



GENDER POLITICS IN THE LION'S DEN

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ABSTRACT

A feminist preferred qualitative methodology was implemented to ascertain how women felt about their experiences in the Lions Association, especially in relation to membership and status, vis-a-vis the all-male clubs. Specifically methods of interviews, questionnaires, personal letters and conversations were utilized to see how the lack of recognition was reconciled with the long association of women and their significant contributions.

Originally the lack of validation was condoned because the criterion for membership was premised on the exclusion of women. When women were allowed membership it was in clubs that had inferior status, but when Lions International was forced, by legislation, to drop their 'men only' policy and admit women, some women refused the invitation, and have resisted even when directed by Lions International to do so, choosing to remain in their 'subordinate' club because of the politics of gender.

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To Judith Ann Ryan, my daughter, who was so tragically and swiftly taken with breast cancer, during the writing of this thesis, on New Year's Day, 1996, to her I pay tribute also.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any other university or tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

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INTRODUCTION

When Melvin Jones assembled a group of businessmen to form The International Association of Lions Clubs in the United States of America in 1917, he was imitating the two other service organizations, Rotary International and Kiwanis International, that were already well established. The energy expended by Jones to realize the dream he envisaged reached fruition even before the golden anniversary of the formation of the Lions association, because the International Association of Lions Clubs had become the largest service organization in the world. The untiring work of all members of this institution has not only enriched the lives of countless numbers of people on every continent on earth, but just how many lives have actually been saved by their work, realistically can only be guessed at.

Throughout this paper frequent references will be made to Lions International, Lions Ladies Auxiliaries, Lioness Clubs, all-male Lions Clubs, all-female Lions Clubs and male and female mixed Lions Clubs. Lions International refers to the International Association of Lions Clubs, the governing body, situated in the United States, that oversees all aspects of all associated clubs throughout the world. Lions Ladies Auxiliaries are those loosely affiliated groups where partners of members of all-male Lions Clubs congregate to support their menfolk. Lioness Clubs are semi-separate, quasi-autonomous subordinate clubs for women. Mixed clubs are the modern male and female Lions Clubs, but Lions Clubs can also be all-male or all-female clubs.

Specifically the three questions driving this thesis are: What is the role of Service Organizations in the wider community?; Although the subordinate status of Lioness Clubs was evident, did they provide a vehicle of self fulfillment for women?; and Did some women believe that their elevation to membership in Lions Clubs would not adequately meet their needs.

This research is in no way intended to be a denigration of the work of this international body , but rather a critique of its failure, not only to incorporate women as members to recognize their contribution and to validate their effectiveness, but the failure to also take punitive measure against Lions Clubs that blatantly discriminate against women even after the international body had welcomed and encouraged their entrance into local Lions chapters. The failure of Lions to admit women initially belies the fact that women had a rich history of social welfare activity long before Lions Clubs were ever first envisaged. Although male service associations had tried to establish themselves as the first service organizations, women were providing community service long before governments took responsibility for the poor, sick or needy, unlike modern male-only service clubs that 'fill in' where governments leave off.

It was only after membership in these earliest women service organizations began to increase and diversify that men stepped in and set themselves up as organizers and overseers by establishing themselves on Boards and Committees that women began to be superseded as service providers. Thus establishing precedents where the men got the glory while the women were seen not as co-workers but merely as 'helpers' and 'supporters'.

This paper is concerned with the experiences of women in the Auxiliaries and the Lions Clubs generally , and more specifically with women in Lioness Clubs. The concentrated focus on Lioness Clubs is deliberate because of their designation, by Lions International, as a subordinate club. This research will show that women have had a long unbroken association with the Lions movement. It will also show that this subordinate group of women have been involved in countless time-consuming, labour-intensive projects and fund-raising activities in the name of Lions. More importantly this expose will validate their contribution and will demonstrate that their involvement has been an integral component vital to the continuity of some clubs.

The contribution of women to Lions has been given unselfishly even though they were denied membership. Yet despite this record of service, a perusal of the literature documenting the history, and promoting the deeds and virtues of the Lions movement, reveal women are conspicuous by their absence. The efforts of countless women who have raised perhaps millions of dollars have been relegated to a sentence here and there, or sometimes a paragraph. Because their real contribution has never been adequately validated it has never been documented either.

The main reason women's contribution has not been chronicled adequately to date, is because most of the literature has been produced by men for men, reflecting the women's exclusion men-only membership policy. It is only in relatively recent times that women have been permitted to form Lioness Clubs, and then later to join Lions Clubs as 'bona fide' members.

Although women were denied membership they still worked as unacknowledged subordinate workers. When they were finally given official recognition and permitted to participate it was not as co-workers with equal status because Lioness Clubs are subordinate clubs, sponsored and controlled by Lions Clubs who enjoy the prerogative of eliminating their subordinate Lioness Club at will because Lioness Clubs are merely an 'activity' of their sponsored Lions Club.

Whilst individual Lions Clubs and Lions International must shoulder most of the criticism of gender discrimination in past years, women too have a role to play if discrimination is to be overcome. Because as long as women, and not only women in clubs, give off signals that they are somehow not worthy of mention, or that they should always only play a supportive role in society, they restrict the aspirations of other women who confidently see themselves as equal citizens because they represent over half of the population. This contention is borne out by the number of women who are now joining Lions clubs since membership was opened to them in 1987. Since

becoming full members of Lions Clubs their skills and contribution can no longer be denied, this is evidenced by the percentage of women, who since joining Lions Clubs, have risen through the ranks to become not only presidents of their Lions Clubs, but Governors of their districts also.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned the fact that women remained in Lioness Clubs when Lions International withdrew support for all Lioness Clubs worldwide in 1992, and when local Lions Clubs tried to eliminate them also, and even after they were finally invited to convert their Lioness Clubs to Lions Clubs, demands an investigation. Women in Lioness Clubs, by standing firm in the face to much opposition, could be interpreted as maintaining what individual and collective autonomy they have by consolidating their own powerbases and remaining Lioness Clubs.

Women in Lioness Clubs are fully aware of the huge sums of money they generate year in and year out. They have proved themselves as excellent workers for the benefit of others, this is evidenced by the fact that recipients of the 'Melvin Jones Fellow', the most prestigious award for recognition of service bestowed by Lions International, has been awarded to Lioness members. Lionesses know that they are Lions International's most valuable asset, and despite all the obstacles, have continued on in the Lions movement because it allows them to do what women have always done best, caring for others.

Of course, it is one thing for the American Supreme Court to rule that excluding women from service organizations is discrimination before the law, but it is quite another matter to convince individual Lions Clubs that women should be accepted as members. Some all-male Lions Clubs still will not admit women and threaten to resign 'en masse' if one should be successful. It is difficult to envisage how this might be achieved because the acceptance of new members is by invitation only, and members vote, by secret ballot, whether to accept a new member or not.

However, if by some chance, one of those all-male Lions Clubs should witness a spate of resignations, those remaining members have been known to rapidly undergo a metamorphic transformation and entreat their sponsored Lioness Club to join their Lions Club so they may continue to stay viable. To do this the women must disband their Lioness Club and take up membership in the Lions Club that had previously thought women unworthy.

In light of all the aforementioned it is the resolve of this thesis to endeavour to lift these previously invisible women workers from their obscure position and situate them in their rightful place as equal co-workers of the largest of all service organizations, Lions International. To best illuminate the efforts of women, who service not only their own communities, but the community's of people throughout the world, this account is researched and written from a feminist perspective, so too is the methodology and analysis of all data, because as history has shown, this is the perspective that best procures optimum data that allows the true picture of women and the real contribution they make to emerge, and validates their efforts accordingly. Given that the problems of women are the problems of the world, a feminist world view conceptual framework would be relevant to all people.

Most of the literature pertaining to Lioness Clubs is compiled, produced and distributed by the Lions Organization itself, and specifically by the Multiple District Lioness Committee in Australia, and then distributed to Lioness Clubs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Any reference to Lions Clubs usually conjures up images of willing bands of service minded men working unselfishly for the betterment of their community and its citizens. But very little is known, or written about the women associated with the Lions Organization, or the huge contribution they also have made, and continue to make in the name of Lions. One would question whether women's contribution to the service organization Lions International has ever been appropriately validated. This section provides an overview of the literature on service organizations, then Lions Clubs and investigates the role of women as members of these organizations.

Long before the advent of male-only service organizations it was women from the upper and middle classes in the 19th century, and even before, who were the community workers in England, America and Australia (Ryan 1979; Blain 1980; Kennedy 1982; Scott 1984; and Scott 1991). In the growing urban areas the closeness of city living brought all classes into unavoidable contact. The aged and indignant woman, underpaid and sickly labourers, alcoholics and prostitutes were all extremely visible, their presence disturbing and their needs compelling (Berg 1978). At this time also the age of consent stood at 10 years of age and young girls were sometimes found working in brothels (Higgs and Bettess 1987).

Women worked as volunteers by providing free education for the children of the poor through the Sunday School movement and supplied relief and created employment for poor widows, set up orphanages and aided the sick and battered women (Treudley, undated). It was through this work women gained a greater awareness of their inferior status in society (Hyslop 1976), because it brought into sharp focus those abuses that generally had the greatest impact on the lives of poorer women, particularly two distinct but related aspects of women's maltreatment "the inequality of her economic position and her subjugation to masculine brutality" (Berg 1978:170).

At the same time millions of middle class men were preoccupied with, and passionate about joining fraternal associations (Clawson 1986). whose activities, unlike the women's groups, focused inwards, not outwards (Putney 1983). Fraternal orders such as the Masons, Odd-fellows, Knights of Pythias, Redman, Macabees, Mystic Workers and Noble Woodman who gathered in elaborate lodge rooms, donned exotic regalia, solemnly recited cryptic locutions, and staged bizarre tableaux, all in secrecy (Charles 1993). The fact that the fraternal orders were characterised by and abounded with ancient myths, obscure symbolisms and archaic terminologies (Putney 1993), leads Mark Carnes (cited in Charles 1993:15) to argue that the pervasiveness of ritualism in male organizations has deeper roots because he sees within fraternal rituals, opposition to the feminine influence that was at the same time shaping morality and religion.

Initially women's service groups always appointed an unmarried woman as treasurer because under the law a husband had the right to control money placed in his wife's hands (Treudley, undated). When women went on to successfully establish charities to raise funds, the men soon took control of these and set themselves up in committees and all-male boards who soon controlled policy and financial management (Windschuttle 1982).

For example when a children's hospital opened in 1876, as a result of the work of a committee of eight women, they were told they could remain active in its organization, but not on the hospital board (Jones 1986:118). Kennedy (1982:68) also affirms that "board members tended to be male elected by the 'old boys' network, who held all the power and purse strings while the 'good ladies' did the dirty work, peddled sympathy, and engaged in casework". Perhaps one gentleman when referring to these women workers put it succinctly when he remarked "the work for them and the glory for us" (Godden 1982:98). Work with no recognition was also typical of Lions Clubs (Clark 1980).

Although women and exclusion are synonymous with the club movement historically, being denied membership never meant that women were not encouraged to work tirelessly for the benefit of clubs with no rewards forthcoming (Rogers 1984; Cllawson 1986; James 1989; Dempsey 1992; and Charles 1993). In some instances women were not only excluded from membership while being encouraged to work for the benefits of clubs, but their standard of living was also compromised as they could not access the many commodities and concessions that were available to families as these benefits only applied to members (Rogers 1984).

