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EXPLORING MICHIGAN'S URBAN/RURAL DIVIDE

Exploring Michigan's Urban/Rural Divide

Contents

Charts

Maps

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Exploring Michigan's Urban/Rural Divide

In a Nutshell

1. Most of Michigan's residents are located in the state's urban areas, but those urban areas comprise little of the state's land area. Relative to the rural areas, the populations in urban communities are growing faster, have more diversity in race and ethnicity, and include more immigrants from a wider cross section of nations.

2. Both rural and urban areas have wealthy and less wealthy communities. While poverty is often associated with Michigan's core urban communities with their deep levels of poverty and need, many rural communities have low income individuals that are frequent users of food stamps and Medicaid.

3. While there are some differences, such as more college graduates per capita, a greater frequency of crime per capita, and greater access to broadband Internet service in urban areas, going by the data, urban and rural Michigan have far more in common than not.

Summary

Recent elections and the level of polarization that seem to prevail today suggest that Michigan residents see themselves living different lives based on their urban or rural geography. The statistics compiled for this report illustrate the many ways in which Michigan's urban and rural areas are alike and different. The number of statistics wherein the differences between people in geographic areas was stark are few. This paper was written to provide a deeper understanding to appreciate how gerrymandering and the urban/rural divide affect peoples' perspective on family structure, immigration, housing, education, income and employment policies, health care, and crime.

Elections

Based on the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, it is clear that Michigan aligns consistently with national trends indicating much larger conservative majorities in rural areas than in urban areas and larger liberal majorities in urban areas than in rural areas. In Michigan, urban counties receive an average Partisan Voting Index (PVI) score of D+4.5, indicating that these counties performed an average of 4.5 points more Democratic than the nation as a whole in the 2012 and 2016 elections. On the contrary, rural counties receive a PVI score of R+10.5, meaning that these counties performed an average of 10.5 points more Republican than the national average in the 2012 and 2016 elections (See **Map A**).

Population Information

As of July 2015, Michigan was estimated to have a population of 9.9 million residents, with 7.4 million (74.6 percent) of those residents spread out over 6.4

Map A

2016 Election Results Showing Support for President Trump by City/Township
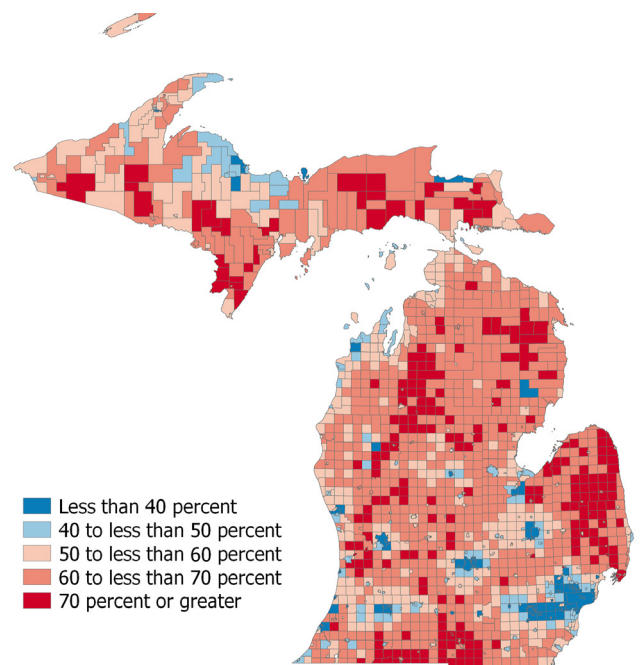
Legend:
- Less than 40 percent
- 40 to less than 50 percent
- 50 to less than 60 percent
- 60 to less than 70 percent
- 70 percent or greater

Source: Michigan Secretary of State

percent of the state's urban land area and 2.5 million (25.4 percent) spread out over 93.6 percent of the state's rural land area.

Michigan ranks 24th in the nation on the percentage of its population residing in rural areas, but narrowing the comparison to states of similar size tells a different story. Among the top 15 most populated states, only Indiana and North Carolina had smaller percentages of their populations living in urban areas. Michigan leans towards the rural end of the spectrum when compared with other states of a similar population size.

Townships in rural areas of Michigan average 102 people per square mile and cities and townships in urban areas average 1,609 people per square mile.

Despite constituting only 25 percent of the state's population, rural areas differ from urban areas on several important metrics related to land area. In total, urban land area in Michigan is comprised of 3,623 square miles (6.4 percent of the state total). Rural land area constitutes the remaining 52,916 square miles (93.6 percent) of land area. Michigan has the 19th highest percentage of total land area that is urban among the 50 states.

Michigan's population growth rate from 2010 to 2016 has hovered around .085 percent, but most of the population growth has occurred in urban areas. Urban areas have had an annual population growth rate of about 0.11 percent and the population in rural areas has grown at an annual rate of 0.01 percent. While Michigan is generally more rural than many of its high-population state counterparts, it is nonetheless becoming increasingly urbanized.

Demographics

Urban areas in Michigan are composed of a much more diverse population than rural areas for nearly all factors related to race and ethnicity. While 95 percent of the population of rural areas identifies as white, only 74 percent of the population in urban areas does the same (see **Map B**). The percent of the population in each area that identifies as black or African-American accounts for nearly 80 percent of this gap in racial composition. The remaining 20 percent of the difference exists mostly because of variation in the percentage of the population that identifies as Asian-American.

Michigan is slightly less diverse than the national average, with a population that is 79 percent white compared to a national average of 76.9 percent white. Even though the African-American population in Michigan (14 percent) makes up a larger share of the total than the national average (13.3 percent), the white population in Michigan (79 percent) is larger than the national average (76.9 percent) because other non-white populations make up a smaller share of the total in Michigan than for the national average.

A slightly higher percentage of the population identifying as Hispanic or Latino lives in urban areas than in rural areas. This urban/rural difference in Hispanic or Latino identity, however, is much less pronounced than the racial differences across areas of the state. Despite the large Hispanic or Latino populations that exist in Southwest and West Michigan, Michigan is home to a Hispanic or Latino population that is proportionally far smaller than the national average.

The population of Michigan's rural areas is older than the urban population. Urban areas of Michigan are home to a population that is, on average, about 5.8 years younger than the population of rural areas.

Map B
Percentage of Nonwhite Residents in the Total Population by City/Township
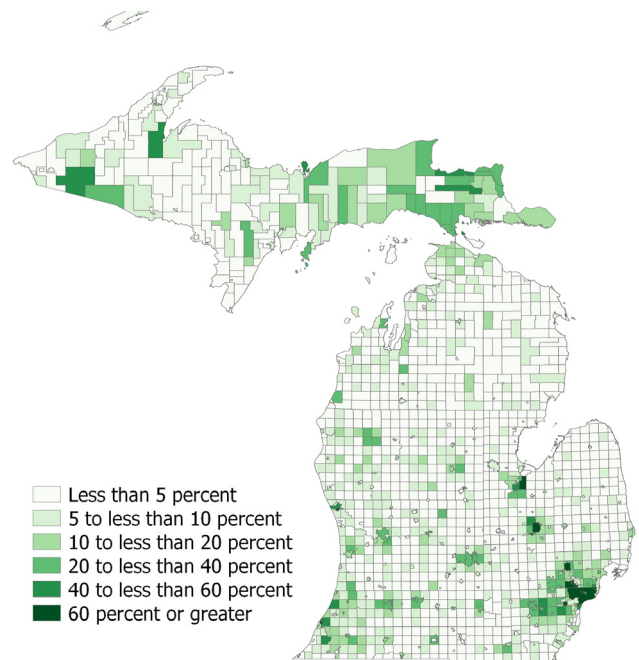
Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 40 percent
40 to less than 60 percent
60 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Immigration

Major disparities exist between urban and rural areas in Michigan on the topic of immigration, with urban areas serving as the home to many more foreign-born individuals than rural areas.

Only 37 of the state's cities and townships (2.4 percent) are home to a percentage of foreign-born individuals that is above the national average, and only five of these municipalities are classified as rural, all of which come from counties on the coast of Lake Michigan.

Urban and rural Michigan differ extraordinarily in regards to the origins of the immigrant populations in each area. Urban areas of Michigan have significantly more immigration diversity than rural areas. Immigrants to Michigan generally come from three main regions: the Americas (South, Central, and the remainder of North America), Europe, and Asia (including the Middle East). In urban areas, just over 50 percent of all immigrants come from Asian and Middle Eastern countries; 75 percent of immigrants in rural Michigan come from Europe and the Americas, compared to only 44.7 percent in urban areas. In rural Michigan, 96 percent of the population speaks only English, while in urban areas only 89 percent of individuals speak only English (see **Chart A**).

Chart A

Immigrants by Region of Origin by Area

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Immigrants from Iraq and Lebanon comprise 11.1 percent of Michigan's immigrants, far above the national average of 0.74 percent: 22.3 percent of all Iraqi and Lebanese immigrants to the U.S. settle in Michigan, with urban Michigan alone being home to 22.1 percent of the nation's Iraqi and Lebanese immigrants.

Urban areas of Michigan receive higher percentages of immigrants from India and China than do the rural areas. The low percentages of Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants in rural Michigan are made up for by higher percentages of Mexican immigrants in these areas.

In sum, urban Michigan has many more immigrants than rural Michigan. Additionally, rural Michigan has less diversity in the origin of its immigrants than urban Michigan. Even the immigrant cohorts that do settle in rural Michigan come from cultures that are more similar to the United States, leading to a much greater cultural homogeneity among rural residents on the subject of immigration than urban residents.

Marriage and Family Life

One of the most prominent differences between urban and rural areas comes from differences in the marriage and divorce rates. Urban areas have marriage rates that are significantly lower than rural areas. Additionally, a much higher percentage of individuals in urban areas have never been married.

Rural areas have a much higher percentage of their population living in married-couple families than urban areas. Incidences of single motherhood are much higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Urban and rural areas in Michigan have similar rates of teen pregnancy. In urban areas, abortions occur at a rate that is roughly three times that of rural areas

Urban and rural areas are nearly identical in the percentage of stay-at-home mothers. Likewise, this trend is similar for stay-at-home fathers.
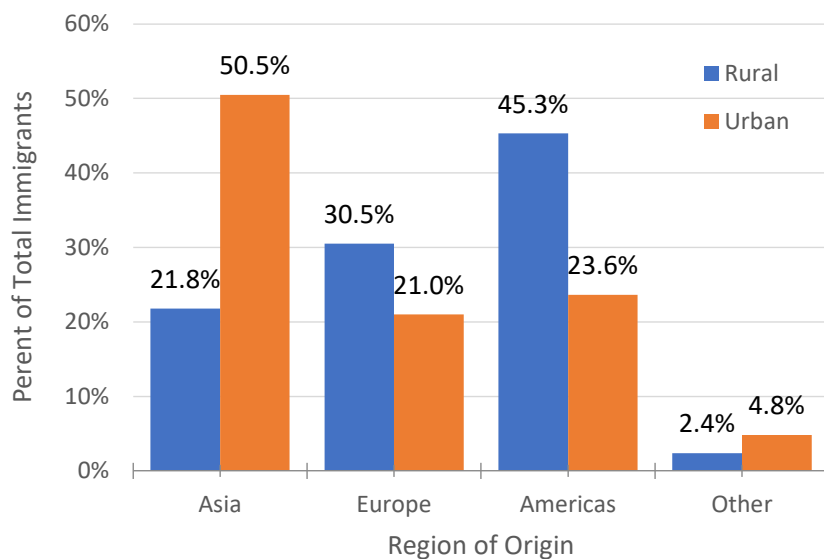
Housing

A prominent difference between rural and urban areas is found in the rates of home ownership. In urban areas, two-thirds of the families own their houses, compared to 86 percent of rural families who own their households. Urban residents are significantly more likely than rural residents to rent their households. A greater percentage of the Michigan population owns their homes than in the nation as a whole.

Rural residents tend to have lived in their households for much longer than urban residents. Urban residents live in their households for a shorter period of time than rural residents, and are therefore more likely to see new families moving in and out of households in their neighborhoods. Urban areas also have a higher percentage of individuals moving into the area from a different country.

A high correlation exists between the degree of urbanization in each county and the percent of households with access to at least a 25 MBPS broadband connection.

Education

Urban and rural areas are not very different in the enrollment of three and four-year-olds in preschool. The number of rural and urban students who attend public schools are nearly identical. College enrollment is much higher for urban residents than rural residents.

One of the bigger differences between the urban and rural populations in Michigan is in the average level of educational attainment, with these disparities being most noticeable in higher education. The percentages of urban residents and rural residents over 25 years of age that have stopped their education before receiving a high school diploma is very similar. The percentage of residents to have stopped their education after receiving a high school diploma is higher for rural residents than for urban residents. Urban and rural areas have a similar percentage of their residents obtaining an associate degree or completing some college but not obtaining a degree.

Income and Employment

The chances that a person might reside in a wealthy community is higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

Only 40 percent of rural communities have median household incomes greater than the state median household income.

Urban areas have much more heterogeneity than rural areas in the distribution of income. Urban areas in Michigan have a higher proportion of their population at the edges of the income distribution, whereas incomes in rural Michigan tend to group around the middle of the income distribution. The concentration of wealth in upper middle-class urban areas in Michigan overpowers the working-class incomes of the inner cities in the state, causing wide income disparities that allow for urban areas to have higher average incomes, but more variation in income within these areas than rural Michigan.

Urban areas have a higher percentage of their population living in poverty (see **Map C**). In rural areas, poverty levels are spread consistently across the state, while in urban areas, high poverty levels are clustered in certain areas.

Map C

Percentage of the Population Living in Poverty by City/Township

Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 30 percent
30 to less than 40 percent
40 percent or greater
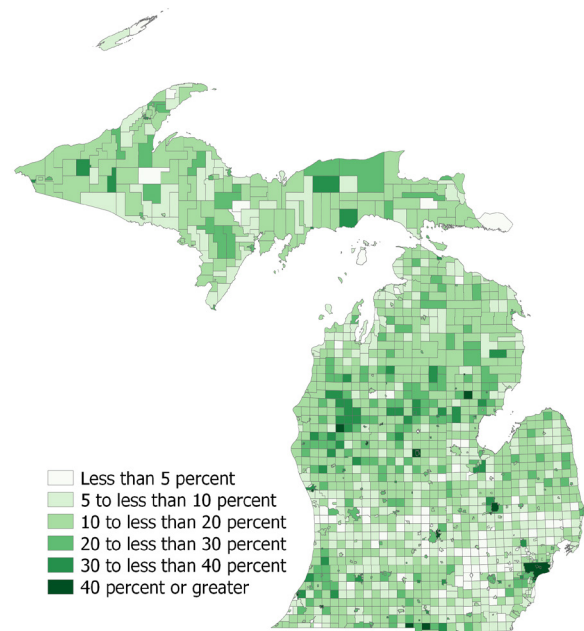
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Urban and rural Michigan have minor differences in the percentage of the population that relies on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (commonly known as Food Stamps). Like poverty, the percentage of the population relying on SNAP is high in rural, northern Michigan, and urban averages are higher only because of the concentration of a high number of individuals in the inner cities that rely on SNAP. SNAP recipients are spread out in a way that is similar to the spread of poverty.

Urban areas in Michigan have higher levels of income inequality than rural areas. Most of the municipalities with the highest levels of income inequality cluster around Michigan's major urban centers. Rural areas have isolated pockets of high income inequality. Incidences of income inequality in rural areas tend to be more isolated occurrences, with individual cities and townships experiencing high levels of income inequality as opposed to entire regions.

Michigan has a fairly uniform distribution of industries in which residents of urban and rural areas are engaged. Rural workers are more likely to work in what would be classified as blue collar industries, such as construction, manufacturing, and agriculture. Urban workers are more likely to work in white collar jobs, including finance, insurance, and real estate; professional and scientific; education; health care; and management. The industries in which urban Michigan has disproportionately high amounts of participation—such as in education and healthcare, financial services, and professional services—are expected to continue growing at a rate that is in line with or outpaces the national average.

Urban areas in the state saw a higher labor participation rates and higher rates of unemployment than rural areas.

Urban and Rural Health

From 2010 to 2015, the proportion of Michigan residents without health insurance was reduced by more than half, from 12.4 percent to 6.1 percent. More urban residents have obtained health insurance than rural residents. While urban residents are more likely to be covered by private insurance, rural residents are more frequently covered by public health insurance. Participation in Medicaid is fairly even across urban and

rural parts of the state, but participation in urban areas is driven largely by inner city populations where rural participation is more evenly spread across the state.

Rural counties have a higher prevalence of disability because the population in rural counties tends to be older, poorer, and less educated (as measured by the proportion of the population accomplishing two- or four-year degree attainment).

The *County Health Rankings & Roadmaps* program, a collaboration between the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute indicate that poorer health factors and health outcomes is evident in the rural counties across the top of the Lower Peninsula, whereas the best health factors and health outcomes are largely concentrated in areas that are more urbanized (such as Ann Arbor, metropolitan Grand Rapids, and parts of metropolitan Detroit); however, some urban counties (e.g., Wayne, Genesee, and Saginaw) are among the lowest ranked for both health factors and health outcomes.

Map D

Proportion of the Total Population Enrolled in Medicaid by City/Township
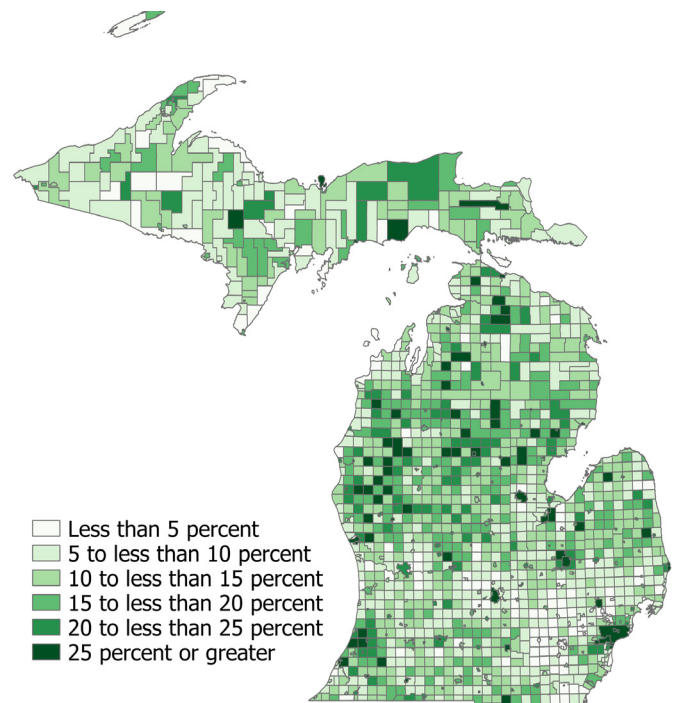
Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 15 percent
15 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 25 percent
25 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Rural counties have had the highest rates of premature death for many decades, and, while urban counties continue to show improvement, the situation in rural counties is worsening. Rural areas tend to fare worse than urban areas when it comes to proportions of adult obesity, children in poverty, unintentional injury/death, availability of primary care physicians and dentists, and preventable hospital stays.

Crime and Safety

Urban and rural areas of Michigan have disparities in the prevalence of crime, with crime being much more prevalent in urban areas. Violent crime is a much more common occurrence in urban areas in all categories except criminal sexual conduct. Urban populations experience greater frequency of aggravated assaults, robberies, and murder, but rural populations experience more criminal sexual conduct.

Residents of rural areas in Michigan own firearms at a higher rate than residents of urban areas.

Both urban and rural areas experience comparable levels of traffic crashes. Urban and rural areas in Michigan are comparable in the percentage of car crashes that are influenced by alcohol and drugs. Rural areas experience higher rates of fatal car crashes than urban areas.

Conclusion

While urban areas of the state comprise very little of Michigan's land area, most of the population resides in urban areas. This means that people live closer together and are prone to interact more frequently in urban areas. This dynamic is reflected in measures of population and housing density, broadband accessibility, and crime and safety. The larger concentration of businesses in urban areas is reflected in some urban areas experiencing higher levels of population growth, younger and more diverse populations locating close to place of employment, and in higher concentrations of people with college and advanced degrees.

