The Circuit Rider Concept:
Meeting the Need of Rural Communities Governed by Part-time Public Officials

by BENJAMIN P. COE

New York is a state of small governments. Of the 931 towns and 555 villages, 1,130 have population totals under 5,000, based on 1980 census figures reported by the New York State Office of the Comptroller. While the majority of the population in New York State is urban and suburban, the majority of governments serve small population groups and are mostly rural in nature. Indeed, New York State has the sixth largest rural population in the country.

The mixture of rural and urban interests is often a surprise for those persons who are not familiar with the state. Within the state itself, this mixture leads to complex intergovernmental relations for officials at the local, county and state levels of government. Unlike Vermont, for example, where all local governmental policy is rural policy, there is a tension in New York State between urban and rural governmental philosophies. The perception in New York local government is that the urban orientation usually dominates—in spite of good intentions—since most of the state lawmakers and most of the state employees who make and carry out local government policy live in cities.

Rural areas often experience a feeling of isolation, alienation and helplessness in the face of governmental problems. Local officials frequently are confronted by powerful outside forces, be they from developers or from state and federal mandates—laws, rules or regulations requiring localities to undertake functions, to apply complex regulatory procedures and the like. These small governments are staffed by part-time local officials who receive limited compensation and who have limited time or expertise to apply to the growth in governmental complexity. Citizen expectations are increasing, infrastructure items such as bridges and roads are deteriorating; at the same time, new demand makes the installation of water and waste disposal facilities imperative. Isolation in rural government is a real factor. The greater distances between governmental offices increase travel and communication costs for local officials seeking answers from state and county officials or for public officials who are seeking to exchange ideas with their peers.

Local governmental isolation is compounded in New York and in many other states by the fact that our strong, centralized structures of government have little or no

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regular linkage to local officials. The very limited local government assistance units found in some New York State agencies are underfunded and understaffed. Many of the state’s counties do provide assistance to towns and villages through the county planning departments. County action does sometimes serve to bring the word to local governments on new requirements or opportunities for grants, but most counties do not have a formal technical assistance function in place to assist town and village governments. Fewer still have any regular outreach to local public officials.

I submit that such an outreach role should be played by more county governments in New York State and in other states. Not only do small communities need this kind of help, but such a support service—with no strings attached—could also benefit counties. Many counties would, I believe, benefit from the employment of local government circuit riders to provide technical, administrative and planning assistance to small town and village governments. The Tug Hill Commission’s experience indicates to me that the towns and villages would be grateful and supportive to this idea.

Background on Circuit Riding

The circuit rider concept has been an important part of the history and of the development of our country. Historically, circuit riders were judges and preachers, who made the rounds of a judicial district or of a parish on horseback, bringing law and religious services to a dispersed, largely rural, population.

Different levels of assistance can be provided by circuit riders. There are basically three different types of circuit riders:

* An advisor who provides technical assistance in the form of general advice on policies and programs. Advisors do not usually engage in writing or research,
nor do they provide any other service than information and advice.

* A consultant who provides technical assistance which is more specific in nature than an advisor gives. A consultant will conduct research and will prepare proposals, prepare grant applications and design programs and procedures.

* A manager who provides technical assistance in addition to that provided by an advisor or consultant. A manager has been delegated the authority to make decisions and to implement programs.

Experience with local governments in the Tug Hill region leads us to suggest a fourth category in this circuit rider typology, the facilitator:

* A facilitator who combines features of both the consultant and the advisor roles. Facilitators help local officials assess their needs and offer advice and consultation as is appropriate to each specific problem. They help to plan strategies for local action, supply information culled from diverse sources, help to organize meetings, assist local boards and their attorneys in drafting local laws and ordinances, put officials in touch with outside experts, and from time to time perform studies or help write grant applications.

The Tug Hill Commission’s circuit riders are not intended to replace decision making at the local level by elected officials; neither do they have the time to undertake active and ongoing management roles since they serve anywhere from nine to nineteen communities. In our view, circuit riding managers require salaries that are beyond the reach of three or four cooperating small towns. Only larger towns can afford to share the cost of a full-time manager. The model of a technical assistance circuit rider is more universally applicable, if only because it is a more affordable alternative, and because an advisor or a consultant is not expected to devote so much of his time to any single community as is a “shared manager.”

These levels of technical assistance delivery are being provided by circuit riders in many parts of the country. In 1984 the International City Managers Association (ICMA) reported “shared administration” programs in approximately 28 states. This is up significantly from the shared administrator programs reported only in Maine in the early 1940s. ICMA’s survey showed that the national expansion of shared administrator programs began in the 1970s.