Thus, no membership meant no fringe benefits, only work for these women. If they did not continually volunteer they were accused of not supporting their husbands and the community (Dempsey 1986). Seidler (1991) saw that this served to ensure women were kept in a 'supportive' role, particularly if she was not to be considered by others or herself, to be a 'bad wife'.

The Woolfenden Committee Report (1978) suggested that clubs that deny membership to other sections of society who are only too willing and able to help, must not only question their motives, but their status as a service organization must be also called into question. Clearly there was scant rationale for male-only service clubs because nothing in the ethic of club service required members be of similar gender, race or religion (Charles 1993).

Conversely although they were also excluded from membership women were encouraged to work on the periphery engaged in labour-intensive, time-consuming projects and fund-raising activities in unaffiliated auxiliaries as unacknowledged subordinate workers.

Parkin, cited in Dempsey (1986:25), states that "any attempt women make to usurp the monopolies of men constitutes an attack of the stability of the existing system and will

be opposed with the rebels stereotyped as deviants". In her book entitled *Good and Mad Women*, Jill Matthews (1984) endorsed these sentiments also, reiterating that women who would not act as others expected them to be labelled bad, mad or deviant.

Auxiliaries are often created to appease women and to placate their yearning for involvement, but ensuring they are kept separate from the men's club so as to maintain and reinforce their subordination (Dempsey 1986). Usually they are formed at the initiation of women themselves and are sometimes opposed by male members (Clawson 1986). Once they are established the women come as subordinates and supporters rather than as equals (Dempsey 1992). This then creates an imbalance between energy input and credit given as the efforts of these women are glossed over for recognition because it is simply expected that women should contribute. (Rew 1979).

Women's contributions to society by her work is conspicuous by its absence throughout history, and is no way a phenomenon exclusive to Lions International. It appears that work with no recognition and often with no pay seems to be the prerogative of women. This is why women are referred to as the "great unpaid labourers of the world" (Anthony 1979), or as United Nations statistics reveal "women do two-thirds of the world's work, for less than ten percent of the world's salary and own less than one percent of the world's wealth" (Smith 1992:2). America's first lady Hillary Clinton also confirms that "the female gender constitutes 70 per cent of the world's 1.3 billion poor, and 65 per cent of the illiterate" (Lederer 1996:2). Although there has been an escalating tendency towards addressing human rights issues worldwide, Wetzel (1993:3) argues that "the rights of women are seldom conceived as human rights".

Dale Spender (1992) suggests that periodically there needs to be a revision of the achievements of women of the past to make them visible and valuable as an effective

way of improving the self confidence of all women and to support their growth and development to their full potential. It is only in relatively recent times that feminists have researched, uncovered and documented the true significance of women's roles in our own history, which previously has been thought unworthy of recognition, reflecting the gender bias assumptions arising from stereotyped roles assigned to men and women (Healey 1993).

These separate roles are due neither to cultural accidents or to biological determinism but are social constructions (Kerber 1988), invented to render women as inferior beings to justify their exploitation and to deprive them of access to positions of power (Dempsey 1986). Indeed Connell (1987:215), argues that :

Men can enjoy patriarchal power
but accept it as given to them by
an external force, by nature or
convention or even by women
themselves rather than by an active
social subordination of women
going on here and now. They
do not care to take responsibility
for the actions that has given them
their power.

In the Australian context from as early as 1801 a small number of women of the colonial elite, including the Governor's wife, threw themselves into philanthropy through such organizations as: The Female and Male Orphan School, the Benevolent Society, the Sydney Dispensary, the Female School of Industry, the Female Friendly Society, the Female Factory, the Sydney Dorcas Society for Distressed Jewish Mothers, the Emigrant's House, the Sydney Female Refuge, and House of the Good Shepherd, the Sydney School Movement, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Native Institution, The Aborigines Protection Society, and the Temperance Movement (Windshuttle 1982).

'Male only' service organizations did not acknowledge the work of these women, but instead ignored their contributions and excluded them from membership. Thus reflecting the 'second class' status of women generally. Women have largely been ignored and given little credit for contributing in any way to the establishment of the Australian way of life (Rew 1979). For example, John Macarthur is credited with pioneering the sheep industry with no mention of Elizabeth Macarthur who, as co-founder initiated cross-breeding techniques in search of a superior wool quality, at a time when the concentration was on raising sheep purely for mutton (de Vries 1995).

The contribution of male pioneers of the sugar industry is well chronicled, but nothing is told of the women pioneers, or of the women who actually worked alongside the men in the Queensland canefields under the severe tropical sun (Saunders 1982). Absent also are the exploits of women setting up cattle stations, clearing the land, keeping station stores and accounts, milking, tending stock and droving, or their involvement in the gold rush days (Pownall 1959, Rew 1979 & Isaacs 1990).

The practice of referring to women very briefly in a descriptive way has been the most common (Walby 1988), because of the minimizing of women's involvement it would appear that men were the only workers, explorers and innovators. Scott (1984) confirms that histories are still occasionally written with the definition of family being man and his sons.

War stories also abound about mens exploits in the airforce, but very little is known of the women who did highly scientific and specialized work where secrecy and integrity were essential. For example, they controlled all the secret messages and signals on air force bases, they sent, received, coded and deciphered those signals and remained at their posts when Japanese raiders visited Australia. These women were also aircraft riggers and mechanics who stripped and reassembled engines, aircrafts and their instruments (Massey-Higgins 1944).

Another example is the 7,000 women who joined the Australian Land Army to grow food during wartime to feed 700,000 Australian members of the armed forces, 120,000 American troops stationed here, as well as our own civilian population and whatever we could supply to 'mother England'. These women, some as young as sixteen, were stationed all over Australia. For their efforts they were barred by the Returned Soldiers League from marching on Anzac Day, and they received no pensions, no deferred pay and no bonuses (Hardisty 1990).

The traditional concept of 'mateship' in Australia did not include women, indeed its very nature positively shuns women (Scutt 1994). So too the notion of 'fellow human beings' only applied to men as mateship still continues to be based on sex segregation (Bell 1973). Ernst (undated) reports of a conspiracy to keep men conforming and that if a man attempted to include a woman as a mate he would be accused of being "some sort of a poofster or something".

Australian nurses have also experienced aerial bombing and strafing during wartime, the discomforts associated with jungle warfare and the inhumane treatment and privation of prisoners-of-war camps. They nursed on ships, on trains, and in the air and have staffed hospitals everewhere. As Lt. Col. J. S. Purdy wrote "I hardly think that their services have been sufficiently recognized or that people of Australia realise how much they owe to these brave women" (Goodman 1988). As late as Anzac Day 1996 an ex-Vietnam nurse revealed "Australia's lack of concern for its ex-service nurses was only now being remedied" (Cairns Post 1996:6).

Also when women tried to get on The Olympic Organizing Committee they were told "if women insist on being represented on this committee there will be no alternative but to cut out the women's events altogether" (Norris 1978:103). A small group of women have worked tirelessly for the benefit of not only women, but the society as a whole, and it was not easy, nor did it happen quickly (Jones 1986).

For example, it was feminists who won for women the right to vote, to sit on juries, to be Justices of the Peace and Magistrates, to be in the police force, to gain custody of their children and to share in all matrimonial property (Norris 1978; Nuss 1986). It was women who lobbied governments for higher education for their daughters that was previously denied them and they actually built the colleges for girls to attend (Twynan 1977; Zainu'ddin 1982).

This was at a time when learned men offered biological explanations for why women should not be allowed to study, because as the 'weaker sex' it would be too much for them, and their reproductive system would suffer. This was also at a time when millions of women worked from sunrise to sunset on farms and factories, and in many other extremely tiring and heavy jobs (Hamner 1990). Too delicate to study, but not too fragile to work hard.

In a pamphlet entitled "The Leichhardt Letter", produced by the Federal Member of Parliament, Warren Entsch (1996), he lists several groups of people involved in the war effort who "were never recognized for their sacrifice and hard work". They include: Australian Women's Land Army, Country Women's Association- Land Girls (Vic) and Land Girls (W.A.), Women's Auxiliary Transport Service, Women's Agricultural Security Production Service, Women's Australian National Service - Land Section (N.S.W), Women's War Service Council (S.A) - Land Section, and Red Cross Aides.

These few examples cited are by no means exhaustive for the list is endless of women relegated to inferior positions and because of this there is a tendency for them to be by-passed for recognition. Deborah Tannen (1994:63) suggests this is because "unlike men women have never been encouraged to blow their own horns". Indeed men are socialised to meet their own goals, even at the expense of other human beings, while women are socialized to see themselves as responsible for others' well-being, even at

their own expense (Garcia 1992:33). This is true of women in the Lions Association as well.

Voluntary associations were the vehicles that first conveyed women out of their domestic domain and allowed them to infiltrate the masculine sphere (Berg 1978). It was through voluntary associations that women learned to co-operate with each other, to organize, speak out at meetings, publish newspapers and to wield influence in the public sphere (Blair 1980). But as Kerber (1990:12) admits women also "met unprecedented hostility and resistance that seems disproportionate, even in the no-holds-barred political arena".

Cott (1987) argues that women have built a tradition of exercising political influence and efficacy through their voluntary work. Women volunteers were instrumental in bringing about many social changes because gradually the questions first raised by women have found their way onto the national agenda, and been absorbed by Governments, such as, issues of social justice, of preservation of the environment, of equal opportunity and of international peace (Scott 1984:292).

What followed, according to Charles (1993) was the emergence of an influential sisterhood- women active in community work and community improvement - that made the fraternal brotherhood seem embarrassingly ineffectual. So calls for a more strenuous masculine activism appeared in all fields of endeavour. Thus women's service organizations were the innovators and catalysts that set the precedents for the all-male service organizations that followed. Not one of these men's clubs acknowledged the influence of their feminine counterparts, instead they were all anxious to lay claim to being the first organization dedicated to community service (Charles 1993).

Because of the aforementioned involvement of women in community service clubs and organizational activities it is difficult to comprehend why men have habitually excluded

women from club membership, including Lions (Clawson 1986). Occasionally though, a club may admit women to rescue it, especially if it is in serious financial trouble (The Economist, 1989). However sometimes women's exclusion was more implicit than explicit because although members were habitually referred to as 'he', nowhere in their actual rules did it specifically say that women were excluded (Courtell 1992).

Nonetheless women's exclusion was a reality, and the existence of women's clubs today, Scott (1984) argues, is a direct result of women being excluded from club membership simply because they were women. For example, the origins of the suffrage movement are to be found in women's exclusion from participation in the London World Anti-Slavery Convention, women's colleges arose in response to women's exclusion from educational opportunities in the men's colleges and the birth of Sorosis was inspired by an act of exclusion when only males were invited to the New York Press Club dinner for Charles Dickens (Blair 1980)

The reason for women's exclusion Clawson (1986:2) suggests was actually "to promote solidarity among men, to reinforce men's separation from women, and thus to validate and facilitate the exercise of masculine power". Also excluding women from clubs perpetuates the idea that they are not equal to men (The New York Times, 1988), and so must always maintain a subordinate role.

Ronalds (1987:138) suggests, that "the resistance to increased women's involvement in clubs frequently came from older, more conservative men who had outdated notions on the role of women in the home and elsewhere".

