

Vision

Healthy, safe and vibrant counties across America.

Mission

Strengthen America's Counties.

About

The National Association of Counties (NACo) strengthens America's counties, serving nearly 38,000 county elected officials and 3.6 million county employees. Founded in 1935, NACo unites county officials to:

- Advocate county priorities in federal policymaking
- Promote exemplary county policies and practices
- Nurture leadership skills and expand knowledge networks
- Optimize county and taxpayer resources and cost savings, and
- Enrich the public understanding of county government.

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The County Landscape Project

Counties are vital to the foundation of our communities, helping shape the places where we live, work and thrive. From maintaining critical infrastructure and delivering essential public services to fostering economic growth and ensuring public safety, county governments play a pivotal role in the daily lives of millions of Americans. Notwithstanding our significance, the complexity and diversity of county governments often go unnoticed. The County Landscape Project brings the nuts and bolts of county governance to the forefront, providing a clear and comprehensive guide to how counties function, govern and serve our residents.

As NACo continues its commitment to strengthen America's counties, we recognize the need for a unified, accessible and authoritative resource that provides a comprehensive guide to our nation's county government system. By developing key insights, data and best practices under a single, cohesive project, we aim to enhance the way county officials, policymakers, federal and philanthropic partners and the public

engage with and utilize these valuable resources. Whether examining the **organizational structures, financial frameworks, essential services or intergovernmental roles of counties**, the project serves as a critical reference for understanding county government at its core.

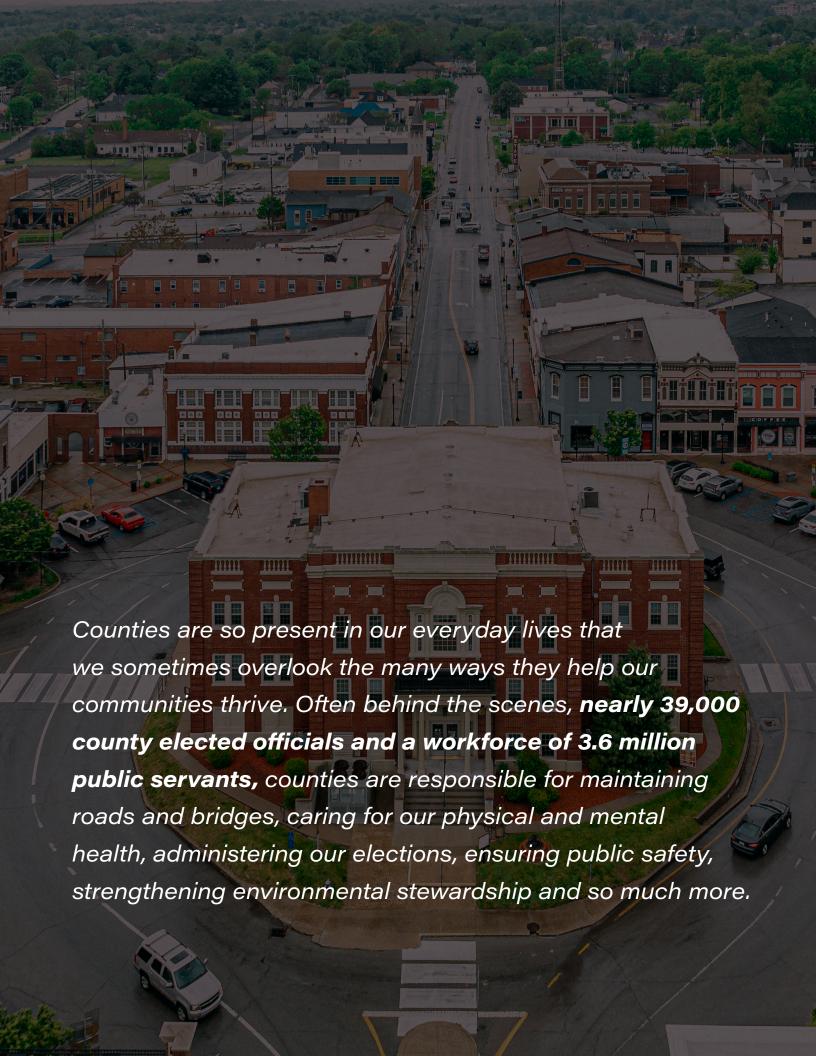
This initiative reflects NACo's dedication to providing clarity in county governance, empowering leaders with actionable insights and fostering collaboration across all levels of government. Whether you are an elected official shaping policy, a researcher exploring county data or a resident seeking to understand the impact of local government, these resources serve as a guide to the essential functions of counties nationwide.

As we move forward, we invite you to explore, engage and utilize the resources from the Project in your work. Counties are the backbone of our nation's governance, and together, we can ensure that our impact is recognized, strengthened and sustained for generations to come.

Matthew D. Chase, CEO/Executive Director

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Introduction

Counties are one of America's oldest forms of government, dating back to 1634 when the first county governments (shires) were established along the eastern shores of Virginia. The organization and structure of today's 3,069 county governments are

chartered under state constitutions or laws and are tailored to fit the needs and characteristics of states and local areas.

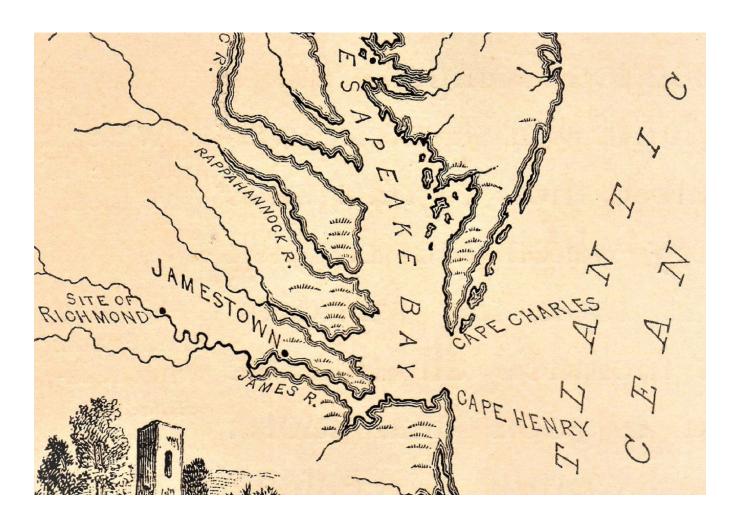
County governments and our elected and appointed county leaders are instrumental partners in our nation's intergovernmental system of federal, state, local and tribal officials. This system includes substate local compliance, delivery, management and implementation of federal laws, regulations, mandates

Counties are one of America's oldest forms of government.

and services.

Counties are diverse in structure and how we deliver services to our communities. In general, states authorize and set the roles and responsibilities of county

governments. Counties are governed by locally elected officials and, in some instances, operate under home rule authority, which allows for more local flexibility and control with structural, functional and fiscal powers. Though the governance and organizational structures vary nationally and even within a state, all county, parish and borough governments are on the front lines of delivering vital services to residents. Counties invest more than \$740 billion, collectively, each year.

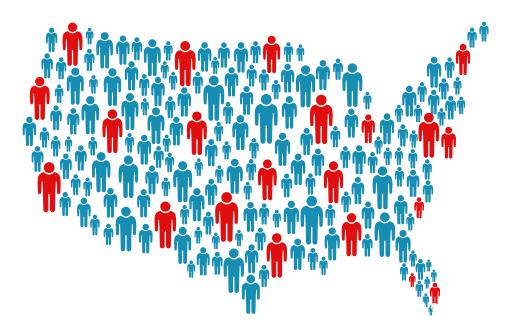


America's County Governments

The term county is often used to describe two different meanings:

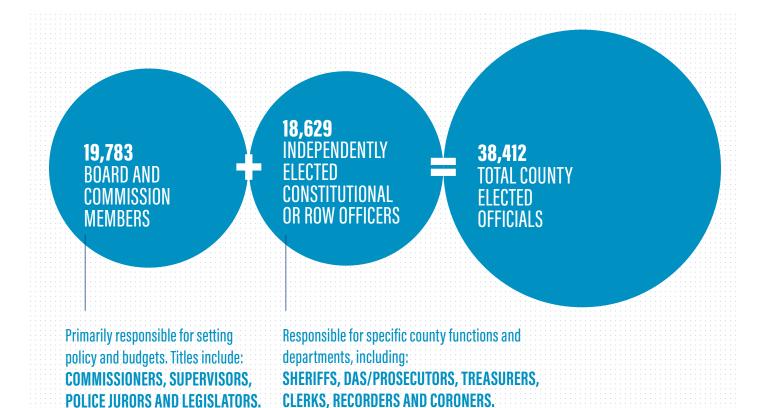
- 1. a substate unit of general purpose government, or
- 2. a substate census geography of a state.

^{*} The term county includes parishes in Louisiana, boroughs in Alaska and city-county consolidations.



COUNTIES ARE DEEPLY
ENGAGED IN THE LABOR
MARKET, EMPLOYING MORE
THAN **3.6 MILLION** PUBLIC
SERVANTS, REPRESENTING
ONE OUT OF EVERY 50
AMERICAN WORKERS

ANNUALLY, COUNTIES INVEST OVER **\$740 BILLION** IN OUR COMMUNITIES



Nationally, county governments are governed by 19,783 elected county policy board members (serving as the county legislative branch and/or executive branch) and elected executives (executive branch). These elected officials are primarily responsible for the budgets and fiscal oversight of the county, as well as setting the general policies of the county.

In addition, 18,629 independently elected county officials, often referred to as "constitutional officers" or "row officers", provide important leadership and management of specific county functions, such as

Counties are diverse in structure and how we deliver services to our communities.

sheriffs, district attorneys, county attorneys, clerks of the court, assessors, auditors, clerks, recorders, coroners, election administrators and treasurers. In some cases, these positions may be political or career officials appointed by the county board or another governing body.

History of County Government

County governments trace our roots to the English shires of the 9th century. Rechristened "counties" after the Norman Invasion in 1066, they continued to serve a dual function — acting as administrative arms of the crown or national government as well as the citizens' local government. Power in the shire/county was shared between the "shire-reeve," or sheriff, and the justice of the peace.

The English county structure was adopted along the eastern seaboard of North America by the colonists and adapted to suit the diverse economic and geographic needs of each of the colonies. The first county governments in the colonies were established in Virginia, near Williamsburg, by King Charles 1 in 1634. The colonial governor appointed local officials to serve on a county court, the governing arm of the county.ⁱⁱ

The first county governments in the colonies were established in Virginia, near Williamsburg, by King Charles 1 in 1634.

Shortly after counties were established in Virginia, other colonies soon followed. Those in the South replicated the Virginia model, while those in the North took a different path, known as the New York model. County officials were elected rather than appointed, in the northern tier of colonies, and thanks to a strong network of cities and towns in the North, counties needed to provide fewer services.