We know from council of governments annual reports that we receive (on a catch-as-catch-can basis) that circuit riders are being used to good advantage across the United States. Programs in South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee come to mind, although I do not have many firsthand details about those programs to share. In this regard, further results are to be recommended in encouraging circuit rider programs to share experiences and to cross-pollinate one another where appropriate.
Background on the Tug Hill Commission

Tug Hill is a tilted plateau in upstate New York which rises from an elevation of about 250 feet above sea level at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, to 1,900 feet about 20 miles to the east, before dropping off as an escarpment along the Black River Valley. The core of the Tug Hill region is predominantly a wilderness, with no roads throughout the center. It is epitomized by the 65-square-mile Town of Montague, which has only 32 permanent residents. There are 39 towns and 20 villages in parts of four counties, covering a total area of 2,000 square miles, about one and a half times the size of Long Island. The total population is only 90,000.

The mission of the Tug Hill Commission can be defined as assisting local governments and their citizens to shape the future. This means not only developing a comprehensive approach to planning, but also building local capability and developing a support system for identifying and solving problems and taking advantage of opportunities.

The Temporary State Commission on Tug Hill was created by the New York State Legislature in 1972, a time when regional commissions were in vogue in New York State. The stimulus was a developer’s option on 55,000 acres in the core of the Tug Hill area. Unlike the commissions established in the Hudson River Valley, the Adirondacks and the Catskills, the Tug Hill Commission was formed in response to the concerns of the local people, rather than in response to constituents from outside the area. Since its inception, the commission members have been local residents who have served as volunteers. The result has been a program with a high level of local government orientation and involvement with local leaders.

From its first meeting in 1973, the commission identified town and village government as its focus. The commission determined to use a “from-the-bottom-up” or “grass roots” approach to planning, since, in New York State the local government is the place where power lies to adopt land use laws.

The commission’s approach to capacity-building functions largely through the use of circuit riders and a technical assistance service. Intermunicipal agreements that facilitate cooperation between communities, including sponsorship of the circuit rider, have also been a cornerstone of the program. Currently there are three cooperative planning boards and two councils of governments, each of which is served by a circuit rider and backed up by the commission’s Technical Assistance Service and other support staff in its

A rural winter scene at a country crossroads in the Tug Hill region. New York State, most often noted for its urban areas, also has the sixth largest rural population in the entire United States. Photograph by David M. Doody.
home office in Watertown. The number of municipalities served by a single circuit rider ranges from nine to nineteen (nineteen is too many; we are about to test the idea of part-time circuit rider assistants to lessen the load).

The technical assistance provided to local officials includes the areas of community planning, problem solving, training, community organization and contact, citizen education and development of new ideas to aid local government and the locally based economy. The major ingredient of all these activities, the glue that holds it all together, is the “circuit rider.” This person gets his or her satisfaction by making the rounds of communities and finding ways to help local officials do their job better. A circuit rider serves as a connecting link between local officials and the resources to meet their needs. The specific means of service delivery will vary with the circuit rider and the situation.

Tug Hill circuit riders frequently forward requests for information to the commission’s Technical Assistance Service for research. The results are then carried back to the client and tailored for the local situation. The service received over 600 requests during the last 12 months, and the file now has over 3,100 past requests that can be retrieved through a key-word system. The commission’s office staff answers requests using both “in-house expertise” and by tapping a network of experts in county and state agencies and the private sector to find answers.
The peaceful secluded village of West Lyden is a typical example of the many small communities that make up New York’s Tug Hill region. Photograph by W. H. Kennedy, Jr.

if it has been asked before. If not, research is done or a contact made with a state agency, municipal association, etc., to get the information needed.

4. Commission staff gives the circuit rider the information.

5. The circuit rider delivers the answer to the requestor, providing interpretation and helping to apply it to the particular situation when necessary.

A broader list of what Tug Hill circuit riders do is given in Table 1.

| TABLE 1 |
| FUNCTIONS OF A CIRCUIT RIDER |
| (List Developed by Tug Hill Staff) |

1. Facilitator, helping to identify problems/opportunities (this means first building trust).
2. Agent of change, bringing ideas, possibilities.
3. Conduit for information from outside.
4. Community organizer, for planning or project implementation.
5. Problem solver, tailoring information to meet the situation, pointing out alternatives.
6. Bridge to resources, e.g., bringing in consultant team to do a project.
7. “Eyes and ears” to communicate town needs to others that can help.
8. Provide a technical specialty, e.g., planning.
9. Staff for the client, e.g., “write grants.”
10. Conduit between communities; “What are the others doing?”
11. Facilitator of intermunicipal cooperation.
12. Risk sharer, someone to share the risk of trying something new.