Women formed Auxiliaries to support their partners and were fully cognizant of the fact that they were barred from membership of the club to which their partners belonged. Women in Auxiliaries could therefore be seen as representative of an acceptance of male dominance. However, Slipman (1986) suggests that women are

socialized early in their lives to believe that to gain acceptance they must conform to someone else's idea of proper conduct.

Elizabeth Teather (1992) reported in her study of the Country Women's Association (CWA), that members were anxious to be portrayed only in a positive light, but that it was not the 'place for gripes', and that women with non-traditional gender roles were labelled 'different'. She also found that the broader societal issues such as high levels of marital stress, domestic violence and the disproportionately high rates of domestic homicides in rural Australia were never mentioned. Teather (1992) argues that avoidance of any discussion of such potentially divisive issues was deliberate so as to maintain the atmosphere of warm companionship treasured by most members.

The International Association of Lions Clubs, hereafter referred to as Lions International, was founded in the United States of America in 1917 by an insurance agent, Melvin Jones. Although he used the title 'international' even before there was any club at all outside the United States, he modelled Lions International closely upon the examples set by his predecessors, Rotary International and Kiwanis International, in that it was established with a predetermined orientation towards community service and a commitment to unabashedly access the readily available pool of business contacts that comprised membership. The vigorous propaganda recruitment drives initiated by Jones, coupled with paid organizers, helped Lions International to quickly overtake both Rotary and Kiwanis to become the largest service organization in the world today.

Unlike Rotary and Kiwanis, Lions International, at their first convention in October 1917 at the Adolphus Hotel in Dallas Texas, voted to open the rosters of the Lions Club to women as well as men (Clinch 1979:11). But by 1918 at the second convention in St. Louis, for some unexplained reason women were excluded from membership (Lioness District Associate Chairman 1984). This decision is

incomprehensible given the rich history women have of providing community service long before Rotary, Kiwanis or Lions were ever first envisaged (Ryan 1979), and at a time when no government at any level took responsibility for what are now called, welfare services (Scott 1984).

There has been much written about the visionary and founder of Lions International Melvin Jones, bestowing accolades upon him for his contribution and dedication to make Lions the success it has become. But what of his wife? Amid the heady euphoria of getting Lions established Melvin Jones' wife worked late into the nights at her husband's side helping him (Kittler 1968), but there are no stories and no mention or recognition of her contribution in the literature, and again one must question to what degree has the participation of women contributed to the success of Lions International.

Women were excluded from membership of Lions Clubs because originally a member had to be a 'male person' (Lions Club Constitution and by-laws), even though there was no evidence that club activities would be harmed by admitting women (Taylor 1987). The Lion's charter is basically to do good works for the community and help the less fortunate in society, as enshrined in the Lions Clubs International Objects (Lions Club Constitution).

Melvin Jones felt that "the differences among men were merely external, and that internally, in heart and in mind and soul all men, having been created by the same God, were pretty much alike" (Kittler 1968:37). Jones was only referring to white, anglo, middleclass men. Rubbing shoulders with black men from foreign countries at conventions was one thing but associating on a weekly basis with black businessmen from their own country was something else, because black men were excluded from membership of Lions on the grounds that they would disrupt the camaraderie of white businessmen (Charles 1993:30).

In order to participate in the Lions Organization at all meant women had to be thankful for any small favours and not pursue issues of equality or they would not be afforded the opportunity to do community service work at all. Also other Auxiliary women may not welcome agitators in their midst either, lest they 'rock the boat' and jeopardise their position.

If women really wanted to be involved in the Lions Organization to share the company and friendships of other women they had to accept their subordinate status within Lions International, and be content with a place in the Auxiliary. Perhaps one could ask the question as posed by Clawson (1986), "Was the Auxiliary a device for the reproduction of male dominance or a vehicle for women's advancement"?

Women in Lions Ladies Auxiliaries can only be members as long as their partners (men) are in Lions Clubs. They are not officially recognized by Lions International therefore they are merely informal groupings creating difficulties with insurance coverage and lacking status. This is reflected in the confusion as to exactly where they fit in because over time they have been variously known as Lionettes, Dandelions, Lionesses, Lionelles, Lionades, Lions Wives and Lions Ladies (Lioness Promotional Literature 1984). Thus Lions Ladies Auxiliary women, denied membership simply because of their gender and not recognized by Lions International were still expected to work.

Over time, the records will show that they raised hundreds of thousands of dollars on behalf of Lions Clubs throughout the world. Indeed in some instances some Lions clubs could not have survived without the fund-raising work of these auxiliary women (Clinch 1979). These too are the sentiments of Victor Wright (Cummings 1987:2) who concluded that "most of these men's clubs and fraternal organizations - if it weren't for the women's auxiliaries doing the work, they wouldn't do much of anything anyway". Thus Auxiliary women work tirelessly behind the scenes and rarely receive

public acknowledgment (Clark 1989). It seems women are expected to make huge contributions, yet expect no recognition or rewards.

Some women in Lions Ladies Auxiliaries, cognizant of their contribution and acutely aware that they would not be admitted to Lions Clubs, agitated to become a more affective affiliated group. The international body capitulated and the first women's associated Lions group was recognized with the formation of the first Lioness Club in Mt. Pleasant, North Carolina in the United States of America on December 24, 1975 (The Story of Lioness Clubs in Australia). Clinch (1979:131), reports that "In the early stages there were misunderstandings and difficulties with the introduction of Lionesses, as to their duties, status, etc.," Was this because the women believed Lioness Clubs would/should have the same status as Lions Clubs enjoy?

Although the formation of Lioness Clubs was an overdue recognition of the work of the partners of Lions, it could never be construed as a power-sharing exercise, because Lioness Clubs are subordinate units described merely as an 'activity' of their sponsoring Lions club (Standard Lioness Constitution). The constitution stipulates that clubs can only be formed under the sponsorship of a Lions Club, who also have the power to disband the Lioness Club without the mutual agreement of Lioness members.

Article IV of the constitution 'Projects', Clause 2, asserts that the sponsoring club may direct their Lioness Club as to the expenditure of their income (Lioness Pride 1995), even though the money was raised by the Lioness Club themselves. The sponsoring Lions Club could ascertain how much revenue was generated by the Lioness Club at any given time because a copy of the minutes of Lioness Club meetings should be forwarded to the Lions Club (Lioness Pride. Sept 1995).

Further a 'liaison' is elected from the Lions Club to ensure "that the ladies projects are in keeping with the goals and ideals of the Lions club...and that they would be in no way competitive" (Lions Liaison Guide). Yet Bill Tresise, founder of the first Lions Club in Australia asked "How can there be opposition in the field of service?" (Clinch 1979:17). As a guarantee to further entrench their subordinated status a member of the Lions Club would be elected District Lioness Club Chairman. A Lioness is permitted only to occupy the 'lowly' position of Associate District Lioness Club Chairman (District Lioness Club Chairman handbook). Although the associate 'chairman' may be invited to attend some meetings of the Lions District Cabinet, she is not considered a member of that cabinet (District Lioness Club Chairman Handbook). Indeed no Lioness can be a voting member of any Lions district or multiple district organization, therefore she has no voting rights at conventions either (District Lioness Club Chairman Handbook).

Melvin Jones Fellowships, the most prestigious awards for recognition of service, are bestowed by Lions International. Lioness Clubs boast many Melvin Jones Fellows among their members which is indicative of the hard work of Lionesses, but when Lioness Clubs nominate someone for this award, they do not receive International recognition nor the usual banner patch as supplied to all Lions Clubs. That is because Lions International do not recognize Lioness Clubs except as a sponsored activity of a Lions Club, therefore Lioness Club contributions to the Lions Club International Foundation is not recognized (Lioness Pride May 1996). Nominations are best made through a Lioness sponsoring club so they can receive the banner patch on behalf of Lionesses. The contradiction here is that Lions International does not officially recognize Lioness Clubs, but happily accepts all the donations sent from Lioness Clubs.

In spite of the aforementioned restrictions and lack of recognition, Lioness Clubs flourished and ten years after the Mt. Pleasant club was certified in 1975, there were

5,362 Lioness clubs with approximately 139,412 Lioness members throughout 92 countries of the world (Its Great being a Lioness).

The response of Betty McGrath, a member of the first Lioness Club in Australia in 1976, is perhaps indicative of the reason for the growth "the change noticed since changing their name from the Lions Ladies Auxiliary to Lioness, has been the extra enthusiasm of the ladies to help their fellow man" (Clinch 1979:1131). Also Lioness Clubs can invite women who are not related to men in Lions into their club, and Lionesses and their volunteers are covered under the association's comprehensive general liability insurance program.

In conjunction with the Lions Clubs, Lioness Clubs are involved in many projects that have been broadly classified into ten major activities such as: Sight Conservation and work with the blind; Hearing and speech action and work with the deaf; Citizenship Services; Environmental Services; Educational Services; Educational Services; International Services; Recreational Services; Health Services; Public Services; and Social Services (Lioness Promotional Literature).

A perusal of the 'club calling' section in any Lioness Pride edition, a browse through Lioness Club minutes of meetings and individual Lioness Club newsletters will provide a small insight into the huge contribution made by Lioness Clubs. Individual clubs are also writing the history of their respective clubs, with some producing anniversary booklets and some compiling year books. These sources readily reveal the innovative and ingenious methods they utilize in an endeavour to raise funds for needy citizens. However Lions and Lioness Clubs do not submit expenditure or revenue figures to the State Libraries or to the National Library. Lioness contributions to Lions International Foundations are not stipulated as such in the annual fiscal report, but instead are lumped together with all revenue raised. So it is virtually impossible to ascertain exactly what the contribution is from Lioness Clubs.

It is not unusual for Lioness Clubs to raise large sums for individual projects, as well as simultaneously helping those in their communities. For example, the Cairns Club raised \$5,400 for the Gluyas Lodge for Cancer Care during the Year (Lioness Pride 1995), and the Gwandalan Club raised \$7,843 for Emergency Services in that year also (Lioness Pride 1995), while the Bribie Island Pumicestone Club (Qld), raised \$9,000 in eight and a half months to buy an E.C.G. machine for the Caboulture Hospital (Lioness Pride 1994). Some Lioness Clubs has on-going projects like the 'call police' safety signs initiated by the Harvey Bay Lioness Club (Qld), and have raised over \$22,000 (Lioness Pride 1995). The Melton Club (Vic), raised \$34,000 towards special accommodation for the elderly which qualified them to obtain a Government grant of \$605,000 to build and finance the whole project (Lioness Pride 1995).

In 1994 there were 200 Lioness Clubs in Australia (Depiazzi 1994) meaning more clubs equates to more money raised. In one area, not a State, but a single district comprising 19 clubs, there was \$100,000 raised in one year (Personal conversation). Also as far back as 1984 the Lioness Club of Canberra raised \$8547.92 in that year (Mitchell 1984).

If each of the 142 Lioness Clubs currently in Australia raise \$3,500 annually, that would be approximately \$500,000 each year raised by Lionesses. However half a million dollars is a very conservative estimate as the Lioness Club of Mount Gambier raised \$5,614.43 in 1996 (Changeover Booklet 1996), and the Glen Innis Lioness Club raised \$7,346.60 in the same year (Changeover Booklet 1996).

It seems Lioness women inspire other women to strive for the attainment of high goals. 'The Ladies Touch', the History of the Woodend Lioness Club (Mudford 1991:23), contained this snippet.

Throughout the year a lady was assisted with reading and it was a joyous occasion when she gained her license as a result of her endeavour. Over a congratulatory glass of champagne she was asked what she might tackle next. "I would really like to be a lawyer", she responded.

