ANNUAL REPORT FOR 2017

Published January 2018
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At the 20th anniversary Philip Monahan Memorial Lecture, sponsored by the CLRG, were (from left to right): Dr Andrew Cottey, Head of Department of Government and Politics; Carol Monaghan MP, guest speaker; Councillor Tony Fitzgerald, Lord Mayor of Cork; and Áine Hennessy, Chair of Government and Politics Society.
The Centre for Local and Regional Governance (CLRG) has had a busy and successful year. There have been many highlights but one which stands out is the launch of Dissolved: The remarkable story of how Cork lost its Corporation in 1924 (see pages 10 and 11). This is the first book publication which bears the logo of the CLRG. We take great pride in this and thank Cork City Libraries and Cork City Council for their support. The CLRG Second Annual Public Lecture Series was held in February and attracted a great crowd to UCC. We were privileged to have tremendous contributions from Micheál Martin TD, Dr Theresa Reidy, Rachel Wall, Professor Colin Copus and the Lord Mayor of Cork (at the time), Councillor Des Cahill. As part of the night, the inaugural CLRG Annual Essay Award was presented to Lewis O’Shea for his work on directly elected mayors (see picture below on left). The CLRG was also honoured this year to sponsor the 20th Anniversary Philip Monahan Memorial Lecture at UCC. Carol Monaghan MP delivered a fascinating lecture which was very well received (see page 14). Earlier in the year, I had the privilege of presenting evidence to the House of Commons All-Party Parliamentary Group examining collaboration and devolution in international local government. This was a tremendous experience and it reflected well on the CLRG.

Throughout 2017, our research and training project with the Cork City Public Participation Network (PPN) continued, as did our relationship with Cork City Council with the award of a bursary for a staff member to undertake a local government Masters with us. Partnerships and collaborations are key to what we do and I am extremely grateful to my international and national advisory board members for their guidance and support during the year.

2018 promises much for the CLRG, with two new book publications on the horizon (see page 15). In February, we will hold the third Annual CLRG Public Lecture Series and a fantastic line-up of guest speakers will be revealed in the New Year. In April, Dr Simona Kukovic (picture below on right) will be visiting us from Slovenia on a Erasmus Mobility Learning Agreement and we look forward to her contribution. We also hope to develop our national and research collaborations in 2018. Within UCC, we plan to work closely with the likes of Frank Crowley (Spatial and Regional Economic Research Centre, UCC) and Will Brady (Centre for Planning and Sustainable Development, UCC) and participate in the European Regional Science Association Annual Conference which is coming to UCC.

Dr Aodh Quinlivan
Director
Centre for Local and Regional Governance
The CLRG has a five-person international advisory board. From left to right, **Professor Filipe Teles**, Department of Social, Political and Territorial Sciences, University of Aveiro, Portugal; **Professor Norbert Kersting**, Institute of Political Science, University of Muenster, Germany; **Professor Colin Copus**, Department of Politics and Public Policy, De Montfort University, Leicester, United Kingdom; **Dr Katarzyna Szmigiel-Rawska**, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland; **Professor Ivan Kopric** Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, Croatia.

The CLRG National Advisory Board comprises (from left to right): **Ann Doherty**, Chief Executive, Cork City Council; **Liam Kenny**, Director, Association of Irish Local Government (AILG); **Councillor Marcia D’Alton**, Cork County Council; **Paul Reid**, Chief Executive, Fingal County Council.

