Lee Rhiannon: A Lifetime of Political Activism

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Abstract: For over 40 years, Lee Rhiannon has been active in Australian politics. She was a leader of numerous social movement campaigns before becoming a Greens member of parliament in the New South Wales upper house in 1999 and then winning a seat in the Australian Senate, which she will take up in July 2011. Rhiannon has been a strong advocate for a range of environmental and social justice issues, and continues to support political processes that promote participatory democracy.

Keywords: women and leadership, political activism, social movements

Introduction

From 1999 to 2010, Lee Rhiannon was a Greens member in the Legislative Council of the New South Wales parliament. At the 2010 federal election, she successfully stood for election to the Senate. Rhiannon has been touted as the next Australian Greens leader, successor to long-serving Tasmanian Senator Bob Brown. But her decade and more of parliament has only been the latest installment of a lifetime of political activism. And while some might think that becoming a politician would be the pinnacle of Rhiannon’s career, as she said in her inaugural speech, ‘parliament makes the law, but it is the people who make history’. So, while she has great respect for parliament, she considers that it has just been another aspect of her political work—and this work has included significant contributions to the women’s, peace and environmental social movements.

In these various social movements and in her work as a parliamentarian, Rhiannon has displayed leadership of great importance, but she is reluctant to call herself a leader. Leadership, she believes, has been discredited by those who have been autocratic and used power irresponsibly. At the same time, while she challenges top-down, authoritarian models, she believes it is important to re-consider what ‘leadership’ could mean in a party that seeks to implement participatory democracy. Her feminist upbringing, extensive experience in social movements and membership of the Greens all strongly influence these alternative understandings of leadership.
This chapter first traces Rhiannon’s family background and the early influences on her engagement in political activities. It then discusses her long involvement in social movements and provides examples of the leadership she has taken on particular issues, highlighting not only the content of these issues but also how she went about them—a concern fundamental to her approach to leadership. The last decade as a member of parliament provides further examples of both how she took the lead and also the importance of process, consistent with the democratic participatory approach taken by the Greens. Finally, the article concludes by reflecting upon Rhiannon’s aim of achieving ‘true democracy’ by bringing people together to work on issues—a process she believes is effective and respectful of difference as well as being characteristic of her feminist approach.

Family Influences and the Beginnings of Political Activism

Rhiannon has never known a life not imbued with the values of left-wing political activism. Born in 1951 in Sydney, she grew up as an only child in what she described as ‘a communist family where the driving concern was working for a more equitable and peaceful world’. Both her parents, Bill and Freda Brown, were members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), including as members of the central committee, resigning from the CPA in 1972. They subsequently joined the Soviet Union–aligned Socialist Party. Freda was also a long-time member of the Union of Australian Women, as well as its president and the president of the Women’s International Democratic Federation from 1975 to 1989. Rhiannon’s mother had international political standing, having, among other achievements, been awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1977 and been successful in proposing that the United Nations hold International Women’s Year in 1975. In 2004, the South African government honoured Freda for her work in the anti-apartheid movement.

Rhiannon’s childhood home was ‘like an activist household’—there were always people coming and going who were involved in political campaigns. ‘Being raised in a household steeped in political campaigns’, she has said, ‘leaves one with many proud moments’. One of these proud moments, she told the NSW parliament in her inaugural speech, ‘was the night my father and Jack Mundey became the first people arrested in Australia for protesting against the Vietnam war’. Other family members were also political activists. Her grandfather, Ben Lewis, had been gaoled as a conscientious objector during World War I and was involved in campaigns to support the working
class. Her two uncles, Leon and Rae Lewis, were ‘wharfies’, and, during the 1950s and 1960s when Rhiannon was growing up, this group of people was vilified as ‘selfish and lazy’. In contrast, she remembered them as ‘hardworking … whose concerns and campaigns went much further than just their own wages and conditions’.¹⁰

Her childhood home was also a feminist household. Rhiannon acknowledges that both her parents ‘had considerable influence on the development of my overall political consciousness and my feminism in particular’.¹¹ She was surrounded by women engaged in political activity, many of whom were older women for whom she held the greatest respect. These were committed individuals who, during the ‘deadly conformity characterising Australian life in the 1950s and 1960s … regularly publicly protested’.¹²