Map E
Percentage of the Total Population Possessing a Concealed Pistol License by County

Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 7 percent
7 to less than 9 percent
9 to less than 11 percent
11 percent or greater
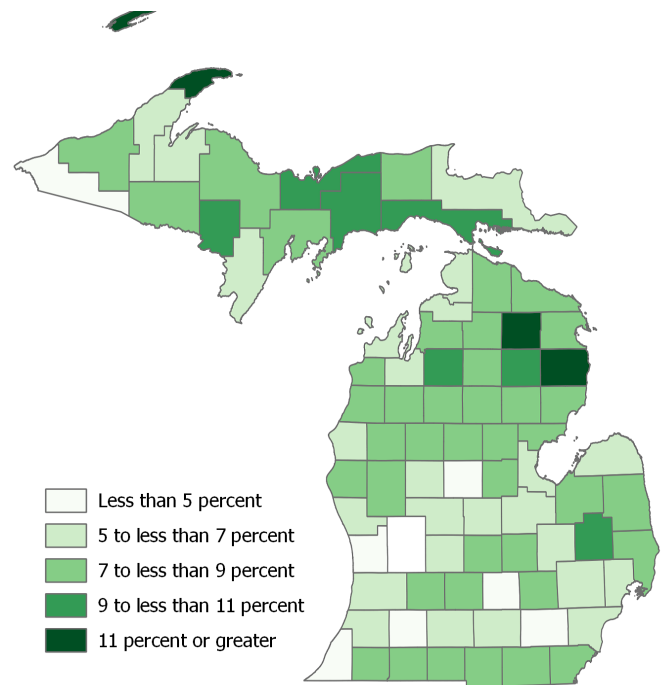
Source: Michigan State Police

The statistics also reflect many similarities across the different areas that might not be commonly understood. The makeup of workforces is similar in urban and rural areas. Populations in urban and rural areas have similar levels of income, poverty, and food stamp usage. Similar proportions of both populations utilize Medicaid and disability benefits.

Michigan struggled through the first decade of this century. Vestiges of those struggles remain with slower than average population growth, less than average per capita personal income, and manufacturing jobs that are gone forever. Hopefully, by knowing each other better and understanding the circumstances in which we are alike and different, we can work to return Michigan to its stature as an economic and cultural leader in which people and businesses desire to come.

Exploring Michigan's Urban/Rural Divide

Introduction

Michigan's voting trends in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections illuminated a growing divide between urban and rural areas of the state. In those elections, electors tended to vote for the Republican Party candidate if they were from rural areas of the state and they tended to vote for the Democratic Party candidate if they were from urban areas of the state. While only so much can be inferred from these voting patterns without exploring electors' political outlooks in more depth, the consistency of voting patterns suggest that people in urban and rural areas have different views about the economic and social issues that are often used in deciding on a candidate. Related differences in the perception that people in urban and rural areas may have about each other in education level, income, ethno-racial backgrounds, religious beliefs, and cultural values may create additional fissures in the widening chasm between these populations.

The implications of this urban/rural divide for representative democracy are complex. First, it suggests a growing disconnect between urban electors and the rural officials sometimes elected to represent them (and vice versa). Second, it adds complexity to the drawing of legislative and congressional district lines. Michigan has been identified as having among the worst levels of gerrymandering[a] in the nation.[1]

Much of the attention in regards to gerrymandering is focused on the fact that it allows the dominant political party (at the time of redistricting) to draw lines to favor the election of individuals that share their political philosophy. The urban/rural divide described below, however, illustrates how these elected officials (who in Michigan increasingly come from predominantly rural areas) might also be making public policy based on life experiences that may be very different from those experienced by constituents that make up the other half of the state's population.

The political implications of dividing the state in such a way so as to give one political party an advantage are self-evident. However, a deeper understanding is necessary to appreciate how gerrymandering and the urban/rural divide affect peoples' perspective on family structure, immigration, housing, education, income and employment policies, health care, and crime.

What follows is a cursory analysis of who we are as a state, with attention to differences and similarities among our urban and rural communities. Some of the analysis that follows begs for a deeper dive into the causes and implications of differences in our population. We hope to dig deeper into these issues at later dates.

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[a]   Gerrymandering is the practice of dividing of geographic areas (usually the state) into election districts so as to give one political party a majority in as many districts as possible while concentrating the voting strength of the other party into as few districts as possible.

Defining Urban and Rural Areas

Although the terms "urban area" and "rural area" are commonly used expressions, it has been notoriously challenging to actually define these terms in a concise yet comprehensive fashion. Often times, the public's perception of what defines urban and rural areas is inextricably reliant upon the fundamental economic, social, and cultural differences that exist (or at least are perceived to exist) among urban and rural areas, rather than a clear definition of what delineates these areas from one another.

For this reason, this report relies on definitions used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census:

> The Census Bureau's delineation of urban areas is designed to identify densely developed territory, and encompass residential, commercial, and other nonresidential urban land uses. The boundaries of this "urban footprint" have been defined using measures based primarily on population counts and residential population density, but also through criteria that account for nonresidential urban land uses, such as commercial, industrial, transportation, and open space that are part of the urban landscape. Since the 1950 Census, when densely settled urbanized areas (UAs) of 50,000 or more people were first defined, the urban area delineation process has addressed nonresidential urban land uses through criteria designed to account for commercial enclaves, special land uses such as airports, and densely developed noncontiguous territory.[2]

The Census Bureau's classification system is used in this report to classify urban and rural areas of Michigan because:

- Much of the data collected for this report comes either directly from the decennial census or other Census Bureau estimates (i.e., American Community Survey).

- The Census Bureau definition for classifying urban and rural areas focuses on metrics concerning the population of these areas as opposed to those which focus on land use in the area. Since this report's primary concerns are commonalities and disparities among the urban and rural populations, it is beneficial to adopt a classification system for urban and rural areas that prioritizes

factors pertaining to the population over land usage in its classification.

- The Census Bureau classification provides a unique opportunity for analysis of Michigan at a more localized level than other definitions would permit, as the Census Bureau classifies urban and rural areas on levels of analysis as small as cities and townships.[3]

The Census Bureau's definition of urban and rural areas has been applied to the population of Michigan by assigning a binary classification to each unit when the city, township, or county has at least 50 percent of its population living in an urban area or a rural area.

Furthermore, this report considers data on multiple geographic levels, including the state level, county level, and the municipal level (i.e., cities and townships). While data is analyzed at the city and township level when possible, data is not available for many relevant topics at the city and township level, therefore requiring the use of broader county level analysis.

Villages, which have some degree of autonomy but are not completely autonomous from the township(s) in which they are located, are included as part of the township upon which they depend in order to avoid double-counting.

Map 1 (see page 3) highlights the breakdown of geographic areas in Michigan on the city and township level by their urban or rural classification, with rural areas in blue and urban areas in orange.[4] Michigan has 1,526 cities and townships. Major urban areas in Michigan include the Detroit, Ann Arbor, Grand Rapids, Lansing, Flint, Saginaw/Bay City/Midland, Muskegon, Marquette, Jackson, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo areas, along with some smaller cities and scattered urban clusters throughout Michigan. By far, the Detroit-Warren-Ann Arbor area (which includes Flint, Monroe, and Adrian) is the most urbanized area in the state, followed by the Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland area. The remainder of the cities and townships are classified as rural areas, which encompass a wide swath of the state's total land area.

Map 1
Urban/Rural Classification by City/Township[5]

Rural Area
Urban Area
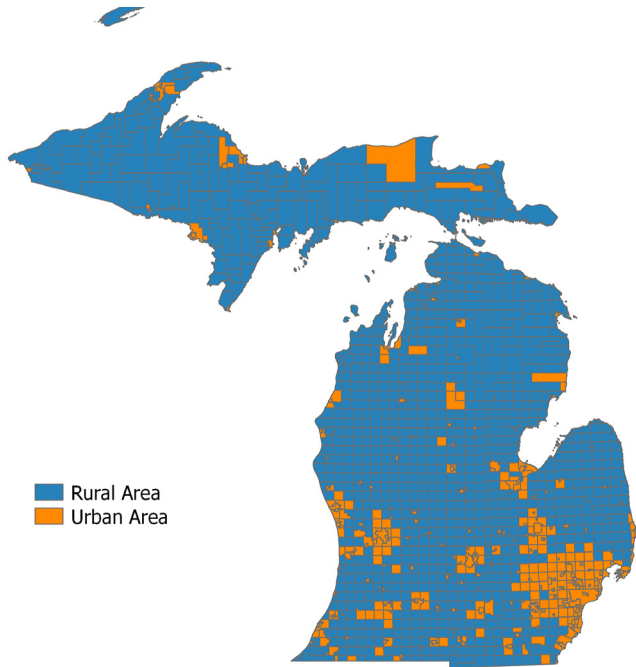
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census

Michigan has 83 counties. **Map 2** illustrates the breakdown of urban and rural counties according to the Census Bureau's classification of counties as "completely rural," "mostly rural," and "mostly urban." Counties with less than 50 percent of the population living in rural areas are classified as mostly urban, counties with 50 to 99.9 percent of the population living in rural areas are classified as mostly rural, and counties with

100 percent of the population living in rural areas are classified as completely rural. It is important to note that "mostly urban" counties have at least 50 percent of residents living in a city or township with at least 2,500 residents. By this definition, a few counties located in Michigan's Upper Peninsula are categorized as mostly urban counties, despite relatively small county populations.

Map 2
Urban/Rural Classification by County

Entirely Rural
Mostly Rural
Mostly Urban
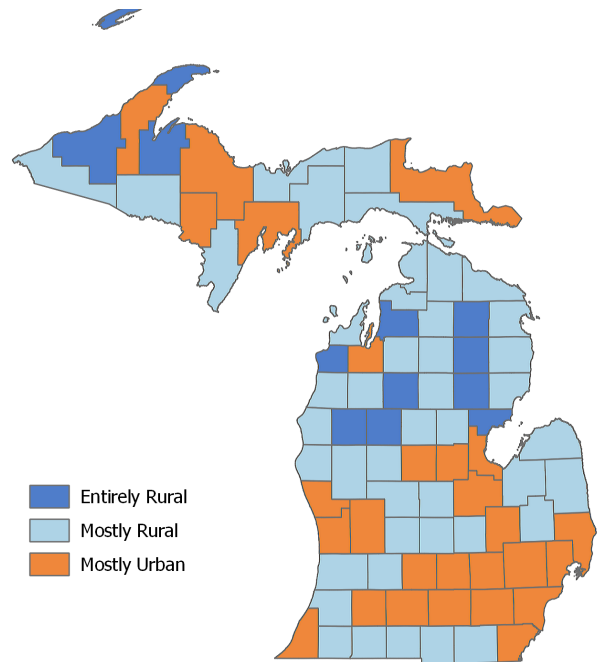
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census

Data Sources

While numerous data sources have been utilized in the crafting of this report, a majority of the data on the city and township level has been drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau and the five-year estimates published by the American Community Survey in 2011-2015.

Additional data is gathered from various state departments, including the State Police, Health and Human Services, State, Education, Treasury, and Transportation. These sources are primarily used for analysis on the county level where data from Census Bureau estimates or the American Community Survey is unavailable.

Nonetheless, these data are not without limitations, which should be noted to prevent improper or fallacious inferences from the conclusions presented in this report. One of the primary weaknesses of using the American Community Survey's estimates, and particularly the five-year estimates that are available at the city and township level of analysis, is that small sample size and potential selection bias undermine the reliability of some estimates and statistical tests (specifically when examining extremely small communities). Taken in sum, however, these data are sufficiently reliable to enable inference and hypothesis generation.

Elections[6]

2012 Presidential Election

While the 2012 presidential election in Michigan led to a strong win for President Obama, the differences in the voting behavior of urban and rural voters were nonetheless pronounced. Despite winning the state by a comfortable margin of 9.4 percentage points, President Obama lost rural counties in Michigan by 9.1 percentage points, with Republican Party candidate Mitt Romney picking up 53.9 percent of rural voters and Obama picking up only 44.8 percent of rural voters.

Even so, President Obama's victory in Michigan was aided by his ability to outpace Mr. Romney by even larger margins in urban areas. President Obama won urban counties in the state by a 14.4 percentage point margin, receiving 56.7 percent of urban votes while Mr. Romney only received 42.3 percent of urban votes.

Given that President Obama's margin of victory was 5.3 percentage points larger in urban areas than Mr. Romney's margin of victory in rural areas, and that the state has roughly 75 percent of its population living in urban areas, President Obama was able to coast to an easy victory over Mr. Romney in 2012. Furthermore, President Obama was aided by higher turnout in urban areas, as urban areas saw voter turnout rates that were, on average, four percentage points higher than in rural areas, with an average of 63 percent of the voting-age population voter turning out in urban areas and voter turnout in rural areas averaging at only 59 percent of the voting-age population.

2016 Presidential Election

The 2016 elections saw a narrow victory for President Trump and the Republican Party that was the closest presidential race in Michigan history.[7] Several fundamental differences in the voting patterns between urban and rural counties in Michigan ultimately contributed to President Trump's ability to squeak out this narrow win.

Like Mr. Romney, President Trump was able to win rural areas in the state by a comfortable margin; however, President Trump's margin of victory in rural counties in the state was nearly three times larger than Mr. Romney's; President Trump outperformed Ms. Clinton in rural areas 60.1 percent to 34.1 percent, a margin of victory of 26

percentage points. Additionally, Ms. Clinton was harmed by her inability to rack up the same margins as President Obama in urban areas, as Ms. Clinton garnered only 50.8 percent of the urban vote compared to Mr. Trump's 44.1 percent, a difference of only 6.7 percentage points.

Furthermore, while rural counties in the state still saw slightly lower voter turnout than urban counties, the difference in turnout between the two areas shrunk to only 2.2 percentage points, with a voter turnout rate of 62.5 percent in urban counties and 60.3 percent in rural counties. What is perhaps most notable about this decrease in the turnout gap is the fact that 72 percent of the gap was closed due to rural voter turnout across the state being higher, with only 28 percent of the gap being due to decreased turnout in urban areas. (Rural counties in the state saw an increase in turnout of 1.3 percentage points, while urban areas saw a decrease in turnout of 0.5 percentage points.)

Ultimately, the combination of higher voter turnout and increased margins of victory for President Trump in rural areas allowed him to achieve this win. Even so, it should not be ignored that President Trump received 1.8 percent more of the vote than Mr. Romney in urban areas. Although this played less of a role in securing President Trump's victory than his increased margins in rural areas, he would have been unable to win the Michigan election without this increased support in urban areas. **Map 3** (page 5) shows the distribution of support for Trump in the 2016 presidential election.

Partisanship

Based on the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, it is clear that Michigan aligns consistently with national trends indicating much larger conservative majorities in rural areas than in urban areas. The Cook Partisan Voting Index (PVI) is utilized to provide a concrete measure of the variations in partisanship between urban and rural areas.[b]

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[b]   The PVI is an algorithm used to compare geographic regions within the country to the rest of the nation based on the performance of each major party's presidential nominees in the past two presidential elections relative to their performance nationally. From the Cook Political Report: "The Cook PVI measures how each district performs at the presidential level compared to the nation as a whole. A Partisan Voting Index score of D+2, for

Map 3

2016 Election Results Showing Support for President Trump by City/Township

Legend:
- Less than 40 percent
- 40 to less than 50 percent
- 50 to less than 60 percent
- 60 to less than 70 percent
- 70 percent or greater
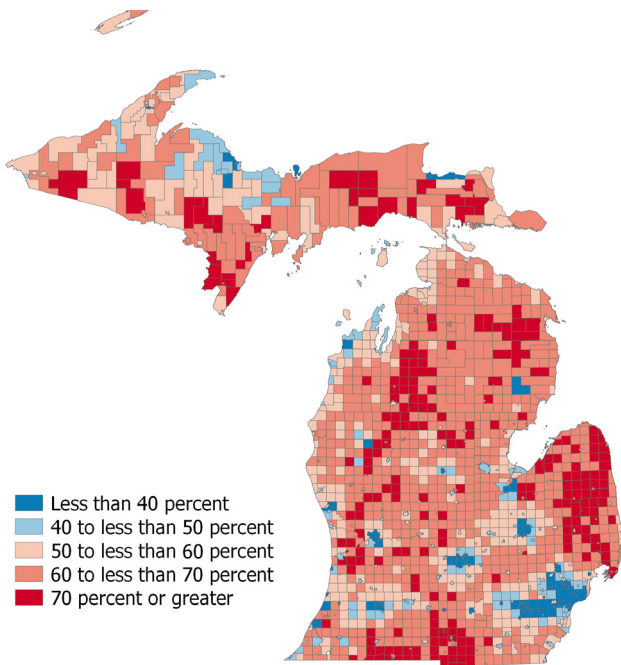
Source: Michigan Secretary of State

Applying this index to counties in Michigan, urban counties receive an average PVI score of D+4.5, indicating that these counties performed an average of 4.5 points more Democratic than the nation as a whole in the 2012 and 2016 elections. Rural counties receive a PVI score of R+10.5, meaning that these counties performed an average of 10.5 points more Republican than the national average in the 2012 and 2016 elections.

While the most recent PVI provides the best view of the current partisanship of Michigan, a look back to PVI numbers from past elections allows for an analysis of changes in the partisanship of Michigan over the past several years (see **Chart 1**). The blue bars in the chart represent the weighted average of the orange and gray bars in the current and immediate preceding elections. It reflects the fact that Michigan voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in the 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections.

example, means that in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, that district performed an average of two points more Democratic than the nation did as a whole, while an R+4 means the district performed four points more Republican than the national average. If a district performed within half a point of the national average in either direction, [it is assigned] a score of EVEN."

The current PVI for all of Michigan is D+1.3, as even though President Trump narrowly won Michigan in 2016, President Obama defeated Mr. Romney by a healthy margin in 2012, allowing for the PVI to remain tilted slightly towards the Democratic Party.[c]

Comparing the 2016 PVI with previous elections illustrates that the 2016 election represented quite a contrast from the recent historical partisanship trends of Michigan. This report does not attempt to foretell whether the 2016 election is a harbinger of future voting patterns or to explain away differences in voting patterns by geographic area. Rather, it is the goal of this paper to quantify similarities and differences between the state's urban and rural areas to dispel erroneous perceptions and accentuate the similarities that bind us together.

Chart 1

Partisan Voting Index by Area, 2000-2016
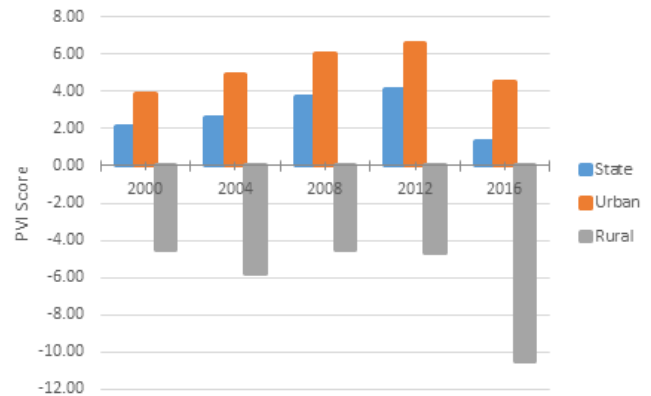
Source: Michigan Secretary of State Election Results

*NOTE: The PVI for each year makes use of the results of the general presidential election in that year and the immediate preceding general presidential election; for example, the PVI for 2016 is calculated using the results of the 2016 general presidential election and the 2012 general presidential election. Positive values are more Democratic, while negative values are more Republican.

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[c]   It is important to note that the calculation of the urban and rural averages for the Partisan Voting Index uses a weighted average in order to account for the variations in the population of urban and rural counties. It is crucial to calculate the average Partisan Voting Index in this way because significant variations in population exist within urban and rural groupings of counties; for example, Wayne County has a population that is three times larger than that of Washtenaw County, yet both are classified as urban counties. This makes using a weighted average more meaningful, as it allows for each county to be weighted in a way that corresponds to the size of its population.

Population[8]

Population and Land Estimates

As of July 2015, Michigan was estimated to have a population of 9.8 million residents, with 7.4 million (74.6 percent) of those residents living in urban areas and 2.5 million (25.4 percent) living in rural areas. In comparison to other states, Michigan ranks 24th in the nation on a measure of the percentage of its population residing in rural areas.

While Michigan is the 10th most populous state in the country, it has the 5th most populous rural communities and the 9th most populous urban communities. Additionally, among the top 15 most populated states, only Indiana and North Carolina had lower percentages of their populations living in urban areas. Michigan leans towards the rural end of the spectrum when compared with other states of a similar population size (see **Chart 2**).