Subsequently, the colonial county became the state's county, continuing its role as a substate administrative arm of the state government.

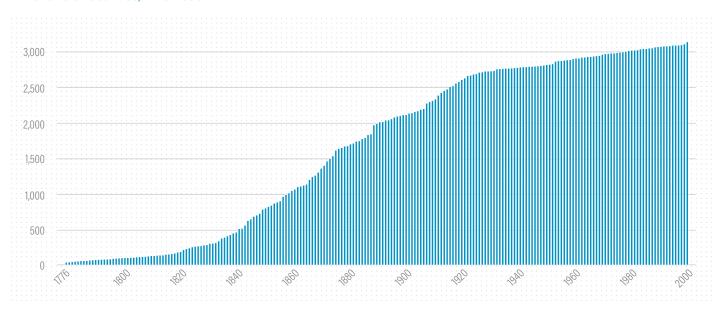
Despite the long history of counties in the English settlements of North America, the framers of the new nation's Constitution did not provide for local governments. They left the matter to the states. Subsequently, the colonial county became the state's county, continuing our role as a substate administrative arm of the state government.

Counties evolved as units of local government and administration, but our importance from state to state and region to region varied depending on the economic, social and political conditions of the area.ⁱⁱⁱ

In 1790, census data reported 292 counties. As the nation continued its westward expansion, the same local government forms followed; as a result, the 19th century was the most active period of county formation in our nation's history. The Northwest Ordinance allowed the newly settled territories to establish local governments and empowered the governors of those territories to create geographic divisions to serve as a unit of representation. **As a result, between 1790 and 1900, over 2,000 counties were formed.** Many of the less-settled portions of these states had a few very large counties in comparison to other states, which could then be subdivided as settlement expanded.^{iv} And in some states, such as Texas, officials prioritized

THE U.S. ADDED OVER 2,000 COUNTIES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

No. of U.S. Counties, 1776-2000



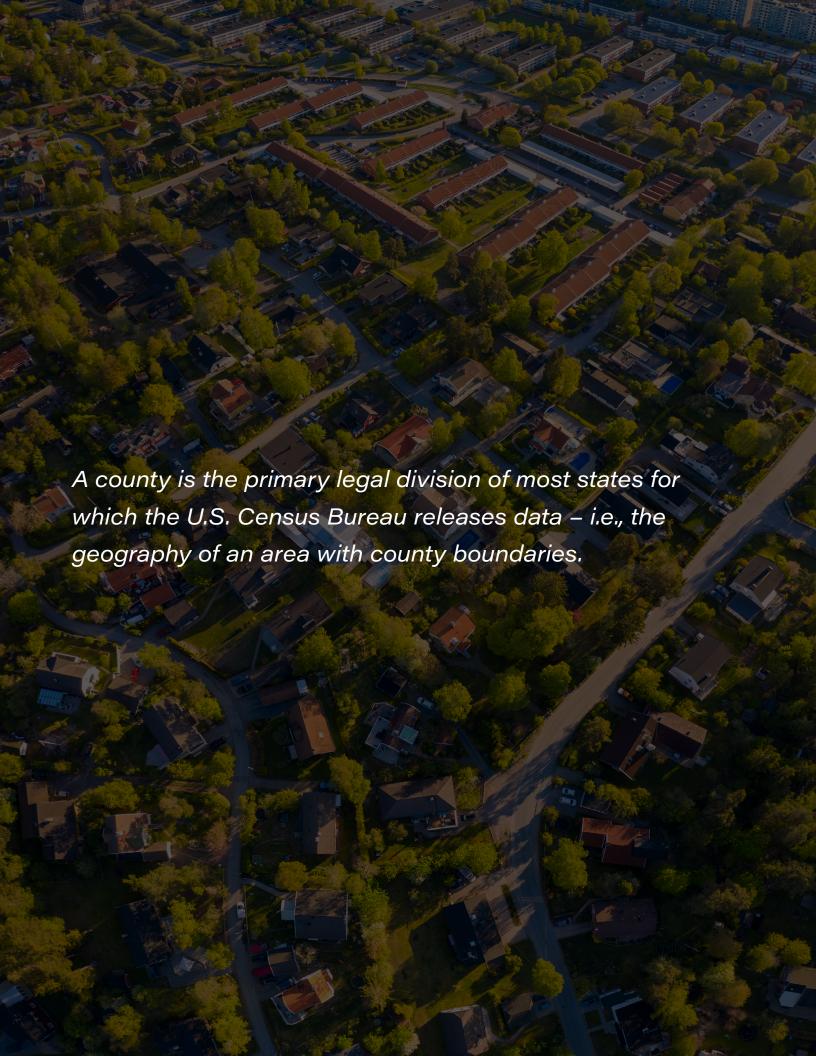
Source: Egor Larin and Alex Varlamov, "U.S. Historical Counties," available at: https://public.tableau.com/views/USHistoricalCounties/USACounties?:showVizHome=no

keeping local governments small so residents could be closer to the critical services that counties provide.

After World War II, growth, suburban development and the government reform movement boosted the role of local governments. Those developments set the stage for post-World War II urbanization. In the 1970s and 1980s, a rise in the number of federal programs and unfunded federal mandates put pressure on counties

to centralize our administrations and hire additional professional staff to guide operations.

The changes in structure, greater autonomy from the states, rising revenues and stronger political accountability ushered in a new era for county government. Counties began providing an everwidening range of services. These trends continue today.



What Is a County?

A county is the primary legal division of most states for which the U.S. Census Bureau releases data – i.e., the geography of an area with county boundaries. In Louisiana, a county is known as a parish. In Alaska, a county is known as a borough.

A county, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, may have a county government or may be considered a county equivalent for statistical purposes. **Three thousand and sixty-nine (3,069) counties have county governments,** which include 42 city-county consolidations, the District of Columbia and two independent cities (Baltimore City, Md. and St. Louis City, Mo.) considered county governments under their state constitution or city charter. For example, in Alaska some boroughs have city-borough consolidations or municipality-borough consolidations.

The U.S. Census Bureau considers a county equivalent to be an unorganized area bearing county designations, an independent city or the District of Columbia. According to the U.S. Office of Management (OMB), there are 3,143 counties and county equivalents, for geographic reference and statistical purposes, in the United States.

Some examples of county equivalents are as follows:

- The state of Alaska and the U.S. Census Bureau created the Alaska census areas, which are unorganized areas and considered as counties for statistical purposes.
- The U.S. Census Bureau considers each of the five boroughs of New York City as counties for statistical purposes, but the boroughs no longer have their own county governments. New York City serves as a consolidated city-county government, with each borough maintaining its own municipality with limited government functions.
- The U.S. Census Bureau counts Kalawao County, Hawaii, as a county equivalent for statistical



- purposes, but the county does not have its own county government. Rather, Kalawao County is a judicial district of Maui County's government and is administered by the Hawaii Department of Health. The government of Maui County serves the islands of Maui, Moloka'i, Lana'i and Kaho'olawe.
- All the counties in Connecticut and Rhode Island and seven county areas in Massachusetts no longer have county governments, so they are considered counties for statistical purposes only.
 Vi Connecticut abolished all county governments in 1960 but still retained the former eight counties for elections and other administrative purposes, though the state transitioned to nine planning regions in 2024. Similarly, Rhode Island has counties that exist only for judicial administration purposes.
 Vii Massachusetts, too, abolished
- 8 of its 14 county governments between 1997 and 2000, retaining county governments only in eastern Massachusetts with limited governmental functions, viii
- Four states (Maryland, Missouri, Nevada and Virginia) have independent cities. The U.S.
 Census Bureau treats all independent cities as county equivalents for statistical purposes, but some have both municipality status and county government authority. For example,
 Baltimore City (Md.) and St. Louis City (Mo.) are considered county governments under their respective state constitutions and Carson City (Nev.) under its city charter. In contrast, the 38 independent cities in Virginia are designated only as incorporated areas under Virginia state law, meaning the cities are NOT within a county boundary.



Baltimore City (Md.) and St. Louis City (Mo.) are considered county governments under their respective state constitutions and Carson City (Nev.) under its city charter.

What Is a County Government?

A county government is an organized entity with governmental character which covers the area of a county or county equivalent. County governments have sufficient discretion in the management of our own affairs to be independent general purpose units of government. Depending on the state, county governments are also known as parish governments (in Louisiana) or borough governments (in Alaska).

Most often, a county government provides services to residents in both unincorporated and incorporated areas of the county. Incorporated areas of a county are governed by municipalities with their own government, having been established and organized as a municipal corporation as permitted under state law. Thus, residents in incorporated areas of a county receive municipal and county services. In contrast, unincorporated areas of a county do not have a municipal government and are not organized to provide any municipal services to residents in these areas.

NACo considers an entity to be a county government if it is recognized as a county government under the state constitution, state law or by charter. There are 42 counties that are city-county consolidations, the District of Columbia, incorporated counties (Los Alamos, N.M.) and independent cities that are considered county governments under their state constitution (Baltimore City, Md.; St. Louis City, Mo.) or city charter (Carson City, Nev.).

NACo refers to these 42 counties as "city-county consolidations" because they have both county and municipality authorities. Most often, a city-county consolidation has a jail (not a temporary holding facility) and/or provides health care services for residents. Justice and public safety and health and hospitals are often top county investments.

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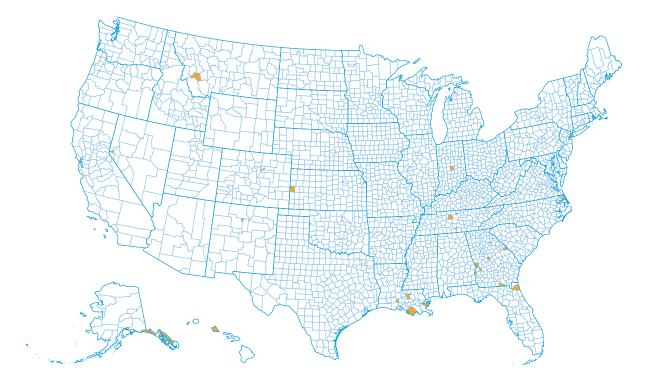
Several of the nation's largest U.S. cities are city-county consolidations, and many acquired this status more than a century ago. For example, the county governments of the NYC boroughs consolidated with the New York City government in 1898. As a result, New York City is a city-county consolidation which counts as one county government, but five county geographies for census statistical purposes.

Other large cities that are city-county consolidations include: New Orleans (consolidated with Orleans Parish in 1805), Boston (consolidated with Suffolk County in 1821), Philadelphia (consolidated with Philadelphia County in 1854), San Francisco (consolidated with San Francisco County in 1856) and Denver (consolidated with Denver County in 1902).