There was no pressure on Rhiannon to be involved in politics. Her family encouraged her to continue with her education and, while she took their advice, political action has been part of her life from her teenage years. In 1968, with friends from Sydney Girls High School and other schools, she formed an organisation called High School Students Against the Vietnam War. They held teach-ins to inform students and organised protests, including a cavalcade of buses that took school students to Canberra to lobby politicians and the US Embassy.¹³ She was later to say that these meetings with politicians and officials had been ‘useless’, reflecting her frustration with the parliamentary process at this time, and a preference for being ‘where the action was—campaigning with people, not sitting down politely with the enemy’.¹⁴

As a teenager—and through later campaigns—Rhiannon’s family was supportive, both of her political activities and her feminist approach, an approach that was consistent with the way she had been brought up. She remembers with great fondness that her father taught both her and her mother to surf, and they spent much time together as a family at the beach. Her father also taught her to type, a skill he believed was important, but one that was not intended to restrict her to doing office work. Her parents placed enormous value on education and the importance of economic independence for women. As she explained:

whatever I took on my parents encouraged me and believed I would succeed. There are many things for which I thank them, but this strength of belief that I can do it, no matter what “it” is, has laid the basis for my commitment to work for social change.¹⁵
Rhiannon was also inspired by leaders such as Nelson Mandela, and she was involved in anti-apartheid activism in the 1970s. The cessation of apartheid and Mandela’s subsequent release, coming about as a result of an international social movement she recalled as being ‘extraordinary’ and providing ‘a sense of hope’.  

By the 1970s, Rhiannon was studying for a science honours degree at the University of New South Wales. She majored in botany and zoology and gained honours in botany. After graduating, she took work at Macquarie University. She married Pat O’Gorman in 1977 and they had three children together, the relationship ending in the late 1980s. As a young mother, she was involved in various local campaigns to improve services for families and, from 1980 to 1982, was a member of the NSW Women’s Advisory Council to the state government of Neville Wran. During this period, she had major involvement in the women’s movement. Following her mother’s lead and with her deep appreciation of the activities of older feminists, she was secretary of the NSW Branch of the Union of Australian Women. The issues she was dealing with included equal pay and access to jobs, health and safety at work, the right to choose abortion, and nuclear disarmament; this last-mentioned issue was to become a focus of her political activism over several years.

Social Movement Leadership

During the 1980s, Rhiannon was a part of the ‘new’ women’s movement that, as historian Ann Curthoys has written:

> demanded equality and justice for women more aggressively than had its predecessors … developed a more thorough critique of existing society and its processes of male domination and sought to empower women by changing their assumptions about themselves and their aspirations, dreams and abilities.

Even though her family’s political activism had already exposed Rhiannon to feminist ideas and activities, she was to become more engaged with the politics of the contemporary women’s movement. Through the Union of Australian Women, Rhiannon met Lauri Buckingham and, with others, they formed the Women’s Political Coalition. Their first action was a cavalcade of cars that went to Canberra in March 1983 in advance of the federal election to draw attention to political issues of concern to women. The group was soon to focus its attention and transform itself into Women’s Action Against Global
Violence (WAAGV). At this time, there was heightened concern about the possibility of nuclear war. WAAGV (and others) were concerned that Australia’s involvement in the Cold War through the presence of US military bases created the threat of attack by the USSR. But the women peace activists were protesting about much more than the threat of nuclear war. They wanted to create not just a peaceful society, but also a more just society, and one that challenged male violence against women.

Between 1983 and 1985, Rhiannon was an organiser for WAAGV and, during this period, the organisation held many memorable actions in and around Sydney and New South Wales. WAAGV was part of the national organisation, Women for Survival, that organised the women’s peace camp held outside the gates of the Pine Gap US military base near Alice Springs in Central Australia and the Sound Women’s Peace Camp, near the Stirling Naval Base in Cockburn Sound, south of Perth in Western Australia.18 The women’s peace actions were characterised by ‘ingenuity’ and ‘sheer audacity’.19 Furthermore, as peace activist Nancy Shelley explained at the time, ‘the many creative ways in which [they are] expressed have captured the imagination of people’.20

WAAGV and Women for Survival’s political activism generated enormous support from unions, community groups and other peace groups and, even though there was great concern about the threat of nuclear war, women came together with considerable enthusiasm to protest. As Rhiannon has said, they were ‘exciting times’.21 In contrast to both the nuclear threat and the energetic political activity, Rhiannon recalled a special moment at the Pine Gap camp, her youngest child only several months old at the time, walking along the road to the US base where the peace activists were camped: ‘with the tents, and people sitting around and chatting … it was like going for a stroll along Bondi promenade’.22