As Lioness Clubs were growing rapidly, a dispute in Los Angeles concerning the Duarte Rotary Club was unfolding, that would have dramatic ramifications for service clubs generally, and Lioness Clubs particularly. Faced with the possibility of extinction because of dwindling membership the all-male Duarte Rotary voted unanimously in 1977 to admit three women in defiance of the by-laws of the Rotary Club International. Their chapter was revoked by the International body so the Duarte Rotary Club took its case to court and so began a series of legal battles in the American Supreme Court. (Cummings 1987).

Ten years later on Tuesday, May 5, 1987 the High Court ruled in a 7 to 0 decision that Rotary Clubs must admit women as equal members and end their discrimination (Taylor 1987). Guilty of this discrimination also, exactly two months later in July 1987, Lions International voted to drop their 'men only' membership policy (The New York Times 1987). Even before this ruling Lions Clubs in Australia were acting contrary to the Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 by not admitting women. When the club discrimination issue was at its peak in the United States public officials, notably judges, including members of the Federal Bench, had been warned that it would be unbecoming for them to continue membership in associations that discriminate against women as members (Starr 1987).

The court hearings also showed that members joined clubs for the business or professional advantages they got out of them (The Economist 1985). As Justice White noted:

one barrier to the advancement of women and minorities in the business and professional life is the discriminatory practice of certain membership organizations where business deals are often made and personal contacts valuable for business purposes, enjoyment and professional advancement are formed. (Taylor 1988:2).

Interesting to note that during the nine years that the Rotary case was being fought in the United States, Lions International waited until that decision was handed down in 1987 before it allowed women in as members. Despite the fact that Jaycees in Australia had allowed women members in as far back as 1977 (Grenard 1979). In the United States in 1984 the Court rules in a 7 to 0 decision that the all-male Jaycees Organization could be required to accept women as members under a Minnesota Law (Taylor 1988:1&18). Eventually women were accepted in Lions, not because Lions International wanted them, but because they had no choice and could no longer keep them out because it was against the law.

In October 1991, without warning, Lions International made a decision to withdraw support for Lioness Clubs worldwide (The Story of Lioness Clubs in Australia), and closed the Lioness Clubs Department in America in 1992 at a time when there was an upsurge of support for Lioness Clubs around the world (Depiazzi 1994). The reason behind the closure of the Lioness Department at International Headquarters in America is conspicuous by its absence in Lions and Lioness literature. Also those members of the Lions Organization consulted for this research did not know either. Indeed some were unaware that this had even happened.

However some Lionesses had their own theories as to why this occurred. These include "Lions International was only interested in promoting Lions Clubs"; "They saw Lioness Clubs as a threat"; "Lioness Clubs were becoming too big and were in competition with Lions Clubs"; and Lions International wanted only all Lions Clubs because Lions pay higher dues than Lionesses" (See Findings and Discussion Section of this thesis).

In the Australian context the Lions Associated Multiple District Council of Governors saw fit to extend support for Lioness clubs by establishing a Multiple District Lioness Committee to produce a quarterly newsletter called "Lioness Pride", and other material for Lionesses' use to keep clubs posted on developments, and to provide a forum for the benefit of Lioness Clubs. Information on Lioness Clubs is only available within the club network and is often fragmented, without an original source and either issued in pamphlet form or reproduced in the 'Lioness Pride', without an author. As a result Lioness women consulted knew very little of the history of Lions generally, or Lioness Clubs particularly, because information is withheld, or only distributed in piecemeal fashion.

The Directory (1995/6) shows that in Australia there were still 169 Lioness Clubs with 2864 members. However in May (1996), Sandra Grove reported that sadly more clubs are contemplating closure because they see no future for themselves. Perhaps that is because at its Board of Directors meeting, the International Board of Directors for Lions International cordially invited "all Lionesses to consider joining a Lions Club or to form their own Lions Club" (Lion Feb 1996).

Currently there are 142 Lioness Clubs in Australia. If there were 169 Clubs in 1995/6, and still 142 clubs now, there has not been a huge decrease really. These figures suggest that Lioness Clubs in Australia are not intimidated by the parent body. Unlike

their European colleagues who have capitulated, because there are no Lioness Clubs left operating in Europe now (Personal Conversation).

Once women were permitted to join Lions Clubs some "Lions Clubs rushed out in 1992 to close Lioness Clubs in their district ...and only a few were rescued" (Depiazzi 1994:22), other Lioness Clubs closed and the women joined their sponsor club as equal Lions members, some Lioness Clubs converted to all-female Lions, but the majority of the 3500 Lioness Clubs around the world at that time chose to remain Lioness Clubs (Dawson 1993). By March 1994 there was 32,757 women in Lions Clubs in the United States and a total of 77,735 female lions worldwide (Lion 1994). During the months of July, August and September 1995, 190 Lions clubs were organized throughout the world (Lion March 1996). These figures make a nonsense of the argument "that women are just not interested in joining", as an excuse to retain all-male clubs (Grenard 1979).

Women could now become Lions, but it does not automatically follow that all male members welcome women as Lions because as all victims know discrimination begins and ends in the hearts and minds of the perpetrators. As Eileen Clark (1989:46) argues "laws might prevent discrimination but they cannot change firmly held beliefs". Nancy Cott (1987) agrees that simply gaining entry into the same arena men occupy does not mean women are welcome, or that they will be integrated or receive parity.

Women coming into Lions Clubs were not permitted to take with them credit for their years of service as a Lioness, even though they may have been Lionesses for 12 years. When they moved to the Lions it was considered to be their first year of service. 'Credit' in the Lions Organization is accumulative and is given as rewards for all kinds of things. For example, years of service, record of attendances, amount of work performed, money raised and recruitment of new members. Therefore all their previous efforts in Auxiliaries and Lioness Clubs were not recognized at all.

There are still many Lions Clubs that will not permit women to join, even though the International body now encourages it, but more importantly it contraavenes Division 9, Ssubdivision A, Section 94 of the Australian Anti-Discrimination Act of 1994. These particular 'rogue' clubs make sweeping statements vowing they will not tolerate women in their club and they will resign 'en masse' if one should be admitted (Johnson 1996). It is difficult to envisage how this might happen because membership is by invitation only. Nevertheless the assumption here is that the contribution of these men is viewed as superior to that of women, so their membership could not be sacrificed (Dempsey 1992).

However, if by some chance, one of those all-male Lions Clubs should witness a spate of resignations, those remaining members have been known to rapidly undergo a metamorphic transformation and entreat their sponsored Lioness Club to join their Lions Club so they may continue to stay viable. To do this the women must disband their Lioness Club and take up membership in the Lions Club that had previously thought women unworthy.

Some forward thinking male members periodically take the radical male chapters of their organization to task. Two comments from Lion males indicate an alternative view:

Despite the needless opposition of those who are determined to keep our associations living in the past, women bring a breath of fresh air to our aging association and make us more attractive to the younger members of society. It is only by welcoming the majority of the population to our ranks that we assure o future. (The Lion May 1994).

And

There are all too many Lions of the past preventing clubs from striding confidently into the future simply because of their own commitment to maintain the status quo. There is no future in remaining in old ruts. Those who will not change have to be ignored for their ways are the ruts of the past not the highways to the future (The Lion, March 1996).

In a thought provoking article Lion Stephanie Johnson (The Lion, Feb 1996) confronted the male protagonists which should go a long way to further the female Lion viewpoint and silence their male critics. Particularly, she asked and answered five questions pertaining to the main fear men have of female Lions:

1. They will try to take over.
2. They are bossy and temperamental.
3. Our Wives wouldn't like it.
4. We will lose a lot of our current members.
5. We will not be able to tell jokes and/or drink.

(This article is attached as Appendix 1).

Two months later in the April edition of the Lion (1996:6) Lion Kate Milford in her article 'Women are being ignored', congratulated Lion Stephanie Johnson for her article and added that "Gender has nothing to do with one's ability to commit oneself to the Lions 'Code of Ethics' and the Lions 'Objects' (This article is attached as Appendix 2). As the figures show female Lions are here to stay. As of August 1995 Lions Clubs International had 1,406,074 members in 42,687 clubs in 713 districts in 178 countries and geographical areas, and of these 86,727 were women, 35,902 in the United States, 3892 in Canada and 46,933 in other countries (The Lion Feb 1996). In the Australian context the Lions Directory (1995/96) shows that there are 1400 Lions clubs with 30,584 members, but there is no breakdown of the number of female Lions.

The number of women availing themselves of Lions Club membership now indicates that women have embraced the spirit of Lionism wholeheartedly. Lions International

have acknowledged this by becoming more gender inclusive and have sought to remove the sexist language and connotations from Lions's literature, especially in the 8 point Lions code of Ethics and the 7 point Lions Objects (Lions Directory 1995/96:29). They have also approved the 'Lioness Conversion Program' whereby Lionesses joining Lions can now receive 'credit' for all their years of service as former Lioness and Auxiliary members retrospectively.(The Lion 1996:19). Female Lions are also visible in local newspapers depicted and photographed presenting donations to worthy causes. Perhaps Lion Eileen Tucker typifies the female spirit generally when she says "we are not a very big club but, when we get going, we get to and do it" (The Cairns Post 1996:6).

Since becoming Lions, the unique talents of women have been recognized through the skills displayed and many have become Secretaries and Presidents of Lions Clubs throughout Australia. For example, in 1993/4 there were 61 presidents out of a possible 1407 clubs, and in 1994/5 there were 111 female presidents of 1404 Lions Clubs (Lions Directory 1994/5).

Further in 1994/5 Phil Batchelor, a member of the only all-female Lions club in Tasmania, and Carlene King, a Lion member from South Australia became Australia's first female District Governors and would represent Australian Lions as International Officers (The Lion 1994).

The personnel making up the committee of five who preside over Lionesses from their lofty positions on the Multiple District Lioness Committee are four Lions and one Lioness member. One of the Lions is male and the others have been former Lionesses. Of course, the chairman is a Lion, a female Lion.

If this Multiple District Lioness Committee is for the benefit of Lioness Clubs why is there only one Lioness member on this panel? One Lioness is not going to have much

impact or input and is not likely to challenge decisions. Lionesses are also much more unlikely to feel free to air their grievances with only 'one of their own' on that Committee. Indeed the number of Lions on this Lioness Committee might act as a deterrent to Lioness women through intimidation, especially as the sole Lioness on this committee is not even a full member, but merely an 'associate' member (the Lion 1996). Therefore she does not enjoy the same status as her colleagues on the Lioness Committee, because she is a Lioness.

Lioness look to the Lioness Committee for justification, validation, guidance, information and interpretation. Yet members of this committee consistently, through the pages of the quarterly newsletter, emphasise and reinforce the subordinate status of Lioness Clubs. 'Ad infinitum' they curb the exuberance of Lionesses, ensuring they do not overstep the confines of their restrictive boundaries. Over ambitious Lionesses will be brought back to reality in no subtle manner and reminded of their inferior status. For example, when a Lioness secretary reprinted the Lions Clubs Objects and the Lions Code Ethics as Lioness Clubs Objects and Lioness Code of Ethics, this piece appeared, from the Lioness Committee.

PLEASE NOTE: The Objects and Ethics
we read are those of Lions Clubs International -
they are not LIONESS anything..... (Link 1995).