**CLRG STRUCTURE**

**Director:**
Dr Aodh Quinlivan

**UCC staff associated with CLRG:**
**Dr Theresa Reidy** (Department of Government and Politics); **Dr Fiona Buckley** (Department of Government and Politics); **Dr Emmanuelle Schön-Quinlivan** (Department of Government and Politics); **Dr Clodagh Harris** (Department of Government and Politics); **Dr Frank Crowley** (School of Economics); **Dr John Considine** (School of Economics); **Dr Ger Mullally** (Department of Sociology); **Will Brady** (Centre for Planning and Sustainable Development)
SECOND ANNUAL PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES

The Challenge of Local Government Modernisation

- MICHEÁL MARTIN TD, Leader of Fianna Fáil
- DR THERESA REIDY, Department of Government, UCC
- RACHEL WALL, De Montfort University, Leicester
- PROFESSOR COLIN COPUS, De Montfort University, Leicester
- COUNCILLOR DES CAHILL, Lord Mayor of Cork

Thursday 16 February 2017
Boole 1, UCC, 7:00-8:30pm
Chaired by Dr Emmanuelle Schön-Quinlivan, Department of Government, UCC
16 FEBRUARY 2017

SPEAKERS

- Micheál Martin TD – Leader of Fianna Fáil
- Dr Theresa Reidy – Department of Government & Politics, UCC
- Professor Colin Copus – Professor of Local Politics at De Montfort University, Leicester
- Rachel Wall – De Montfort University, Leicester
- Cllr Des Cahill – Lord Mayor of Cork

The session was chaired by Dr Emmanuelle Schön-Quinlivan, Department of Government and Politics, UCC.

Top Left: Dr Aodh Quinlivan with two of the guest speakers, Rachel Wall and Professor Colin Copus, both from De Montfort University, Leicester.

Top Right: Director of the CLRG, Dr Aodh Quinlivan, opened the lecture series and described the activities of the CLRG in 2016.

Bottom Left: Dr Emmanuelle Schön-Quinlivan chaired the event, with the theme ‘The Challenge of Local Government Modernisation’.

Bottom Right: Leader of Fianna Fáil, Micheál Martin, presented his party’s local government reform plans.
Left: Lewis O'Shea won the inaugural CLRG student essay competition and he was presented with his prize by the Lord Mayor of Cork, Cllr Des Cahill; Rachel Wall critiqued devolution in the UK.

Above: Micheál Martin with Dr Theresa Reidy; she described the current state of local government finance in Ireland.

Above: Dr Aodh Quinlivan closed the successful second annual CLRG Lecture Series and thanked the large crowd which filled Boole 1.
CLRG LECTURE SERIES: THE CHALLENGE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT MODERNISATION

Speaking in UCC in February, Micheál Martin TD, referred to local government as the ‘Cinderella’ of the Irish political system. Deputy Martin was addressing 200 people at the second Annual Public Lecture Series of the Centre for Local and Regional Governance (CLRG), discussing the theme ‘The Challenges of Local Government Modernisation’. He espoused the principle of subsidiarity which asserts that powers, functions and funding should be devolved to the lowest possible level closest to the citizen. This principle dates back to 1931 and the papal encyclical of Pope Pius XI entitled Quadragesimo Anno. This document stated: ‘It is an injustice, a grave evil, and a disturbance of the right order for a large and higher organisation to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies’.