Alaska has the largest share of city-county consolidations (eight of the 19 boroughs). The latest city-county consolidation took place in 2014 in Georgia, between the city of Macon and Bibb County.

The number of county governments and county equivalents is not static; counties can change to meet the needs of local residents. The latest county established in the U.S. was the City and County of Broomfield, Colo., which formed in 2001, while Petersburg Borough, Alaska, was the latest county geography to incorporate and form a county government in 2013. County equivalents have seen even more recent changes: the Chugach and Copper River Census Areas in Alaska formed in 2019 (as statistical areas), and beginning in 2024, the Census formally recognized Connecticut's nine planning regions, each with a council of governments, as county equivalents, in place of its eight historical county geographies.ix

AMERICA'S 42 CITY-COUNTY CONSOLIDATIONS



Alaska

- Anchorage Borough
- Haines Borough
- City and Borough of Juneau
- Petersburg Borough
- City and Borough of Sitka
- Skagway Borough
- City and Borough of Wrangell
- City and Borough of Yakutat

California

San Francisco City & County

Colorado

- Broomfield City and County
- Denver City and County

Florida

Duval County/City of Jacksonville

Georgia

- Bibb County
- The Unified Government of Cusseta-Chattahoochee County
- Athens-Clarke County

- Echols County
- Columbus-Muscogee County
- Quitman County
- Augusta-Richmond County
- Webster County

Hawaii

Honolulu City and County

Indiana

Indianapolis and Marion County

Kansas

- Greely County
- Unified Govt. of Wyandotte County and Kansas City

Louisiana

- East Baton Rouge Parish
- Lafayette Consolidated Government
- Orleans Parish
- Terrebonne Parish Consolidated Government

Massachusetts

- Nantucket County
- Suffolk County, City of Boston

Montana

- Anaconda-Deer Lodge County
- Butte-Silver Bow County

Nevada

Carson City

New Mexico

Los Alamos County

New York

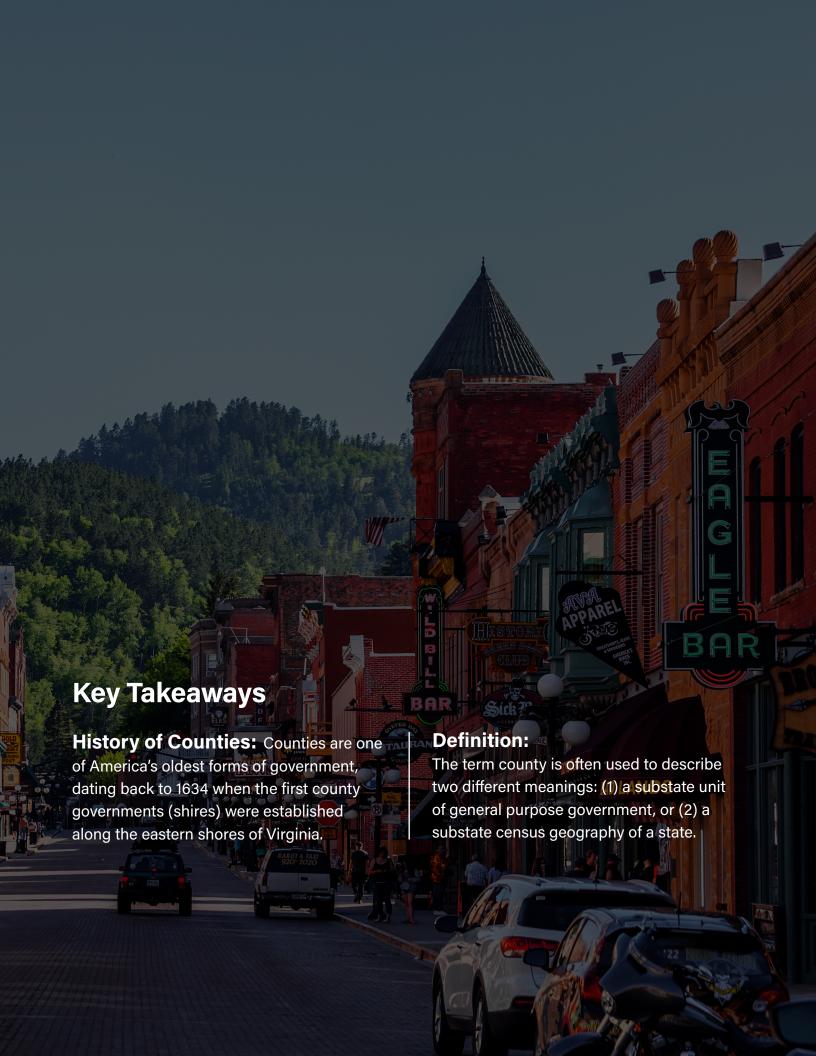
New York City

North Carolina

Camden County

Tennessee

- Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County
- Moore County
- Trousdale County



Counties by Population Size

Counties encompass a wide range of urban, suburban and rural areas throughout our jurisdictions. In place of a rural-urban classification, NACo defines small counties as those with fewer than 50,000 residents, mid-sized counties as those between 50,000 and 500,000 residents, and large counties as those that have more than 500,000 residents.

The smallest county by population size is Loving County, Texas, with 43 residents, and the largest county by population is Los Angeles County, Calif., with nearly 10 million residents.^{xi} California is one of 17 states where a majority of the population resides in large counties, while 14 states, including Alaska and North Dakota, do not have any large counties.^{xii}

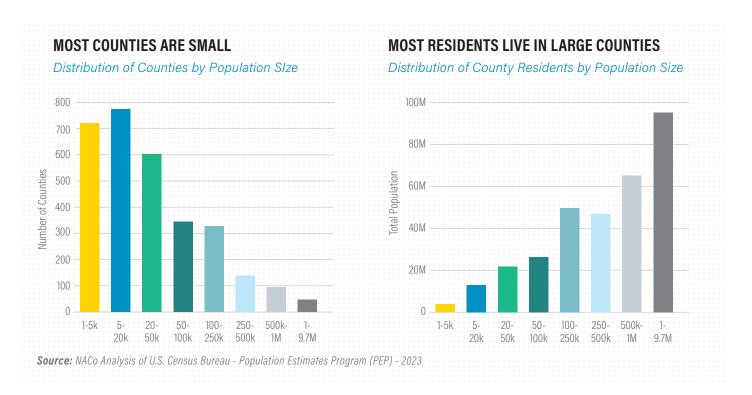
Over two-thirds of counties (69 percent, or 2,104 counties) are small, while only 4 percent (136 counties) are large. In fact, there are more very small counties with less than 20,000 residents (1,294 counties) than there are mid-sized or large counties

with more than 50,000 residents (965 counties). Though there are only a small number of large counties, half of all county residents (162 million) live within one of these 136 counties.

Alongside population size, county geographic size also varies significantly. The county government with the smallest geographic area is Arlington County, Va., at 26 square miles, and the county government with the largest geographic area in the lower 48 is San Bernardino County, Calif., at 20,105 square miles. Alaska's North Slope Borough is quadruple the size at 88,824 square miles, which would make it the 12th largest state.xiii

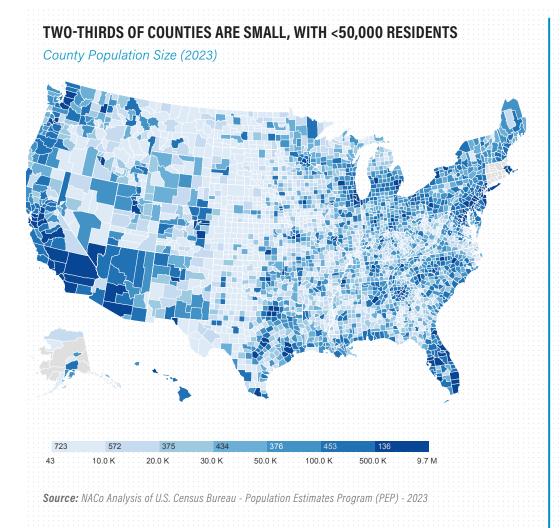
INTERESTING FACT:

Los Angeles County, Calif. alone is home to 2 million more residents than the 1,000 smallest counties combined.



The disparities in terms of population and geographic size lead to very different population densities throughout America's counties. Hudson County, N.J. has over 15,000 residents per square mile – comparable to major city-county consolidations like San Francisco City and County (17,000 residents/sq. mi.), Boston/Suffolk County (13,000 residents/sq. mi.) and Philadelphia City and County (12,000 residents/

sq. mi.). On the other hand, 21 counties across Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, South Dakota and Texas have less than 1 person every 2 square miles. Lake and Peninsula Borough, Alaska, has a population of 1,331 spread out over an area the size of West Virginia (nearly 24,000 square miles) – less than 1 resident for every 17 square miles.



Most Dense Counties*

- 1. Hudson County, N.J. (15,000 residents/sq. mi.)
- 2. Arlington County, Va.
- 3. Essex County, N.J.
- 4. Union County, N.J.
- 5. Cook County, Ill.

Least Dense Counties (in lower 48)

- 1. Loving County, Texas (1 resident/16 sq. mi.)
- 2. Esmeralda County, Nev.
- 3. Kenedy County, Texas
- 4. King County, Texas
- 5. Garfield County, Mont.
- *Excluding city-county consolidations and independent cities

INTERESTING FACT:
At 20,105 sq. mi., San
Bernardino County,
Calif., is larger than
New Hampshire and
Vermont combined.

County Government Authority

County governments derive the extent of our authority from the states. The two basic doctrines on county authority, Dillon's Rule and Home Rule, often coexist within the same state.

Dillon's Rule counties must obtain state approval for any changes in the government's structure, function or fiscal organization. The concept of Dillon's Rule stems from a court decision in 1872. Judge John Dillon of the lowa Supreme Court ruled that counties (and other local governments) possess only the powers explicitly granted by the state through the state legislature or state constitution. In Atkins v. Kansas, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Dillon decision. For example, Arizona state law dictates that counties with at least 175,000 residents must have a board of supervisors with five members, while counties with fewer residents must have a board with three members.

Home Rule counties manage local affairs, generally with more autonomy from the state legislature. Typically, the three areas of autonomy often granted by the state are:

- Structural domain: Counties may alter the form of government, giving counties more flexibility to select the size of their legislative board, elect a county executive and/or appoint or elect row officers.
- 2. Functional domain: Counties may provide optional services those not mandated by the state without seeking permission from the state. The state may also grant counties the authority to consolidate services through interlocal agreements and allow oversight of special purpose districts.
- **3. Fiscal domain:** Counties may adjust local revenues and expenditures, often by leveraging taxing authority, issuing bonds, establishing service districts and raising debt limitations.