As sociologist Cynthia Cockburn, in her review of international women’s peace organisations, has argued, ‘organizing as women is itself a distinctive approach within the range of methods of anti-war protests’, with characteristic ways of organising, relationship styles and forms of protest actions.23 The Australian women’s peace groups were very much a part of this tradition. However, while WAAGV and Women for Survival were successful in raising awareness of the threat of nuclear war through political actions, as well as other more conventional educational activities such as public meetings, newsletters and workshops, the organisations only survived for several years. This was partly because, by the late 1980s, with the ending of the Cold War and a reduction in the likelihood of nuclear war, there was less enthusiasm for
anti-war activities. Rhiannon also attributes their decline to other reasons—reasons that are critical to her understanding of leadership—and not uncommon problems among other social movements. Typically, those involved in the women’s movement of this time—including members of WAAGV—were ‘hostile to formal organisational structures, elected leaders, hierarchies of office bearers, committees and executives, and official spokeswomen’. However, as Rhiannon explained, ‘while our loose structure allowed an innovative style to bring to reality many wonderful ideas, it did not provide a means to handle the various political and personal conflicts that inevitably developed’. She saw working with these organisational issues as ‘an essential part of my political work’ to ensure both ‘the viability of campaigns’ and ‘our own continued participation as activists’. Hence, Rhiannon argued, there was a need to ‘develop appropriate methods of work and democratic participation’ within political organisations, a topic to which we will return in the latter sections of this article.

As was the case with other political activists, Rhiannon’s interests shifted in the late 1980s and became more clearly focused on environmental and other local issues. She campaigned against pollution at Sydney’s beaches, protested at the NSW government’s decision to increase class sizes and sack teachers, and in 1988 founded then convened the national Coalition for Gun Control until 1992. In 1990, she was employed at the Ideas Centre, a resource centre for developing countries, and, later, the Rainforest Information Centre where she organised a campaign to have the Australian government ban the importation of tropical timbers. As an extension of this work, Rhiannon joined with Carol Sherman in 1993 to initiate AID/WATCH, an organisation that monitors Australia’s aid programs. She remained involved as one of its directors until 1998. That Rhiannon was a founder of two key Australian activist organisations—the Coalition for Gun Control and AID/WATCH—and that both continue their work two decades later is testament not only to their significance but also to her status as a leader.

The establishment of AID/WATCH reflected an important aspect of Rhiannon’s political activism—that it was international in scope. Her earlier political interests, including opposition to the Vietnam War and apartheid, were both international campaigns. Her involvement in the women’s peace movement was also global in its concern, and this was reiterated in WAAGV’s naming. As well, in 1985, Rhiannon went to Nairobi with 13,000 women for the United Nations Decade for Women and, in 1987, to Moscow with 5000 women for the World Congress of Women. She describes these events as ‘fantastic’ for finding out about the campaigns of women from across the world.
Parliamentary Life

By the late 1980s, there was increasing concern in Australia about environmental issues and the green movement was ‘an important political presence’. The movement had built on a number of successful campaigns, including that concerned with the green bans of the 1960s and 1970s in Sydney and saving the Franklin River in Tasmania of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The national Australian Greens formed in 1992, derived from the already existing NSW, Queensland and Tasmanian Greens. As described by political scientist Verity Burgmann, the Greens are ‘ecologically concerned social democrats’, inspired by the German Greens, and their guiding principles are: ‘ecological sustainability, social and economic equality and justice; grassroots democracy; and disarmament and non-violence’. According to Rhiannon, the Greens are working for ‘an Australian society free of exploitation of people and the environment’. Both these descriptions are inclusive of social justice and environmental concerns, a focus that has at times been at odds with some in the Greens, and a point to which some commentators like to draw attention—an issue to which we will return. Regardless of their particular focus, Rhiannon argued that the Greens were ‘synonymous with integrity and ethical behaviour’, and this is a reason for their increasing popularity.