The circuit riders do not have an easy job. Their philosophical orientation must be to help others succeed and not take the credit themselves. They are out there alone and need a back-up support system. Tug Hill circuit riders get together every month to exchange ideas and to experience the peer interaction that most of us get on a daily basis in an office.

Two other useful products come naturally out of a well-organized technical assistance service. Frequently repeated requests are good candidates for “issue papers.” There are now 118 of these papers on the commission’s publications available list. The organization of training sessions may result from repeat requests and through feedback from our circuit riders. There have been 13 such sessions during the
last 12 months. They ranged from a targeted session attended by 16 new enforcement officers to a two-night planning and zoning seminar attended by 120 people from 34 communities.

Progress in Tug Hill

So what has happened recently to the practice of intermunicipal cooperation and circuit riding in the Tug Hill region? In 1982 there were four cooperative planning boards and one council of governments served by the circuit riders. All but one of them was partially funded by the involved municipalities. It is significant to note that one cooperative planning board died along the way (this was a three-town group whose member towns never did contribute toward the budget of their circuit rider). The other four groups, from time to time, have experienced a need to examine and reshape what they do as boards or councils, but their town and village governing boards continue to express a very high regard for the technical assistance delivered by their circuit riders.²

Since 1982 there have been two dramatic new initiatives in and around Tug Hill which concern intermunicipal cooperation and the circuit rider concept. The first was a two-year pilot project designed to introduce the use of microcomputers for the accounting function in rural towns and villages. Through an intermunicipal agreement seven towns and one village organized the Rural Town Management Cooperative (RTMC). All had been having serious difficulties with their manual bookkeeping. The municipalities contributed the funds to purchase two microcomputers and low cost software. The commission pledged the necessary manpower for the two-year period. The circuit rider who conceived and carried out the project adapted the software to utilize the New York State Chart of Accounts. The mayor or supervisor gave a list of financial transactions each month to the circuit rider, who would feed them into the computer and produce a financial statement.

Toward the end of the two-year period, the process of evaluation and transition began. RTMC members expressed interest in two transition options. Several towns chose to receive help in purchasing and operating their own computers to do the accounting job. Several others chose to contract with a private service bureau to receive monthly statements on the same basis as they did during the RTMC project. The service bureau contractor was outfitted with the software used during the RTMC project. An additional
community along the way decided to contract for those services, as well. The success of this project earned the circuit rider, Tom Boddin, a Governor's Productivity Award in 1985.

In September of 1984, the United States Army announced that a new light infantry division would be formed and stationed at Fort Drum, a few miles to the northeast of Watertown. The expansion would, over a five-year period, result in 30,000 new people in the North Country. Only a month after this announcement, the leaders of towns and villages immediately surrounding the fort decided that they should form some kind of joint municipal association to prepare for the growth that lay ahead.

The group drew on the commission's successful experience to the south, and formed the Drum Area Council of Governments (DACOG). These eight towns and nine villages raised $30,000 (apportioned by assessed value) to hire a circuit rider. At the same time, the Tug Hill Commission was selected to receive additional state funds to hire planners and add to its technical assistance service to help meet the great new demand for land use planning and to provide general community development support. The call for help was not just from DACOG communities but from nearly all of the 53 municipalities within a 30-mile radius of the main gate of the fort (19 of these lie within the Tug Hill region).

Since area growth would occur over a five-year period and land speculation and development had already begun, the communities wanted help with planning on the "fast track." In cooperation with New York State Department of State, DACOG and the three affected counties, the Fort Drum Land Use Team was formed in April, 1985. Since that time, 74 new or amended land use laws have been adopted. And during the past 12 months, some 383 technical assistance requests were handled from Fort Drum impacted communities.

Without going into detail, one can imagine that the DACOG circuit rider plays a bit different role than do his counterparts in other parts of Tug Hill. One lesson is clear, the plusses of intermunicipal cooperation and having a circuit rider become quickly apparent when a crisis situation is perceived. The town and village leaders, to their credit, said to themselves, "I don't want to be alone in coping with this great growth challenge." By working together the member municipalities not only received help individually, but their collective strength enabled them to work together to see that federal, state and county resources were brought to bear on the problems that they identified.