Chart 2
Urban Population for 15 Most Populated States, 2015
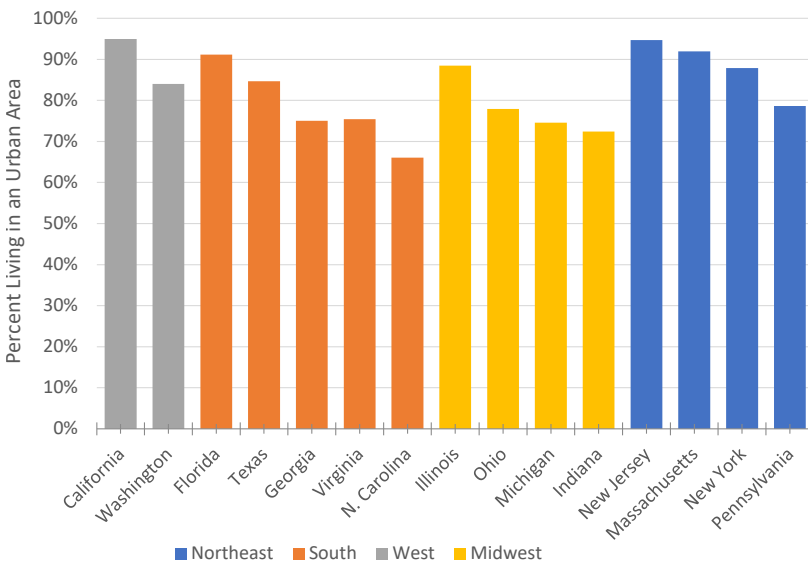
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census

Population Density

The population density of communities is a major area of difference between Michigan's urban and rural areas. Townships in rural areas in Michigan average 102 people per square mile and cities and townships in urban areas average 1,609 people per square mile. Of the 1,530 cities and townships, 890 (58.2 percent)

have a population density of fewer than 100 people per square mile. The urban areas in the Detroit area are by far the densest with up to 5,000 people per square mile found in many communities.

Land Area

Despite constituting only 25 percent of the state's population, rural areas differ from urban areas on several important metrics related to land area. In total, urban land area in Michigan is comprised of 3,623 square miles (6.4 percent of the state total). Rural land area constitutes the remaining 52,916 square miles (93.6 percent) of land area. Michigan has the 19th highest percentage of total land area that is urban among the 50 states, ranking behind Ohio (10.8 percent urban), Pennsylvania (10.5 percent), Illinois (7.1 percent), and Indiana (7.1) among Michigan's neighbors. As might be expected, the most urbanized states are predominantly in the east (New Jersey is 39.7 percent urban land area, Rhode Island 38.8 percent, Massachusetts 38.3 percent, and Connecticut 37.7 percent), and the least urbanized states are in the south and west (Alaska 0.05 percent, Wyoming 0.2 percent, and Montana 0.2 percent).[9]

Population Growth

While Michigan's population is estimated to have grown by nearly 50,000 residents since the 2010 Census, this growth has not been homogeneous. Although the statewide annual population growth rate from 2010 to 2016 has hovered around .085 percent, most of the population growth has occurred in urban areas with an annual population growth rate of about 0.11 percent. The population in rural areas has grown at an annual rate of 0.01 percent. This places population growth in rural areas exceptionally far behind their urban counterparts. In absolute terms, urban areas have had an estimated population growth of 47,942 residents from July 2010 to July 2016, while rural areas have had an estimated population growth of only 1,905 residents.

Breaking it down further, population growth within urban areas has also not been homogeneous, as many of the state's inner urban areas have experienced significant

declines (see **Map 4**). These population declines are especially prominent in the urban areas in and around Detroit, such as Dearborn, Lincoln Park, and Inkster, which have been losing inhabitants at a rate of over 0.5 percent a year. Additionally, this trend—albeit to a lesser degree—can be seen in the areas in and around Flint and Saginaw, both of which have had annual population loss averaging at 0.8 percent over the past six years.

Map 4
Average Annual Population Growth by City/Township, 2010-2016

Greater than 1 percent decline
Greater than .5 to 1 percent decline
Greater than 0 to .5 percent decline
0 to less than .5 percent increase
.5 to less than 1 percent increase
1 percent or larger increase
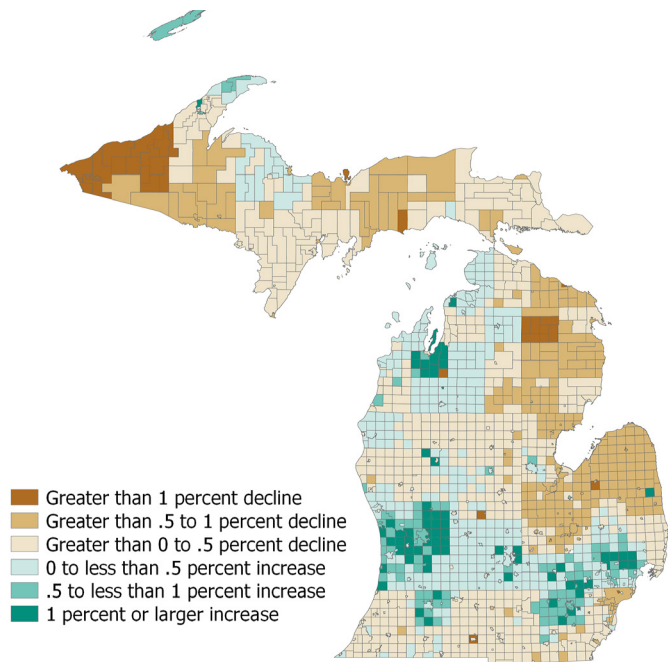
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Annual Population Estimates

The population declines in some densely populated urban areas have been nullified by high annual population growth rates in other cities. The Grand Rapids area has seen large population increases, where cities such as East Grand Rapids and Kentwood have fostered annual population growth rates of over one percent. Similarly, high annual population growth rates can be seen in many cities surrounding Detroit, particularly in southern and eastern Oakland County, southern Macomb County, and the Ann Arbor area. For example, Novi has had an annual population growth rate of about 1.2 percent and Ann Arbor has had an annual population growth rate nearing 1.0 percent on average from 2010 to 2016, a rate that far outpaces the national average. Ultimately, these high growth

rates suggest that while certain urban areas may have a shrinking population, other urban areas in the state are growing at a rapid pace, and are far outpacing the rural areas in the state as a whole.

While rural areas have had relatively slow population growth over the past six years, population growth has likewise been far from consistent across all rural areas. Entire regions of rural areas are experiencing annual population declines greater than 0.5 percent a year, including nearly all of the Upper Peninsula, the thumb region, and the Northeastern quadrant of the Lower Peninsula. Population loss has been especially prominent in the rural areas of the western corner of the Upper Peninsula, which have had a loss in population of more than one percent annually.

Certain rural areas have had high annual population growth rates, especially those on the urban fringes that are likely to become urbanized soon. Ultimately, these factors suggest that while Michigan is generally more rural than many of its high-population state counterparts, it is nonetheless becoming increasingly urbanized.

Population Change in a Broader Context
Population growth in urban areas has restarted after the Great Recession. From 2000 to 2010, the population of the urban areas had an annual decline 0.14 percent, while rural areas had an annual population increase of 0.19 percent. Detroit, with annual population declines of over 2.5 percent annually from 2000 to 2010, experienced the greatest rate of loss over than this period. About 240,000 residents left the city. Clearly, Michigan's struggling economy from 2000 to 2010 led to major problems that caused many people to move out of the state.

From 2000 to 2010, Michigan was the only state to lose population, declining at a rate of 0.06 percent annually. **Map 5** (see page 8) highlights the areas where population changes have been the greatest since 2000.

Despite the turnaround of Michigan's population losses in recent years, Michigan still ranks as having one of the slowest rates of population growth in the country. Michigan's natural growth (net of births and deaths) has only slightly outperformed the negative net migration during this period. From 2010 to 2016, Michigan's

Map 5

Average Annual Population Growth by City/Township, 2000-2015

Legend:
- Greater than 1 percent decline
- Greater than .5 to 1 percent decline
- Greater than 0 to .5 percent decline
- 0 to less than .5 percent increase
- .5 to less than 1 percent increase
- 1 percent or larger increase
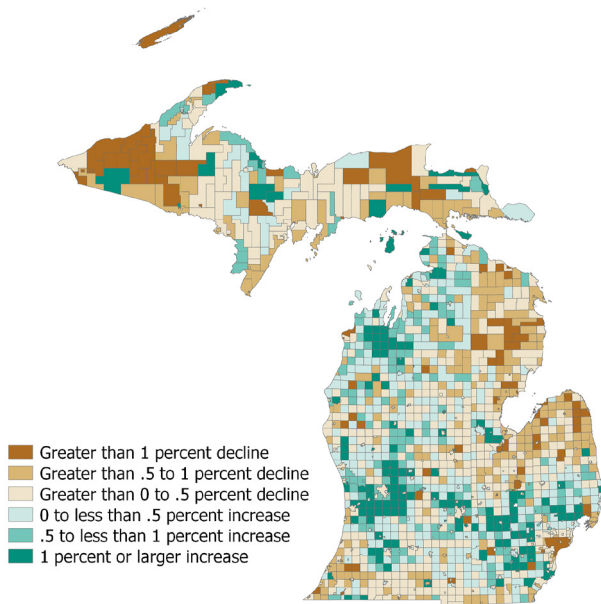
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Annual Population Estimates

annual population growth rate averaged only 0.085 percent, which ranked as the 7th slowest in the country. The annual population growth rate of the nation was 0.74 percent, almost nine times faster than Michigan.

Michigan has not only underperformed nationally from 2010 to 2016 but also underperformed areas in the Midwest, even though the Midwest is the slowest-growing region in the United States. Michigan had the second slowest rate of annual population growth among the twelve Midwest states, coming in behind only Illinois, which has had population losses over the past six years.

Michigan was the slowest growing state in the country from 2000 to 2010 with an annual population growth rate of -0.06 percent. From 2000 to 2010, the annual population growth rate of the nation was 0.97 percent.

The state's major cities were the primary contributors to recent improvements. Even though annual population growth rates are still negative in Detroit, the city has experienced one of the most positive changes in trends from the 2000 to 2010 time period to the recent six years. Detroit's annual population growth rate changed from -2.5 percent in 2000 to 2010 to -0.9 percent from 2010 to 2016.

Population growth in Grand Rapids has contributed significantly to the state's overall population growth. The population of Grand Rapids in 2000 to 2010 was declining at a rate of 0.49 percent annually. However, from 2010 to 2016 the city experienced annual population growth that was at the national average of 0.74 percent.

It has been population loss in urban areas from 2000 to 2010 and the subsequent rebound in some of these urban areas that have decided the overall course for the state, ultimately bringing the state's population growth rates back towards the national average.

Even so, Michigan is still one of the slowest-growing states in the slowest-growing region of the United States, with rural regions of Michigan growing even slower than the statewide average. Therefore, although Michigan is becoming more urban, with the largest growth rates found in urban areas, it nonetheless is experiencing minimal annual population growth rates that will likely have significant economic and political ramifications for the state in its future.

Demographics[10]

Race

In line with national trends, urban areas in Michigan are composed of a much more diverse population than rural areas for nearly all factors related to race and ethnicity. These differences are highlighted by the substantial variation in the racial composition of urban and rural areas in the state. While 95 percent of the population of rural areas identifies as white, only 74 percent of the population in urban areas does the same. This 21 percentage point gap in racial composition is among the largest disparities that exist between urban and rural areas. As can be seen in **Map 6**, the areas with the highest percentages of non-white individuals are concentrated in urban centers, most notably in the Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw areas.

Diversity, as measured by the percentage of nonwhite individuals in an area, is greater in Michigan's urban areas. The percent of the population in each area that identifies as black or African-American accounts for nearly 80 percent of this gap in racial composition, 18 percent of the urban population identifies as black or African-American, while only 1.2 percent of rural individuals identify as black or African-American. The remaining 20 percent of the difference exists mostly because of variation in the percentage of the population that identifies as Asian-American: in rural areas, individuals who identify as Asian-American make up only 0.5 percent of the total population, while the Asian-American population in urban areas makes up 3.4 percent of the total population.

While this trend is most prominent for African-American and Asian-American populations, nearly all Census-defined racial and ethnic minority groups tend to constitute a greater proportion of urban communities than rural ones. Individuals who identify as Native American are the only exception to this trend; People categorized as American Indian or Alaskan Native make up approximately 0.8 percent of the population in rural areas but only around 0.5 percent of the population in urban areas.

The differences in the racial composition of urban and rural areas are shown in **Chart 3** (see page 10),

Map 6
Percentage of Nonwhite Residents in the Total Population by City/Township

Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 40 percent
40 to less than 60 percent
60 percent or greater
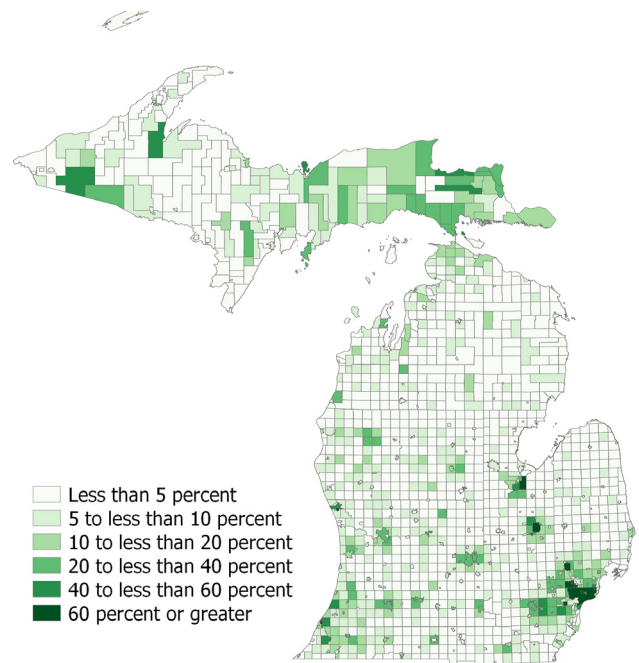
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

which highlights the percentage of the total population identifying with a particular race in urban and rural areas for several different racial groupings. Michigan is slightly less diverse than the national average, with a population that is 79.0 percent white compared to a national average of 76.9 percent white. This is the case despite the fact that the African-American population in Michigan (14.0 percent) makes up a larger share of the total than the national average (13.3 percent), the white population in Michigan (79.0 percent) is larger than the national average (76.9 percent) because other non-white populations make up a smaller share of the total in Michigan than for the national average. While having slightly less racial diversity than the nation as a whole, urban and rural areas in Michigan mirror national trends that indicate that racial diversity is concentrated in urban areas.

Defining Race for Census Purposes

The U.S. Census Bureau asks census and survey respondents to self-identify racial categories for each member of their households. The racial categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race and do not attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically.

Issues continue to arise because people do not always fit neatly into the race categories available in the census or surveys. For instance, children of mixed marriages have long struggled to identify a single categorization that they fit into. Since the 2000 census, individuals have had the opportunity to self-identify with more than one race. Whites are defined to include any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. Many people do not view people of Middle Eastern or Northern Africa descent as white, as victims of racism and bigotry in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks will attest. Nor do they fit neatly into any of the other categories available. It is estimated that as many as 500,000 people of Middle Eastern and Northern Africa descent live in Michigan, most of them in the Greater Detroit region.*

Other racial categories used by the census include:

Black or African American – A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.

American Indian or Alaska Native – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.

Asian – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.

* Arab America website, http://www.arabamerica.com/michigan/ last accessed 1/25/18.

Chart 3
Nonwhite Racial Composition by Area in Michigan
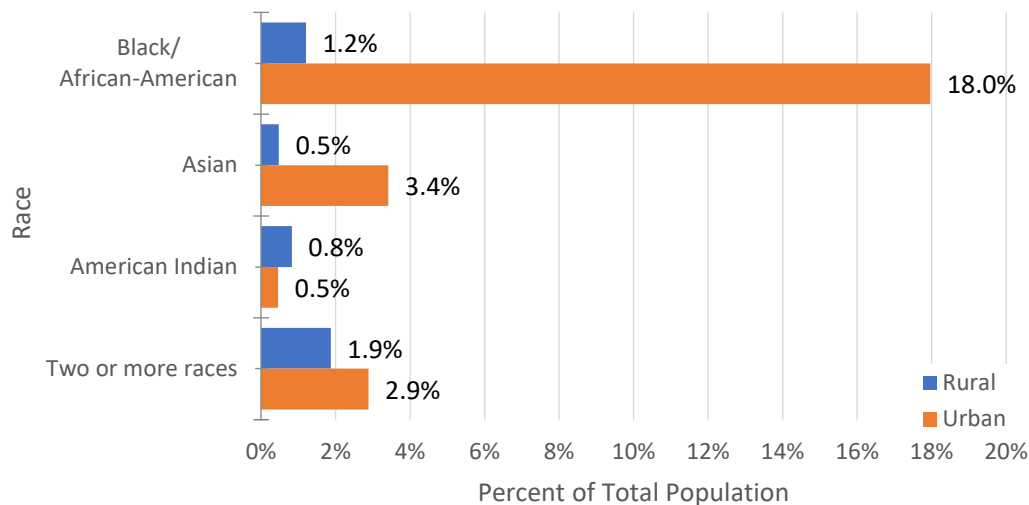
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Ethnicity

Differences in the ethnic composition of urban and rural areas are also present, with a slightly higher percentage of the population identifying as Hispanic or Latino in urban areas than in rural areas. This urban/rural difference in Hispanic or Latino identity, however, is much less pronounced than the racial differences across areas of the state. About 5.2 percent of the population in urban areas identifies as Hispanic or Latino, compared with 3.2 percent of the total population in rural areas.

The Hispanic or Latino population is most concentrated in West Michigan, where many were drawn originally because of the seasonal and migrant work opportunities in West Michigan's thriving agriculture. More than 15 percent of the populations of cities such as Holland and Grand Rapids identify as Hispanic or Latino. While this concentration is most prominent in urban areas, the Hispanic/Latino population is also significantly concentrated in rural Southwest and West Michigan as well (see **Map 7**).

Despite the large Hispanic or Latino populations that exist in Southwest and West Michigan, Michigan is home to a Hispanic or Latino population that is proportionally far smaller than the national average. While 17.8 percent of individuals in the United States identify as being from a Hispanic/Latino origin, only 4.7 percent of the population of Michigan identifies as such.

Age Differences

Michigan's urban and rural areas have notable divisions in age demographics. Urban areas of Michigan are home to a population that is, on average, about 5.8 years younger than the population of rural areas. Additionally, urban areas have a higher percentage of the total population below the age of 35 (46.9 percent) than rural areas (40.1 percent). Correspondingly, the percentage of the population over 50 in rural areas is 6.5 percentage points greater than that share of the population in urban areas. Michigan has minimal differences between urban and rural areas for the population aged 35 to 49 (see **Chart 4**).

At least part of the disparities in age between urban and rural Michigan can be attributed to the presence of colleges and universities in urban areas. Several university towns that classify as urban areas, includ-

Map 7

Percentage of Residents of Hispanic/Latino Origin by City/Township

Less than 3 percent
3 to less than 6 percent
6 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 15 percent
15 percent or greater
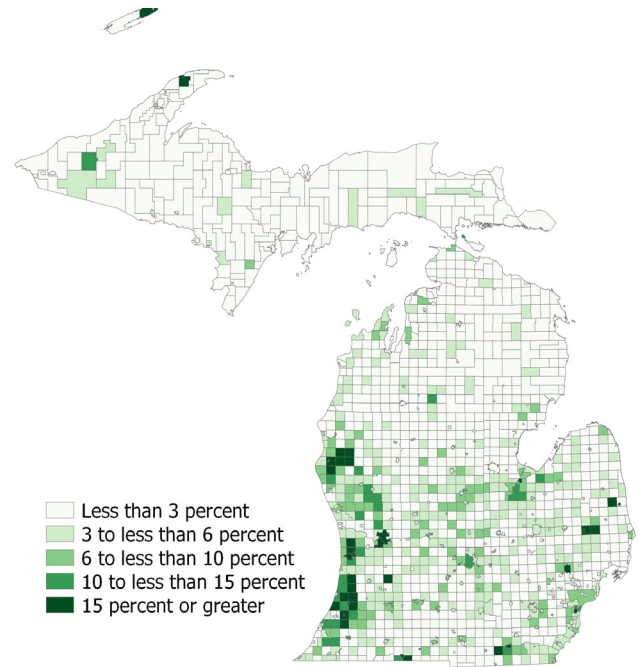
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Chart 4

Age Distribution by Area in Michigan, 2015
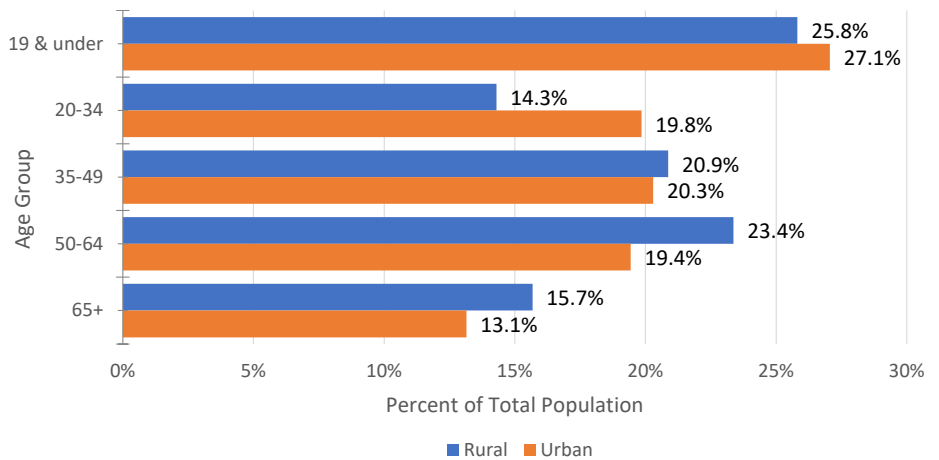
Age Group	Rural	Urban
19 & under	25.8%	27.1%
20-34	14.3%	19.8%
35-49	20.9%	20.3%
50-64	23.4%	19.4%
65+	15.7%	13.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

ing Ann Arbor, East Lansing, Kalamazoo, and Mt. Pleasant, rank among the top 25 youngest cities and townships in Michigan. Additionally, these age disparities are probably influenced by other factors, such as the movement of retirees to northern Michigan and the movement of younger, working-class individuals to urban and urbanizing areas for jobs.[11] Ultimately, the aging populations in rural areas of Michigan (particularly in northern Michigan) create a political and economic situation that is fundamentally different from the younger, urban areas in the southern portion of the state and will have important ramifications for the future of both urban and rural Michigan.