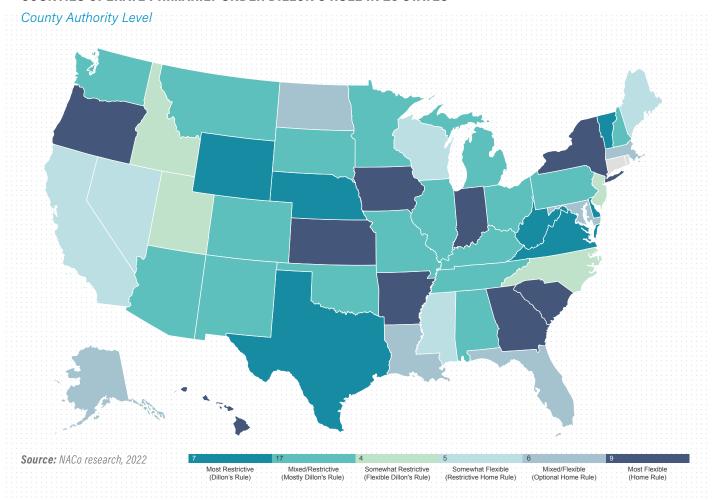
Home Rule applies to counties in various ways. For example, a county charter allows the county to organize and structure itself. In Colorado, for instance, the state constitution gives voters in a county the power to adopt a charter which establishes the organization and structure of the county government. The Colorado Constitution is explicit, however, that counties with a home rule charter must still provide all functions, services, facilities and other mandates required of counties by state statute.

At the most basic level, each county operates under one of these two doctrines of county authority, where, essentially, Home Rule counties are free to determine local affairs within a set list of restrictions, while Dillon's Rule counties are given explicit directives from which they must not deviate.

Currently, in 14 states, all counties operate under the more restrictive Dillon's Rule, while 13 states grant all counties Home Rule authority. The remaining 21 states with county governments have a mix of Home Rule and Dillon's Rule counties.xiv Six of these states (Alabama, Arizona, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota and Missouri) only grant Home Rule to larger counties (in some cases, only to one large county, such as Cook County in Illinois or Ramsey County in Minnesota), while the other 15 states permit any county to draft a Home Rule charter- with mixed results across states. In Hawaii and Maine, for example, all counties chose to adopt a charter and operate under Home Rule. In Idaho, New Hampshire and South Dakota, however, no county has chosen to adopt a charter despite having the option in state law, so all remain under Dillon's Rule.

In practice, the delineation between Home Rule and Dillon's Rule is not a simple nor obvious determination of county authority. Of the 34 states that permit some or all counties to operate under Home Rule, 15 states (44 percent) place substantial restrictions on county Home Rule authority – most often related to

COUNTIES OPERATE PRIMARILY UNDER DILLON'S RULE IN 28 STATES



finances (fiscal domain). For example, all counties in Hawaii and Iowa operate under Home Rule, but each of these states prohibits counties from levying any tax not explicitly authorized by the state legislature. In some states, such as California, Maine, Ohio and Wisconsin, the primary benefit of Home Rule authority is flexibility in how the government is structured (structural domain) – service provision and local finances are still delegated by the state. For Nevada and Mississippi, on the other hand, although all counties are under Home Rule, their local government structures and finances are delegated by the state, leaving flexibility only in service provision (functional domain).

As Home Rule does not necessarily entail complete flexibility to determine local affairs, so Dillon's Rule does not necessarily entail stringent inflexibility.

Of the 35 states that place some or all counties under Dillon's Rule, 14 states (40 percent) provide additional, important flexibilities. Most often, counties are given additional flexibility in determining local government structure (10 states), but often, too, in service provision (8 states). Three states (New Jersey, North Carolina and Utah) have most or all counties operating under Dillon's Rule, but with a directive that courts should broadly interpret the grants of authority given to counties in the state constitution and statutes - greatly expanding county government authority. Utah, in particular, is a unique state, because of the case State v. Hutchinson in 1980, which ruled in favor of expanded county flexibility and so placed all Utah counties under "Hutchinson's Rule" - essentially, a very flexible version of Dillon's Rule which looks more like Home Rule in practice.xv



County Executive, Legislative and Judicial Powers

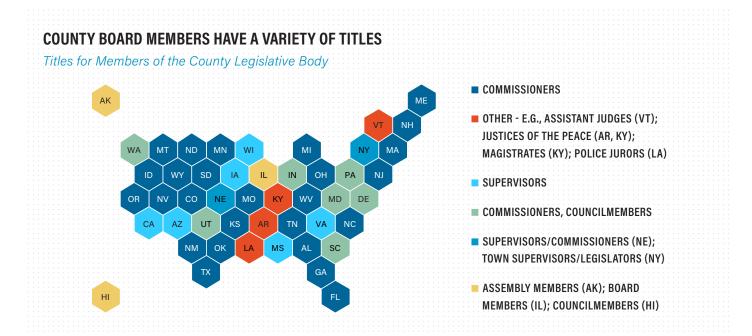
Like the federal government, county governments have executive, legislative and judicial powers. These powers are exercised only within the framework of state and federal constitutional and statutory law. These powers are distributed across the county board, county agencies and county offices, including independently elected officials.

County Board and "Traditional" Government Form

Under the most common "traditional" form of local government structure, the county boards generally exercise executive and legislative powers. Depending on the state, county boards are often known as: commissions, councils, assemblies, fiscal courts, levy court commissions, county legislatures and commissioners' courts. The board is typically responsible for adopting the county budget, overseeing county finances, shaping local public policy, approving the hiring of county employees and, in some cases, economic development and planning activities.

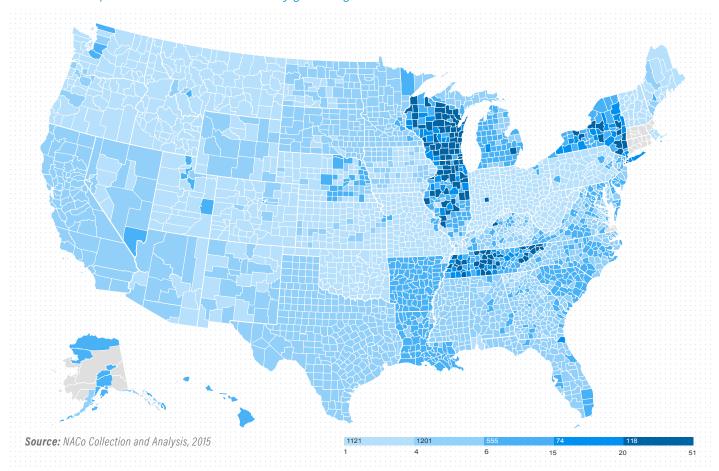
The members of county boards have a variety of titles, depending on the state, such as commissioners, supervisors, council members, assembly members, board members, justices of the peace (Arkansas) and police jurors (Louisiana). In most New Jersey counties, the county governing body was known previously as the board of chosen freeholders, until recent state law changed to board of commissioners.

In about half (53 percent) of counties, all board members are elected by district. About one third (29 percent) of counties elect all board members at large (by the entire county). In the remaining one fifth (18 percent) of counties, at least one board member is elected at large, while the remainder are elected by district. There are nearly 20,000 elected county board members, and about 700 elected county executives — about half of which also serve as the president or chair of the board. In most counties (82 percent), board members are elected for four-year terms. Very few (6 percent) of counties have a limit to the number of terms a board member can serve; the typical limit is two or three terms.



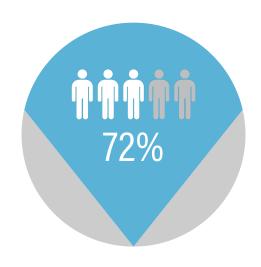
MOST COUNTIES ARE GOVERNED BY A LEGISLATIVE BODY WITH 3 OR 5 MEMBERS

Number of representatives elected to a county governing board



The size of each county governing body varies widely according to state statutes and county flexibilities. The smallest allowable governing body is in Georgia, where counties may have just one sole commissioner. Aside from NYC's 51-member council, the largest county governing body size is in Wisconsin, where counties may have a maximum of 47 commissioners, depending on population size (Marathon County, Wis. currently has 38 commissioners). Three-quarters (72 percent) of counties, however, have either three or five commissioners.

Governing body size is determined by state statutes in every state except Alaska and North Carolina. In Alaska, the governing body size is determined by local law or charter, and in North Carolina, the number of elector districts determines the number of commissioners.



Three-quarters (72 percent) of counties have either three or five commissioners.

Elected County Executive and "Reformed" Government Form

A majority of counties operate under the traditional, commission form of county government; however, over 40 percent have shifted to either the county administrator or the elected executive type in recent decades.

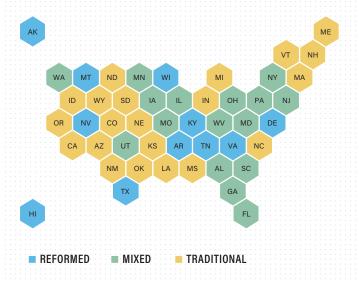
The separation of powers principle undergirds the reformed county governance system, similar to the President and Congress at the federal level. The elected county executive is the chief administrative officer of the jurisdiction and exercises executive authority. This position is elected countywide, rather than representing a portion or district within the county. Typically, the elected executive has the authority to veto ordinances enacted by the county board (subject to their possible override) and hire and fire department heads.

Within the reformed, council-executive form, there are also two primary subsets of these governance structures.

- In some places like Kentucky, Arkansas, and Cook Co. (III.), the county executive serves as the chief elected official and controls the executive branch of the county government, yet also serves as a voting member and chair of the county board as the legislative branch.
- In other places, the county executive may only manage the executive branch, including departments that are not managed by an independently elected official (e.g., sheriff, district attorney, treasurer, auditor). Similar to the President and a Governor, the executive often proposes an annual budget for consideration, amendment and adoption by the county board.

21 STATES ONLY PERMIT THE TRADITIONAL, COMMISSION FORM

County Government Form, according to State Statute



Most often, an elected county executive has the title of county executive; however, this executive might also carry the title of county judge, mayor, chief executive officer, chair or board president, depending on the state.

Elected county executives possess varying levels of authority. About 700 counties have an elected county executive, most notably in Arkansas, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, Tennessee and Texas, along with many major urban counties in states like Florida, Illinois and Washington. As the executive branch of a county government, the elected county executive commonly works with the legislative body to enact policy, oversees daily county operations and finances and often holds veto power over the legislative process. Nearly all (97 percent) of executives are elected for four-year terms. Only a handful (8 percent) are limited to a set number of terms they can serve - typically two or three terms.