Rhiannon joined the Greens in 1990 and, in 1999, was pre-selected to stand for the NSW parliament. Even though she had ‘never ever seen myself there’, she thought, ‘I’ll give it a go’, and was duly elected. In this, as in her other political activities, she demonstrated her willingness to ‘give a lead—to step up, work through issues, and take forward decisions’. Her first action in parliament was an act of leadership—becoming the first member in the NSW upper house to reject the use of the term ‘honourable’. Her explanation for this action was that this title was:

another part of the colonialist trappings of this place that we need to relegate to history’s dustbin. In making this statement I would like to emphasise that I have the greatest respect for tradition. However, the symbols and imagery that we preserve need to be ones that are inclusive, not ones rooted in the oppression and misery of so many people.

In the NSW parliament over the past decade, Rhiannon has led campaigns concerned with electoral funding reform, environmental protection, improvements to public transport, the protection of workers’ rights, the promotion of animal rights and better funding for public schools.
example, she has been described as being ‘largely responsible for putting the issue of developer donations to the Labor party on the political agenda, leading to reform of disclosure laws’.

As part of this reform, she developed a website project that ‘exposes how donations distort democracy’. These reforms linked to Rhiannon’s work have been further extended, with the NSW parliament passing legislation to strictly limit political donations and election expenditure. In 2001, Lee initiated the Juanita Nielsen Memorial Lecture to honour the achievements of Neilsen, who was killed as a result of her political activism against over-development in Kings Cross in the 1970s.

Another important campaign has been Rhiannon’s protest against the expansion of the NSW coal industry, where she has worked closely with the affected communities. Most recently, she drew attention to the need for ‘a comprehensive population health study to investigate the possible links between the region’s coalmines and power plants and poor health outcomes in the area’, based on extensive consultations with health practitioners, local environment groups, and residents. Her motion to parliament to undertake such a study, however, was unsuccessful.

Rhiannon has also continued to protest Australia’s involvement in war, most recently in Afghanistan. In a paper presented to a public forum in 2009, she stated that:

War robs humanity through death and destruction and robs our communities of billions of dollars; money that is urgently needed to meet the challenges our planet faces—reducing greenhouse gases, providing clean water and food security to all peoples, ensuring free education and health services in all countries.

She reminded her audience that there had been no parliamentary debate regarding the decision to send troops to Afghanistan and called for constitutional change so that future governments would be ‘required to submit any plans for foreign military operations to the federal parliament to determine’. She also urged debate about Australia’s involvement in the war in Afghanistan, noting that the Greens’ position was that Australian troops should be withdrawn. This debate did in fact occur, as an outcome of the negotiations to form government after the 2010 federal election. However, both the Labor government of Prime Minister Julia Gillard and the Liberal/National opposition unanimously supported the ongoing Australian commitment to the war. Adam Bandt, the newly elected Australian Greens member of the House of Representatives argued that:
the government has its priorities wrong … a withdrawal of Australian military forces from Afghanistan could enable additional aid to be directed to the country, targeted in particular to civil society institutions that foster democracy, sustainable development and human rights.  

Moreover, he reiterated the call for a resolution by both the Senate and the House of Representatives before military personnel are sent to serve overseas, except in emergencies.

The focus of Rhiannon’s work has clearly encapsulated both aspects of environmental concerns and social justice issues. Depending on their personal history and where they position themselves, Greens are sometimes (unflatteringly) described as ‘tree huggers’ (conservationists) or ‘urban guerrillas’ (socialists). Rhiannon, although she has strong environmental credentials, is very much cast as the latter, due to her left-wing political background. And these type-castings are more than just names—they go to the heart of what the Greens stand for, and why and how they go about their political activities. Rhiannon has attempted to deal with these potentially divisive issues head on. In a paper given at a Sydney Greens forum in 2009, Rhiannon noted that to ‘avoid being sectarian’ was a key aspect of ‘revitalising political movements’. She explained that:

> We have to stop writing off some groups forever because we have a difference of opinion with them at some point on some political issue. Left political parties, the environment movement, the women’s movement, the peace movement—the whole progressive movement in this country—have had some awful stoushes over the years. They are debilitating and drive people away. Let’s learn from our history divisions are deadly.

After acknowledging the various positions that people bring to the Greens, she then addressed the concern about difference and division:

> I am hearing the assertion around the place that the Greens and progressive groups are not doing enough on the environment considering the enormity of the challenges. Myself I think the balance is pretty good between social justice and environmental concerns, but for those who don’t agree, let’s discuss it. I do believe pluralism in causes and tactics is a strength not a weakness.