Veteran Status

Urban and rural areas have roughly equal shares of veterans residing in each area. Veterans make up 8.5 percent of the rural population and 7.6 percent of the urban population. **Map 8** illustrates how the veteran population is distributed throughout the state. The veteran population is highly concentrated in the Upper Peninsula and the upper half of the Lower Peninsula.

Veterans represent a lower percentage of Michigan's population when compared to other states. Michigan ranks 39th among the 50 states in the percentage of its population that are veterans. However, this ranking is skewed because the states that have the lowest percentages of their populations as veterans also

happen to be the states with the largest populations. The number of veterans as a percent of the Michigan population (8.2 percent) is almost the same as the national average (8.3 percent).

Map 8

Percentage of the Total Population that is a Veteran by City/Township
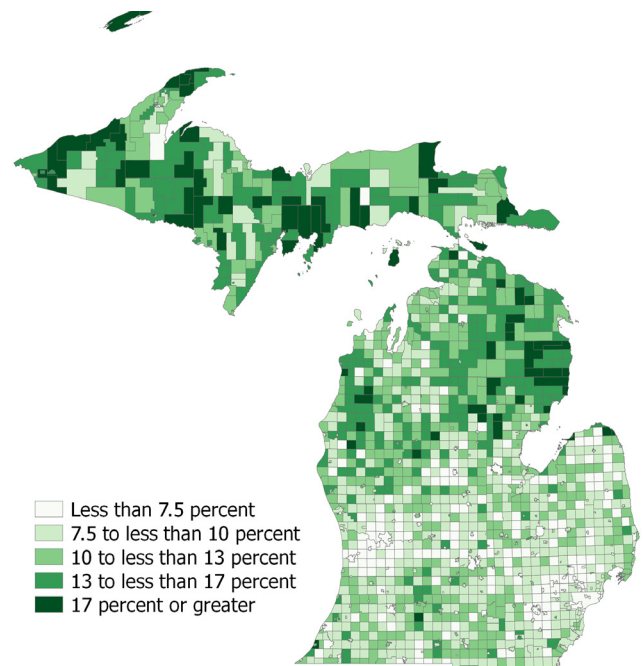
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Immigration[12]

Characteristics of the Foreign-born Population

Major disparities exist between urban and rural areas in Michigan on the topic of immigration. Urban areas have many more foreign-born individuals than rural areas. In urban Michigan, 7.7 percent of the total population is foreign-born, while in rural areas only 1.9 percent of individuals are foreign-born.

Foreign-born individuals are most prevalent, both as a percentage and in absolute terms, in areas immediately surrounding Detroit (see **Map 9**). With the exception of some municipalities in Southwest Michigan, foreign-born individuals in rural areas are scarce, as only 44,493 foreign-born individuals exist across all of rural Michigan, even though its population exceeds 2.5 million.

The percentage of the population in both urban and rural areas in Michigan that is foreign-born is also lower than the national average of 13.2 percent. This is likely attributed in part to the fact that Michigan has a very low percentage of individuals from Hispanic/Latino origin.

Only 37 of the state's cities and townships (2.4 percent) are home to a percentage of foreign-born individuals that is above the national average, and only five of these municipalities are classified as rural, all of which come from counties on the coast of Lake Michigan. In total, these municipalities comprise only 2.7 percent of the state's population, indicating that 97.3 percent of Michigan residents are less likely to interact with foreign-born individuals in their hometown than the average American.

Additionally, the population of urban areas is composed of a much higher percentage of individuals who are not U.S. citizens, with 3.8 percent of the urban population and only 0.91 percent of the rural population in Michigan not being recognized as citizens. While this disparity between urban and rural areas is significant, nearly all of it can be accounted for simply by the fact that urban areas have a much higher percentage of foreign-born individuals living in their neighborhoods than rural areas. In fact, urban and rural areas are alike in the percentage of foreign-born individuals who have become naturalized citizens, with just over 50 percent of foreign-born individuals having become citizens in both areas.

These differences are played out with disparities between the urban and rural populations in the percentages of individuals who speak only English. In rural Michigan, 96.3 percent of the population speaks only English, while in urban areas 89.0 percent of individuals speak only English. Again, the variation in the immigrant populations between the two areas likely contributes significantly to this disparity, as foreigners are likely to bring the languages from their home countries with them. In sum, these measurements paint an undeniable picture that urban areas of Michigan have significantly more diversity in terms of immigration than rural areas.

In addition, the characteristics of the immigrant population in each of the two areas also vary greatly. One of the most prominent differences between the urban and rural immigrant populations is the amount of time these foreign-born individuals have spent living in the United States. On average, immigrants in rural areas tend to have been living in the U.S. for longer, while immigrants in urban areas tend to have come to the

Map 9

Percentage of the Total Population that is Foreign-Born by City/Township

Less than 2 percent
2 to less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 percent or greater
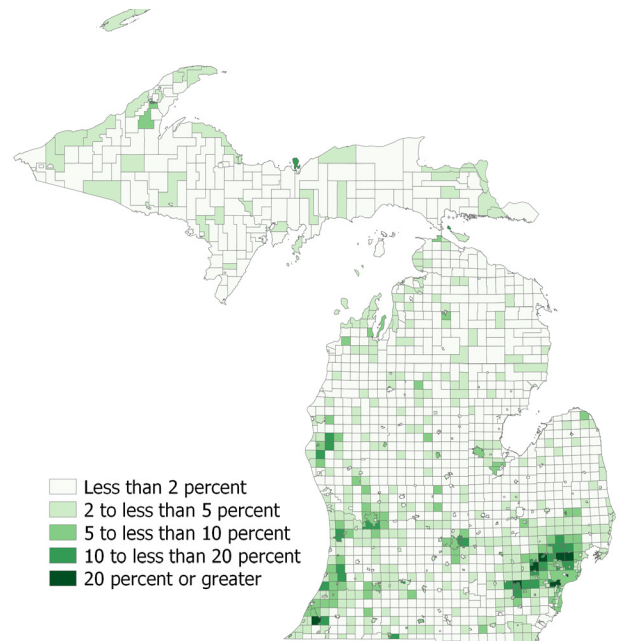
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Chart 5

Arrival Year for the Foreign-born Population by Area
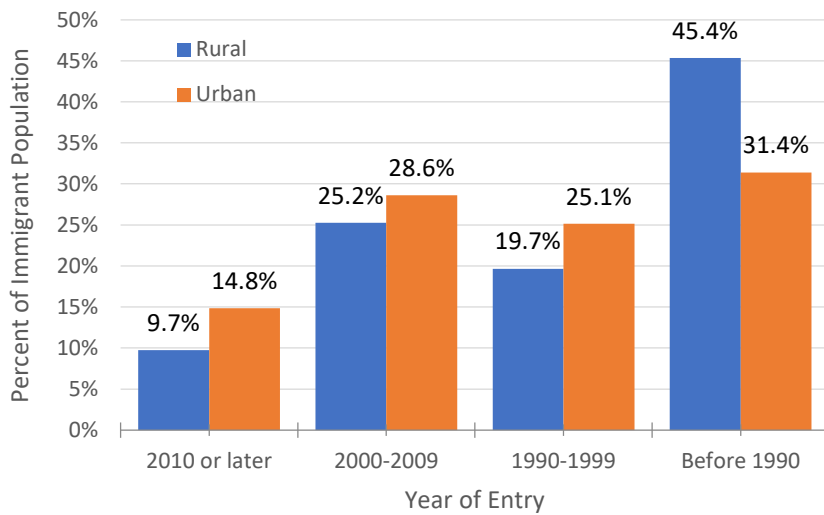
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

U.S. much later. These differences are striking: while only 31.4 percent of the foreign-born population in urban Michigan arrived to the U.S. before 1990, that percentage climbs to 45.4 percent in rural areas (see **Chart 5**). Ultimately, this likely suggests a pattern in which new immigrants are tending to settle in urban areas, while older immigrants are gradually dispersing into rural areas as they continue to live in Michigan.

Immigrant Origins

Urban and rural Michigan differ extraordinarily in the origins of the immigrant populations. Immigrants to Michigan generally come from three main regions: the Americas (South, Central, and the remainder of North America), Europe, and Asia (including the Middle East). In urban areas, just over 50 percent of all immigrants come from Asian and Middle Eastern countries; however, only 21.8 percent of the foreign-born population in rural areas comes from these parts of the world.

These lopsided figures are reversed for immigrants from Europe and the Americas: 75 percent of immigrants in rural Michigan come from Europe and the Americas, com-

pared to only 44.7 percent in urban areas (see **Chart 6**).

Overall, these disparities in the region of origin of the immigrant populations in urban and rural areas indicate that not only are urban areas much more racially and ethnically diverse, but they are also more culturally diverse than rural areas of Michigan. Given that three-quarters of the immigrants to areas in rural Michigan come from Europe and the Americas, culture in these areas is able to remain homogeneous, as American culture shares a relatively large number of similarities with the cultures of Europe and the remainder of the Americas. In urban areas, however, this is not the case, as immigrants to these areas bring Eastern and Middle Eastern cultures that are not as commonly found in American culture. These disparities create cultural diversity in urban Michigan.

In addition to looking at the region of origin for immigrants, looking at the main countries of origin for Michigan's immigrants also highlights some very unique aspects of the immigrant population. One unique aspect of Michigan's immigrant population, and

Chart 6

Immigrants by Region of Origin by Area
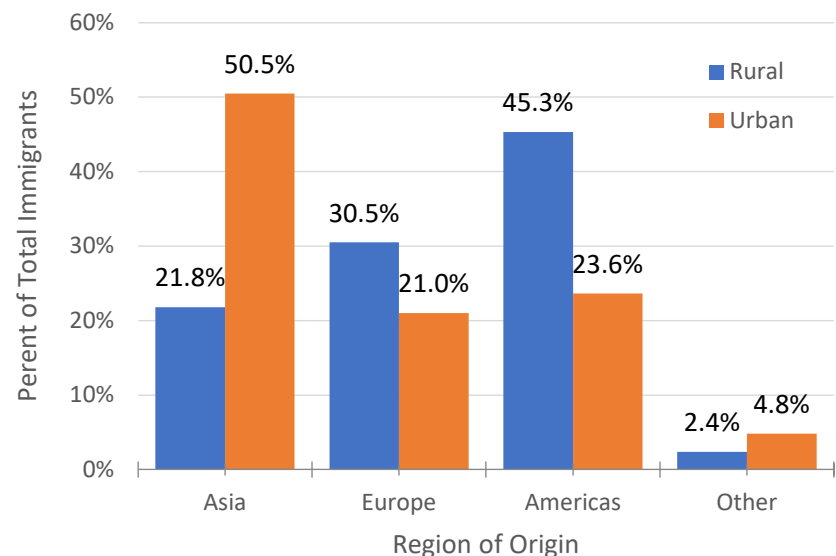
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

particularly its urban areas, is the large proportion of immigrants from the Middle East, particularly from Iraq and Lebanon. Immigrants from Iraq and Lebanon comprise 11.1 percent of Michigan's immigrants, far above the national average of 0.74 percent. This is because 22.3 percent of all Iraqi and Lebanese immigrants to the U.S. settle in Michigan, with urban Michigan alone being home to 22.1 percent of the nation's Iraqi and Lebanese immigrants.

Where Iraqi and Lebanese immigrants settle contributes in part to the differences between urban and rural Michigan on the subject of immigration. Rural areas of Michigan receive only 1.5 percent of their total foreign-born population from Iraq and Lebanon, while urban areas receive 11.9 percent of their total foreign-born population from these nations. This disparity is mostly created by the concentration of some of the most Arabic communities in the country in the urban areas just outside of Detroit, such as Dearborn and Hamtramck, as well as the high population of Iraqi Christians in these areas.[13]

Additionally, urban areas of Michigan receive higher percentages of immigrants from India and China, further contributing to the vast discrepancies between the immigrant populations in urban and rural areas. In urban Michigan, 15.4 percent of all immigrants come from India and China, while only 5.7 percent of all immigrants in rural Michigan come from India and China.

The low percentages of Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants in rural Michigan are made up for by higher percentages of Mexican immigrants. Mexican immigrants constitute 25.3 percent of the total in rural Michigan, while only 12.2 percent of immigrants to urban areas are from Mexico. While

this is not due to a lack of Mexican immigrants settling in urban areas (as urban Michigan has nearly seven times the number of Mexican immigrants than rural Michigan), it is rather because immigrants from countries other than Mexico settle in urban Michigan at much higher rates than rural Michigan. However, a larger proportion of immigrants from Mexico and Canada settle in rural areas when compared with the other major countries of origin for immigrants to Michigan (see **Chart 7**).

In sum, urban Michigan has many more immigrants than rural Michigan. Additionally, rural Michigan has less diversity in the origin of its immigrants than urban Michigan. Even the immigrant cohorts that do settle in rural Michigan come from cultures that are more similar to the United States, leading to a much greater cultural homogeneity among rural residents on the subject of immigration than urban residents.

Chart 7
Immigrants by Country of Origin by Area
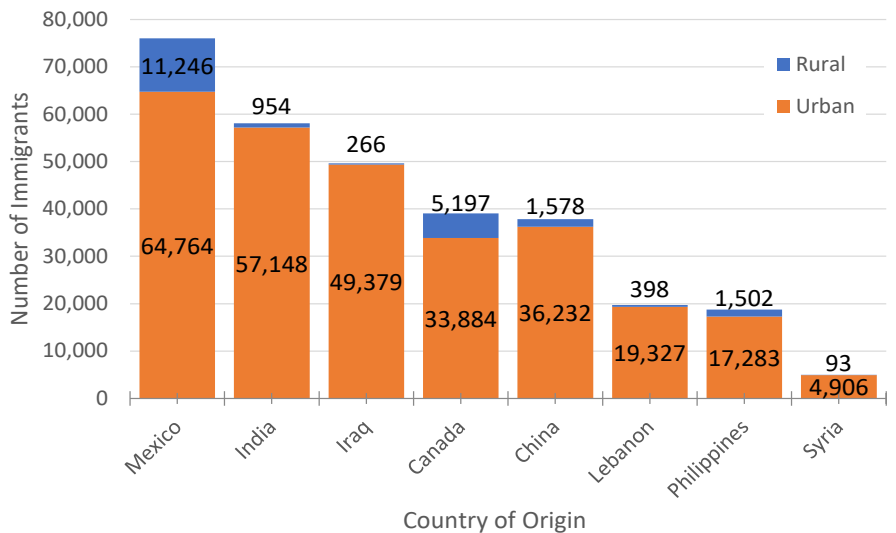
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Marriage and Family Life[14]

Marital Status

Urban and rural areas in Michigan differ on the topic of marriage and family life. One of the most prominent differences between these areas comes from differences in the marriage and divorce rates. Urban areas have marriage rates that are significantly lower than rural areas, as only 44.9 percent of individuals in urban areas are currently married while 58.2 percent of individuals in rural areas are currently married.[15]

Additionally, a much higher percentage of individuals in urban areas have never been married; 35.5 percent of urban residents have never been married and only 23.9 percent of rural residents have never been married. In part, this difference can be attributed to the fact that the rural population is generally older than the urban population; however, it is unlikely that this 11.6 percentage point gap is created solely by age disparities between urban and rural areas.

Divorced and separated couples are slightly more prominent in urban areas, as 13.3 percent of urban individuals are divorced or separated while only 11.1 percent of rural individuals are divorced or separated. Even so, this difference is not nearly as prominent as the difference in the rate of individuals who have never been married (see **Chart 8**).

Chart 8
Current Marital Status by Area

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Family Characteristics

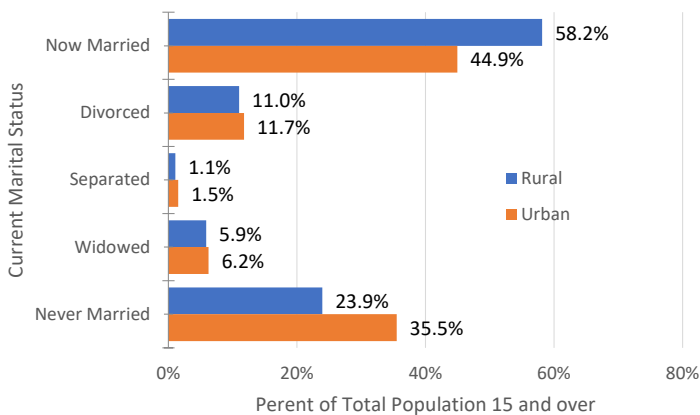Major differences are found also between urban and rural areas in Michigan regarding the characteristics of family life. Rural areas have a much higher percentage of their population living in married-couple families than urban areas, with 82.4 percent of the rural population living in married-couple families and only 70.2 percent of the urban population living in married-couple families. Although this trend is fairly consistent across all urban and rural areas, urban areas differ between the inner cities and the outskirts of urban areas, with inner cities such as Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw each having less than 50 percent of all individuals living in married-couple families.

Despite the higher presence of married couples in rural areas, married-couple families in urban areas are more likely to have children under 18 in the home, with 39.8 percent of married-couple families having children under 18 in urban areas and only 32.4 percent of married-couple families in rural areas having children under 18 in the home.[d]

Furthermore, urban and rural areas have differences in regards to single-parent families. Incidences of single motherhood are much higher in urban areas than in rural areas. While only 17.2 percent of families with children under 18 in rural areas are headed by single mothers, that rate is over 10 percentage points higher in urban areas, with 28.3 percent of families with children under 18 being headed by single mothers.[e] Again, incidences of single motherhood are highest in the inner cities of Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw, where more than 50 percent of families with children under 18 have a single mother as the head of the household.

d   Note, however, that this information does not suggest that individuals in rural areas are more likely to have children than individuals in urban areas. This conclusion cannot be reached for two reasons: first, because married-couple families in rural areas are older on average and thus are more likely to have children who are over the age of 18, and second, because this data is only reflective of married-couple families, and thus does not provide information about the entire population of individuals.

e   Single motherhood rates are calculated as the number of families with children under 18 that have a female head of the household and no husband present divided by the total number of families with children under 18.

Even though families with children under 18 in urban areas have a much higher rate of single motherhood, this trend does not hold true for single fathers. In fact, rural areas have a slightly higher rate of single father-hood, with 9.1 percent of all families with children under 18 in rural areas and only 8.1 percent of all families with children under 18 in urban areas having a single father as the head of the household.

Furthermore, single fatherhood does not concentrate in the centers of urban cities like single motherhood does. In fact, the inner city communities that have the highest rates of single motherhood also have the most disproportionate rates of single motherhood to single fatherhood, suggesting that there are characteristic features of these communities which cause the rates of single motherhood to be much higher than those of single fatherhood.

Although one cannot be certain what these character-istics are without further data exploration, one factor that could perhaps be contributing to this disparity is the higher incarceration rates of men in inner cities. Because 93 percent of the national prison population is male, and incarceration rates are so high in inner cities, this could potentially be contributing to the vast disparities in single motherhood compared to single fatherhood in urban communities.[16]

Although many differences exist in family life between urban and rural families in Michigan, one major similarity between these families is the percentage of parents who are stay-at-home parents. Urban and rural areas are nearly identi-cal in the percentage of stay-at-home mothers, with 22 percent of urban families with children under 18 having a stay-at-home mother and 21.5 percent of rural families having a stay-at-home mother. Likewise, this trend is similar for stay-at-home fathers, with 3.8 percent of urban families having a stay-at-home father and 4.5 percent of rural families having a stay-at-home father.

Birth Rates

Urban and rural areas have fairly similar birth rates. Urban areas in Michigan have an average of 52.5 births per 1,000 women and rural areas have an average of 49.4 births per 1,000 women.[f]

Additionally, urban and rural areas have similar birth rates for unmarried women. In urban communities, the number of births per 1,000 unmarried women is 34.6, whereas rural communities have a birth rate of 32.2 births per 1,000 unmarried women.