Appointed County Administrator

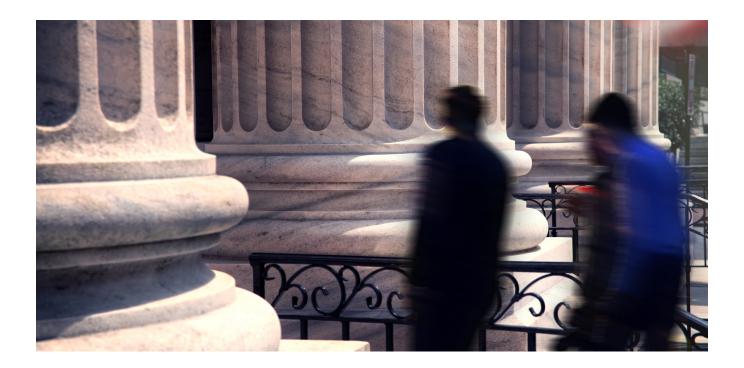
Some county positions with the title county executive/ county executive officer are not elected county executives, but appointed (for example, in a number of California, New Mexico and Virginia counties). They fulfill the function of appointed county administrators and/or managers. The majority of county administrators are appointed by the county board, but a minority of county administrators are appointed by the elected county executive or by both the elected executive and the county board.

Approximately 1,300 counties have the equivalent of an appointed county administrator. Administrator, manager and chief administrative officers are common titles;

however, this position may have one of 115 different titles, depending on the state. For example, an appointed county administrator in some Minnesota counties has the title of county coordinator. Appointed county administrators have different levels of authority, depending on the county governance structure and enabling state statutes.

Only 83 counties have both an appointed administrator and an elected executive. In 36 of these counties, the executive appoints the administrator. All Maryland counties, for example, have an administrator. The administrator is appointed the elected executive in the nine Maryland counties which have an executive, plus Baltimore City, and by the county council in the remaining 14 counties.

OVER 1.300 COUNTIES HAVE AN APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR AND NEARLY 700 HAVE AN ELECTED EXECUTIVE Counties with Appointed Administrators and Elected Executives 1132 Source: NACo Collection and Analysis, 2015 No Administrator Elected Exec, No Administrator Administrator and Administrator, No or Flected Exec Administrator Appt by Elected Elected Exec



The county administrator is typically the top appointed career official of the county. Administrators serve the county's legislative body by carrying out the policies and procedures established by its members. Generally, the administrator oversees the daily operations of the county government, including the formation of the county budget and management of programs and services. Administrators may also partner with the private sector, nonprofits, academia and others for the benefit of the community.

Judicial Branch

Depending on the state, county attorneys (such as district attorneys or prosecutors) and magistrates may carry out the judicial power of counties in accordance with state law. Variations exist from state to state with respect to whether these positions are considered part of the judicial branch or executive branch of local government. Often, the classification depends on the nature of the position. In Indiana and New Mexico, for example, the district attorney is considered part of the judicial branch. In California, the county attorney is a distinct position from the district

attorney which is appointed by the board and part of the executive branch. Typically, a district attorney will serve the same function as a prosecutor in bringing criminal cases to court. A county attorney generally handles civil legal issues, though will sometimes also function as a district attorney in handling criminal cases, especially in more rural, unincorporated areas.

The judicial branch is particularly complex at the county level. Overall, judicial organization can be grouped into single county or multi-county. In a single county system, courts are organized along county lines; in a multi-county system, courts are shared among counties or organized along district lines. Just under half (46 percent) of states have single county local judicial systems, while the remainder (54 percent) have multi-county judicial organization. Even though judicial organization may be organized along county lines, local administration may differ. The judicial system can be run by the county, state or mixture of the two. Most court administration is run by the state, except in a handful of states like Maryland, Minnesota, Ohio and Texas where the counties play a larger role.

Constitutional "Row" Officers

Outside of the legislative and executive branches of county government, there are more than 18,600 other independently officers elected county responsible for specific county functions. Examples of these positions include assessor, auditor, circuit judge, clerk of the board, clerk of the court (judicial), coroner, county attorney, county engineer, judge of the probate,

prosecuting attorney, public administrator, recorder, register of deeds, school superintendent, sheriff, surveyor, tax collector and treasurer.

If the state constitution makes a provision for an elected office, then the office is known as a constitutional officer. For example, county auditor, clerk, court clerk, sheriff and treasurer positions are often mandated by state constitutions. The role of the county board, as the legislative branch, is also typically outlined under the state constitution and law.

Certain counties, especially some under Home Rule, are granted flexibility in adjusting separately-elected positions

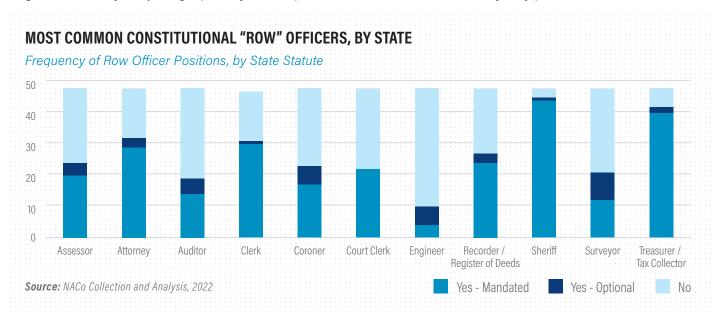
If the state constitution makes a provision for an elected office, then the office is known as a constitutional officer. For example, county auditor, clerk, court clerk, sheriff and treasurer positions are often mandated by state constitutions.

to meet local needs, whether by adding or removing positions, or by converting positions from elected to appointed.

Some states have unique row officer positions. In Arizona, the constable is an elected officer which executes the orders of the court but does not perform the more traditional law enforcement duties of the sheriff.xvi And in Michigan, counties may appoint a

drain commissioner to administer laws involving flood protection, stormwater and soil erosion, due to the fact that the state has been historically dominated by swamps that harbor potential health risks and negative impacts for agricultural lands, xvii

The title of a county position does not necessarily reflect the responsibilities of that position nor indicate whether the position is elected or appointed. For example, clerks in Florida typically serve as the Treasurer for the county and might also serve as the clerk to the county board and the county administrator, or they may provide other services.



Glossary of Most Common County Elected Officials

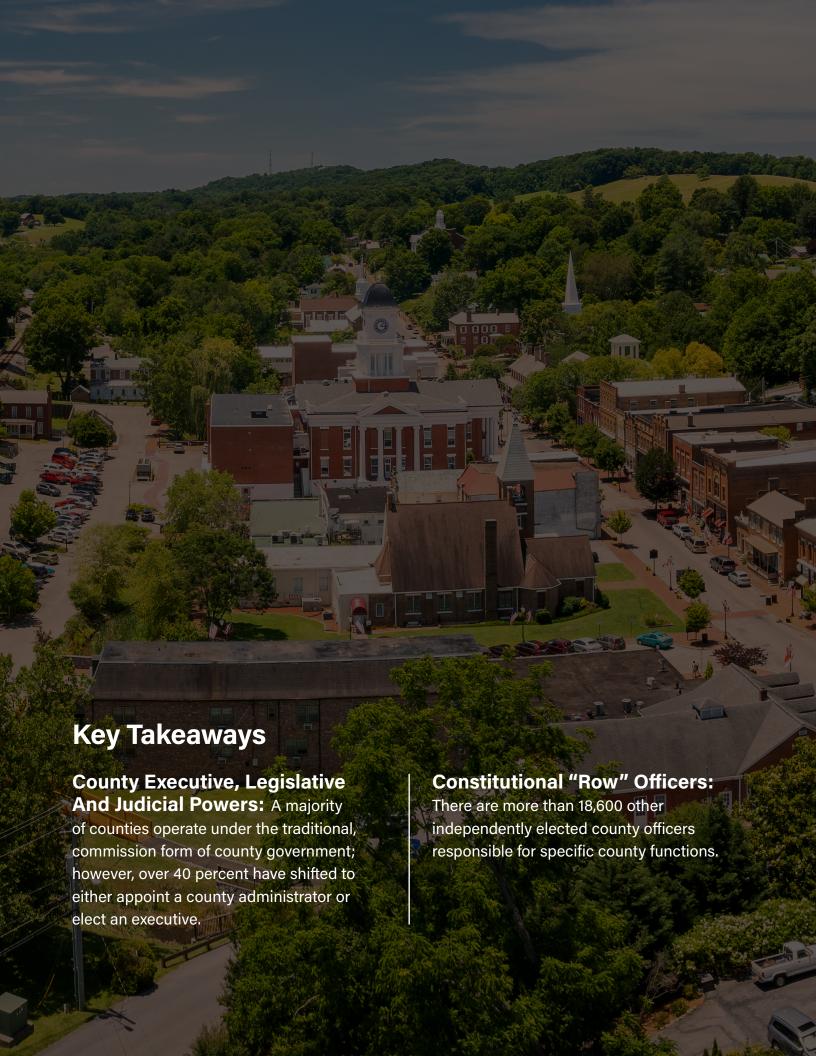
Like the federal government, America's 3,069 county governments are designed with "checks and balances" of authorities, mandates and functions across executive, legislative and judicial duties. These responsibilities are exercised within the framework of state and federal constitutional and statutory law.

County boards, led by nearly 19,500 elected officials nationally, generally exercise executive and legislative powers, including oversight of the county budget, policies and general operations. In more than 700 counties, the executive function is led or shared by a chief executive who is elected countywide.

Nationwide, more than 18,600 independently elected officials, often referred to as "constitutional" or "row" officers, are also elected for specific county functions.

Below is a sample of the most common elected positions in county government:

- Assessor: Official who establishes the value of land and property for taxation
- Auditor: Official who oversees and monitors county assets and finances
- Clerk of the board: Clerk who provides support and record management for the county board
- Clerk of the courts: Clerk who serves as the administrative officer of the county court system
- Commissioner: Officials with board oversight of the budget, policy and general operations
- Coroner: Official who investigates the causes and manners of death in a county
- County attorney: Legal advisor for the county
- **District attorney:** Chief prosecutor for the state within the county
- Executive: Chief executive officer of the county, similar to a city mayor or state governor
- Public defender: Attorney who upholds the constitutional right to legal representation within the community
- Recorder: Official who manages the public records of the county (e.g., elections, land, birth & marriage)
- Sheriff: Chief law enforcement officer (also typically manages the county jail)
- Treasurer: Official responsible for the management and investment of financial assets

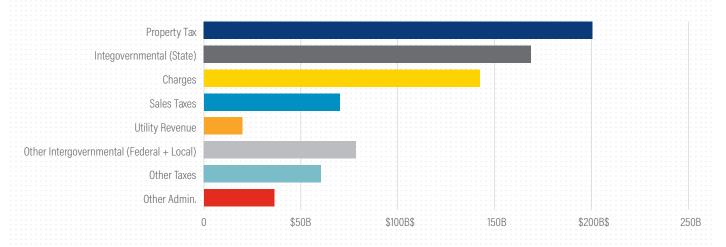


County Finances

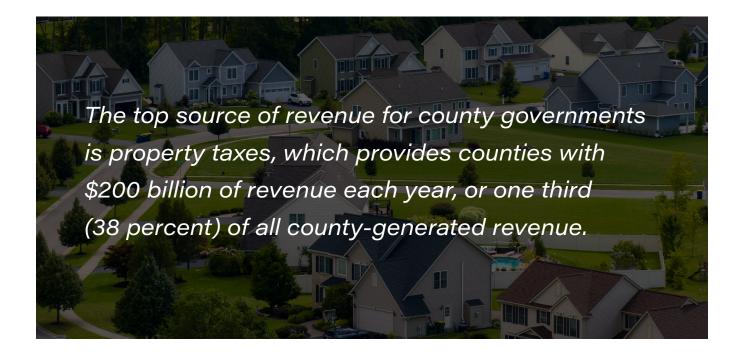
County boards approve the final budget, similar to how Congress adopts the federal budget. In most counties with an elected county executive or appointed county administrator, these officials are often responsible for developing the initial budget preparation. In total, county governments invest more than \$740 billion annually, based on U.S. Census of Governments data.