Sadly some women who have walked the hallowed halls of power soon adopt a condescending attitude, particularly when some female Lions come to view Lionesses as 'ditherers' and are somehow now 'less worthy', and even "demean the work of Lionesses " (Depiazzi 1994).

Through the publication, Lioness Pride, the committee invites Lionesses to attend conventions even though the 'women in Lioness' breakfast is the sole Lioness event there (Depiazzi Feb 1994). They keep promising to have a 'real' Lioness function next

year (Lioness Pride 1995). If Lionesses complain about the lack of forums at conventions they are met with a tirade of derision (Lioness Pride 1995). The fact remains that there is nothing of substance for Lionesses at conventions because they have no direct input into the decision-making process that effects their clubs. They must depend on a member of the dominant club, a Lions Club, to put their grievances forward, who may not be aware of the consequences, the passion or signifance of the concerns in the same way as a Lioness would be.

At the Multiple District Convention in 1995. a motion was proposed as follows:

A Lioness Club shall cease to be the
project of a sponsoring Lions Club
but shall become an independent club
under the banner of Lions Club International.

This motion was soundly defeated (Lioness Pride 1995:3). Lions members, men and women, voted against this motion as Lionesses are denied voting rights. In all probability this motion was first initiated by a Lioness Club, or a number of Lioness Clubs and relayed to a member of the Lions Club for it to be placed on the convention agenda, such is the rigmarole that Lioness Clubs endure.

If the admission of women to Lions Clubs makes for a more egalitarian service club it also means "more hands make light work", or as Gloria Alfred (Bishop 1987) suggests "allowing women as members is good for business for everybody, it makes good sense economically, morally and socially".

The annual membership fee for a Lion is \$100. One hundred dollars for the privilege of raising funds to help the needy and to benefit the community. This high membership fee ensures that those citizens on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder are excluded, and a large percentage of women would be in this catagory also because they are not economically independent.

Therefore it could be said that Lions Clubs continue to be the province of white middle class males, with limited access available to women who could afford the fees and who would not be perturbed by being referred to as a 'masculine' member of that cat family. Yvonne Preston (1983:8), suggests that Lions Clubs are decidedly bourgeois compared with the most popular notion of the Australian Clubs, they seldom pass up a chance to fund raise, and "they acknowledge their gratitude for the support of the 'ladies' while denying them voting rights".

If opening Lions Clubs to women may not have been welcomed by Lions International, the increase in fees that Lionesses face, will still keep them out. To be sure some women will become female Lions, however the high fees will ensure that women are not in sufficient numbers to pose a threat to the established order. It has been suggested that women on low incomes were often precluded from participating in the voluntary workforce because of the associated expenses (Report of the Status of Women 1986). This means that they are deprived of the status, that comes with membership, and as Wild (1978:68) suggests, "status is partly responsible for maintaining order, coherence and stability in society, as well as contributing to inequality among its members".

Women still in Lions Ladies Auxiliaries could relate to the findings of the Melbourne study that found women often felt they had no right to interests outside the home or to engage in activities that were for their own benefit (Broom 1987). That could be the reason why wives put their husbands interests before their own (Dempsey 1992), because they actually believe men's activities are more important than women's (Dempsey 1986).

However Bryson and Wearing (1985) contend that these attitudes prevail because the supremacy of the male power structures are not adequately challenged, and when they are not challenged women are contributing to their own oppression and the oppression

of all other women. As long as women as a class play supportive roles, they contribute to the efficiency of a power structure that exists to maintain the status quo (Pierce 1968). Rew (1979) further argues that one cannot give oneself status or prestige and if the community does not bestow it, self esteem will suffer. Therefore women must recognize their own worth first before anybody else is going to recognize them (Archer 1992).

Realistically a concerted effort is needed by all women if real inroads into ending discrimination is to be achieved. Many women, including women in the Lions Organization, are reluctant to declare allegiance to feminism and instead shun the feminist tag lest they be seen as upsetting the status quo. However they are quick to take advantage of concessions won by feminists on behalf of all women. Such as equal opportunities, equality under the law, equity in marital disputes, custody of children, acquisition of property and a whole host of other opportunities that have been the focus of feminist struggles.

Conversely when the majority of women left the Auxiliaries and formed Lioness Clubs they were actually mounting a challenge to the privileged position that men had allotted themselves in the Lions Organization (Barbalet 1982), and by doing so women had made some inroads, if only minor ones. True they were still a subordinate club, but they had won a certain degree of autonomy and had in fact agreed to accept what Degler (1989) refers to as "voluntary subordination" where one is willing to occupy a lowly position in order to minimise tensions. Lioness women carry fewer burdens and receive less recognition or rewards or status, while their position is also less threatening to the men.

Women who have stayed Lionesses and have not heeded the call to join Lions Clubs may not want to be a member of a club that has for years never accepted them, or who had gained membership by being legislated into it (The New York Times 1988). They

could also recognize the need for their own solidarity and sisterhood where they can build their own self-confidence and power (Seidler 1991). Women too have power bases and these are weakened when women abandoned them for those of men. Whyte (1987:8) argues that "women's advances have been the result of women united - not divided by some of them running off to join the boys".

Members of Lions Clubs are not "just bunches of do-gooders, businessmen and women and executive climbers doing good for life's losers while doing good for themselves by enhancing their community status" (Grenard 1979), they are compassionate individuals who give of their time and energy generously to enhance the lives of others.

Therefore, it is the best interests of all people if both men and women seek to elevate the general status of women everywhere, not only in the Lions Organization, because "male self-confidence need not rest on the inferior position of women"(Rew 1979).

Last International Women's Day one daily news paper noted that "equality of the sexes is only a matter of time" (The Cairns Post 1996). But surely the time ought to have come when the question of men and women does not arise, where the place of gender is disregarded and the work of the individual are considered instead (Cott 1987). Kate Milford, in the April (1996) edition of the Lion magazine argues that

Lions needs to tap into community minded people, regardless of gender... There are a lot of people out there who want to make this world a better place; 86,727 women in Lions as at June 1995 just "ain't" enough.

The literature has produced some illuminating facets concerning the women in the Lions Organization. The challenge now is to ascertain just how individual women in Lions and Lioness Clubs feel in relation to those issues presented in this Literature Review.

METHODOLOGY

The discrimination practised against women is insidious, and women sometimes do not recognize it as such. Therefore women themselves continue to reinforce, perpetuate and extend its tentacles unwittingly. If discrimination is not recognized and addressed it can never be overcome. But more importantly discrimination is an impediment to growth, as its parasitic properties sap the self esteem and confidence of women and their daughters.

When I applied to join the golf club I was told I could be an 'associate' member. When I asked "an associate of whom"?, the office attendant could not answer. But simply said "men are members and women are associate members". Therefore there are huge numbers of 'associate' members of golf clubs in Australia. Being an 'associate' member means women do not enjoy full rights and privileges of membership simply because she is a woman. These practices are associated with gender politics, whereby men steadfastly refuse to relinquish their powerful positions and allow women a power-sharing role.

This research could have been done on the golf club, but there has already been articles on clubs which have the same 'modus operandi'. But women in Lions, the largest service organization, had never been attempted, because there is no public literature available. Also the findings from this project could also have application for other service clubs. It is important to consider that in times gone by, the money raised to erect parks, bus shelters, children's playgrounds and park benches in the community by Lions Clubs could very probably have been raised by women behind the scenes who were not permitted to be members.

This paper was researched from a feminist perspective therefore an appropriate methodology was needed to best achieve this goal. Traditional researchers used

methods that they boast produced objective data. Feminists make no such claim. Indeed they acknowledge and welcome the subjectivity that is generated by feminist preferred methods because of its potential to tap into all the subjectivity that is ignored by objective driven data collecting methods. Of course, valuing the subjective data does not mean that objective information should be discarded, because feminists utilize each and every method at their disposal to secure a comprehensive account of the reasearch topic.

Although there is no methodology that is inherently feminist, people doing feminist research predominantly utilize qualitative data gathering techniques because in a feminist model, research is a method of action for change, not an end in itself (Wetzel 1993). Jayaratne and Stewart (1991:89) suggest that underlying the enthusiasm for qualitative methods has been an understanding that many aspects of women's experiences have not yet been articulated or conceptualized within social science, and that a deep suspicion of quantitative methods as having concealed women's real experience has motivated much preoccupation with, and advocacy of, qualitative methods.

Qualitative research has a multi-method focus and involves an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter, while quantitative researchers seldom capture the subject's perspective because they rely on more inferential empirical materials (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Miles and Huberman (1984:15) explain that qualitative data are very attractive because they are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts. They go on to say that "with qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, assess local causality, and derive fruitful explanations, and is more likely to lead to serendipitous findings and to new theoretical integrations, they help researchers go beyond initial preconceptions and frameworks".

Specifically because of the absence of a distinctive feminist methodology it is all the more reason for feminists to incorporate any other approach that may be beneficial including quantitative methods. Janice Wetzel (1993) suggests that :

There is no reason to polarize the two perspectives or to deny that each is informed by the other. To split knowledge arbitrarily unnecessarily polarizes ideas... There is nothing inherently less valuable or less legitimate in qualitative research. In fact, quantitative data, rather than being used to confirm the high risk associated with women and their concern, has too often abstracted women's experiences and silenced their voices.

Jayaratne (1983), argues that both are necessary. Quantitative and qualitative methods can help feminists achieve their goals more effectively than the use of either method alone to capture the full picture, even if it is only to quantify qualitative data (Strauss and Corbin 1990). For example, feminists use quantitative content analysis to identify patterns in authorship, subject matter, methods and interpretations by counting the themes contained in them (Reinharz 1992).

Further, Glaser and Strauss (1967) stress that in most cases, both forms of data are necessary. Not only quantitative to test qualitative, but both used as supplements, as mutual verification and, as different forms of data on the same subject, which when compared, will each generate theory. Reinharz (1992) concurs, emphasising that feminists combine methods so as to cast their net as widely as possible in the search for understanding critical issues in women's lives. Multiple methods work to enhance understanding both by adding layers of information and by using one type of data to validate or refine another. Feminists also interrogate the literature in an effort to deconstruct the discourses predominantly displayed in an effort to lay bare and expose them as perpetuating and reinforcing the status quo (Lather 1989).

Feminists have invaded and bombarded the research arena in recent times which has caused many 'fiery' debates about 'best methods' between feminists and traditionalists, with quantitative methods identified as 'masculine' because it yields 'hard' data, and qualitative methods identified as feminine because it is said to produce 'soft' data (Stanley & Wise 1983). This is because previously only men were researchers who did the real scientific 'tough stuff', subsequently feminist qualitative researchers have been called journalists, or soft scientists, while their work has been criticised for its unscientific, exploratory, entirely personal and biased nature (Denzin & Lincoln (1994).

Feminists refute this assertion because the entire basis of this contention rests on the assumption that quantitative methods yields 'objective' data that is value-free, whereas qualitative methods used by feminists yield 'subjective' data that is value-laden (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Feminist researchers reject the notion that objective, or at least generalizable knowledge is separable from subjectivity, as each researcher brings "particular values and particular self-identities to the research and has lived through particular experiences" (Holland and Ramazanoglu 1994). Because of this science is not 'value-free, it cannot be, science is made by scientists and both we and our science-making are shaped by our culture (Du Bois 1983).