Another ad hoc group that formed to solve specific problems in the Fort Drum area was the 801 Housing Task Force. This group was formed by 18 municipalities selected to receive a special kind of military housing. The
Many of the roads in the Tug Hill area provide sweeping scenic vistas. At the top of a small hill on the Florence Road, the rooftops of Osceola, New York, peer through the foliage on a clear summer day. Photograph by W. H. Kennedy, Jr.

housing developments would be owned by contractors with whom the Army would guarantee 20-year, 100 percent occupancy leases. The group was suggested and organized by the commission’s attorney/circuit rider in order to provide solidarity and affordable financial and legal support in negotiating payment in lieu of taxes with the two contractors. Towns, villages, counties and school boards were involved. The payoff was an effectively negotiated payment schedule that totals $45,000,000 as opposed to the $20,000,000 first proposed by the developers.

From these several examples, one can see that the concept of intermunicipal cooperation and circuit riders has come a long way in Tug Hill since 1982.

Having to operate a program as active and complex as that in and around the Tug Hill area leaves precious little time to reflect on what we’re doing and what makes it tick. The need to reorganize and increase staff and to prevent the new Fort Drum community assistance efforts from dominating the Tug Hill program prompted several retreats and task force type planning efforts. Out of one of these a year ago, came a few insights that I would like to share.

The phrase, “building capacity of local officials,” is an attractive concept that we see frequently in local government public administration literature. It seems to carry with it the idea that if you teach a government to do something, it then will no longer need help. The Temporary State Commission on Tug Hill has been asked frequently over the years, “When will you have built capacity so that you can go out of business?” Since five-year enabling legislation for the commission was due to run out in July, 1986, this was an important question to address once again.

Our conclusion is that it is a myth to suppose that the commission’s local government assistance program can build capacity so that the support system can go out of business. Given part-time rural local government, there will always be a need for technical assistance, training and the communications function served by the circuit rider. This is especially true within New York’s governmental structure, since, it empowers town, village and special district governments with many responsibilities that some other states give to counties. One of the characteristics of small town and village government in New York State is that its part-time people are paid very small salaries; their running for office and accepting the responsibility to lead is much more akin to volunteerism than to the professional status of those who run cities and counties. Turnover is great

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Winters in the Tug Hill region can be long, cold and hard. Central Tug Hill often receives between 200 and 300 inches of snow each winter as a result of its location on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario.

because the job does not pay well and the work is hard. Often the job results in more grief than satisfaction.

Nevertheless, part-time government for small communities is close to the people and effective in many ways. In spite of the large number of municipalities, one can argue that the part-time, voluntary system of town and village government in New York State is also economical. Given this situation, it seems that there is room for a wide range of local government support systems, from those who build capacity and independence down to those that “do the job for them.” As a commission we find ourselves working in all parts of the spectrum.

Helping a community build a comprehensive plan and design its own land use laws is a good example of building capacity. Helping form a water district, or finding an engineer to construct a water system is building capacity. Providing technical assistance as new problems come up is a need that will continue and training of new local officials will always be needed. On the other hand, the Rural Town Management Cooperative was a good example of doing it for them. It built capacity by lifting the burden of routine work from the town supervisor’s shoulders. In fact, there were two solutions: one was to build the capacity to use computers at the local level; the other was for the town or village to contract for the accounting services so that the local official could spend more time on policy questions.

Alan Sokolow neatly classifies the tasks of the small town local official into four categories:

* Crisis Coping (e.g., fiscal deficits, litigation, community controversy).
* Organizational Survival (basic service delivery and record keeping).
* Institution Building (improving organizational and personal tools, e.g., learning to use a computer to keep the books).
* Program and Policy Development (e.g., land use planning, the quest for jobs and tax base).

In the category of organizational survival, basic service delivery like accounting should probably be contracted out or given to another person on the town payroll. In that way, leaders can spend more time on institution building and program and policy development, rather than mundane tasks. In my opinion, small local governments need a three-pronged approach to building capacity in the broad sense. This includes having a continuing external support system. The circuit rider can be the key ingredient, making all this hang together and work effectively.