PROPERTY TAXES PROVIDE TOP SOURCE OF COUNTY REVENUE

Breakdown of Total County Revenue



Source: NACo Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau - 2022 Census of Individual Governments: Finance



The large majority of the funding that counties use to provide services is generated by the county government itself, sourcing taxes and fees from residents and businesses. County governments generate 68 percent of all our own county revenue. About one third (32 percent) comes from other governmental entities, namely federal (8 percent) and state (22 percent) governments, with variations by state and county.

Overall, the top source of revenue for county governments is property taxes, which provides counties with \$200 billion of revenue each year, or one third (38 percent) of all county-generated revenue. Tax revenue as a whole provides over half (63 percent) of all county-generated revenue. Sales taxes are the second largest tax category, providing \$70 billion (13 percent of county-generated revenue). Tax revenue is especially important to county governments because it mostly goes into county general funds, thus allowing for the most flexibility in investing the funding back into the community.

Charges and fees comprise the overall second largest category of county revenues, providing \$142 billion, or one quarter (27 percent) of county-generated revenue. These revenues, however, generally do not provide any flexibility to the local government, but are rather a "dollar in, dollar out" category of revenue which encompasses funding that goes directly to provide a specific service or to reimburse the government for a service already provided. Some common examples include court and recording fees, public library charges, parks and recreation charges (including camping areas, swimming pools, museums and other facilities operated by the county), highway tolls, public hospital charges and revenue associated with public housing projects. These types of charges come directly from a specific government service and support that service directly.

When it comes to large investments, most counties turn to debt financing to make the investment more

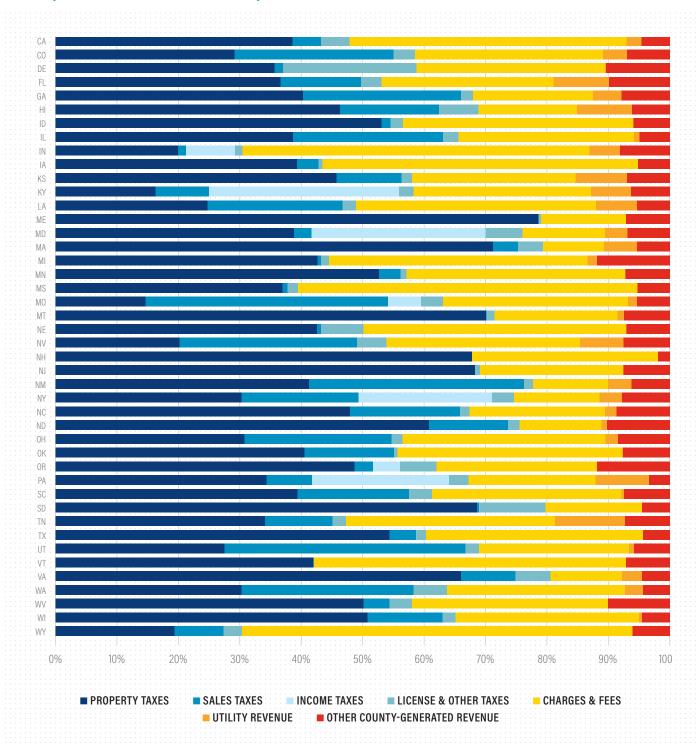
quickly without having to wait to save up cash. Whether investing in capital infrastructure or helping the community recover from a disaster, there are certain times when general fund revenues cannot cover the necessary expenditures, so debt financing becomes an invaluable financial tool. Typically, a local government will issue bonds to borrow money, though some may qualify for certain state or federal loan programs, or even take out a short-term loan from a bank or other financial institution.

Although property taxes are the top revenue source for counties in aggregate, much variation exists at the state level. Counties in some states rely heavily on local sales taxes (Missouri), charges and fees (Indiana) or even local income taxes (Kentucky and Maryland). This variation exists in part due to shifting local priorities, but also due to varied county fiscal authority. County governments are dependent on states for the authority to raise revenue. Most states permit county governments some amount of flexibility over the ability to raise revenue, though some states impose more restrictions while others grant more authority. For example, Georgia, Hawaii and Tennessee do not impose any restrictions on county property taxes, thus allowing counties to adjust property tax revenue according to the needs of residents. On the other hand, in five states (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Vermont), counties are severely restricted in their ability to raise revenue and not permitted to levy their own property taxes; rather, counties in these states must levy property taxes through their municipalities.

Thirty-one (31) states allow counties to implement some kind of local sales tax, though states tend to restrict sales taxes more than property taxes, sometimes only allowing sales tax revenue to be levied for specific purposes. In Colorado, for example, counties may collect a sales tax only for public safety improvements. Depending on the state, counties may also collect a local income tax, a tax on short-term rentals, a fuel tax or one of a variety of other taxes.

COUNTY REVENUE STRUCTURE IS DIVERSE

County-Generated Revenue Breakdown by State



Source: NACo Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau - 2022 Census of Individual Governments: Finance

Note: "County-generated revenue" excludes intergovernmental revenue from the federal, state and other local governments.

County revenues are important for the services they enable counties to provide. The top four investment categories for counties are Health and Human Services (\$193 billion or 26 percent), Justice and Public Safety (\$124 billion or 17 percent), Education (\$121 billion or 16 percent) and Transportation (\$60 billion or 8 percent).

At the state level, the top county investment categories vary, though Health and Human Services, Justice and Public Safety and Transportation are still the most common categories to find in the top four county investment categories.

Education is a unique category because, although counties in nearly every state contribute to the education system, these contributions are recorded as specifically county expenditures only in some states.

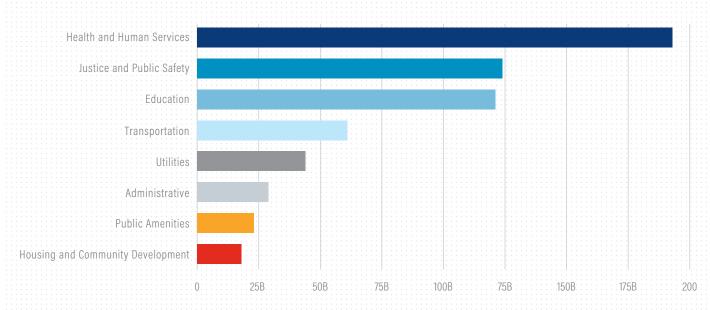
Education is a top county investment category only in nine states.

Aside from these top investment categories, counties devote resources to numerous other services for residents, totaling another \$243 billion annually. This amount includes \$23 billion of county investments in public amenities (such as parks and libraries), \$18 billion in housing and community development, \$27 billion in sewerage and solid waste and \$18 billion in utilities (most of which is for water).

All of these county services and expenditures are dependent both on the authority each state gives to county governments in state law, as well as the ability of each county to raise adequate revenue.

HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES IS TOP COUNTY INVESTMENT