Therefore feminists insist that traditional distinctions between 'objective' and 'subjective' are false. The traditional male emphasis has been on objectifying experiences and so getting away from the personal into some transcendental realm of 'knowledge' and 'truth' (Stanley & Wise 1983:53). Ellis and Flaherty (1992:1) suggest that this is because they feel threatened by the unruly content of subjective experiences because subjectivity can be both unpleasant and dangerous. Unpleasant because emotional, cognitive, and physical experiences frequently concern events that are deemed inappropriate topics for polite society: dangerous because the workings of

subjectivity seem to contradict so much of the rational factor, world-view on which mainstream sociology is premised.

Du Bois (1983) observes that objectivity and subjectivity are both modes of knowing, analysis, interpretations, and understanding, they are not independent of each other, and should not be. As Oakley (1981:54) emphasises "all research is political, from the micro-politics of interpersonal relationships, through the politics of research units, institutions and Universities, to those government departments and finally to the state". Harding (1987) warns that we need to avoid the objective stance that attempts to make the researcher's cultural beliefs and practices invisible, while simultaneously skewing the research objects beliefs and practices to the display board.

Oakley (1981) also points out that while the interviewer must treat the interviewees as an object or data-producing machine, the interviewers themselves have the same status from the point of view of people, institutions or corporations conducting the research. Ultimately Rose (undated) insists that the persistent emphasis on objectivity, has seriously restricted the information which social scientists have been able to obtain. Reinharz (1983) agrees because having subject input minimises researchers bias since it includes diverse points of view.

Feminist researchers sit comfortably with accusations of subjectivity, and agree that their research is humanistic, and interpretative, they insist it has to be because as Stanley and Wise (1983) attest, our consciousness is always the medium through which research occurs, there is no method or technique of doing research other than through the medium of the researcher. As Adrienne Rich insists "objectivity is the term that men have given to their own subjectivity" (cited in Stanley & Wise 1983:49).

The seriousness of these beliefs can only be realised if we look at the implications for women in relation to epistemology. Male researchers and scientists credit themselves with having a monopoly on knowledge, and see themselves as the legitimate agents of knowledge. Harding (1987:3) states that feminists have argued that "traditional epistemologies, systematically exclude the possibility that women could be 'knowers', they claim that the voice of science is a masculine one". This is what Fox-Keller (1985:76) describes as the 'gendering' of science, whereby a woman thinking scientifically or objectively is thinking like a 'man', conversely, a man pursuing a non-rational, non-scientific argument is arguing like a 'woman'. If more women engage in science a different science might emerge, because as Du Bois (1983) asserts, the values and epistemology of the researcher inform each phase of the process of science-making involving interpretations, theory-making and thus values in each of its phases, because all research is interpretative, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied (Denzin & Lincoln 1994).

In the quest to capture all significant data, qualitative methodologies will predominate supported by quantitative ones. Specifically the methods in this research will include: face to face interviews; telephone interviews; survey by questionnaire; content analysis on data supplied by women themselves; interrogation of literature produced by the Lions organization will be employed to accommodate the multi-faceted nature of feminist research.

Feminist Theory

Jayaratne and Stewart (1991) explain that the goal of feminist research first and foremost is to make a difference in women's lives, by trying to take women's needs, interests and experiences into account and aim at being instrumental in improving women's lives in one way or another (Klein 1983). Rightly, Stanley and Wise (1983) argue that systems and social structures, whether concerned with the economy, the

family, or the oppression of women more generally, can best be explained and understood through an exploration of relationships and experiences within everyday lives.

The experiences of oppression created through sexism can produce a unique type of insight, involving the ability to penetrate 'official' explanations and assumptions to grasp the underlying gender relations and their motor mechanisms (Fornow & Cook 1991). By doing feminist research it is possible to discover the contents of people's minds - their beliefs, wishes, feelings, desires, fears and intentions that then enables people to grasp the way a system works and so interpret the meaning of someone's action (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander (1995).

Feminist research has produced important studies that have expanded our understanding of women's roles in public life both historically and in other cultures (Harding 1987). However feminist research must be 'on' women rather than research about women (Klein 1983). Mies (1983:94) concurs, and suggested that because of women's oppression they "are better equipped than their male counterparts to make a comprehensive study of the exploited groups".

Further Acker, Barry and Esseveld (1991) contend that the goal of a sociology for women should be emancipatory, with a view to the eventual end of social and economic conditions that oppress women by the achievement of a free society. They also emphasise that ideally "women should be self emancipating and our conviction is that social scientists can contribute to this process" (Karabel 1976, cited in Acker et al, 1991:134).

The 'personal is political' is the catchcry associated with feminist theory. Mills (1963), cited in Fornow and Cook (1991:266) has further emphasised that "not only is the personal political, it is also the frequently invisible, yet crucial variable present in any

attempt to 'do' research. We emphasise that it should not be absent from 'doing' feminist research".

Unlike traditional research which begins with a preconceived notion by applying quantitative methods to try and prove, or disprove the hypothesis. Feminist research which utilizes qualitative methods to generate theory directly from the data collected in what is termed 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Glaser 1992). Strauss and Corbin (1994:273) explain that "grounded theory is a 'general methodology' for developing theory that is based in data systematically gathered and analysed". Theory evolves during actual research, and does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collected.

Also Miinichiello et al, (1995:11-13), explains that the analysis consists of studying the data for themes in the natural language of the participants. These themes are then reported in the language of the researcher. This represents a shift in discourse from the original text; from the informant's language, to the language of the researcher.

Grounded theory technique will be used to generate theory in relation to women in the Lions Organization and how they experience their involvement, even though as Du Bois (1983:112) points out "there is no question that feminist researchers will continue to be charged with bias, advocacy, subjectivity, ideologizing, and so on. We can expect this, we can even welcome it. If our work is not in some way threatening to the established order, we're on the wrong track".

Recruitment of Participants

Originally it was anticipated that the Lions Directory would be accessed to obtain the names and addresses of Lioness Clubs with a view to selecting a representative sample from each State in Australia. An open letter would be sent to the President, Secretary

and members outlining the project and asking for their participation by way of a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire. From the Directory local and regional clubs would be contacted for personal interviews. This avenue closed when it became known that the Lion's Directory is not a public document, but a private one for the use of Lions and Lioness club members exclusively. This proved to be a major setback.

Permission was then sought, from the University of Adelaide, to write to three Australian national 'women's' magazines to ascertain if they would run an advertisement calling on all past and present Lioness women to write relating their experiences of being a member of a Lioness Club, and to ask why they thought Lioness Clubs were first formed. Literature of any nature pertaining to the Lions organization was also sought because of the scarcity of material on Lioness Clubs. Eventually two months later one magazine agreed to print the article on the public forum pages. (Attached as Appendix 3).

In response to the magazine article, several women wrote and some also sent literature. Every person who made contact was personally thanked for their contribution and asked if they would participate further by way of completing a questionnaire. They were given an overview of the project and a questionnaire was sent.

Participants for interviews were recruited mainly by word of mouth contact after hearing about the project from other club members, or from seeing the magazine article. It could be said that the participants in this research project are therefore an opportunistic sample because of the tendency to interview anyone who offered their time.

Minichiello et al, (1995:161) describe this as the 'Snowball Sampling Technique', because snowball sampling relies on the researcher's knowledge of a social situation.

This approach involves using a group of informants with whom the researcher has made initial contact and asking them to put the researcher in touch with people in their networks, then asking those people to be informants and in turn asking them to put the researcher in touch with people in their networks and so on.

Three women involved in this research project were 'Melvin Jones Fellows'. That is they have received from Lions International, the highest international award for service to the community, bestowed on an individual by that prestigious body.

Methods

The methods used in this research to obtain data include:

Face to face narrative interviews utilizing, unstructured and/or semi-structured open-ended questions;

Telephone interviews initiated by semi-structured open-ended questions;

Survey by questionnaire comprising semi-structured open-ended questions with invitation for elaboration;

Content analysis on non-reactive data, of letters sent by Lioness women in response to magazine article;

Interrogation of all available literature produced by the Lions organization, as well as that uncovered during the research project.

Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations are of paramount importance and a commitment to uphold the importance and integrity of the valuable work done by all sectors of the Lion's Organization, and to protect the identity of all those who participated in this research project was observed.

The enhancing of life opportunities and life saving work performed by all members of Lions International is not devalued in any shape or form in any section of this study, but rather the status afforded women by Lions International and Lions Clubs, is what has been researched.

It is the contention of this researcher that women came forward to speak of their experiences in the organization because they were given an unequivocal guarantee that confidentiality would be maintained 'at all costs'. This promise has been kept at some cost. As Minichiello et al, (1995:207) suggest confidentiality does not refer simply to protecting names and keeping confidences, but sometimes to protecting other information about the informants.

In this instance the decision was made not to include the demographic data collected from the interviewees because of its obvious identifying potential. This study was conducted in a provincial city where there was only one Lions Club and one Lioness Club. Minichiello et al, (1995:211) also contend that:

The researcher is usually placed in the position of trying to balance the needs of the informant for privacy with the needs of the audience for accurate and detailed data which is accompanied by sufficient demographer information for them to judge the validity of the report. In many instances this is not possible, especially when the group researched is part of a small community.

However whilst the exclusion of this data is regrettable, the validity of this report is not dependent on the demographic information of those people interviewed, because there was no discernible differences between them. The recorded interview tapes are in the possession of the researcher and are simply numbered from 1 to 4 in the order of interview, and no names are attached. These tapes will be erased, then destroyed, at

the appropriate time, when instructed by the University. The transcripts of the interviews and the completed questionnaires have fictitious names attached to each and although retained by the researcher they are housed in separate locations, and not in the same location as the tapes.

Interviews- face to face

Face to face narrative interviews were on average, a duration of one hour, but most were longer. Before all interviews, all participants were given a verbal overview of the research project, with a continuous emphasis on confidentiality as to their identity, the identity of the town they live in, and the identity of the club to which they belong. All were provided with a copy of the Participant Information Letter (Attached as Appendix 4), and each signed a Consent Form (Attached as Appendix 5), which have been lodged with the University of Adelaide Women's Studies Departmental Ethics Committee for safe keeping.

Four of the six women interviewed agreed to having their interview recorded. One refused permission, and the other was not recorded because the machine was inadvertently not activated.

The interviews were progressive as they went from the general to specific information. The first interview was semi-structured because the purpose was to gain insights into the 'workings' of Lions Clubs, Lioness Clubs and Auxiliaries.

Three Lioness members and three female members of a Lions Club participated in the personal face to face interviews. The three Lioness women interviewed were from the same Lioness Club. Each was interviewed separately. All names have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

Veronica has been a member for several years. She had previously been a member of the Lions Ladies Auxiliary. Her husband had been a member of the Lions Club. He is no longer a member.

Lesley was also a long time member. Her husband is in the sponsoring Lions Club. She had not been on the auxiliary.

Sheryl was a devoted member. She had not been on the auxiliary because her husband had never been a member of the Lions Club.

These three women interviewed were from the same mixed Lions Club. Each was interviewed separately. Their names have also been changed to protect their identity..

Heather was the President of her Lions Club. Her partner was not, and had never been a member of any Lions Club. She had never been in a Lioness Club.

Elizabeth had never been in a Lioness Club either, nor had she been in the Auxiliary because her husband had never been in the Lions Club.

Margaret had been in the Lions Ladies Auxiliary and had also been a Lioness. Her Lioness Club had closed down to join their sponsoring club to make up the numbers to keep it viable. Her husband was a member of her sponsoring club. She is now a member of his Lions Club. She has also been Lioness District Chairman, a position until recently was always occupied by a man, as women were not permitted to be Lions.