Finally, urban and rural areas in Michigan have similar rates of teen pregnancy.[g] Urban areas have a teen birth rate of 18.6 births per 1,000 teen women, while rural areas have a teen birth rate of 16.3 births per 1,000 teen women. **Chart 9** highlights these similarities in birth rates between urban and rural areas.

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f   Defined as the number of births per 1,000 women aged 15-50 in the past 12 months
g   Defined as the rate of birth per 1,000 teen women (women aged 15-19) in the past 12 months

Chart 9

Birth Rates for Selected Individuals
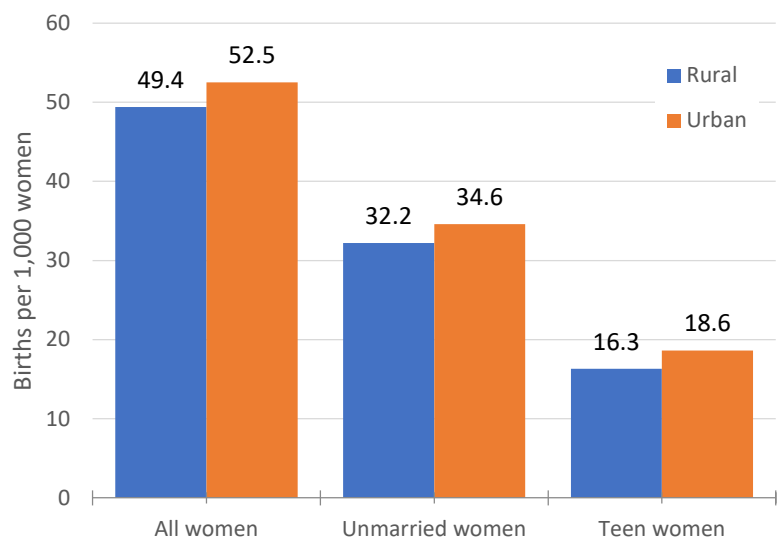
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Abortions

Urban and rural Michigan have different abortion rates. In urban areas, abortions occur at a rate that is roughly three times that of rural areas, as there are 5.9 abortions per 1,000 women in urban areas but only 1.9 abortions per 1,000 women in rural areas.

Additionally, abortions are by far the highest in Wayne County, with 10.9 abortions per 1,000 women; the next highest county (Macomb County) has 6.2 abortions per 1,000 women.

Not only are abortions high in Wayne County, but they are also high in the entire tri-county area, as well as in Genesee and Saginaw County. **Map 10** depicts abortion rates by county per 1,000 people, which shows a significant difference between urban and rural counties in the number of abortions per 1,000 women.

Some of the concentration in these few counties can be explained by their relatively younger populations compared to rural counties and the concentration of hospitals and medical centers in these areas.

Map 10

Abortions per 1,000 Women by County

Less than 1
1 to less than 2
2 to less than 3
3 to less than 5
5 or greater
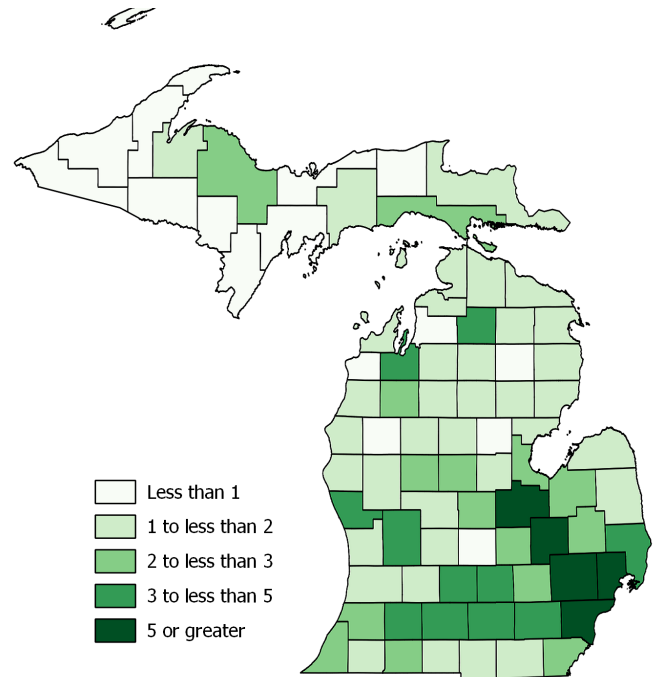
Source: Michigan Department of Health and Human Services

Housing[17]

Housing Unit Characteristics

A prominent difference is found in the rates of home ownership between rural and urban areas. In urban areas, only 66.4 percent of families own their households, compared to 86.0 percent of families who own their households in rural areas, a 20.4 percentage point gap.

Urban residents are significantly more likely than rural residents to rent their households. The reason for this disparity is the fact that multi-unit housing structures are much more common in urban areas with higher population densities. Urban areas have housing densities 14 times higher than is found in rural areas (727 households per square mile in urban areas compared to 51 households per square mile in rural areas).

When compared to nationwide averages, a greater percentage of the population owns their homes in Michigan than in the U.S. as a whole, as 71.0 percent of Michiganders own their homes while only 63.9 percent of the U.S. population owns their homes.

The variation in the type of housing units present in urban and rural communities in Michigan is quite large as well. In rural areas, 84.3 percent of housing structures

Chart 10

Type of Housing Unit by Area
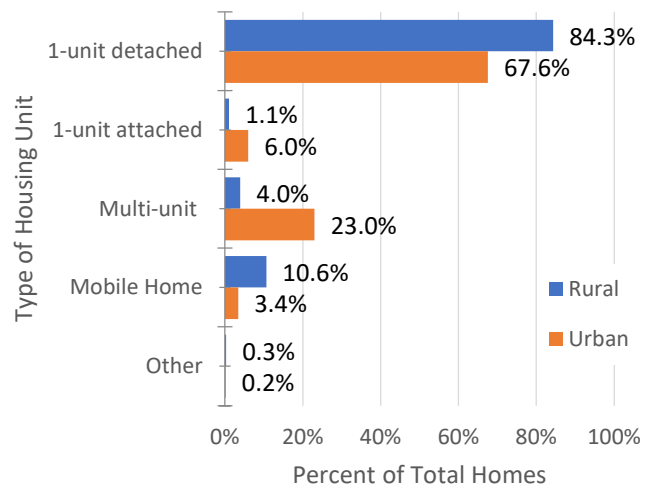
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

are one-unit detached households, while 67.6 percent of households in urban areas take the same form (see **Chart 10**, page 18). Additionally, mobile homes are much more common in rural areas than in urban areas, with mobile homes representing 10.6 percent of households in rural Michigan and 3.4 percent of households in urban Michigan.

Michigan also has significantly more people living in single-unit detached homes than the nation, as 72.1 percent of households in Michigan are single-unit detached homes compared to a national average of 61.6 percent.

Housing Mobility

Additionally, urban and rural residents in Michigan differ considerably in the length of time that they remain in their households. Rural residents tend to have lived in their households for much longer than urban residents. These differences are quite large, especially in the most recent years, as one-third of urban residents have lived in their current household since 2010 or later, but only one-fifth of rural residents have done the same (see **Chart 11**).

On the other hand, 47 percent of rural residents have lived in their household since 2000 or earlier, whereas only 35 percent of urban residents have done so. Ultimately, this suggests that urban residents live in their households for a shorter period of time than rural residents, and are therefore more likely to see new families moving in and out of households in their neighborhoods.

When looking at individuals moving into new homes in urban and rural counties, 63 percent of individuals who moved into a home in an urban county came from a different location in the same county; in rural counties, about 53 percent of individuals moved into their new home from a different location within the same county. The highest rates of movement within the same county in urban areas come from Wayne County, likely due to the movement of individuals from Detroit to its surrounding areas.

Additionally, in accordance with the fact that urban areas have a larger immigrant population than rural areas, urban areas also have a higher percentage

Chart 11

Year of Home Purchase by Area
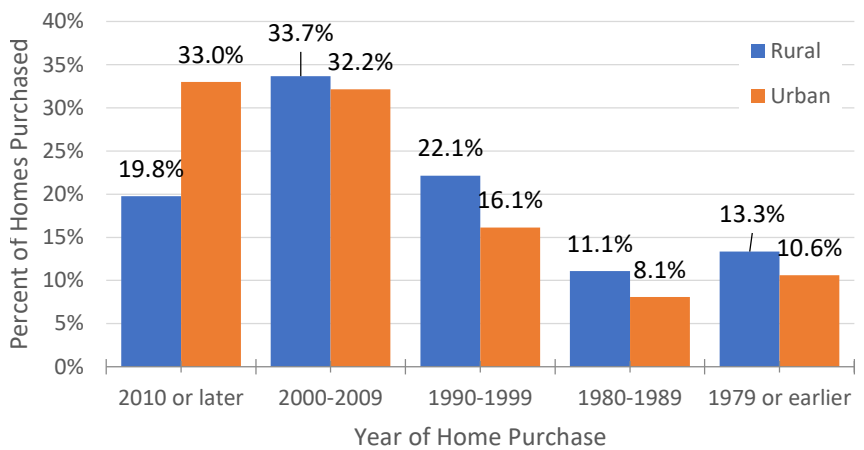
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

of individuals moving into the area from a different country, with 3.4 percent of all individuals moving into an urban community coming from another country and only 2.2 percent of all individuals moving into a rural community coming from another country.

Despite this, rural areas have higher rates of movement into their communities from different counties within Michigan (see **Chart 12**).

Chart 12

Movement of People by Area
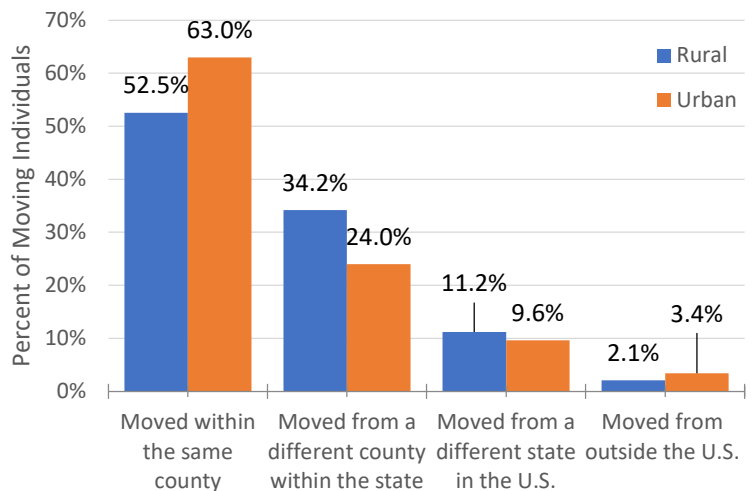
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate

Home Values

Assessing differences in home values depends on how comparisons are made across the areas. When calculating a simple average of the median household value of homes in urban and rural areas, urban areas outperform rural areas. Urban areas have an average home value of $135,567 and rural areas have an average home value of $122,782. However, when calculating a weighted average by the number of housing units, rural areas outperform urban areas. Rural areas have a median household value of $132,419 and urban areas have a median household value of $124,428.

Even though it is difficult to conclude that there are any major differences between urban and rural areas in terms of median household value, differences within urban and rural communities separate the overall housing outlook in the two areas. In general, urban areas experience much more heterogeneity in the median household values in their communities than rural areas do.

These differences occur primarily because of the presence of communities on the outskirts of urbanized areas for which median household values hover above $250,000. These areas are clustered primarily

in Oakland, Washtenaw, and Kent Counties (see **Map 11**). This masks the fact that many urban communities, most notably in Detroit and its immediate surroundings, have median home values that fall below $75,000.

Broadband

Broadband Internet access is increasingly important to conduct daily business, receive news, and interact with friends and neighbors. In Michigan, a high correlation exists between the degree of urbanization in each county and the percent of households with access to at least a 25 MBPS broadband connection (see **Map 12**). Once upon a time, access to 25 MBPS broadband would have been considered a luxury, but today streaming a 4K movie from Netflix could eat up all of a 25 Mbps connection.

The percent of households with access to 25 MBPS broadband connections ranges from 100 percent of the households in Ingham County to none of the households in Luce County. Urban counties have the most ready access to broadband Internet access. Other than Ingham County, Oakland, Wayne, Macomb, Genesee, Kalamazoo, Ottawa, Kent, and Grand Traverse counties all have near universal access. Lesser

Map 11
Median Household Value by City/Township

Less than $75,000
$75,000 to less than $100,000
$100,000 to less than $125,000
$125,000 to less than $150,000
$150,000 to less than $200,000
$200,000 or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Map 12
Percent of Households with Access to a Minimum of 25 MBPS Broadband Connection by County

Less than 50 percent
50 to less than 60 percent
60 to less than 70 percent
70 to less than 80 percent
80 to less than 90 percent
90 percent or greater
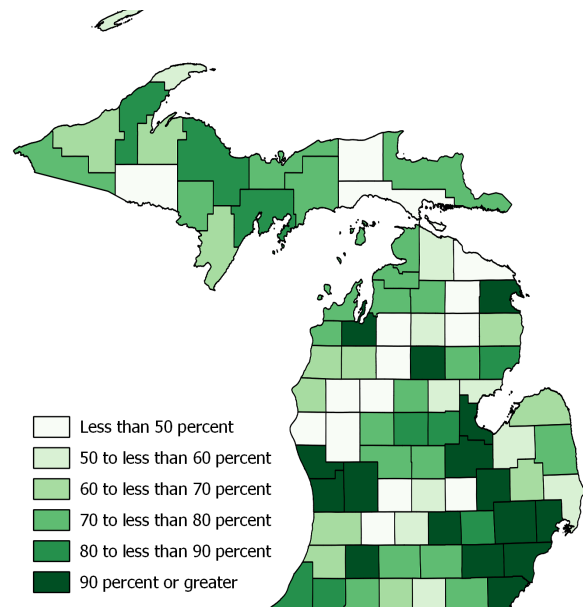
Source: BroadBandNow. Internet access as of November 2017. https://broadbandnow.com/Michigan. Accessed January 25, 2018.

percentages of households in other urban counties have broadband access, reflecting the lesser degrees of urbanization in those counties.

The percent of households with access to 25 MBPS broadband connections among the mostly rural counties ranges from more than 85 percent in Roscommon, Alpena, and Iosco counties to less than 15 percent in Iron, Sanilac, and Luce counties.

Among the entirely rural counties, less than 80 percent of households have access to 25 MBPS broadband in Ogemaw, Benzie, and Antrim counties and the percent drops to less than 6 percent of the households in Montmorency and Lake counties.

Education[18]

Enrollment

Urban and rural areas in Michigan have both similarities and differences on the topic of educational enrollment. Urban and rural areas are not very different in the enrollment of three and four-year-olds in preschool. The data show that 48.5 percent of urban three and four-year-olds are enrolled in preschool, while only 43.5 percent of rural toddlers are enrolled in preschool.[h]

For the enrollment of students in kindergarten through 12th grade, the number of rural and urban students who attend public schools are nearly identical: both areas have about 90 percent of students enrolling in public schools and 10 percent of students enrolling in private school, a rate that is directly in line with the national average.[i]

Chart 13

Enrollment Disparities by Age Group by Area
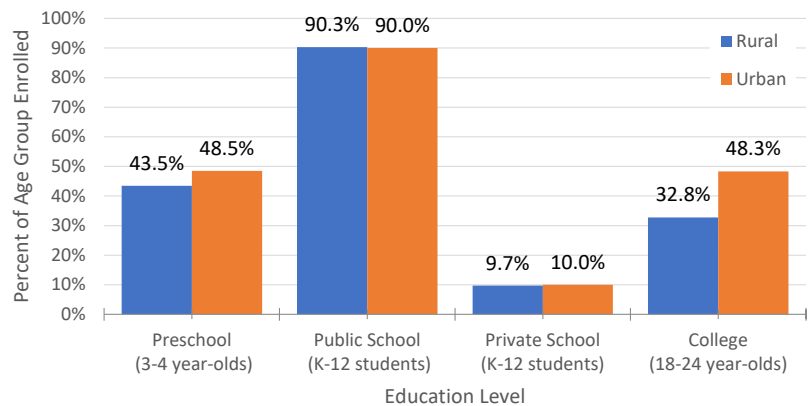
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

College enrollment is much higher in urban areas than rural areas. Some 48.3 percent of all individuals age 18 to 24 from urban areas are enrolled in college or graduate school, while only 32.8 percent of rural individuals age 18 to 24 are enrolled in classes (see **Chart 13**).

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h   While the ACS five-year estimates of three- to four-year-old school enrollment are not a perfect measurement of the number of children in the state attending preschool (since Michigan allowed four-year-olds born before December 1 to enroll in kindergarten prior to the 2013-2014 school year), it is expected that the proportion of four-year olds enrolling in kindergarten is roughly equal in both urban and rural areas.

i   It is important to note here, however, that this data was collected using a five-year average from 2011-2015, before and during the reorganization process in many major urban school districts, such as Detroit Public Schools. This could create slightly different results today than are seen in this analysis of data from 2011-2015.

Educational Attainment

One of the bigger differences between the urban and rural populations in Michigan is in the average level of educational attainment, with these disparities being most noticeable in higher education. This gap emerges predominantly in the percentage of individuals age 25 and over who have obtained bachelor's and graduate degrees. While 29.3 percent of individuals living in urban areas have obtained a bachelor's degree by age 25, only 19.9 percent of their rural counterparts have done the same. This trend continues into the acquiring of professional and graduate degrees, as 11.6 percent of urban residents have obtained a graduate or professional degree but only 7.1 percent of rural residents have done the same (see **Chart 14**, page 22).

Chart 14
Educational Attainment Distribution by Area
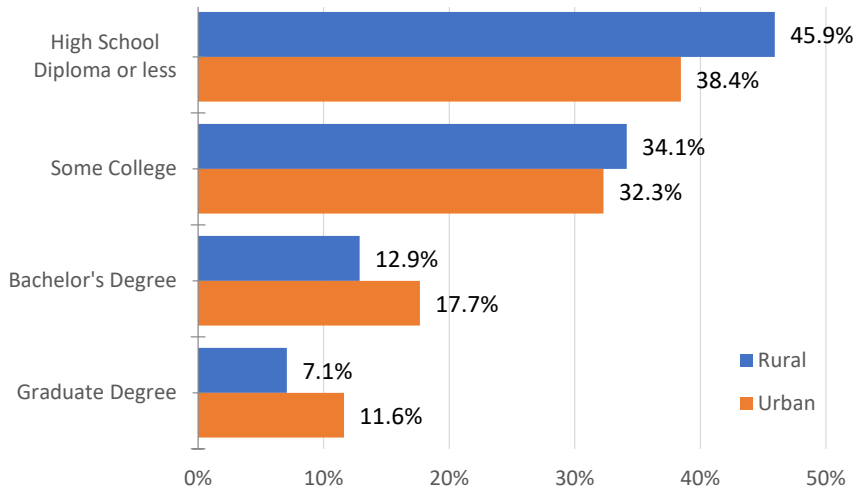
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

The data is mixed for residents with less than a college degree. The percentages of urban residents (10.7 percent) and rural residents (9.6 percent) over 25 years of age that have stopped their education before receiving a high school diploma is very similar. The percentage of residents over the age of 25 to have stopped their education after receiving a high school diploma is higher for rural residents (36.3 percent) than for urban residents (27.7 percent). Urban and rural areas have a similar percentage of their residents obtaining an associate degree or completing some college but not obtaining a degree.

The percent of the urban population without a high school degree is influenced by large cities and townships in Wayne County that have very high percentages of their populations without a high school diploma. Between 20 to 30 percent of the individuals over 25 years of age in Detroit, Highland Park, and Hamtramck do not have a high school diploma.

Nevertheless, highly educated communities in the Grand Rapids, Ann Arbor, and Lansing areas help to bring urban area averages near the standards of rural area averages. Ultimately, this makes urban and rural areas comparable on measures of primary and secondary educational attainment, despite the much higher levels of educational attainment on the postsecondary level in urban areas (see **Map 13**).

As can be seen in **Map 14** (page 23), Michigan residents with at least a Bachelor's degree are concentrated in a few distinct areas of the state:

- Metropolitan Detroit with the business interests and the universities (University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Wayne State University in Detroit, Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Oakland University in Rochester);
- Around Grand Rapids with the business interests and Grand Valley State University in Allendale;
- Around Lansing, with the concentration of professional state government employees and Michigan State University in East Lansing;
- Near Saginaw and Midland, homes to Saginaw Valley State University and the Dow Chemical facilities;
- Around other college towns such as Kalamazoo, Mt. Pleasant, Big Rapids, and Marquette.