Here she drew on her long history of involvement in social movements, and particularly women’s groups, in both recognising difference and advocating
for dialogue rather than division. This exemplifies the approach upon which the Greens was founded, and to some extent explains the increasing support for them.

Another of the reasons for the surge in support for the Greens, according to Bruce Lindsay, is the ‘pervasive and long-term disenchantment with representative politics’—what he calls ‘an entrenched skepticism, even hostility towards politics’. 50 In contrast, the Greens have presented alternative policy positions, as well as done politics differently, in terms of both organisation and political processes. That is, there is ‘the desire to subordinate the ethics of power to an ethics of human community’. 51 Primarily, the Greens party has done this through its relationship to social movements and, with this, has ‘proven to have a political base outside of the electoral and parliamentary processes’. 52 On this, Rhiannon notes that ‘retaining a balance between election campaigning and wider political action will be vital to ensure that the Greens do not become dominated by their parliamentary wing’. 53

This concern with the potential for domination by the parliamentary wing of the party is in clear contrast with the major Australian political parties. According to political scientists, Nick Turnbull and Ariadne Vromen, the larger parties ‘centralise power and decision-making in party representatives within parliaments’. 54 Instead, the Greens—and Rhiannon is a strong advocate of this approach—‘mobilise active community-based support and seek to reproduce their social movement democratic ethics in their formal structures and practices’ and, in so doing ‘differentiate [themselves] from the dominant practices in Australian party politics’. 55 Turnbull and Vromen emphasise the significance of organisational processes, including the use of consensus decision-making and active party participation, which largely retain power with the party membership. While not exclusive to organisations of the women’s movement, these practices were ones that feminism heralded—processes that were to promote the empowerment of women. At the same time, Rhiannon is aware of the practical realities of politics. Rhiannon has noted that such organisational structures present challenges for an expanding party and has suggested ‘active participation in broad-based campaigns as the key to forestalling disenchantment among the members … rather than requiring them to be involved in every decision’. 56

**Leadership: Some Concluding Thoughts**

In a collection of essays on feminist organisations, sociologist Joan Acker asks:
is it possible to remain true to the feminist ideals of collectivity, respect and democracy and at the same time create or take enough power to make the changes in the society that are needed to meet feminist [and other] goals?

Rhiannon may well further ask, how can this be done as a member of a political party and as a parliamentarian? Rhiannon grapples with these questions in her day-to-day work as a Greens politician.

The Greens were a natural fit for Rhiannon’s leadership style, coming as she had from the women’s, peace and environmental social movements, and having had a feminist upbringing. Reflecting on her experiences, she has commented that ‘integral to my political involvement is working with people to build a collective so members are not just observers but active participants’. She has readily worked within the participatory democratic tradition of the Greens. At the same time, she acknowledges that there are challenges inherent in this model and effort is required to work with differences in ways that are constructive and ensure that social movements are sustained and continue to build.

Over the past two decades, the Greens’ leadership has been synonymous with Senator Bob Brown. He has had long-standing involvement as a political activist and Tasmanian then federal parliamentarian, as Rhiannon also had in the New South Wales context before her commencement as a federal member of parliament from July 2011. As Amanda Lohrey has argued,

there is a sense in which the Greens are an army many of whose members have—quite literally—put their bodies on the line and it is expected that their generals will have earned their stripes at the level of grass-roots activism.

Moreover, she continues,

in background and temperament they bear little resemblance to the orthodox apparatchiks who occupy so much space on the front benches of the major parties, and this gives them a quality of authenticity that cannot be constructed out of even the best media coaching.

Rhiannon is certainly among those in the Greens who, ‘over many grass-roots campaigns … [has] developed a depth of experienced leadership’. Over her 40 years of political involvement, she has led numerous campaigns and has
had many political successes. One of these campaigns was the Pine Gap women’s peace camp and she has described her involvement in it as ‘a significant period in my life’. About that year—1983—she has said ‘it makes you smile … it evokes incredibly fond memories of good times that shaped my life enormously in just believing what people can achieve and what women can achieve’. And she believes women (and men) did achieve something, and these achievements came out of participation in the wider political process:

I have no doubt about that … When I hear [former foreign minister] Gareth Evans talking about what they’ve achieved about nuclear disarmament, they are only saying those words because of the pressure of movements like Pine Gap … the hundreds of thousands of people who turned out for Palm Sunday rallies around the country … those worldwide movements. That’s what put the pressure on those people, mainly men, to sit down and plan and negotiate how they would do it.