Interviews - by telephone

Two women were interviewed over the telephone. One woman was from another regional centre. Her name was submitted by another interviewee. The other woman rang after hearing about the project from another colleague.

Jackie was a member of a Lioness Club. Her husband was a member of the sponsoring Lions Club. She had been a member of the Lioness Club since its inception, therefore was a charter member and had also been a member of the Lions Ladies Auxiliary.

Gloria was a member of the Lions Club. She had also been a member of the Lioness Club and the Lions Ladies Auxiliary. Her Lions Club is still going because their Lioness club closed down to join the Lions Club to boost numbers because of dwindling male members.

Jackie is not a member of the same Lioness Club as the face-to-face interviewees.

Gloria is also not from the same Lions Club as the face-to-face interviewees.

Questionnaires

Eight Questionnaires were sent to all those who originally responded to the magazine article, and ten questionnaires were sent in one package with an open letter to an interstate Lioness Club (address supplied by an informant), only four of these were returned completed. Overall unfortunately only twelve questionnaires were returned completed. The women are known as: Amanda, Zoe, Molly, Winny, Sara, Anna, Jessie, Elenore, Marie, Charlotte, Pamela, and Sally.

The questionnaires were compiled after a great deal of general data was gathered. Therefore the questions in the questionnaires were specific and unambiguous, formulated especially to obtain answers to unanswered and/or unknown questions.

Because of the wealth of data that gave a comprehensive overview of the Lions Organization, new data changed the direction of the research and several research questions emerged over time only to be abandoned and replaced with others that more adequately focused the research.

Overall twenty women participated in this project. The data emanating from these participants can loosely be said to represent all states in Australia except Tasmania. It does not claim to be representative of all women in the Lions organization because of the small number of participants who volunteered information. Tasmania was not included because there are no Lioness Clubs there, only one all-female Lions Club and nobody volunteered information or literature from that state.

However the primary data from those sources described does not represent all the information gleaned from all sources. A wealth of supportive data was gleaned through the medium of personal informal conversations with members of some Lions Clubs, that was not recorded although conversationalists were informed of the research project that was underway. Their contribution will be acknowledged as 'informal conversations' throughout the text.

All information from questionnaires and interviews will be discussed collectively to preserve the anonymity of those who participated. References to contributors and what they had to say will be via a pseudonym selected at random by the researcher and allocated to each informant. (A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix 6).

Statistics relating to age, marital status, socio-economic grouping and religion were collected from all those women interviewed. But this data was not used because of its identifying potential, particularly in their home region.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS



This section presents the findings from the interviews, the questionnaires, private letters from Lionesses and from personal conversations. To avoid 'contaminating' the data it was decided to "let the informants speak for themselves" (Corbin and Strauss (1990:21), and so enhance the clarity of what the women had to say, and to better comprehend the correlation between the 'findings' and the material contained in the Literature Review section.

Generally four main themes emerged overall, and these will be allocated under the headings of:

- Lions Ladies Auxiliaries;
- Changes in Status;
- Changes in Identity; and
- Politics of Gender - Ambivalence about the Future.

Lions Ladies Auxiliaries

Women in Auxiliaries still wear the tag of 'Lions Ladies', and refer to themselves as such. Auxiliaries accommodate women who have partners in Lions Clubs, and who, for whatever reason, have not up-graded to Lioness Clubs.

In relation to women in auxiliaries Jessie said *women became involved only as supporters of their menfolk*. Lesley said *they supplied morning tea for the Lions Club members*. Charlotte concurs that *they always knew they were only supporters that is why they were only covered by insurance as long as a member of the Lions Club was present*. However Amanda thought women joined Auxiliaries *'because it was the expected thing, a lower level for the 'little woman' as a support because they expected to serve as such*. And Elenore suggested woman worked on Auxiliaries because *socially it would have matched where they fitted in every other aspect of their lives at that time*. As to why they remain in auxiliaries when they have the opportunity to

become Lionesses Zoe was of the opinion that the women who still belong to Auxiliaries are *the older women in the Lions organization*, who Marie suggested, *had never heard of Germaine Greer*.

The continued operation of Auxiliaries means that all-male Lions Clubs are still alive and well, and probably confirms Zoe's contention that most of the all-male Lions Clubs have older members who refuse to accept female members, and who fear the loss of the contributions of women in Auxiliaries if a Lioness Club was formed.

Of course not all towns have Lioness Clubs, particularly smaller towns, they are most likely to have only a Lions Club. Therefore, younger women moving to the area, who may have belonged to a Lioness Club before, would be forced to join the Lions Ladies Auxiliary if their partner was a Lion. If they were not, or if they had no partner at all in this instance, they could not even join the Auxiliary. The fact they have not converted to Lioness Clubs is probably because the upper echelons of the Auxiliary may house older women who do not want a Lioness Club, or because the all-male Lions Club does not want one, and will not agree to sponsor one.

This concurs with Ken Dempsey's (1986) argument that because of the unique position men have put themselves in they are able to hold all the positions of power so they are able to manipulate women by excluding them as members, while simultaneously taking advantage of their labour in Auxiliaries. It then works to keep women in their 'place' by accusing women of not only letting their partners down but the whole community as well if women do not continue to lend their support. The fear of not being seen as a 'good wife' keeps women lending support.

Nonetheless the Lions Ladies Auxiliaries proved to be the catalyst that provided the avenue that enabled women to progress to Lioness Clubs. Thus in this instant, it answers in the affirmative Clawson's (1936) question pertaining to Auxiliaries as a

vehicle for women's advancement. This proved to be the case, because from the Lions Ladies Auxiliary women advanced to Lioness Clubs, and some even went on to become female Lions. However this is not to suggest that all Lionesses have graduated from the Auxiliary, and certainly some female Lions have never ever been Lionesses either.

However, if women originally became involved in the Lions Organization to make the tea for the 'working' male members, now that Lions Clubs present as equal opportunity forums, who makes the tea now that women are 'working' Lions also?

In response to the question why were Lioness clubs formed? Zoe suggested *that it was really a formality. A step up from the ladies auxiliaries.* Marie thought *Lions Ladies desired a club of their own*. Jessie said they were established *to give women their own club*. Charlotte thought it was *to work with, but as a separate extension to serving through Lionism*. Pamela thought *Lions Ladies were actively involved in Lions projects but gained little recognition. They felt they would like to serve the community*. Molly though, thought *Lioness clubs were established for insurance reasons because when Lions were at work, as Lions Ladies to be covered by insurance had to have a Lion present*.

Amanda thought her local Lioness Club was formed *to give women who did not have a partner in Lions clubs the ability to operate under the objectives*. But Sally believes *Lioness clubs were formed to keep women out of male Lions clubs*. Anna had a similar view and said *there were ladies who wanted to become similar to the Lions, but at that time couldn't be accepted into their club- most Lions Ladies joined Lioness clubs*

Changes in Status

If Lions International wanted to reward women for their contribution for all those years in Auxiliaries and given that the majority of women in 1975 would not have been financially independent, why then would the organization equate status with one's capacity to pay.

Women in Lioness Clubs were under a misapprehension believing they were honoured with their own club when in fact it was a ploy, a diversion to keep women out of the Lions Clubs, the very clubs to which their partners belonged, and for whom women had worked for so long. All things considered Lioness Clubs are in reality not much different from the Auxiliaries that they superseded, and what Bryson and Wearing (1985:354) sees as women behind the scenes operators, with some influence but insufficient power to threaten the male defined rules of the game.

Some Lionesses were keen to present a picture depicting a good working relationship with their sponsor club, and kept reiterating that there was no friction between their Lions and Lioness Clubs. Of course that is true, but only if Lioness keep their place and do not nurture illusions of grandeur and try to gain entry into the Lions Club, then they will discover, as many other women have, just how precarious that truce is.

Generally to meet other people, to make friends and to serve the community are the most often quoted reasons Lionesses first joined the Lions Organization and why they have stayed a separate women's club.

When respondents were asked why they initially joined a Lioness Club the responses were similar. Because I wanted to work for the community, Anna said. *To serve areas of the community on a voluntary basis*, said Sara. Elenore joined for *something different to do*. Sally said *for service to the community*. Marie wanted to *continue the*

work of serving the community. Charlotte joined to serve the community and to form friendships. Jessie said a friend took me along. Zoe said when I came from Sydney as a Lion, Lions clubs in the country weren't happy to accept my transfer. Pamela said she had been a Leo and been on Lion exchange, felt needed to put something back into the community. Winny joined because of a desire on retirement to perform community work and Lionesses meetings were convenient. Amanda originally joined to belong to a service minded oriented group, to meet other people, to be involved in a group without a pre-determined role such as CWA/Red Cross.

Perhaps a member of the Lioness Club of Oak Flats put it in perspective when she said *the best thing that has come from the Lioness club is friendships that have been made. We have worked for a lot of different charities but we have worked together and that's where our friendship lies.*

There was overwhelmingly agreement that Lionesses should have voting rights at conventions on issues affecting them and their clubs. Because as Zoe said *we do have our own opinions*, and Amanda argued *most definitely*. The reality is that they are often not even acknowledged as attending conventions. There is always the argument - *you did not mention Lionesses.*

At the turn of the century women were denied voting rights because men said that women did not want to vote, the inference being that they knew what was best for women. But the reality was that women did want to vote and said so by signing a petition, and as Hyslop (1976) shows, the amount of names on the petition had staggered those who had scornfully declared that "no self-respecting woman wanted to vote".

It seems that only Lions know what is best for Lioness women. When the motion was on the agenda at the convention for the retention of Lioness Clubs, and that Lioness

Clubs should have the same status as Lions Clubs enjoy (see Literature Review) this motion was defeated because only members of the Lions Clubs voted on this issue as Lionesses have no voting power.

However Lioness women contributing to this research project did not agree with this decision taken on their behalf. Indeed they were very unanimous in their asserts that Lioness Clubs should have the same status as Lions Clubs enjoy. Jessie said *of course, they do the same work*. Zoe said *I can't see why not*. Amanda said *most definitely, many Lions enjoy the knowledge that Lioness are an 'activity' of Lions clubs. This is so demeaning to women*.

Anna said *Yes I would like to see that happen - however if it did happen we'd have to pay the same registration fees as they do. Most of the ladies in our club are working single mothers and would'nt be able to afford it. Winny agreed and said as we are a very small club we seem to need the sponsoring of a Lions club, for financial reasons*.

The understanding by these women seems to be that Lioness Clubs are subordinate clubs because they do not pay the same fees as Lions do. Therefore women's unequal economic situation works to keep them in inferior positions. But is the work they perform inferior work? No, it is exactly the same work that Lions Clubs do. Is the trade-off for their subordination a reduction in fees. Lionesses have indicated that they do not like being subordinate clubs even if they do not pay the same fees as Lions. \$15 per Lioness per year is too high a price to pay to wear the subordinate status tag.

Lioness women were adamant that they deserve the same status as Lions members because as Pamela says *Lioness clubs do a great amount work for the community- in fact often more than their sponsoring Lions club*. Marie agreed, *we do the same service as Lions except we don't pay the same fees*. Zoe said *Lionesses do exactly the same work*. Charlotte said *we do the same work in the community. We often raise*

more funds, and we have as many calls for help as Lions Clubs. Molly said we do the same things together, dinner meetings, work have conventions with the Lions clubs. Sally believes that Lionesses deserve equal status because as she says we earn it and we work just as hard. Anna believes that status for Lioness women would come at a very high price as she says single mums wouldn't be able to afford it. Perhaps Amanda put it more succinctly when she said a limiting factor for women is the fees that would no doubt come with that status. Women in this small town are not financially independent.