In theory, Ireland is signed up to the principle of subsidiarity through the Council of Europe’s Charter of Local Self-Government and the EU’s Maastricht Treaty. However, there is a gulf between the theory and the practice. The conclusion reached by Rhodes and Boyle in 2012 was that local government reforms had resulted in very little devolved authority or capacity in local government. In that same year, Minister Phil produced a reform strategy called Putting People First which, amongst other things, proposed the abolition of all town councils and the reduction of two-tier system of local government to a single tier. A delegation from the Council of Europe visited Ireland in 2013 to assess our adherence to the Charter of Local Self-Government and reached a damning conclusion: ‘The new policy paper (Putting People First), although it praises decentralisation in spirit, does not appear to provide many concrete steps in that direction. Some of the actual steps proposed go in the opposite direction.’ The Putting People First proposals became law via the Local Government Reform Act 2014. The focus was on structural and territorial changes with the abolition of 80 town councils and the mergers of two authorities in Waterford, Limerick and Tipperary. By any standards, a 73 per cent reduction in the number of local authorities from 114 to 31 was a drastic measure. With 114 local authorities Ireland already possessed, from a comparative perspective, fewer local authorities than most countries in Europe and had very high ratios of citizen to council and citizen to councillor. With just 31 councils, an even greater distance has been created between the citizen and the local council. The predictable rationale for the structural changes was economies of scale and cost savings but the international research evidence suggests that large scale authorities do not necessarily produce efficiencies and savings. During his speech on Thursday night, Micheál Martin was fiercely critical of Phil Hogan’s ‘slash and burn’ approach and argued that the fiscal impact of the decision was miniscule. The fact that a whole tier of local democracy could be wiped out by the stroke of a legislative pen is worthy of comment because, unlike Seanad Éireann for example, local government in Ireland has no constitutional protection. Civil servants in the Custom House, home of the Department of Housing, Planning, Community and Local Government will argue that local government is recognised in the constitution. However, this is meaningless. Recognition and protection are different. The lack of constitutional protection for local government in Ireland reflects a fundamental lack of respect for the Cinderella part of Irish politics. This was a point developed by all of the speakers at the CLRG Lecture Series, with the renowned Professor Colin Copus from De Montfort University bluntly saying: ‘Central government does not trust local government, local democracy or local people.’ The aforementioned Council of Europe delegation which visited in 2013 also heavily criticised the staggering lack of constitutional protection – a point made in all of their previous reports on Ireland.

Of course, once local government stops being local, a democratic deficit is created and the evidence is that citizen satisfaction with local services tends to be higher in smaller
local authorities. Currently, the government is considering more local government amalgamations in Cork and Galway which could reduce the number of councils still further to 29. It may only be a matter of time before smaller county councils are amalgamated to sustain the ‘big is beautiful’ narrative.

Micheál Martin slammed this philosophy and said he was ‘passionately opposed’ to the possible amalgamation of Cork City Council and Cork County Council. He then proceeded to present his plans to re-introduce an enhanced town council model for areas with a population in excess of 7,500. In turn, town councils would be supported by a new community council structure which would have a dedicated legislative role. He described community councils as ‘voluntary, cost neutral and the first level of representation.’ In a comprehensive speech, the Fianna Fáil leader said he supported the introduction of directly elected mayors and favoured the ring-fencing of money, for example through the sugar-sweetened drinks tax, for local authorities to invest in their communities.

The topical issue of directly elected mayors was the primary focus of the lecture by Professor Colin Copus. He spoke passionately in favour of the concept but warned that Ireland should not repeat the mistakes made in England where 36 out of 52 local referendums ended in a rejection of the mayoral model. The virtual failure of the model reflected ‘the lack of genuine local self-government existing in England and centralist attitudes’. Despite this, Professor Copus stated that directly elected mayors were a good idea and could provide accountable and high-profile local political leadership. His colleague in De Montfort University, Rachel Wall, spoke about devolution in England and lamented that the ‘devolution revolution’ had not occurred. This was partly due to the lack of public consultation and engagement. She was critical of the fact that where devolution fails, reorganisation is presented as the solution. Like Micheál Martin before her, she did not agree with the ‘big is beautiful’ model of local government. Dr Theresa Reidy of the Department of Government at UCC delivered a fascinating lecture in which she described Ireland as ‘the most fiscally centralised state in the OECD’. In her view, the traditional classifications used in local government finance are obsolete and should be changed. Her analysis of the fiscal patterns point to a stripping of powers from local government and she argued that local authorities in 2017 were more reliant than ever on commercial rates which is dangerous.