Map 13
Percentage of the Population 25 and over without a High School Diploma by City/Township
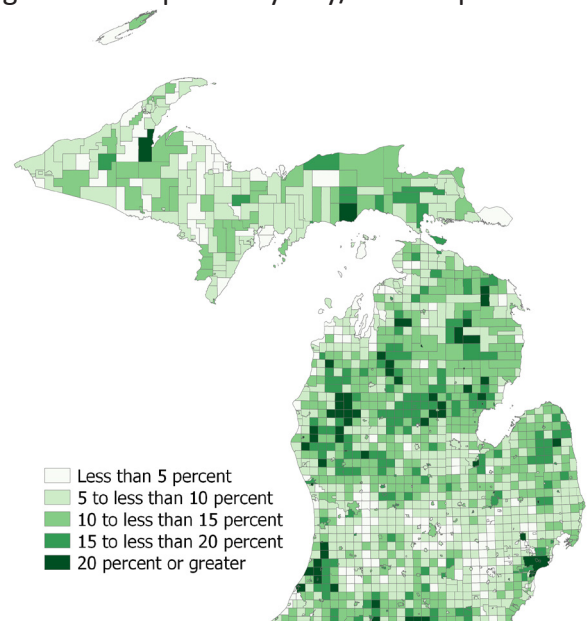
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Map 14

Percentage of the Total Population with a Bachelor's Degree by City/Township

Less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 30 percent
30 to less than 50 percent
50 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

The concentrations of those with a college degree in the northwest corner of the Lower Peninsula and along Lake Michigan are also noteworthy.

These concentrations of those with a college degree benefit both the urban areas of the state, where much of the businesses and universities are located, and rural communities on the fringes of these urban areas that have benefited from urban sprawl and degreed professionals locating further from their places of employment.

What contributes the most to high urban educational attainment rates is the presence of these high-achieving urban areas in Oakland and Washtenaw counties, the Grand Rapids area, and the northernmost and westernmost areas in Wayne County. Urban cities and townships comprise 75 of the top 100 jurisdictions with the highest percentages of four-year college gradu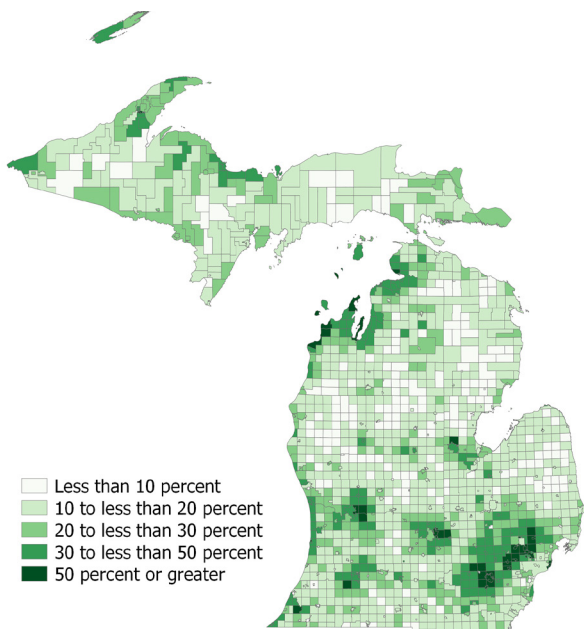ates, even though urban cities and townships make up only about 26 percent of the over 1,500 cities and townships in the state. Many rural areas, on the other hand, have graduation rates that are comparable to the lowest performing urban areas. Rural Michigan encompasses very few of these areas with such high percentages of residents possessing a bachelor's degree, which contributes to the overall lower levels of educational attainment in rural areas.

The highly educated cities and townships that exist in the outer urban areas of the state counterbalance the low educational attainment of the inner cities and allow for urban areas as a whole to be more highly educated than rural areas, albeit with much greater disparities in educational outcomes.

Income and Employment[19]

Income

Although people often associate poverty with Michigan's inner cities, simply associating those cities with their suburban peers would be a mistake. The chances that a person might reside in a wealthy community is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Forty-seven percent of urban communities have a median household income greater than the state median household income of $49,576. Only 40 percent of rural communities have median household incomes greater than the state median household income.

Evidence of wealth being more highly concentrated in urban areas is also found in the measure of per capita personal income. The $27,744 per capita personal income in urban areas of the state is greater than the $24,070 per capita personal income in rural areas of the state.

Clusters of smaller, outer urban communities that have very high average incomes exist in Oakland, Macomb, and Washtenaw counties, as well as outside of Lansing and Grand Rapids (see **Map 15**, page 24). These extraordinarily wealthy urban communities constitute 38 (76 percent) of the top 50 wealthiest communities in Michigan, despite urban communities making up only 26 percent of all communities in Michigan.

Stratification of wealth is found in both the urban and rural areas of the state. In Southeast Michigan, the

Map 15

Mean Household Income by City/Township

Less than $30,000
$30,000 to less than $50,000
$50,000 to less than $60,000
$60,000 to less than $75,000
$75,000 to less than $100,000
$100,000 or greater
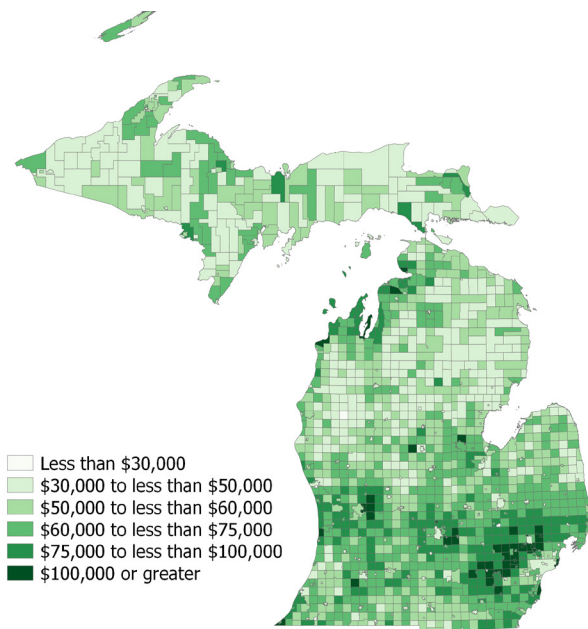
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

wealthy communities of Lake Angelus, Bloomfield Hills, Orchard Lake, Grosse Pointe Shores, and Birmingham lie not far geographically from Detroit, Pontiac, Hamtramck, Highland Park, and Royal Oak Township. In West Michigan, East Grand Rapids, Cascade Charter Township, and Ada Township are near less wealthy Cedar Springs and Tyrone Township. Texas Charter Township is a suburb of Kalamazoo. In each of these examples, the wealthier communities have per capita personal incomes that are more than 300 percent higher than those of the less wealthy communities.

The wealthiest of the rural communities benefit from their locations near urban hubs: West Traverse Township in Emmet County, Lake Township in Benzie County, Peninsula Township in Grand Traverse County, and Glen Arbor Township in Leelanau County are all near Traverse City; Larkin Charter Township in Midland County is near the City of Midland; Williamstown Township and Wheatfield Township in Ingham County are near Lansing; and Lodi Township in Washtenaw County benefits from its proximity to Ann Arbor.

Some scattered areas in rural Michigan are wealthy, especially near Lake Michigan and the Grand Traverse Bay area. These wealthy rural areas tend to cluster near the many large lakes that are popular tourist destinations. In fact, the darker shading of communities along the Lake Michigan shoreline in **Map 15** shows how the rural measures of wealth benefit from tourism that is a big part of the state economy.

Although observing household income averages provides little insight into the disparities between urban and rural communities, the distribution of household income across urban and rural areas highlights some interesting trends that begin to uncover the true nature of income distribution in Michigan. As can be seen in **Chart 15**, urban areas have much more heterogeneity than rural areas in the distribution of income. Urban areas in Michigan have a higher proportion of their population at the edges of the income distribution, whereas incomes in rural Michigan tend to center

Chart 15

Distribution of Household Income by Area
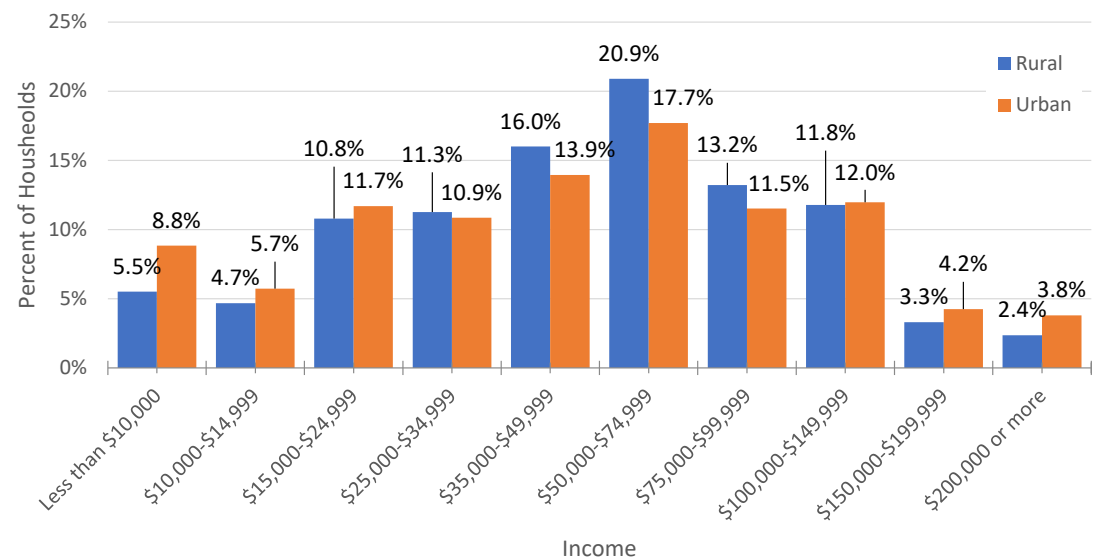
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

around the middle of the income distribution. This is most noticeable when comparing household incomes in the range of $35,000 to $75,000, as urban communities have only 31.6 percent of households with incomes in this range while rural communities have 36.9 percent of households in this range.

Analyzing this income breakdown further supports the idea that the wealthiest communities in the state are clustered in urban areas, as over 75 percent of the 52 communities in Michigan with 10 percent or more of households earning over $200,000 a year are located in urban areas. These wealthy urban areas skew the mean household income of urban Michigan as a whole, masking the fact that some urban areas (such as Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw) have over 45 percent of the households earning less than $35,000 a year. In sum, the concentration of wealth in upper middle-class urban areas in Michigan overpowers the working-class incomes of the inner cities in the state, causing wide income disparities that allow for urban areas to have higher average incomes, but more variation in income within these areas than rural Michigan.

Nonetheless, Michigan as a state performs worse than the national average in both its urban and rural areas, as the state's mean household income is $66,760 compared to the national average of $75,558. Michigan ranks as the 32nd highest mean household income among the states.

Poverty

Urban and rural areas in Michigan experience major disparities on the topic of income and employment. One of these differences is found in the number of individuals who live below the poverty threshold. Urban areas have a higher percentage of their population living in poverty, with 18.1 percent of households below the poverty threshold, while rural areas in the state have only 12.4 percent of households in poverty.

These poverty averages, however, only provide a partial indication of how poverty is actually distributed in Michigan. Even though poverty is higher on average in urban areas, urban poverty is clustered within the centers of large cities and their immediate surroundings. Particularly, these areas are found in Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw (see **Map 16**), which have poverty rates that hover above 35 percent.

In addition, while the large populations of many cities with high poverty rates skew the average poverty rates of urban areas upward, solely focusing on average poverty levels in urban and rural areas ignores the influence of wealthy communities on the outskirts of urban areas which actually have very low levels of poverty, particularly in Oakland and Kent Counties. Ultimately, these wide disparities lead to vast heterogeneity in poverty levels within urban communities.

On the contrary, despite the fact that poverty tends to not be as severe in rural areas as it is in some core cities, rural poverty tends to be more homogenous. In rural areas, poverty levels are spread consistently across the state. Even though poverty rates in rural areas in general are lower than in urban areas, many rural areas still have extraordinarily high poverty rates, indicating that poverty poses a major challenge for individuals in rural areas as well as for those in the inner cities.

Map 16

Percentage of the Population Living in Poverty by City/Township

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Legend:
- Less than 5 percent
- 5 to less than 10 percent
- 10 to less than 20 percent
- 20 to less than 30 percent
- 30 to less than 40 percent
- 40 percent or greater
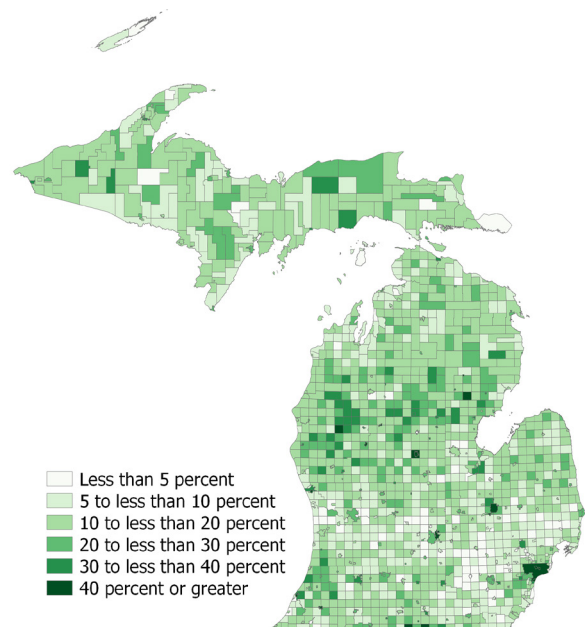
The percentage of the population in Michigan living in poverty is slightly higher than the national average, as Michigan's poverty rate is 16.7 percent and the nationwide poverty rate is 15.5 percent. Michigan ranks 14th in the nation on the percentage of the population living in poverty, and has the highest percentage of its population living in poverty of all the Midwestern states.

Childhood poverty is a concern in both urban and rural communities, although the rates of childhood poverty are higher in urban areas. The fact that one quarter (25.6 percent) of all urban children are living in poverty should be alarming enough, but the fact that urban poverty tends to be more highly concentrated in a relatively few communities speaks to how deep the poverty is in those places. Rural childhood poverty (17.9 percent) is not as high as urban poverty, and the even spread of rural poverty suggests that this is a widespread issue in need of attention. The statewide average of 23.5 percent is slightly higher than the national average of 21.7 percent. Child poverty, as to be expected, clusters in the same areas where household poverty clusters.
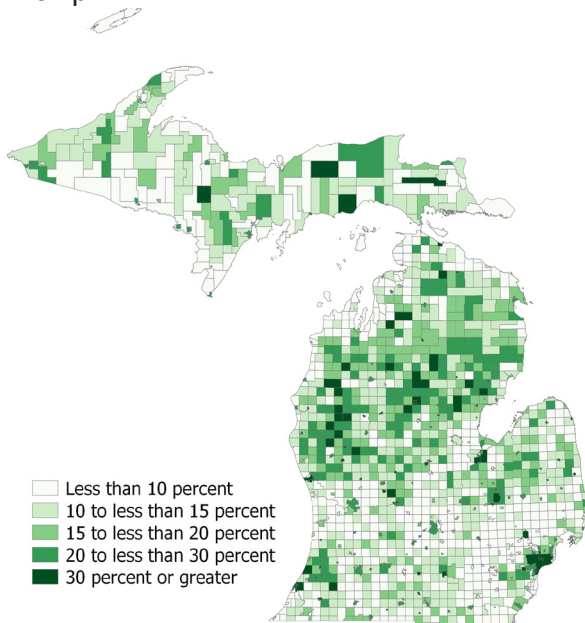
Map 17
Percentage of the Population on SNAP by City/Township

Less than 10 percent
10 to less than 15 percent
15 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 30 percent
30 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

SNAP Program (Food Stamps)

In line with poverty trends, urban and rural Michigan have minor differences in the percentage of the population that relies on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (commonly known as Food Stamps). In rural Michigan, 12.4 percent of the population rely on SNAP, while 18.1 percent of the urban population rely on SNAP. The areas that have a disproportionately high percentage of their population relying on SNAP, however, track closely to the areas which have a disproportionately high percentage of their population in poverty, suggesting that SNAP recipients are spread out in a way that is similar to the spread of poverty.

Like poverty, the percentage of the population relying on SNAP is high in rural, northern Michigan, and that urban averages for this measure are higher only because of the concentration of a high number of individuals that rely on SNAP in the inner cities (see **Map 17**).

The highest percentages of individuals using SNAP are located in the inner cities, particularly in Benton Harbor, Highland Park, and Midland, which each have about 50 percent of their population using SNAP. Even so, isolated pockets of rural areas have SNAP program participation rates that are nearly as high as these urban areas, so it should not be concluded that all rural areas do not experience high levels of SNAP program participation, but rather that in the aggregate, they have lower levels of participation in the program than urban residents.

Michigan, with 14.2 percent of the population receiving SNAP, ranks 20th in the number of SNAP recipients among states. Among the Great Lakes states, Michigan has a smaller percent of its population that receives SNAP than Illinois, but a higher percentage than Ohio, Wisconsin, or Indiana.

Income Inequality

In line with disparities in the income distribution, urban areas in Michigan have higher levels of income inequality than rural areas. The Census Bureau uses a system of measuring income inequality known as the GINI coefficient, which ranges from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating complete income inequality and 0 indicating complete income equality. In other words, all of the residents in a community with a score of 1 would have equal income
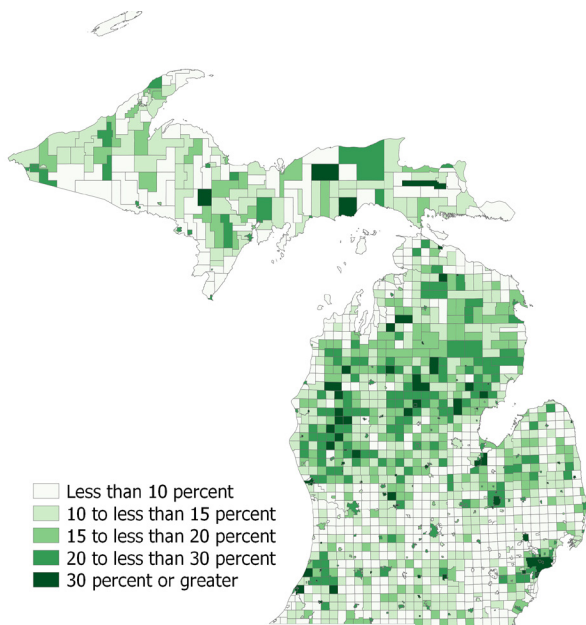
levels. The residents in a community with a score of 0 would have wide variation in their income levels. It should be noted that typical GINI scores rarely come close to the extreme values of 0 or 1, but rather tend to hover close to the 0.4 to 0.45 range. **Map 18** illustrates income inequality based on this scale, with the darker green shades indicating more income inequality and the lighter green shades indicating less income inequality.

Most of the municipalities with the highest levels of income inequality cluster around Michigan's major urban centers, despite the existence of isolated pockets of high income inequality in rural areas. The urban areas which experience the highest levels of income inequality are clustered around Detroit, with Highland Park, Grosse Pointe, and River Rouge all experiencing notably high levels of income inequality. Additionally, income inequality is high in areas such as East Lansing, Kalamazoo, and the Ann Arbor area.

Incidences of severe income inequality in rural areas tend to be isolated occurrences, with individual cities and townships experiencing high levels of income inequality as opposed to entire regions. Besides these isolated areas of high income inequality in rural areas, income inequality is fairly consistent across the rural areas.

Map 18
Income Inequality (GINI Coefficient) by City/Township

Less than 10 percent
10 to less than 15 percent
15 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 30 percent
30 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Overall, income inequality in Michigan is right around the national average, as the state ranks 26th on a measure of the states with the highest levels of income inequality.

Industries
Urban regions are the primary economic centers of the state. So it is unsurprising that more than three quarters of the workers are located in urban areas of the state. What is somewhat surprising is the fairly uniform distribution of industries in which residents of urban and rural areas are engaged. Agriculture is the only occupation in which most of the residents are from one sector of the state – the rural areas.

While employment by type of industry is not uniform across urban and rural areas, the differences are minimal. Relative to urban workers, rural workers are more likely to work in what would be classified as blue collar industries, such as construction, manufacturing, and agriculture. Consistent with the concentrations of residents with college degrees in urban areas, urban workers are more likely to work in white collar jobs, including finance, insurance, and real estate; professional and scientific; education; health care; and management. Whether location decisions are driven by businesses locating where they can hire talent or talent locating where the employment opportunities are found, these industries make up larger shares of the total in urban areas. Similarly, these differences in rural and urban workers could contribute in part to the differences in educational attainment and income outcomes between rural and urban areas or be partially caused by them (see **Chart 16**, page 28).

That urban areas would have higher concentrations of residents employed in the arts, entertainment, recreation, and accommodation and food services industries is explained by the concentrations of potential constituents that would drive businesses to choose urban locations for these services.