Emerging Technology Can Support a Large Network of Circuit Riders

In a paper delivered at the 1982 American Society for Public Administration Regional Conference in Buffalo, I proposed consideration of a scale-up of the Tug Hill experience that would result in a circuit rider network to serve some 1,100 small municipalities in the State of New York. Offices of Town and Village Assistance would be established by counties or groups of municipalities, with funding shared by the state. In that paper, I stated, “Fortunately, we are in an era when the communications and information technology exists to service a network of this type and size.” At that time, I had no real idea of the possible extent to which high technology might be used to assist rural local governments. In June, 1983, the Tug Hill Commission staff prepared a paper, “New Technology: New Help for Local Governments.” It proposed several directions for exploring the use of technology in support of small local governments based on telephoning around to people in other states who were known to have made progress in this field. With assistance from Cornell University’s Local Government Assistance Program, the U.S. Department of Agriculture became interested in the concept of circuit riders supported by a “high-tech” system. Unfortunately, this interest could not be translated into a funded program.
Early in 1983, the New York State Legislative Commission on Rural Resources began operation. This bipartisan commission, established by legislation in 1982, was a promising vehicle for focusing on the spectrum of needs of rural New York. In the fall of 1983, that commission sponsored a conference to define the problems, goals and public policies that should be addressed. Those invited to the conference were split into nine groups to draw on their experience and ideas. The group on local government identified technical assistance as an important policy question. Specifically they asked, "What is the future role of the shared municipal 'circuit rider' as a town manager or a technical assistance deliverer?" In February, 1985, the Rural Resources Commission held a follow-up conference to select the most important issues and to make policy recommendations. The report of the local government group entitled, "Government and Management in New York State: An Action Strategy," included the following policy recommendation:

In response to the need to ensure the adequacy of local government leadership and management in small local communities, it is proposed to ... establish a statewide network of circuit riders as a mechanism to provide training, technical assistance, and information; ... identifying existing statewide and local resources and services and determine if they are replicable; ... create and utilize a computerized index of technical assistance cases and information; and ... create information clearing houses at the regional or county level.4

Building on the policy recommendations coming out of the 1985 rural development symposium, the Tug Hill Commission joined with a consortium seeking to automate the technical assistance function, in order to make local government information directly available to circuit riders and to local officials. Several reasons led us to believe this advance to be both beneficial and feasible.

* The commission had an extensive file of answers to legal and management questions. It appeared that these same kinds of questions were being asked of the Department of State, Cornell University and others by municipalities statewide. Why then wouldn't it benefit municipalities outside the Tug Hill service area if the information contained in the Tug Hill case files were available as an on-line database?

* With a microcomputer and modem, the technology had emerged to allow the circuit rider to search a database and answer many requests directly without going through the staff. It seemed likely that direct access would result in quicker, more efficient service than calling in or mailing in a question. Circuit riders, working in the field, would also be able to use central
In his January 1985, State of the State message, New York Governor Cuomo lent his support to the idea as a way to meet some specific needs in the Catskill region:

I will propose a series of legislative initiatives to discourage land speculation and to protect land purchasers within the Catskills. Working through the Department of State, we will assist local governments within the region to strengthen their local land use planning. We will provide technical assistance and training for local government land use officials and initiate a pilot program of circuit riders for the Catskills similar to that already in existence in the Tug Hill region.

During the last legislative session, a new law was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor creating a new Office of Rural Affairs. Elaine M. Ryan, the governor's Program Associate for agriculture and rural issues, noted in a press interview that the new office will be funded in the upcoming state budget and will be charged with coordinating existing programs and resources of benefit to rural communities. Part of the new office's task is expected to be the development of a "rural assistance network," which Ryan suggested could be based on the circuit rider concept and adapted to meet the differing needs of rural communities in differing parts of the state.

Much has happened in the past four years that gives a reasonable observer grounds for hope that New York is even more committed for the future than in the past to meeting the special needs of small town and village governments. I remain convinced that the technical assistance circuit rider, backed by a team of knowledgeable contacts, can play a valuable part in meeting the needs of small communities and the people who live in them. I am especially excited by the opportunities now in the wind to test the circuit rider as a delivery mechanism in more parts of New York and by the opportunity to enhance the circuit riders' efficiency through the use of on-line databases and computerized communication systems. New York State has the talented people and the technology to make technical assistance widely available to local governments through circuit riders. All that remains is a determination to do the job and the commitment of the necessary funding.

Recent Support for Circuit Riders in New York State

Since 1982, the idea of circuit riders has gained in recognition and the possibility of a statewide network seems more real. The good work of the Legislative Commission on Rural Resources in 1984 and 1985 set the stage in a framework that had addressed rural needs on a more comprehensive basis.