The Centre for Local and Regional Governance Public Lecture Series demonstrated that plenty of people are interested in local government, local democracy and community. Unfortunately, it also highlighted that local government in Ireland (and in England) has many weaknesses, the majority of which stem from a centralist mentality.
On Thursday 26 October, the historic meeting chamber of Cork City Council was full for the launch of Dr Aodh Quinlivan’s book, *Dissolved: The remarkable story of how Cork lost its Corporation in 1924*. When Dublin Corporation was dissolved by ministerial order in May 1924, there was an inevitability that attention would next turn to Cork Corporation. In the politically sensitive post-Civil War years, there was a determination on behalf of the Government to divorce local government from national issues. Politically, Cork Corporation was a difficult council which was divided on pro and anti-Treaty lines. The Corporation elected in 1920 had an anti-Treaty majority but, in the General Election of August 1923, the people of Cork had elected a majority of pro-Treaty TDs. This fed into a consistent campaign by the *Cork Examiner* that the Corporation did not represent the feelings of its citizens. The controversial and bitter mayoral election of January 1924 did nothing to ease tensions in an already divided Corporation. Councillor Seán French, who was anti-Treaty, was elected by his fellow councillors on a vote of twenty-three to twenty-two. Lord Mayor French struggled to unite the council over the months which followed and some high-profile elected members resigned. With the Cork Progressive Association and the *Cork Examiner* calling for an inquiry into local administration on Leeside, Minister Séamus Burke eventually intervened. He ordered the holding of a public sworn inquiry which would take place in Cork Courthouse, starting on Monday 26 August. The inquiry was chaired by Nicholas O’Dwyer, Chief Engineering Inspector in the Department of Local Government and Public Health, and it ran for nine dramatic and tension-filled days until it concluded on Saturday 6 September. *Dissolved* brings the story of the historic inquiry to life. The public galleries were full each day as Corkonians were enthralled by the evidence provided by the likes of Richard Beamish TD and Lord Mayor Seán French – the latter spent three days in the witness box. At times, Nicholas O’Dwyer struggled to retain control as proceedings became heated and, on at least one occasion, opposing witnesses nearly came to blows. While tension filled the air in the Courthouse, the nine days of the inquiry also brought moments of light relief and humour, all of which are colourfully
described in this book. Following the inquiry, Nicholas O’Dwyer presented his report to Minister for Local Government and Public Health, Séamus Burke TD, on 15 October 1924. The report was weak and inconclusive; despite this, to no-one’s surprise, Minister Burke ordered the dissolution of Cork Corporation with effect from noon on 31 October. At the appointed time, Commissioner Philip Monahan entered the Corporation during a council meeting. He ordered the councillors present to take their belongings and leave immediately. Monahan was now in charge and Cork Corporation would remain dissolved for four and-a-half years.

LAUNCH PICTURES

Lord Mayor, Councillor Tony Fitzgerald, addresses the crowd; Dr Aodh Quinlivan recounts the story of Dissolved.

The President of UCC, Professor Patrick O’Shea, delivered a very lively speech to the crowd; amongst those in attendance were Dan Boyle, Councillor Marcia D’Alton, and Senator Jerry Buttimer.

‘Dissolved is a page-turner which brings history and politics together in thrilling fashion. A must-read for anyone with even a passing interest in the birth of modern Cork’

- Eoin English, Irish Examiner
The CLRG continued its work with the Cork City Public Participation Network (PPN) throughout 2017. Two three-hour training sessions were held in UCC for PPN members on 23 February and 9 March. Both sessions were very well received and proved invaluable for PPN members to understand the complexities of local government in Ireland.

On 20 June, Dr Aodh Quinlivan and PPN members addressed a Senior Management Team Meeting in Cork City Council to stress the importance of embedding participation and consultation efforts into the work of the local authority.

On 26 September, Dr Aodh Quinlivan addressed the Cork City PPN Plenary which took place in the Mayfield Arts Centre in Newbury House. Aodh spoke about the particular challenges surrounding local governance in Cork city and county due to political, structural and boundary issues.

