% Non-white Population	>30% Non-white Population
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	8%	6%	4%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	37%	37%	36%	37%
Affordable housing	Some unmet needs	32%	31%	33%	34%
-	Significant unmet needs	14%	13%	17%	20%
	Don't know	10%	10%	8%	4%
	Not needed in our community at all	20%	21%	13%	4%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	26%	26%	26%	34%
Emergency housing	Some unmet needs	24%	23%	32%	23%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	14%	15%	18%
	Don't know	16%	17%	Non-white Population Non-white Population 6% 4% 36% 37% 33% 34% 17% 20% 8% 4% 13% 4% 26% 34% 32% 23% 15% 18% 13% 21% 7% 4% 52% 52% 26% 25% 6% 11% 8% 9% 6% 2% 34% 44% 33% 18% 18% 30% 8% 5% 5% 0% 34% 37% 28% 28% 6% 13% 28% 22% 7% 0% 33% 30% 25% 30% 9% 20% 27% 20% 6% 0% 29% 33% <t< td=""><td>21%</td></t<>	21%
	Not needed in our community at all	12%	13%	7%	4%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	51%	51%	52%	52%
Emergency food	Some unmet needs	20%	19%	26%	25%
	Significant unmet needs	7%	7%	6%	11%
	Don't know	10%	10%	8%	9%
	Not needed in our community at all	10%	11%	6%	2%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	39%	39%	34%	44%
Public transportation	Some unmet needs	25%	24%	33%	18%
	Significant unmet needs	16%	15%	18%	30%
	Don't know	10%	11%	8%	5%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	5%	0%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	32%	31%	34%	37%
Subsidized healthcare	Some unmet needs	23%	22%	28%	28%
	Significant unmet needs	8%	8%	6%	13%
	Don't know	30%	30%	34% 44 33% 18 18% 30 8% 5' 5% 0' 34% 37 28% 28 6% 13 28% 22	22%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	7%	0%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	33%	33%	33%	30%
Subsidized childcare and pre-K programs	Some unmet needs	22%	21%	25%	30%
and pre-K programs	Significant unmet needs	9%	8%	9%	20%
	Don't know	28%	29%	27%	20%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	9%	6%	0%
Job training	There are needs, but most or all are being met	25%	25%	29%	33%
/ workforce	Some unmet needs	26%	26%	29%	27%
development	Significant unmet needs	15%	15%	15%	30%
	Don't know	25%	26%	21%	11%
	Not needed in our community at all	6%	7%	4%	0%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	17%	17%	20%	10%
Drug treatment programs	Some unmet needs	27%	27%	28%	30%
programs	Significant unmet needs	21%	20%	23%	38%
	Don't know	29%	29%	26%	22%



Appendix E Need for services, by jurisdiction type

• • •	<i>"</i>					
		Overall	Counties	Cities	Villages	Townships
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	0%	6%	9%	8%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	37%	21%	35%	35%	39%
Affordable housing	Some unmet needs	32%	39%	35%	36%	30%
	Significant unmet needs	14%	36%	21%	15%	11%
	Don't know	10%	4%	4%	5%	13%
	Not needed in our community at all	20%	1%	18%	24%	20%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	26%	29%	32%	17%	26%
Emergency housing	Some unmet needs	24%	40%	28%	25%	22%
, ,	Significant unmet needs	14%	20%	10%	20%	13%
	Don't know	16%	9%	13%	15%	18%
	Not needed in our community at all	12%	3%	10%	13%	13%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	51%	52%	60%	45%	50%
Emergency food	Some unmet needs	20%	32%	22%	22%	18%
	Significant unmet needs	7%	7%	3%	10%	7%
	Don't know	10%	5%	6%	9%	12%
	Not needed in our community at all	10%	3%	4%	11%	12%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	39%	43%	48%	30%	38%
Public transportation	Some unmet needs	25%	28%	28%	29%	23%
	Significant unmet needs	16%	26%	15%	21%	15%
	Don't know	10%	0%	5%	10%	12%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	2%	5%	9%	9%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	32%	42%	35%	28%	31%
Subsidized healthcare	Some unmet needs	23%	29%	27%	27%	21%
	Significant unmet needs	8%	13%	8%	8%	7%
	Don't know	30%	13%	25%	28%	32%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	1%	5%	7%	9%
	There are needs, but most or all are being met	33%	33%	32%	32%	33%
Subsidized childcare and pre-K programs	Some unmet needs	22%	35%	26%	28%	19%
and pro it programs	Significant unmet needs	9%	13%	11%	7%	8%
	Don't know	28%	17%	26%	25%	30%
	Not needed in our community at all	8%	1%	5%	10%	9%
Job training	There are needs, but most or all are being met	25%	37%	29%	17%	25%
/ workforce	Some unmet needs	26%	31%	31%	32%	24%
development	Significant unmet needs	15%	21%	19%	16%	14%
	Don't know	25%	9%	16%	25%	28%
	Not needed in our community at all	6%	2%	4%	10%	7%
Davin tun stars at	There are needs, but most or all are being met	17%	18%	17%	14%	18%
Drug treatment programs	Some unmet needs	27%	38%	32%	26%	25%
F - 2	Significant unmet needs	21%	36%	23%	20%	19%
	Don't know	29%	7%	23%	31%	31%



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University of Michigan

Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy

Joan and Sanford Weill Hall 735 S. State Street, Suite 5310 Ann Arbor, MI 48109-3091

The Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP),

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web: www.closup.umich.edu email: closup@umich.edu

twitter: @closup phone: 734-647-4091



Regents of the University of Michigan

Michael J. Behm Grand Blanc

Mark J. Bernstein Ann Arbor

Shauna Ryder Diggs Grosse Pointe

Denise IlitchBingham Farms

Andrea Fischer Newman Ann Arbor

Andrew C. Richner Grosse Pointe Park

Ron Weiser Ann Arbor

Katherine E. White Ann Arbor

Mark S. Schlissel (ex officio)