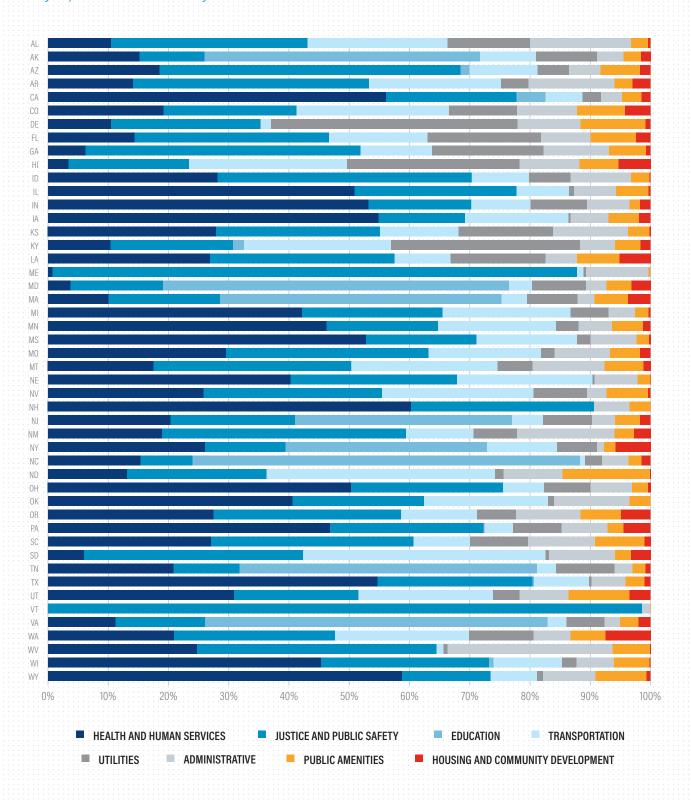
Total County Expenditures, by Category



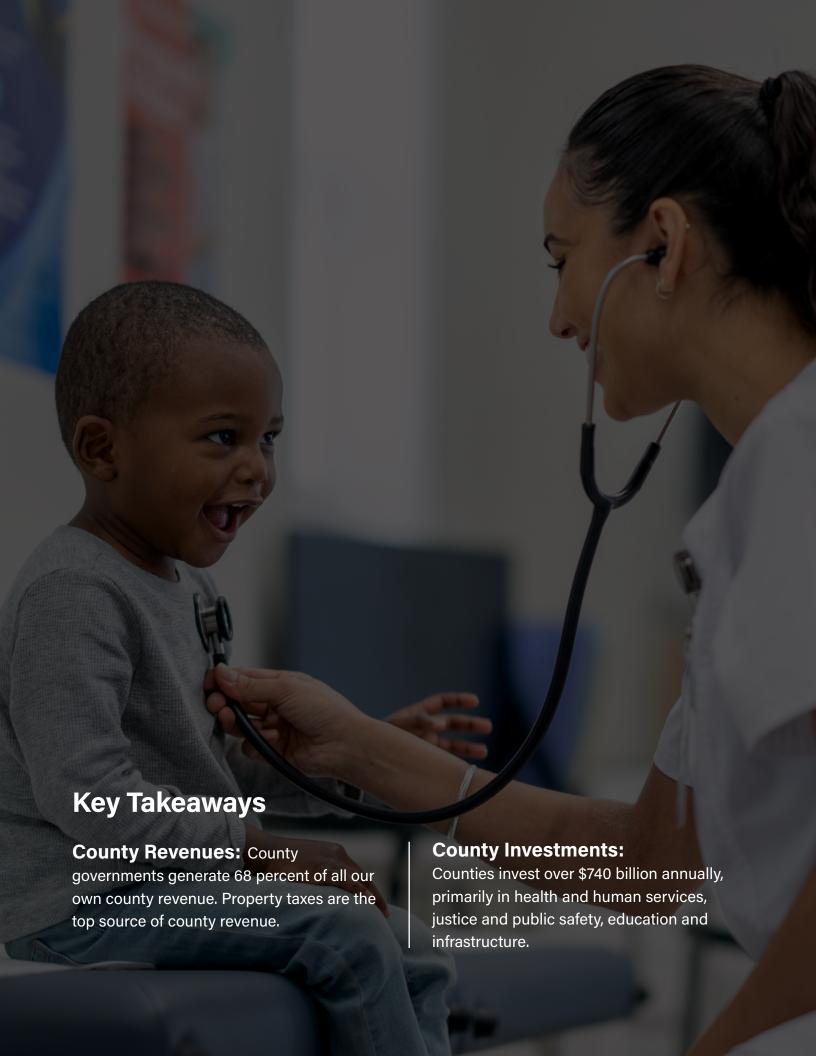
Source: NACo Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau - 2022 Census of Individual Governments: Finance

COUNTY PRIORITIES ARE DIVERSE

County Expenditure Breakdown by State

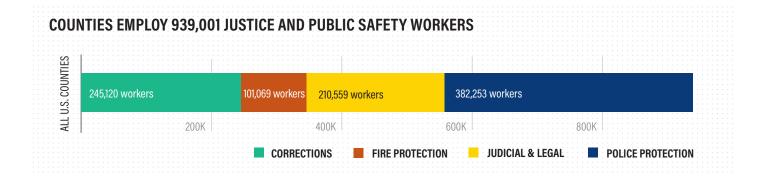


Source: NACo Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau - 2022 Census of Individual Governments: Finance



A Snapshot: Functions of County Government

Following is a brief snapshot of the governmental responsibilities of America's county governments:



Justice and Public Safety

Nationally, counties employ over **939,000 justice** and public safety workers – more than in any other service category, education aside.

Counties provide a range of services within the public safety sphere in collaboration with the state and other local governments. **Law enforcement** is often a joint effort between counties and municipalities. Municipalities routinely fund and provide police forces, while counties employ a sheriff to oversee

arrests and correctional statutes within the jail system. Counties mostly maintain both jails and courthouses, with additional support from the state. Fire and ambulance services can be provided together or separately in counties; however, in contrast to jails and courthouses, fire and ambulance services are typically not required services or are provided jointly with other adjoining counties or municipalities. Most counties play a central role in emergency management services, developing emergency operations plans and procedures to bolster disaster resiliency. These



services can include items like **911 call centers** and **flood control**, as well as other unique services such as firearm regulation or wildfire management.

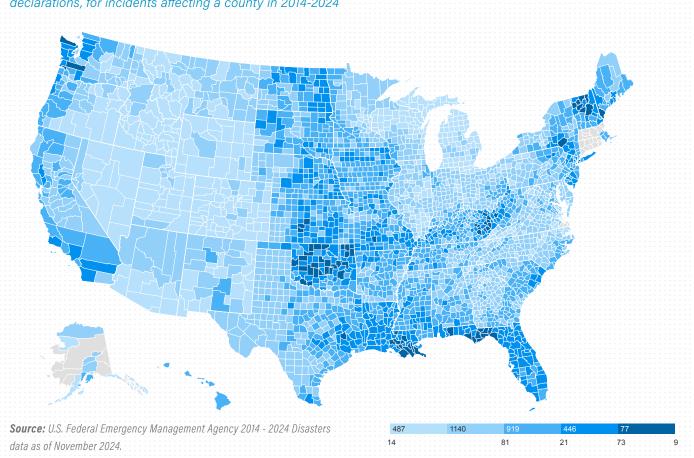
In all 48 states with county governments, counties play a significant role in administering public safety services, dedicating approximately **one quarter of the total county workforce** to justice and public safety.

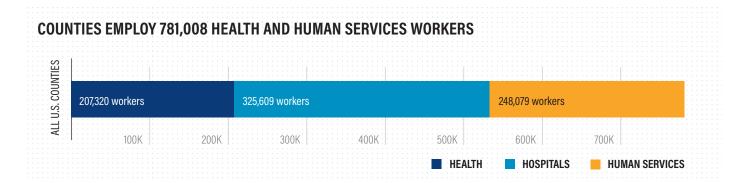
- Counties operate 91 percent of local jails, which processed more than 7.3 million admissions in 2022.
- Counties serve as the local arm of the state/ county court systems, including key players such as judges, district attorneys, public defenders,

- court clerks, and jail administrators (and court facilities)
- Counties provide essential first responder services through sheriffs, police departments, constables, 911 operations, firefighters, EMT/ EMS professionals and coroners/medical examiners
- Counties lead regional and local emergency management planning, response and coordination, including through county Emergency Operations Centers

NUMBER OF FEDERALLY DECLARED DISASTERS BY COUNTY BETWEEN 2014 AND 2024

The number of disaster declarations authorized by the President, both major disaster declarations and emergency declarations, for incidents affecting a county in 2014-2024

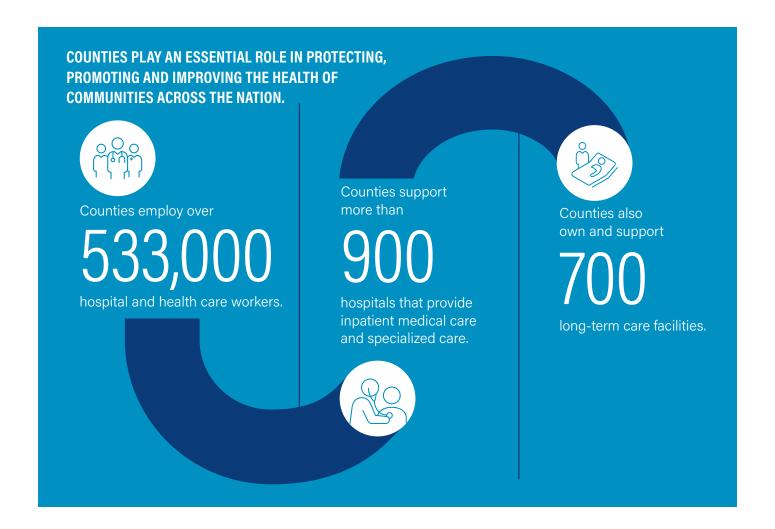




Health and Human Services

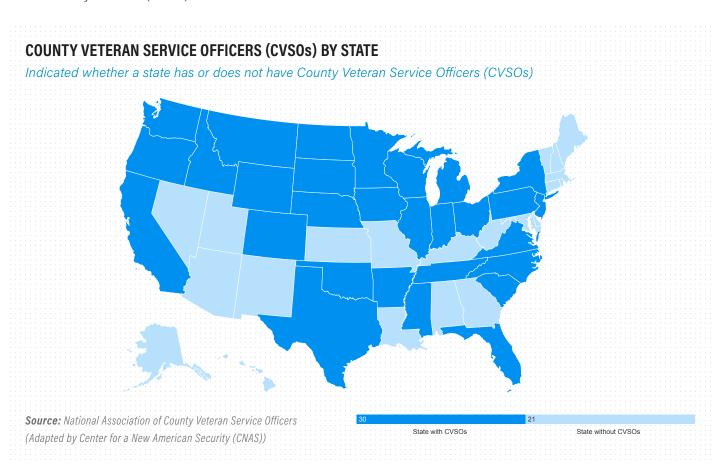
Counties in 46 states play a key role in providing health and human services to residents, including public health departments, hospital services, mental health services, senior care, social services, child welfare and indigent burials. Counties together employ 781,000 health and human services workers – one fifth of the total county workforce.

- Counties own or support over 900 public hospitals and clinics with more than 58,000 beds
- Counties manage and/or govern more than 1,900 local public health departments / authorities
- Counties operate more than 700 long-term care facilities and more than 750 behavioral health authorities



- Counties provide mandated healthcare for lowincome, uninsured or indigent residents in a majority of states
- Counties contribute to Medicaid in 25 states, including the District of Columbia. Of these states, 19 mandate counties to contribute to the non-federal share of Medicaid costs and/ or administrative, program, physical health and behavioral costs
- Counties significant health services, including mental health and substance abuse treatment, for the general public and for millions of inmates of county jails and detention facilities
- Counties partner with the federal government to administer a wide range of human services and nutrition supports that help stabilize vulnerable families and individuals, though this role varies by program and state. County-administered programs include Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and the Social Services

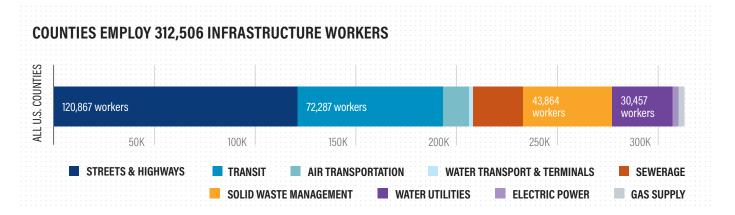
- Block Grant (SSBG) in 9 states, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in 10 states, the child welfare system in 11 states and the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) in 8 states. Counties invest \$62 billion of federal, state and local funds in human services each year.
- Over 248,000 county human services professionals deliver vital services to our nation's most vulnerable populations, including seniors, individuals with disabilities, children experiencing abuse and neglect, homeless individuals and low-income households.
- Counties in 29 states, plus the District of Columbia, have county veterans service officers (CVSOs), predominantly funded with local taxpayer dollars, to serve as essential advocates for veterans and their families as they navigate the complex process of accessing their Veteran Affairs (VA) benefits.