It is hoped that the CLRG will continue its relationship with Cork City PPN in 2018 and this may extend to other similar networks in other parts of Ireland.
RESEARCH ENGAGEMENT

House of Commons Inquiry

The Director of the Centre for Local and Regional Governance, Dr Aodh Quinlivan, presented evidence to a House of Commons inquiry on 7 March. The All Party Parliament Group for District Councils comprises members of parliament and the House of Lords and is chaired by Mark Pawsey MP. The focus of the session on 7 March was collaboration and devolution and evidence was heard from local government academics about experiences in Ireland, Slovenia, Finland, Belgium, Spain and the Netherlands.

The report from the inquiry was launched by the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, Sajid Javid MP, in the House of Commons in June.

Following on from presenting evidence at the inquiry, Dr Quinlivan wrote an article for agendaNi about cross-jurisdictional collaboration between local authorities in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland and the potential impact of Brexit (see page 16).
In 2017, the CLRG sponsored the annual Philip Monahan Memorial Lecture for the first time. Monahan was Ireland’s first local authority manager and he served as City Commissioner and then City Manager in Cork from 1924-1959. Monahan set the highest standards of probity and integrity in public administration and he defined the role of City Manager and the practice of public management in Ireland. The lecture series is a showpiece even each year for the Department of Government and Politics and it was inaugurated in 1997. It has attracted some very distinguished speakers, including John Hume, Professor Robert Putnam, President Mary McAleese, Senator David Norris, John Bercow MP, Taoiseach Enda Kenny, and Vice Admiral Mark Mellett.

To commemorate the 20th anniversary of the series, Carol Monaghan MP, a relative of Philip Monahan, was invited to deliver the 2017 lecture. Carol Monaghan is a member of the House of Commons, representing the constituency of Glasgow North West. She is the Scottish National Party’s Shadow Spokesperson on Education. Carol Monaghan has also been an outspoken critic of US President, Donald Trump. The title of her lecture was ‘Scotland: From Brexit to Independence? Parallels with Ireland’. The lecture took place on Thursday 9 November in UCC’s Boole 2 and attracted a large audience. As part of the evening, the annual Department of Government and Politics student awards were presented by the Lord Mayor of Cork.
The Director of the CLRG has signed two contracts to write books in 2018. The first is through Palgrave. Dr Aodh Quinlivan and Professor Colin Copus will edit a series of books on public management and local governance. Each book in the series will be a country-specific case study. Dr Quinlivan will write the book, *Public Management and Local Governance in the Republic of Ireland*.

Following the successful publication of *Dissolved: The remarkable story of how Cork lost its Corporation in 1924*, Dr Quinlivan has been contracted by Dublin City Council to write a book about the dissolution of Dublin Corporation which happened in 1924. The working title of the book is *Dublin Vindicated* and it will be published by Four Courts Press.

Both *Public Management and Local Governance in the Republic of Ireland* and *Dublin Vindicated* will be published in 2019.

During 2017, Dr Aodh Quinlivan contributed an article entitled ‘Reforming local government: Must it always be democracy versus efficiency?’ to a special issue of *Administration*. The special issue was edited by Dr Theresa Reidy and Dr Fiona Buckley under the title ‘Democratic Revolution? Evaluating the political and administrative reform landscape after the economic crisis’. It was launched by Brendan Howlin TD on 20 September at the Institute of Public Administration in Dublin. **Picture:** At the launch in the IPA were (from left to right): Mary Brennan (UCD), David Farrell (UCD), Fiona Buckley (UCC), Brendan Howlin TD, Marian O’Sullivan (IPA), Kevin Rafter (DCU), Theresa Reidy (UCC), and Aodh Quinlivan (UCC).