The industries that employ proportionally higher percentages of individuals are also the industries which have been harmed most significantly by globalization and automation over the past decade. This is one of the major problems for rural areas in Michigan. The three industries that employ disproportionately large percentages of rural workers are in construction, manufacturing, and agriculture, all of which face with less

Chart 16

Industry Employment by Area

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Ultimately, these findings spell trouble for many prominent rural job industries that will force several rural Michigan residents to take one of three actions: 1) move to urban areas which have more opportunities to work in rapidly growing industries, 2) shift labor towards local industries in the area to more closely resemble the urban area industry distribution, or 3) face the prospect of unemployment as the disproportionately predominant industries in the area continue to shrink.

Furthermore, even though this dilemma will continue to plague rural Michigan more than urban Michigan in the upcoming years, it still could spell trouble for the state as a whole, primarily due to the manufacturing industry. Michigan residents participate in the manufacturing industry at a rate that is 7.4 percentage points higher than the national average, with 17.8 percent of the Michigan population working in the manufacturing industry compared to only 10.4 percent nationwide. As the manufacturing industry continues to shrink nationally, Michiganders once employed in this industry will be forced to make challenging decisions regarding future employment.

Michigan has the 3rd highest percentage of its population working in the manufacturing industry. **Map 19** (page 29) highlights participation in the manufacturing industry by city/township. As can be seen, manufacturing is prominent throughout the state, although it becomes progressively less popular in the northern areas of Michigan.

Economic Indicators

Two prominent indicators—the labor force participation rate and the unemployment rate—help to complete the picture of the economies of urban and rural Michigan. In the period from 2011 to 2015 (following the financial col-

than ideal prospects for the future. For example, the construction and manufacturing industries shrunk at an annual rate of 1.3 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively, from 2004-2014, and the agriculture industry only grew at 0.1 percent during the same time period. While the outlook for the construction industry is improving (the Bureau of Labor Statistics forecasts 1.2 percent growth rate over the next ten years) the outlook for manufacturing and agriculture is much bleaker, with estimated annual declines in these industries of 0.7 percent and 0.5 percent, respectively. This places these two industries among those which are projected to be the slowest-growing in the next several years, spelling trouble for the rural communities.

The industries in which urban Michigan has disproportionately high amounts of participation—such as in education and healthcare, financial services, and professional services—are expected to continue growing at rates that are in line with or outpaces the national average. For example, professional and business services are expected to grow at 0.9 percent annually, and the health care and social assistance industry is expected to grow at 1.9 percent annually, far outpacing the 0.6 percent annual average projected job growth rate that is expected over the next 10 years.

Map 19
Percent of the Population Employed by the Manufacturing Industry by City/Township

Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 15 percent
15 to less than 25 percent
25 to less than 35 percent
35 percent or greater
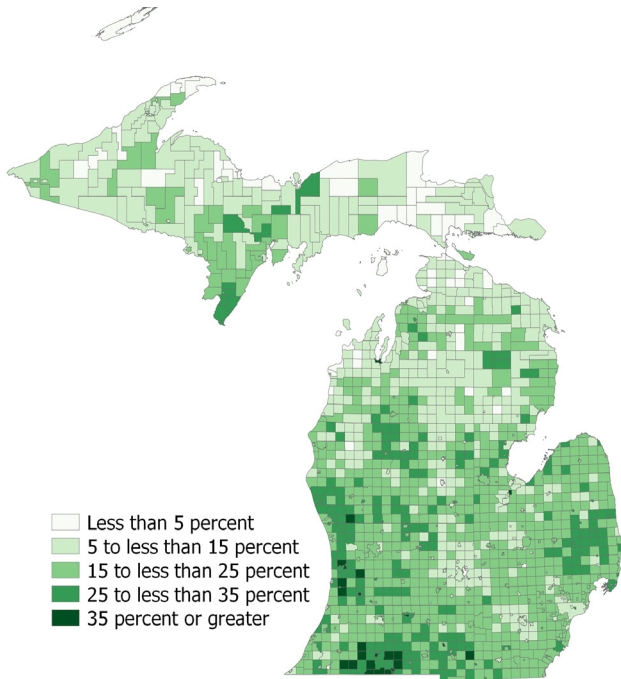
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

lapse in 2008 that decimated the automotive industry), urban areas in the state saw a higher rate of unemployment than rural areas, with urban unemployment at 10.2 percent and rural unemployment at 8.6 percent. While this is certainly an interesting disparity that tends to deviate from national trends on unemployment in urban and rural areas, this observation should be taken with a grain of salt for two reasons. First, these unemployment statistics were taken during the aftermath of the Great Recession, which harmed the economy of Michigan greatly. Additionally, the unemployment rate in rural areas may have been kept down due to a higher proportion of individuals choosing to retire or drop out of the labor force during the recession. In fact, the labor force participation rate in rural areas was only 58.9 percent, 2.5 percentage points lower than that of urban areas. While it is difficult to determine precisely what is causing this lower labor force participation rate, this factor could be attributing to the lower unemployment rates in rural areas during this time period.

Nonetheless, these economic indicators on unemployment seem to show rural Michigan performing slightly better than urban Michigan in terms of unemployment, despite having lower mean incomes and shrinking industries.

Health Care

Health Insurance

From 2010 to 2015, the proportion of Michigan residents without health insurance was reduced by more than half, from 12.4 percent to 6.1 percent. This reduction is largely attributable to expansion of coverage under the Affordable Care Act, as well as economic improvements in the state during this time period. Adults 18 to 64 years old—those directly affected by the ACA's expansion of Medicaid, non-group market coverages, and other expanded coverages—account for the majority of this change; within this group, the proportion lacking insurance fell from 18.1 percent to 8.6 percent during this period.

More urban residents have obtained health insurance than rural residents. The median urban county had 8.7 of its population without public or private health insurance, with a weighted average of 9.3 percent of the urban population uninsured. In rural areas, the median county had 11.3 percent of without health insurance, with a weighted average of 10.8 percent of the rural population uninsured (see **Map 20**, page 30).[20] The highest proportion of uninsured residents are in sparsely populated counties like Osceola (17.3 percent) and Mackinac (14.5 percent). Among urban counties, Wayne (12.3 percent) had the greatest proportion of uninsured residents.

Although there are some difference in insurance coverage between urban and rural areas, viewing data at the county level obscures the deeper divides among individual communities. Within both urban and rural counties, individual communities with concentrations of poverty, low-wage work, seasonal work, and issues of unemployment have higher levels of uninsurance than surrounding communities where these factors are less prevalent. Urban areas such as Detroit (16.7 percent), Pontiac (16.8 percent), and Hamtramck (21.8 percent),

Map 20

Percent Uninsured by County, 2015

Less than 10 percent
10 to less than 12 percent
12 to less than 14 percent
14 percent or greater
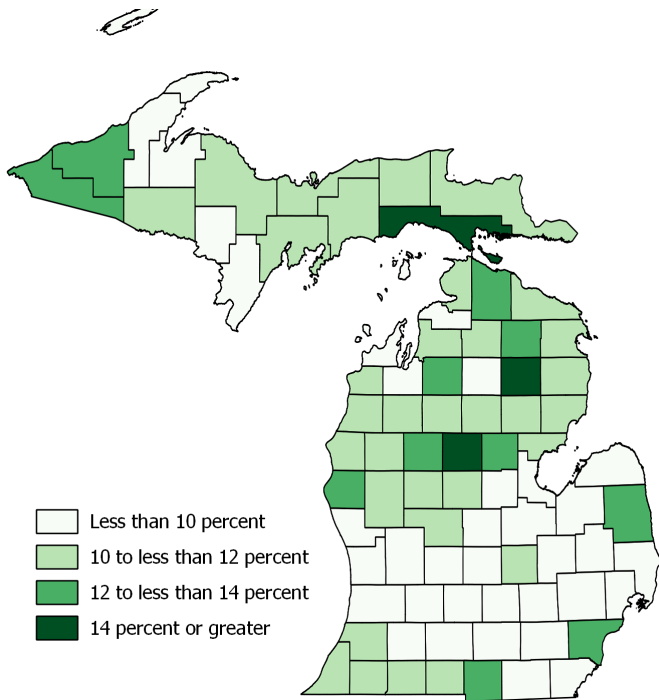
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

and many cities and townships in rural northern counties, such as Elmer Township in Oscoda County (42.5 percent), Gladwin Township in Gladwin County (36 percent), and Evergreen Township in Montcalm County (33 percent) each have numbers of uninsured residents in excess of statewide averages, although the rates in some rural areas are disproportionately high.

Health insurance varies by gender in Michigan, with men (11.0 percent) more likely to be uninsured than women (8.4 percent). Variation in insured status may also be observed by race, with 17.2 percent of Native American and Alaskan Native Michigan residents and 13.2 percent of Black or African American Michiganders were uninsured. White Michigan residents are most likely to have health insurance, with 91.2 percent reporting health insurance coverage.

Public Health Insurance

Differences can be seen in the number of urban and rural residents utilizing public health insurance (Medicaid, Medicare, and the Veterans Administration).[21]

While urban residents are more likely to be covered by private insurance, rural residents are more frequently covered by public health insurance. The proportion of residents covered by public insurance in the median urban county was 32.1 percent. The weighted average of urban county residents using public insurance is 33.9 percent. In contrast, the proportion of residents covered by public insurance in the median rural county was 42.5 percent. The weighted average of rural county residents using public insurance was 39.3 percent.

Participation in Medicaid is fairly even across urban and rural parts of the states, but participation in urban areas is driven largely by inner city populations where rural participation is more evenly spread across the state. The proportion of residents covered by Medicaid in the median urban county was 12.8 percent. The weighted average of urban county residents enrolled in Medicaid was 14.6 percent. In contrast, the proportion of residents covered by Medicaid in the median rural county was 14.5 percent. The weighted average of rural county residents enrolled in Medicaid was 14.5 percent.

In general, rural counties are more reliant on public insurance than are urban counties, however, Medicaid is utilized similarly in both urban and rural areas; Medicaid enrollment is better predicted by poverty and/or unemployment than by geography. Because of this, substantial variability exists within counties (see **Map 21**, page 31).

Disability

The percent of the population with a disability is based on survey data that determine whether anyone at each address has one (or more) of six disability types: hearing difficulty, vision difficulty, cognitive difficulty, ambulatory difficulty, self-care difficulty, and independent living difficulty.[22] Respondents who report any one of the six disability types are considered to have a disability.

In Michigan, an estimated 14.1 percent of the population has at least one disability. The weighted average of 13.6 percent of the population in urban counties reported having a disability, and the weighted average in rural counties was 16.23 percent. Some rural areas, like Seney Township in Schoolcraft County (34.4 percent), Avery Township in Montmorency (34.0 percent), or Portage Township in Houghton County (33.2
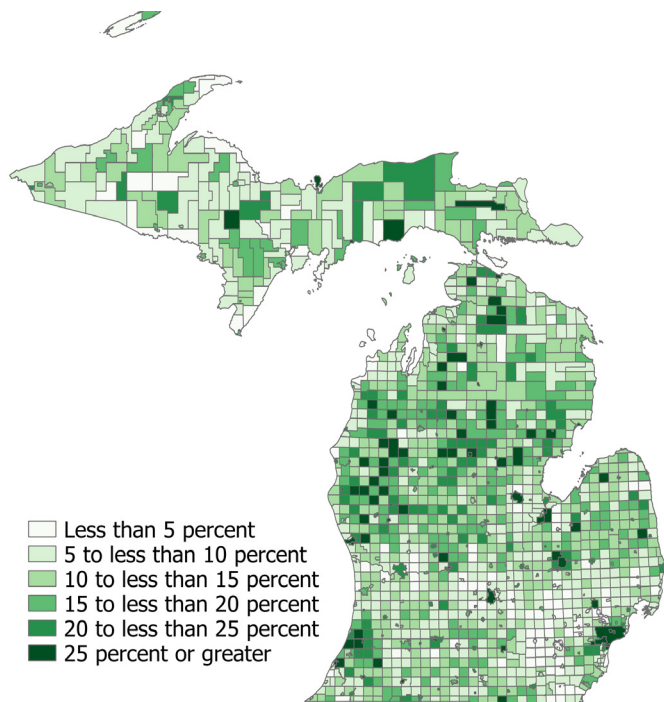
percent) have an estimated disability prevalence in excess of 30 percent (see **Map 22**).

Counties that are more urbanized and have larger populations generally have lower rates of disability. Disability status is associated with age, income, and education level. Because the population in rural counties tends to be older, poorer, and less educated (as measured by the proportion of the population accomplishing two- or four-year degree attainment), rural counties would be expected to have a higher prevalence of disability.

Disability also varies by gender and race. The prevalence of disability is higher among women (14.2 percent) than among men (14.0 percent). Native American and Alaskan Native residents (20.7 percent) and Black and African American residents (17.8 percent) have higher than average proportions of disability, and Asians (5.4 percent) have a lower than average proportion of disability. Disability increases substantially with age, and nearly half (49.5 percent) of individuals who are 75 years or older report having at least one disability.

Map 21

Proportion of the Total Population Enrolled in Medicaid by City/Township

Less than 5 percent
5 to less than 10 percent
10 to less than 15 percent
15 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 25 percent
25 percent or greater

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Map 22

Proportion of the Total Population with a Disability by City/Township

Less than 10 percent
10 to less than 20 percent
20 to less than 30 percent
30 percent or greater
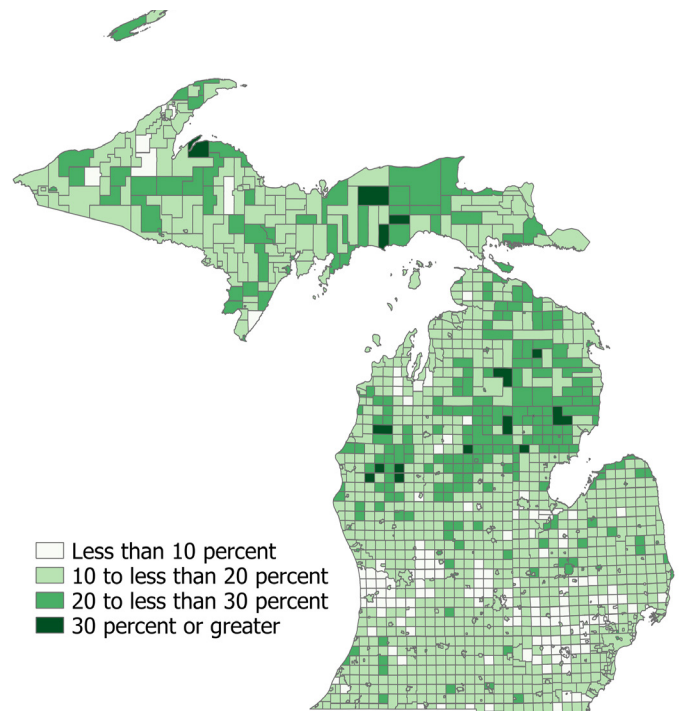
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Michigan's *County Health Rankings*

Health data at the county level are analyzed and summarized by the *County Health Rankings & Roadmaps*[23] program, a collaboration between the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute. These county Health Rankings measure vital health factors on an annual basis, such as: obesity, smoking, access to healthy foods, air and water quality, teen births, income inequality, and high school graduation rates. The rankings recognize that a wide range of factors influence how long (and how well) people are able to live. Because income, education, housing quality, and neighborhood safety have such a dramatic impact on health, these rankings demonstrate the way that opportunities for healthy choices may be extremely limited in some communities relative to others.

Map 23 (page 32) displays the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's county rankings of various health factors by quartile. These rankings are based on weighted scores for health behaviors, clinical care, social and economic factors, and physical environment. Lighter

Map 23

Health Factor Ranking by County

Top Quarter
Second Quarter
Third Quarter
Bottom Quarter
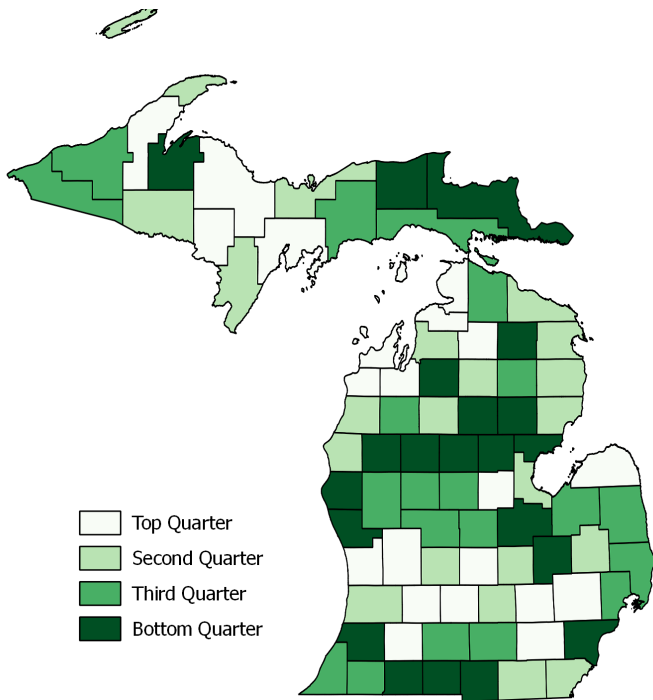
Source: *Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's* County Health Rankings 2016

shades indicate comparatively good health factors, whereas darker shades indicate comparatively poor health factors.

Map 24 illustrates the distribution of Michigan's health outcomes at the county level by quartile. These rankings are based on an equal weighting of length of life and quality of life. Lighter shades indicate comparatively good health outcomes and darker shades indicate comparatively poor health outcomes.

As can been by **Maps 23 and 24**, a visual belt of dark color representing poorer health factors and health outcomes is evident in the rural counties across the top of the Lower Peninsula, whereas the best health factors and health outcomes are largely concentrated in areas that are more urbanized (such as Ann Arbor, metropolitan Grand Rapids, and parts of metropolitan Detroit); however, some urban counties (e.g., Wayne, Genesee, and Saginaw) are among the lowest ranked for both health factors and health outcomes. Leelanau, Grand Traverse, and Charlevoix are the rural counties that ranked the best. These counties generally have higher educational attainment and median household

incomes when compared to other rural counties. Moreover, a large proportion of residents in Leelanau, Grand Traverse, and Charlevoix counties live in more urbanized areas of their county.

Health Disparities

Rural Americans are a population group that experiences numerous health disparities. The Rural Health Information Hub[24] describes health disparities as: differences in health status when compared to the general population, often characterized by indicators such as higher incidence of disease and disability, increased mortality rates, lower life expectancies, and higher rates of pain and suffering. There is no single explanation for the significant differences in health between urban and rural areas, but rather these differences emerge due to complex sets of factors. Nonetheless, residents of rural counties experience poorer health on average than their urban counterparts as a result of these factors.

County Health Rankings reveal that rural counties have had the highest rates of premature death for many

Map 24

Health Outcome Ranking by County

Top Quarter
Second Quarter
Third Quarter
Bottom Quarter
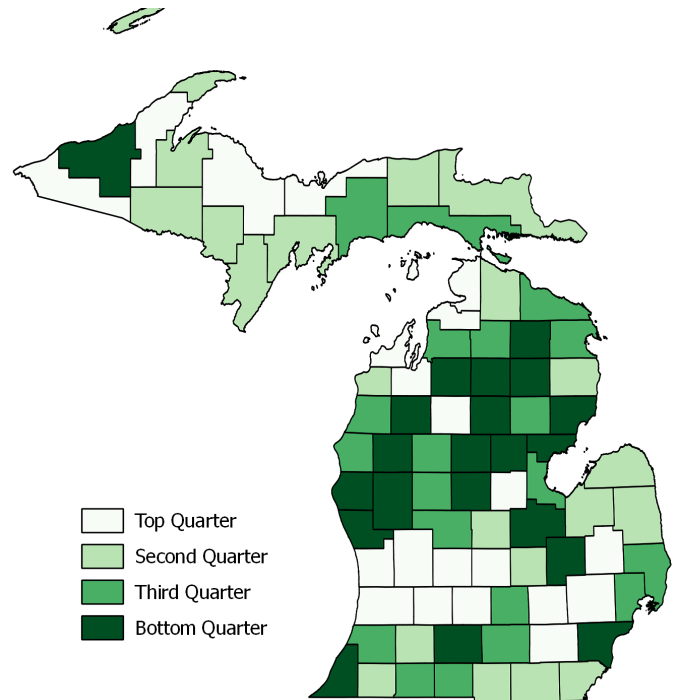
Source: *Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's* County Health Rankings 2016

decades, and, while urban counties continue to show improvement, the situation in rural counties is worsening. Rural areas tend to fare worse than urban areas when it comes to proportions of adult obesity, children in poverty, unintentional injury/death, availability of primary care physicians and dentists, and preventable hospital stays.