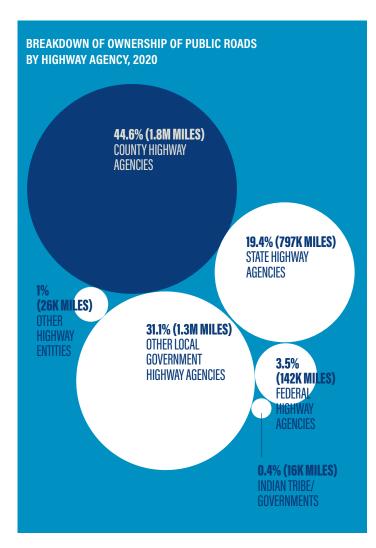


Infrastructure

Nationwide, counties employ 312,000 workers to provide services such as roads, bridges, public transit, airports and utilities, including water, solid waste and sewerage. Counties in all 48 states with active county

governments provide some infrastructure services. Most often, county infrastructure services focus on transportation. In 10 states, counties focus more on utilities than transportation.





- Counties own and maintain more than 45 percent of public road miles and 38 percent of bridges
- Counties support 40 percent of public transportation systems
- Counties own or involved in operations of more than one-third of public airports
- Counties are major owners of public facilities, such as courthouses, county administration buildings, jails and detention centers, dams and reservoirs, sports stadiums, water purification systems, sewage treatment facilities, ports, and solid waste management and recycling centers

There are **4.1 million** public road miles within counties across the nation where most trips both start and end.

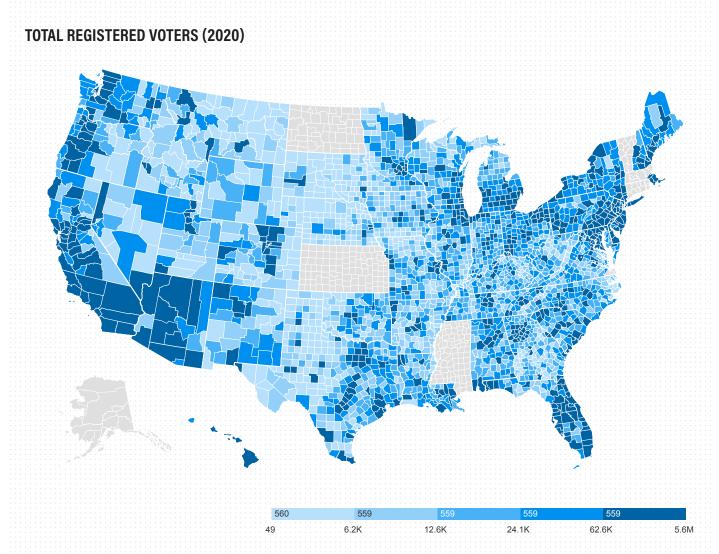
Public Amenities and Administration

Counties provide a wide range of public amenities to residents, employing over 150,000 workers to manage parks and playground systems, recreation facilities, libraries, cemeteries and tourism efforts, among other services. Most county governments have some role in managing public amenities – typically an optional role.

Counties generally have broad authority over planning, zoning and development, which includes regulation of housing, environmental conservation and economic development. County responsibilities range from establishing local planning commissions and housing authorities to direct financial contributions to environmental and economic development programs.

 Essential community facilities and services, such as parks and recreation, public libraries, arts and culture programs and facilities, community and technical colleges, housing and homelessness services, and community and economic development





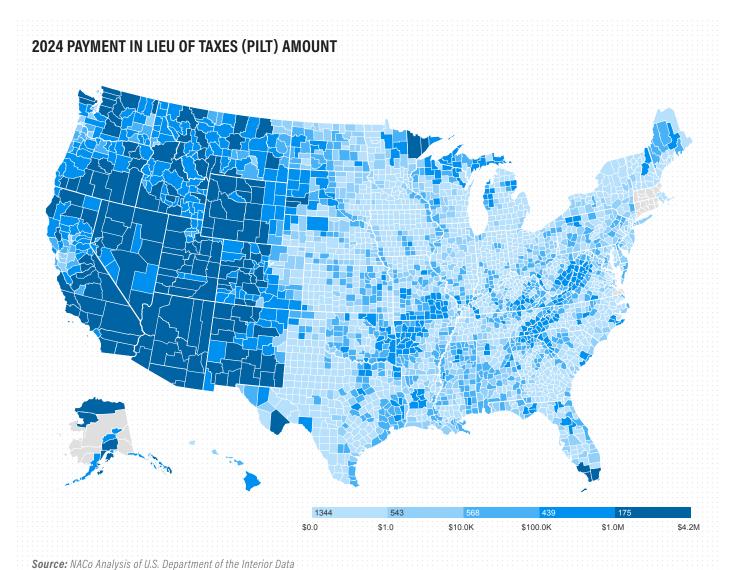
Source: NACo Analysis of State Board of Elections website data

Additionally, county governments have an important administrative role to play in our nation's system of governance, which includes record keeping, tax assessments and collections, elections and intergovernmental coordination.

- Record keeping including birth and death certificates, court records, election records, land records, marriage licenses, real estate transactions and tax assessments
- Tax assessments and collections, including for other public entities such as public schools, municipalities and special purpose districts
- Elections administration including funding and management of over 100,000 polling places and coordination and training of more than 630,000 poll workers each election cycle

Public Lands

- Nearly 62 percent of counties have federal public land within our boundaries
- As federal land is not taxable by local governments, the federal Payment-in-Lieuof-Taxes (PILT) account provides essential compensation to over 1,850 counties in 49 states, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands for lost tax revenues. Counties collectively received more than \$621 million in PILT funding in FY 2024.
- The Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination (SRS) Act was enacted in 2000 to compensate for steep reductions in revenues from timber harvests, which resulted from national policies that substantially diminished revenue-generating activities within federal forests. For FY 2023, the SRS program provided \$273 million for roads and schools and other critical services in over 700 mostly rural counties, parishes and boroughs across the United States.



Key Takeaways

Justice & Public Safety:

Counties employ 939,000 workers across 48 states to provide a wide range of mandated and optional public safety services, including law enforcement, jails, courts, fire departments, ambulances, 911 centers and emergency management.

Infrastructure:

Counties employ 312,000 workers across 48 states to maintain 45 percent of public roads and 38 percent of bridges, as well as provide transit, airport and various utility services.

Health & Human Services:

Counties in 46 states employ 781,000 workers to provide public health departments, hospitals, mental health centers, senior care, social services, child welfare and indigent burials.

Public Amenities:

Over **150,000 county workers** manage mostly optional public amenities including parks and playground systems, recreation facilities, libraries, cemeteries and tourism efforts.

Counties and the Intergovernmental System

The National Association of Counties (NACo), as the national voice of America's county government officials, holds a special place in our nation's federalist system of intergovernmental entities.

As an association of public officials, NACo is not a special interest group but a major partner in our nation's intergovernmental system. Under America's form of Federalism, the

intergovernmental system is about the balance, division and sharing of power and responsibilities between and among levels of government: federal, state, local and tribal.

NACo is a member of the "Big Seven" coalition of national associations whose members represent the chief elected officials of state and local governments. The leadership of our organizations work together regularly to address national issues of mutual interest affecting state and local governments, including in consultation and partnership with elected and appointed officials across the three branches of the federal government.

The Big Seven Coalition consists of NACo, along with the National Governors Association, Council of State

NACo and our county officials are not lobbyists or a special interest group. We are part of our nation's intergovernmental system of public elected officials.

Governments, National Conference of State Legislatures, U.S. Conference of Mayors, National League of Cities and the International City/County Management Association (only group representing non-elected officials).

As national representatives of generalpurpose state and local governments, led by our publicly elected officials, our associations are distinguished from the larger world of nonprofits and

special interest groups, mainly by our governmental membership and our connections to governmental policy. As public entities, our collective missions are to represent the broader, public interest in public affairs.

At the core of NACo's mission is to bring county officials together to advance county priorities in national policymaking, promote exemplary county policies and practices, nurture leadership skills and expand knowledge networks, optimize county and taxpayer resources and enrich the public's understanding of county government. NACo achieves this goal by involving over 1,500 county elected and professional officials in more than 30 NACo committees, caucuses, advisory committees and task forces.

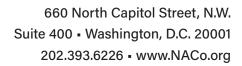
Under America's form of Federalism, the intergovernmental system is about the balance, division and sharing of power and responsibilities between and among levels of government: federal, state, local and tribal.



* The 3,069 county governments include all counties, parishes in Louisiana and boroughs in Alaska.

Endnotes

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- Emily Salmon, "County Formation during the Colonial Period," Encyclopedia Viriginia (December 2020), available at: https://encyclopedia-virginia.org/entries/county-formation-during-the-colonial-period.
- ^{III} Census Bureau, "States, Counties, and Statistically Equivalent Entities," available at: https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/reference/GARM/ Ch4GARM.pdf
- iv Ibid
- Marilyn Haigh, "Why does Texas have so many counties? A history lesson," The Texas Tribune, July 3, 2018, available at https://www.texastribune.org/2018/07/03/beto-orourke-visited-all-254-counties-texas-why-are-there-so-many/.
- vi See Judy A. Watson, "County Government Abolishment," OLR Research Report (1998), available at: https://www.cga.ct.gov/PS98/rpt%5Col-r%5Chtm/98-R-0086.htm; and Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "County Government," available at: https://www.sec.state.ma.us/divisions/cis/government/gov-county.htm
- vii Rhode Island Government, "Fun facts & trivia," available at: https://www.ri.gov/facts/trivia.php
- viii Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "County Government," available at: https://www.sec.state.ma.us/divisions/cis/government/gov-county.htm
- ^{ix} U.S. Census Bureau, "Change to County-Equivalents in the State of Connecticut for 2022 ACS," (September 2023), available at: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/technical-documentation/user-notes/2023-01.html
- * The terms urban and rural are multidimensional concepts that can involve indicators such as population size, density or geographic isolation. The U.S. Census Bureau employs an urban-rural classification which delineates urban areas as densely developed territory, encompassing residential, commercial and other non-residential urban land uses. Rural areas encompass all population, housing and territory not included within an urban area. In another definition, the Office of Management and Budget designates counties into metro areas and micro areas. Metro areas constitute an urban core of 50,000 or more people and micro areas constitute an urban core of 10,000-49,999 people. Micro areas and counties outside of both metro and micro areas are considered rural. NACo does not employ a singular definition for urban and rural counties; rather, we encourage our members to self-identify based on the unique composition of their jurisdiction.
- xi Census Bureau, "2020 Population and Housing State Data" (2021), available at https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/2020-population-and-housing-state-data.html.
- Haya El Nasser, "More Than Half of U.S. Population in 4.6 Percent of Counties," Census Bureau, October 24, 2017, available at https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2017/10/big-and-small-counties.html.
- xiii NACo County Explorer Data, 2024.
- xiv Though only 21 states actually have a mix.
- State v. Hutchinson, Utah Supreme Court, 624 P.2d 1116 (1980), available at: httml
- Arizona Constable Ethics, Standards and Training Board, "What Do Constables Do?", available at: https://cestb.az.gov/about-us/what-do-constables-do
- xvii See Michigan Association of County Drain Commissioners, available at: https://macdc.us/





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