As covered on pages 10 and 11, *Dissolved* was launched on 26 October in Cork City Hall and it is the first book publication to come through the CLRG and to bear its logo.
NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES – BREXIT AND BOUNDARIES

‘Local government reform in Ireland – cagey steps, no giant strides’
By Aodh Quinlivan
Blog piece for Local Governance Research Unit (LGRU), De Montfort University, Leicester
http://lgru.our.dmu.ac.uk/blog/ - posted 3 February 2017

‘Should Cork have a directly elected mayor?’
By Aodh Quinlivan
Cork Independent, 9 February 2017
http://www.corkindependent.com/weekly/indopinion/articles/2017/02/09/4134610-should-cork-have-a-directly-elected-mayor/

‘UCC academic to address UK’s House of Commons’
Article in Irish Examiner, 4 March 2017
Article in Cork Evening Echo, 6 March 2017

‘Brexit: A barrier to cross-jurisdictional co-operation?’
By Aodh Quinlivan
Agenda NI, April 2017
http://www.agendani.com/brexit-barrier-cross-jurisdictional-cooperation/

‘Brexit may hinder local government co-operation’
By Aodh Quinlivan
The Irish Times, 8 March 2017

‘Time to end phoney game of thrones’
By Aodh Quinlivan
Cork Independent, 14 September 2017
‘Cork boundary change needs a ministerial decision’
Interview with Aodh Quinlivan
_Cork Evening Echo_, 19 September 2017
http://www.eveningecho.ie/corknews/Cork-boundary-change-needs-a-ministerial-decision-5789defe-ca5e-45a5-8d37-400113e7420a-ds

‘The return of the GUBU days’
By Aodh Quinlivan
_Southern Star_, 3 October 2017

‘Important for nation that Cork develops as counterbalance to Dublin’
By Aodh Quinlivan
_Irish Examiner_, 12 October 2017
http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/analysis/important-for-nation-that-cork-develops-as-counterbalance-to-dublin-460821.html

‘Intelligence and ambition can drive Cork forward’
By Aodh Quinlivan
_Cork Independent_, 19 October 2017

‘Cork boundary extension battle: A bridge over troubled waters?’
By Aodh Quinlivan
_Council Review_, Issue 54, October 2017
INVITED LECTURES

- Presentation to Association of Irish Local Government (AILG), Plenary meeting, Silver Springs Moran Hotel, Cork
  ‘CLRG – Fostering innovative Research’
  26 January 2017

  ‘Collaboration and Devolution in Irish Local Government’ (see page 13).

- Keynote address to Cork City Public Participation Network, Mayfield Arts Centre, Newbury House, ‘Knowing me, knowing you – a perspective on local government in Ireland today’ (see page 12).

- Keynote address to the Library Association of Ireland, ‘Empowering Local Communities’, Montenotte Hotel, Cork, 5 October 2017.
**ESRC Bid – Public Accountability Project**

The Director of the CLRG has been working closely with a group of international colleagues preparing a research bid for the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the area of public accountability at the local level. Following meetings of the group in Cork, Zagreb and Leicester, the research bid is in the process of being finalised and will be officially submitted in early 2018.

![Professor Colin Copus]

**Professor Colin Copus is leading the ESRC research bid which will be formally submitted in early 2018.**

**COST Action – European Charter of Local Self Government**

The CLRG is part of a COST Action proposal to assess the implementation of the European Charter of Local Self-Government. The primary proposer is Professor Bostjan Brezovnik, University of Maribor (below).
As reported in the 2016 Annual Report, Pat Ruane (left) was the first recipient of the CLRG/Cork City Council Philip Monahan Bursary. Pat is undertaking a research masters under the supervision of Dr Aodh Quinlivan and he will be submitting his thesis before the summer of 2018. The second recipient of the bursary is Liam Ronayne (right); we expect that Liam will be starting his research masters in early 2018.

Cian Hallahan (left) commenced his research masters in October 2017. He is examining inter-municipal cooperation in Irish local government. Long Pham (right) has recently completed her PhD, under the supervision of Dr Aodh Quinlivan and Prof Tony Day (IERC, Tyndall Institute), having successfully passed her Viva examination on 29 November. In her ground-breaking research, Long examined local governance through the lens of citizen engagement in Smart City initiatives.