So Rhiannon has faith in the political process, a continuing and unshaken commitment to a fairer and more just society where the environment is protected, and an optimism that change will occur. Part of this is her passion for working with others to make change happen. Of her politics, she says ‘my commitment is working with people and involving people and being respectful’—principles that hark back to her feminist heritage and a fitting conclusion to a chapter concerned with women and leadership.
Figure 1: Summary of Lee Rhiannon's involvement in political activism

- Born 1951, Sydney, Australia
- Grew up in a left-wing activist family
- Founding member of High School Students Against the Vietnam War, 1968
- Involved in anti-apartheid activism, 1970s
- Studies for science degree, majoring in botany and zoology, honours in botany, UNSW, 1970s
- Member and secretary of the NSW Branch, Union of Australian Women, 1980–1983
- Founding director, AIDWATCH, 1993–1998

Timeline:
- 1950
- 1960
- 1970
- 1980
- 1990
- 2000
- 2010

Key Events:
- 1960: Member of Women's Advisory Council, 1980–1982
- 1970s: Involvement in local campaigns to improve services for families, 1970s–1980s
- 1980s: Member, Women's Political Coalition, later to become Women's Action Against Global Violence, and organiser, 1983–1985
- 2000s: Joined the NSW Greens, 1990, elected as Greens member of the NSW Legislative Council, 1999–2010
- 2010: Elected as NSW Greens senator to Australian parliament, 2013

Elected as NSW Greens senator to Australian parliament, 2013

- Her three children born, 1970s–1980s

Founders, Firsts and Feminists: Women Leaders in Twentieth-century Australia


Lee Rhiannon interview, 2010.


Stephens.

Lee Rhiannon, interviewed by Suellen Murray, 2 September 2009.

Rhiannon, inaugural speech, 448.

Ibid.

Ibid.; see also Rhiannon, “‘Old’ Sisters, and a New Future’, 97.

Rhiannon, “‘Old’ Sisters, and a New Future’, 96.

Ibid., 99. For further discussion of this older generation of political activists, see Barbara Curthoys and Audrey McDonald, More than a Hat and Glove Brigade: The Story of the Union of Australian Women (Sydney: Bookpress, 1996); Marilyn Lake, Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999).

These actions by school students were part of a strong Australian anti–Vietnam War movement described in, among other sources, Ann Curthoys, “‘Shut Up you Bourgeois Bitch’: Sexual Identity and Political Action in the Anti–Vietnam War Movement”, in Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century, eds Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 311–41; Barry York, ‘Power to the Young’, in Staining the Wattle: A People’s History of Australia since 1788, eds Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble/Penguin, 1988), 228–42.

Rhiannon, “‘Old’ Sisters, and a New Future’, 98.

Ibid., 97.

Ibid.

Rhiannon interview, 2010.


For further discussion of these events, see Suellen Murray, ‘Taking the Toys from the Boys: Feminism and Australian Women’s Peace Activism in the 1980s’, Australian Feminist Studies 25, no. 63 (2010): 3–15; Suellen Murray, “Make Pies not War”: Protests by the Women’s Peace Movement of the mid-1980s’, Australian


Ibid.

Rhiannon interview, 2009.

Ibid.


Rhiannon, ‘“Old” Sisters, and a New Future’, 103.

Ibid., 103–04.


Rhiannon, ‘“Old” Sisters, and a New Future’, 99–100.

Burgmann, 166.

See ibid., 169–88.


Rhiannon interview, 2010.

Rhiannon, inaugural speech, 447–8.

This index lists Rhiannon’s speeches, questions and responses in the NSW Parliament:


Rhiannon, ‘Lee’s Biography’; see also http://www.democracy4sale.org/


Rhiannon, ‘Lee’s Biography’.


Ibid.


Ibid.


Rhiannon, ‘Revitalising Progressive Politics’.


Ibid., 26.

Ibid.,


Turnbull and Vromen, 455.

Ibid., 455–6.

Ibid., 464.


Rhiannon, ‘“Old” Sisters, and a New Future’, 101.

Lohrey, Groundswell, 74.

Ibid., 73–4.

Rhiannon, ‘“Old” Sisters, and a New Future’, 102.

Rhiannon interview, 2009.

Rhiannon interview, 2010.