It is important to note that, despite residents of urban counties generally having better average health outcomes than their rural counterparts, some residents of urban counties also experience substantial health disparities. These disparities are often related to lower socioeconomic position (a common risk factor for poor health in both urban and rural areas) and/or race. Social and economic factors (namely income and education level) are foundational components of good health, influencing other important health factors, as well as impacting an individual's capacity to make healthy choices, access and afford medical care, and manage stress (that can lead to adverse health outcomes).

Urban and rural residents of Michigan are far more similar than different when it comes to the ways low income and education lead to poor health. The average per-capita personal income for Michigan's rural residents lags behind the rest of the state; Michigan's rural areas also have a higher rate of poverty, a lower rate of high school completion, and higher rate of unemployment.[25] This may partly explain the poorer health factors and health outcomes in rural counties noted in the previous sections.

Crime and Safety[26]

Crime Rates

Across the board, urban and rural areas of Michigan have disparities in the prevalence of crime, with crime being much more prevalent in urban areas. Urban areas have an average of 77.5 criminal offenses per 1,000 individuals, whereas rural areas have only 70.8 criminal offenses per 1,000 people.

Violent crime is a much more common occurrence in urban areas. While rural areas have an average of only 2.0 violent crimes committed per 100,000 people, urban areas have a violent crime rate that is more than double that of their rural counterparts, having 4.2 violent crimes committed per 100,000 people.[27]

Additionally, the type of violent crimes committed in urban areas and rural areas varies greatly. Rural areas in Michigan have less violent crime for all categories of crime, with one notable exception: criminal sexual conduct. In rural areas, criminal sexual conduct offenses of any kind are committed at a rate of 77.2 offenses per 100,000 people, while urban areas have criminal sexual conduct offenses at a rate of only 55.7 offenses per 100,000 people.

These results should be taken with caution. The data gathered to reach this conclusion comes from the number of recorded criminal sexual conduct offenses by the Uniform Crime Reporting System, which may significantly underreport incidents of criminal sexual conduct for many reasons, including the fact that many criminal sexual conduct violations often go unreported and that outdated technology is often used in urban areas to calculate crime statistics.[28]

Urban areas far outpace rural areas in all other categories of violent crime. Urban areas (6.4 per 100,000 people) have rates of murder offenses per 100,000 people that are more than three times as high as rural areas (2.0 per 100,000 people). Additionally, rates of aggravated assault offenses in urban areas (262 per 100,000 people) are more than double those of rural areas (114 per 100,000 people) (see **Chart 17,** see page 34).

Differences in violent crime between urban and rural areas are even more profound when looking at the number of robberies. While rural areas have 6.6 robbery offenses per 100,000 people, urban areas have robbery offense rates that are, on average, 15 times higher than rural areas, with urban areas having 98.9 robberies per 100,000 people.

Chart 17

Violent Crime by Area
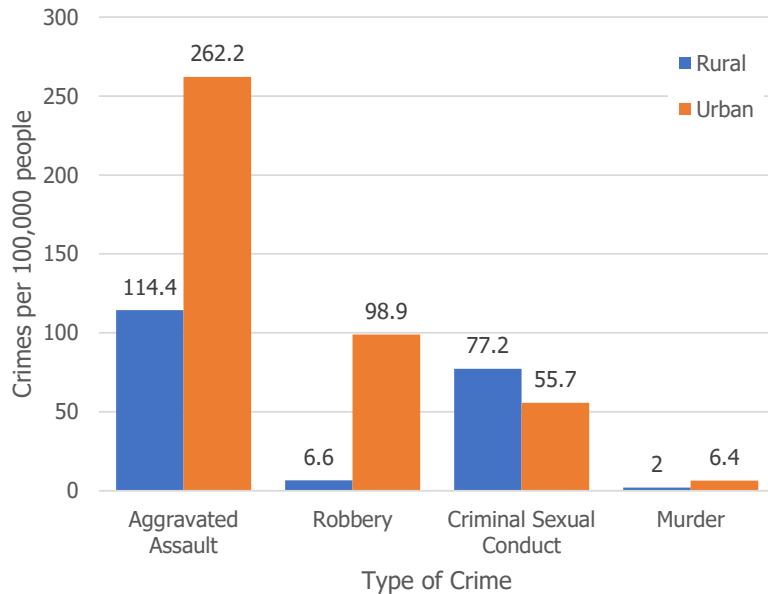
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Chart 18 breaks down the percentage of all violent crimes that are committed in urban and rural areas for each of the four types of violent crime: murder, criminal sexual conduct, robbery, and assault. Criminal sexual conduct is a disproportionate contributor to violent crimes in rural areas in Michigan, as criminal sexual conduct in rural areas makes up roughly 38 percent of all violent crimes, compared to only about 12 percent in urban areas. While this is an extreme difference, it is more than made up for by the much higher percentage of violent crimes due to robbery in urban areas, as nearly one-quarter of all violent crimes in urban areas are due to robberies and only about three percent of all violent crimes in rural areas are due to robberies.

Overall, this indicates that major differences exists in the type of crimes are being committed in these two different areas in Michigan.

Firearms

Urban and rural areas also experience differences on the topic of firearms. As measured by the percentage of individuals who possess an approved Concealed Pistol License (CPL), residents of rural areas in Michigan own firearms at a higher rate than residents of urban areas, with 7.2 percent of the rural population possessing an approved CPL compared to only 6.0 percent of the urban population. Unfortunately, little additional data on the topic of firearms are readily available to further characterize the discrepancies between urban and rural Michigan on the topic of firearms (see **Map 25**, page 35).

Traffic Incidents

Urban and rural areas have both similarities and differences in the frequency of traffic incidents. Despite less dense road coverage in rural areas compared to urban areas, both areas experience comparable levels of traffic crashes, with roughly 31 car crashes per 1,000 people.

Additionally, urban and rural areas in Michigan are comparable in the percentage of car crashes that are influenced by alcohol, with 3.5 percent of car crashes in rural areas and 3.0 percent of car crashes in urban areas being attributable to alcohol. This trend also holds up for crashes involving drugs, with 0.9 percent of rural car crashes and 0.8 percent of urban car crashes involving drugs.

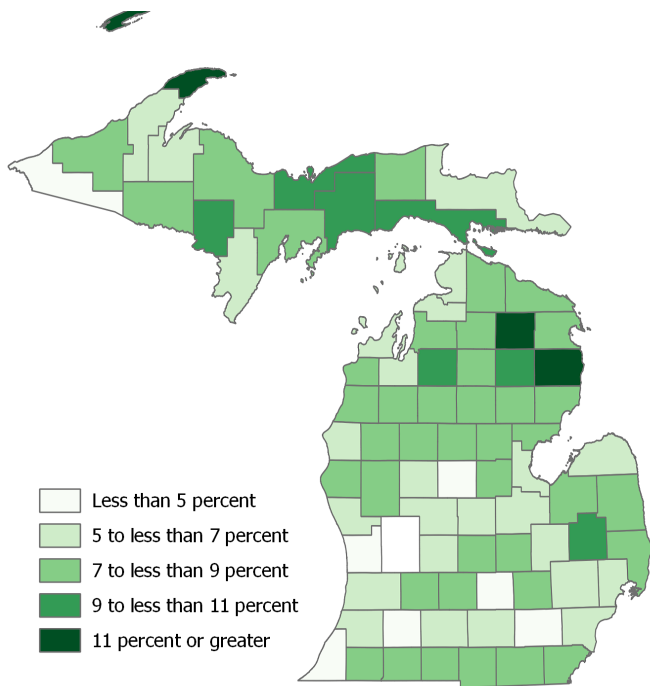**Chart 18**

Components of Violent Crime by Area
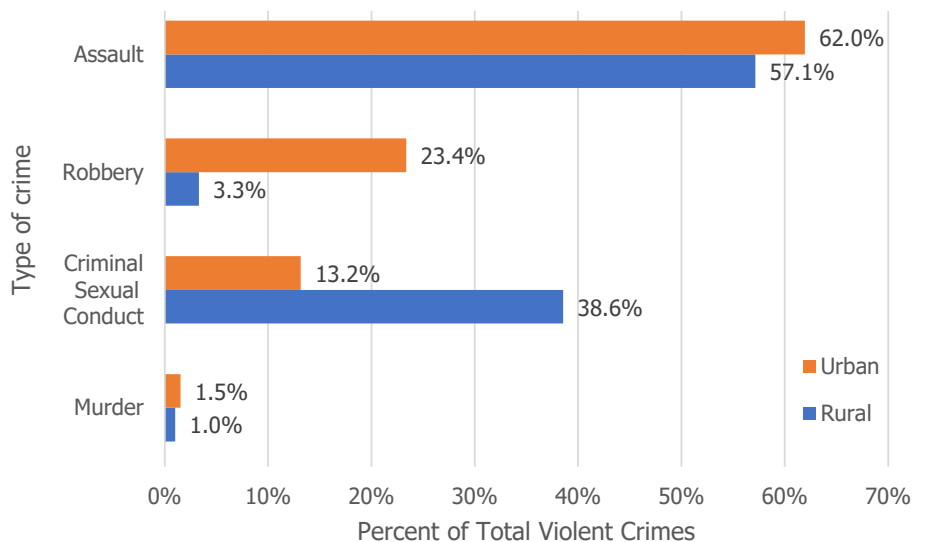
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Map 25

Percentage of the Total Population Possessing a
Concealed Pistol License by County

Less than 5 percent

5 to less than 7 percent

7 to less than 9 percent

9 to less than 11 percent

11 percent or greater

Source: Michigan State Police

Rural areas experience higher rates of fatal car crashes than urban areas. In rural areas, about 0.4 percent of car crashes are fatal, equating to a fatality rate in car crashes of 12.7 fatal car crashes per 100,000 people. In contrast, only about 0.3 percent of car crashes in urban Michigan are fatal, equating to a fatality rate in car crashes of only 9.1 fatal car crashes per 100,000 people.

Ultimately, this difference can be attributed in part to the fact that urban sprawl occurs to a greater extent as populations move into rural areas, requiring individuals to be more car-dependent in rural areas than in urban areas.[29] Therefore, increased time spent in a car and reliance on cars as the primary mode of transportation increases the likelihood of being in a car crash, regardless of traffic congestion or road density.

The general idea that rural residents spend more time in cars than urban residents is applicable to Michigan, as traffic data indicates that rural residents have a mean commute time to work that is 4.2 minutes longer than their urban counterparts. What rural residents have to deal with in terms of distance, urban residents make up for with more traffic.

Rural residents in Michigan rely on cars to get to work at a slightly higher rate than urban residents, with 92.7 percent of rural residents using a car to get to work and 91.1 percent of urban residents doing the same.

Conclusion

Recent elections and the level of polarization that seem to prevail today suggest that Michigan residents see themselves living different lives based on their urban or rural geography. The statistics compiled for this report illustrate the many ways in which Michigan's urban and rural areas are alike and different. The number of statistics wherein the differences between people in geographic areas was stark are few. In the end, we're left with an understanding that in the battle of us versus them, we're all us and we're all them.

While urban areas of the state comprise very little of Michigan's land area, most of the population resides in urban areas. This means that people live closer together and are prone to interact more frequently in urban areas. This dynamic is reflected in measures of population and housing density, broadband accessibility, and crime and safety. The larger concentration of businesses in urban areas is reflected in some urban areas experiencing higher levels of population growth, younger and more diverse populations locating close to place of employment, and in higher concentrations of people with college and advanced degrees.

The statistics also reflect many similarities across the different areas that might not be commonly understood. The makeup of workforces is similar in urban and rural areas. Populations in urban and rural areas have similar levels of income, poverty, and food stamp usage. Similar proportions of both populations utilize Medicaid and disability benefits.

Michigan struggled through the first decade of this century. Vestiges of those struggles remain with slower than average population growth, less than average per capita personal income, and manufacturing jobs that are gone forever. Hopefully, by knowing each other better and understanding the circumstances in which we are alike and different, we can work to return Michigan to its stature as an economic and cultural leader in which people and businesses desire to come.

Endnotes

1   "Gerrymandering in Michigan is among the nation's worst, new test claims", *Bridge Magazine*, April 13, 2017, www.bridgemi.com/public-sector/gerrymandering-michigan-among-nations-worst-new-test-claims.

2   United States. Department of Commerce. Census Bureau. Federal Register, Notices. Robert M. Groves. Vol. 76, No. 164. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2011. pp. 53030-53043. [Docket Number 110714393–1393–01]

3   For additional information and a full detailing of the Census Bureau's urban and rural classification system, please see the Federal Register notice entitled: "Final Urban Area Criteria for the 2010 Census," https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/frn.html under the subheading "2010 Urban Areas" (citation given in footnote 1).

4   U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census SF 1 100% Data, Table P2, "Urban and Rural"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder; http://factfinder2.census.gov; (July 2017)

5   Urban/rural county level classifications are based on the Census Bureau's guidelines for classifying counties. A County Classification Lookup Table for Michigan and all 50 states can be found on the Census Bureau's website https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/urban-rural.html.

6   Since election data in Michigan is generally only collected at the precinct level or at the county level, the following analysis will generally use county level data to draw conclusions about the outcomes of elections in Michigan. The one exception to this is Map (11-1), which diagrams the 2016 election results on the county subdivision level. Election results data is collected from the Michigan Secretary of State's Past Election Results archives, and this information is combined with Census population estimates of the adult population in order to predict voter turnout. Voter turnout is calculated by dividing the total number of ballots cast in the presidential election by the Census estimates for the voting-age population in each county. Unfortunately, reliable data detailing the voting-eligible population (i.e. excluding felons, noncitizens, and anyone else who cannot vote) is unavailable, rendering it necessary to use the slightly less accurate metric of the voting-age population in the calculation of voter turnout.

"Partisan Voting Index Calculator." 2017. Accessed August 23. https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2013/12/10/1261624/-Partisan-Voting-Index-Calculator.

Michigan Secretary of State. "General Election Results." http://www.michigan.gov/sos/0,4670,7-127-1633_8722---,00.html

Michigan Secretary of State. "1996 General Results." https://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/1996_GENERAL_RESULTS_442653_7.pdf.

7   Kathleen Gray. "The Numbers Are in: Trump Wins Michigan by 10,704" Detroit Free Press, November 23, 2016. www.freep.com/story/news/politics/2016/11/23/donald-trump-wins-michigan-votes/94360852/.

8   All data pertaining to population counts and population growth in Michigan comes from the Census Bureau's "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2016." For comparative statistics about urban and rural areas across states, the Census Bureau's "Percent urban and rural in 2010 by state" file is used. Population density figures are from the 2010 Census (sourced below). All of these figures are presented in such a way to allow for the analysis of the divisions between urban and rural areas in Michigan on the city and township level. In general, population estimates from July 2015 are utilized in order to create more accurate comparisons to data from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011 to 2015.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2016 Population Estimates, Table PEPANNRES, "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2016."; generated by Citizens Research Council using American FactFinder; (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Urban and Rural Classification and Urban Area Criteria; Lists of Population, Land Area, and Percent Urban and Rural in 2010 and Changes from 2000 to 2010; "Percent urban and rural in 2010 by state" (XLS file); (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census SF1 100% Data, Table GCT-PH1; "Population, Housing Units, Area, and Density: 2010 - United States -- States; and Puerto Rico; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

9   See U.S. Census Bureau, "2010 Census Urban and Rural Classification and Urban Area Criteria," https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/ua/urban-rural-2010.html last accessed 1/25/18.

10   All data included in this report about demographics comes from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011-2015. Additionally, data used to com-

pare Michigan to national averages is provided by the U.S. Census Bureau's "QuickFacts" table, which highlights the national averages of these major demographic variables as of July 2016. Analysis of race and ethnicity is conducted on the city and township level.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B02001, "Race"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B03002, "Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S0101, "Age and Sex"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S2101, "Veteran Status"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1810, "Disability Characteristics"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; QuickFacts, United States; https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045216.

11   Nancy Derringer. "A Graying Population Poses Challenges for Up North Counties." Bridge Magazine, March 12, 2015. www.bridgemi.com/quality-life/graying-population-poses-challenges-north-counties.

12   All data highlighting the disparities in immigration between urban and rural communities in Michigan comes from the American Community Survey's Five-Year Estimates from 2011-2015, and national averages come from the Census Bureau's QuickFacts.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B05012, "Nativity in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B05001, "Nativity and Citizenship Status in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B05005, "Period of Entry by Citizenship and Nativity Status in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B05006, "Place of Birth for the Foreign-Born Population in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

13   Niraj Warikoo. "Arab-Americans Will Continue to Grow in Metro Detroit." Detroit Free Press, October 24, 2014. www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/wayne/2014/10/24/arab-american-chaldean-diversity-future-metro-detroit/17804861/.

14   All data pertaining to marriage and family life comes from the 2011-2015 American Community Survey five-year estimates and is analyzed on the city and township level. The one exception to this is data on abortions, with comes from the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services and is analyzed on the county level.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B06008, "Place of Birth by Marital Status in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1301, "Fertility"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S2302, "Employment Characteristics of Families"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

15   Observed as the current marital status of all individuals aged 15 and over.

16   "BOP Statistics: Inmate Gender." July 29, 2017. https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_gender.jsp.

17   Data on the topic of housing is gathered from the 2011-2015 American Community Survey five-year estimates and is analyzed on the city and township level. It is important to note that a household will be referred to in the context of its definition as defined by the Census Bureau, which defines a household as "a house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a single room … occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters; that is, when the occupants do not live with any other persons in the struc-

ture and there is direct access from the outside or through a common hall."

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table DP04, "Selected Housing Characteristics"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B25004, "Vacancy Status"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B25024, "Units in Structure"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B07007, "Geographical Mobility in the Past Year by Citizenship Status for Current Residence in the United States"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

18 Most of the education data comes from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011-2015 and is analyzed on the city and township level. The one exception is data on school finances, which utilizes data from the 2014 Annual Survey of School System Finances and analyzes the information on the school district level. It should be noted that the adopted form of measurement for educational attainment by the Census Bureau surveys all individuals age 25 and over and determines their highest level of educational attainment, so the calculations of educational attainment are based on percentages relative to the entire population age 25 and over.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1501, "Educational Attainment"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1401, "School Enrollment"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2014 Annual Survey of School System Finances, Table SS1400A18, "Per Pupil Amounts for Current Spending of Public Elementary-Secondary School Systems in the United States by School System: Fiscal Year 2014"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

19 All data pertaining to poverty and income comes from the 2011-2015 American Community Survey five-year estimates and is analyzed on the city and township level. While data on industries on the city and township level and about the state and nation as a whole also comes from the 2011-2015 American Community Survey, information about the growth rates of industries comes from the Bureau of Labor Statistics report entitled: "Industry employment and output projections to 2024" and represents national statistics.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1701, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S1901, "Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2015 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table B19083, "GINI Index of Income Inequality"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table DP03, "Selected Economic Characteristics"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

Henderson, Richard. 2017. "Industry Employment and Output Projections to 2024 : Monthly Labor Review: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics." Accessed August 17. https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2015/article/industry-employment-and-output-projections-to-2024.htm.

20 These data come from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011-2015.

21 These data come from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011-2015.

22 These data come from the American Community Survey's five-year estimates from 2011-2015.

23 County Health Rankings: www.countyhealthrankings.org/app/michigan/2017/downloads

24 Rural Health Information Hub, https://www.ruralhealthinfo.org/

25 Rural Health Hub: https://www.ruralhealthinfo.org/states/michigan

26 All data in the forthcoming section has been collected and analyzed on the county level, as many municipalities do not rely on their own police departments and thus do not report their own crime statistics, making it challenging to report information accurately at the city and township level. Data collected is from the Michigan State Police's Criminal Justice Information Center.

27 Violent crime, according to the Michigan State Police, consists of murder or non-negligent manslaughter, criminal sexual conduct, robbery, and aggravated assault.

U.S. Census Bureau; 2011-2015 American Community Survey Five-Year Estimates, Table S0801, "Commuting Characteristics by Sex"; generated by Citizens Research Council; using American FactFinder (July 2017)

Michigan State Police. "CPL Applications by County and Status." www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/ccw_county_report_273948_7.pdf

Michigan Traffic Crash Facts. Data Query Tool. https://www.michigantrafficcrashfacts.org/querytool#q1;0;2016

Michigan State Police. 2015 Crime Data and Statistics. "2015 Offenses by County/Agency." www.michigan.gov/documents/msp/Offenses_By_County_Agency_528363_7.pdf.

28 Hunter, George. "Detroit yearly rape totals vastly under-reported." The Detroit News, January 7, 2015. Accessed August 23, 2017. www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/wayne-county/2015/01/07/detroit-annual-rape-totals-underreported/21425693/

29 Ewing, Reid, Richard A. Schieber, and Charles V. Zegeer. 2003. "Urban Sprawl as a Risk Factor in Motor Vehicle Occupant and Pedestrian Fatalities." American Journal of Public Health 93 (9): 1541–45.