Surely it behoves Lions International "the multi-national for the charity sector" (Grenard 1979:63), with a veritable army of paid employees (Kittler 1968), and as many Lions Clubs in Australia as there are branches of Australia Post and the Commonwealth Bank (Coulthard 1996), to align the capacity of women to pay with contributions made and the status deserved. Because as Jacky says *many Lions clubs would not be in existence today without women in Auxiliaries, Lioness Clubs or wherever.*

Lioness women doing identical work are in subordinate clubs because they do not pay the same fees as Lions do, does not really sit comfortably with the fact that Lions International in the fiscal year of 1994/5 received 70 percent of their revenue from international dues, which amounted to US\$26,148,703. This ties in with the findings of the Report of the Status of Women (1986), that suggested women's economic position excludes them from participating fully in the voluntary sector, despite their willingness to do so.

It seems then that status in the Lions Organization is tied to economic contribution. But what of the thousands or perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars raised by women in auxiliaries for all those years. Why should reduced fees for women, be tied

to a reduction in status. Not all women are economically independent, and because of this they must be demoted to subordinate status.

When asked how did they feel about Lioness clubs being termed a 'subordinate club', and being merely an 'activity' of their sponsoring Lions club, most women resented this fact. Amanda said *It is bad, it puts women in Lioness clubs behind the eight ball from the start because they have to work harder to gain recognition by their sponsoring club.* Pamela said *I dislike the term.* Jessie said *It is terribly wrong as Lioness have raised huge sums of money for the needy.* Elenore thought *it a typical 'male chauvenist pig' (M. S. P.) term and I don't like it.* Sally thought it *wrong.* Molly said *I didn't think they were.* Sara thought it was *bad and I would object to the terminology in any area.* Zoe thought *it was grossly untrue.*

Alternatively Winny said Lioness Clubs being termed a subordinate club *doesn't worry me.* Anne also said *it doesn't bother me,* and Marie also said *I have never heard the term so it doesn't bother me.* But regardless of whether they have heard the term or not. The fact remains that Lioness Clubs are subordinate units, designated as such by Lions International. Although Charlotte said *it doesn't mean a thing to our club. we have an equal relationship with our sponsor club.*

However Lionesses do not have an equal relationship with their Lions club at all, and as Bryson and Wearing (1995:358) argue that conflict has only been averted because Lioness women's acceptance of male definition of the situation and their acknowledgement of male power. If Lioness should mount a challenge to the Lions Club or Lions International they will soon discover just how unequal the relationship is.

When asked why do they believe Lions Clubs have a high public profile and Lionesses do not, Jackie said *Lions don't want Lionesses to have a high profile- they want*

Lioness clubs to remember their place - they promote themselves at the expense of Lionesses clubs. Lesley said it is our own fault Lionesses do not have a high profile we are not working hard enough. We started out as wives of Lions and that's how people still see us. We certainly do work as important as the men. Sheryl thought the fault lies in the publicity officer who was failing in their job - not consistent - keen for a few months then get lax. Veronica thought it was because local media would not give free publicity and money raised from the public cannot be used to pay for publicity and cannot expect members to pay for publicity themselves.

Nonetheless women Lions and Lionesses are becoming more well known because of their presence at many of the large shopping centres in the central business districts and public places generally promoting health, public safety, and other worthwhile issues associated with the old, sick and needy in our communities. Women are much more visible now.

Changes in Identity

Men in Lions Clubs have often been quoted as saying Lioness women work much harder than the men in Lions clubs. Veronica quotes a colleague in Lions who said to her *your Lioness club works harder than my Lions club does, I can't get members to work*. Yet another Lion specifically mentioned two Lionesses as very hard workers and said *I wish Veronica and Susie would join our Lions club because they are tremendous workers*. We would love to have them in our Lions club because they are always working. But these two Lionesses said *they would never become Lions*.

Some women in Lioness Clubs, who also have husbands in Lions Clubs, refuse to pay Lions International another \$100 in annual fees, when they feel they can do the same work as Lionesses for \$15.

It seems women have found their niche in Lioness Clubs. The general feeling was that Lions Clubs had nothing to offer Lioness women that they did not already have in the Lioness Clubs, because not all women wanted to scale the Lions hierarchal ladder. They had joined Lioness Clubs to raise money to help needy people, and have no illusions of grandure beyond that.

Given the choice Lioness women generally would not like to see their club convert to an all-women Lions club, because Amanda thought *that it would create a competitive aspect in a small town.* Pamela thought *what we are doing is already worthwhile,* and Anna said that *if you become an all lady Lions club we'd be just another Lions club. In a Lioness club we have our own identity.*

There was a general feeling that Lionesses would be subsumed under the weight of the politics of gender in the Lions Club.

Women remained in Lioness clubs because Jessie said *I like a separate women's club.* Sheryl agreed because *men are men and women are women.* Elenore suggested that *women were comfortable I suppose in a separate club,* while Sally suggested *women stayed on to promote women's service clubs.* Molly thought it was because of *friendships, keeping busy and helping the community.* Winny agreed that *the company of people with different backgrounds but similiar aims.*

Pamela suggested that *women like to serve the community, enjoy the friendships etcetra,* while Charlotte thought women remained in Lioness Clubs *to continue to serve, as it is less expensive for membership fees as most Lionesses have partners in Lions.* Zoe said *because they are able to uphold Lion's ethics and objects without discrimination.*

There is much confusion from women as to what constitutes discrimination it seems that some women are oblivious to most discrimination. Marie suggested women stayed Lionesses *because the family of Lions support each other*. Sara was not sure why women remained in Lioness clubs but went on to suggest reasons such as *don't know- fellowship - community aid - common causes - sense of belonging in powerful leadership*.

Amanda volunteered that *men felt threatened and certainly told Lioness Clubs they would leave if women joined their ranks. Women were angry that there had been no consultation/questionnaire on the subject. Once again women were told what to do and they rebelled*. Anna obviously enjoyed a separate club for women and the camaraderie generated there. She said *It's great to be able to be with a group of women who have the same ideals as you - to do community work - to make great friends*.

Now that women are eligible to join or form Lions Clubs why are Lioness Clubs still popular. Why are women still staying in their Lioness Clubs. *Because I want to* said Sally. *In a rut I guess*, said Elenore. *Jessie said just stayed with the group - like being a Lioness in an all-women club. I have no desire to be a Lion* said Marie. Amanda said *Mainly loyalty to the group who, as a whole do not wish to become Lions. Personally, I would become a Lion tomorrow*. Sara said *Hadn't really thought about it - also I feel that sometimes the politics of Lions may not be quite my scene*. Anna said *we have a good name for ourselves - have no desire to become a Lion*. Winny said *our small club which includes several other widows enjoy working together with less formality than that of male clubs*.

Pamela said *I enjoy the fellowship of the Lioness club and the activities they are involved with*. Charlotte said *financially, Lioness serves the same purpose and its much more reasonable to join cost wise*. Zoe said *I have stayed a Lion with my city*

club and joined a Lioness so I could stay with the organization and be able to help the community where I live. Zoe is a city Lion and a country Lioness because her country town will not accept women Lions.

Jackie has remained a Lioness because *most of her club members are women who do not have, and never have had their partners in Lions.* She found this a very positive thing, no allegiance.

The most telling response came from Sheryl as to why she has remained a Lioness. She said *if Lioness women form an all-women Lions club, what would happen to the men's lions club, our sponsor club, who would help them. They need the women there to keep them going.* This speaks volumes for the worth of women to Lions International. The indication here is that without Lionesses and Auxiliary Clubs how would Lions Clubs exist? The inference being that women themselves are fully aware of the importance of women to the success of Lions International, but they have not used that to their best advantage, to demand a more equitable inclusion of women throughout the many years of their involvement with the Lions Organization.

Generally the appeal of Lioness Clubs appear to be the company of other women who are extremely loyal and give friendship readily to each other, and because women have much in common. This relates to what Berg (1978); Scott (1984); and Blair (1980), had to say about women in the earliest voluntary agencies, this is where women learned to co-operate with each other, where they learned public speaking, where women became friends, and where they learned to influence public policy, in all-women clubs.

As more and more women join Lions Clubs are Lioness Clubs losing their relevance. The majority of women thought Lioness Clubs are still very relevant, however Jessie and Anna believed that they have outlived their usefulness. Winny was not sure

though *I can't tell as our club continues to contribute to many charities and to fulfil social duties.* Zoe thought *some ladies will always prefer to stay in all ladies clubs whether Lions or Lionesses.* Perhaps Amanda summed it up best when she said *to women who feel it is people (not men and women) who populate this world it will. I would foresee an ageing Lioness movement similiar to Red Cross and lose its sifnificance.* Although Jackie thought *Lioness Clubs in Australia are very strong, very proud independent ladies, who have lots of fun- and perform lots of work.*

Marie thought Lioness Clubs are still relevant because *we are all contributing the same service hours and raising the same funds for charities.* Charlotte thought *they still fulfil a role for the women involved and for the commiunity they serve.* Pamela thought *they still have an important role to play.* Sally said *women's service clubs are very strong in our state.* Elenore said *there will always be a place for a ladies only group as long as women outlive men.* Molly said *the Lioness club and Lions club of the town - worked in harmony to the enjoyment of both clubs.*

In the working world, Amanda said *women work with men. There is stimulation in discussion. Some women certainly do prefer women only company though.* Jessie asked *What is the sense remaining in a subordinate club when Lioness Clubs can become all-women Lions Clubs?.* Anna was of the same opinion. She said *by joining Lions you have a chance to climb the ladder to a prominent position - this is not possible in Lioness Clubs.*

Politics of Gender - Ambivalence regarding the Future

As to the reason women thought Lions International withdrew support for Lioness Clubs in 1991 at a time when there was a groundswell of support for them, the reasons are many and varied. Zoe said *I think Lionesses got a bit over ambitious and tried to break into their own districts.* Charlotte had *no idea, but probably for financial*

reasons and our subs would not cover all the paper, magazines, directories, sent out to Lions Clubs. Pamela said we would appreciate an explanation. Elenore had no idea. While Sally said they were only interested in promoting Lions. Sara did not really know but asked did they feel Lioness clubs were (a) maybe a threat; or (b) that they served no purpose.

Amanda said I believe it was to encourage women throughout the world to join Lions - and gave the okay, deciding to channel any funding into a unisex encouraged Lions International. Anna suggested that the Lioness Clubs were becoming quite big and were in competition with the Lions Clubs and the powers that be could not accept it.

Winnie had no idea, as Lionesses raise quite an amount of money. Jessie thought it was to force women into Lions Clubs. Molly said did they?, and the town I live in does not like women in their club.

Sheryl thought it quite problematical because Lions International would not recognize them and Lions clubs would not accept women. Veronica thought Lions International withdrew support for Lioness clubs in 1991 because it was too expensive - they wanted all women to join Lions clubs. Also membership in all-male clubs was fading very quickly and they wanted women to prop them up. If you look at all-male Lions Clubs they have older members and not attracting new ones. Lions International wanted women to strengthen Lions. Veronica went on to say that after the American Supreme Court ruled in favour of women as members, Lions International wanted no discrimination backlash so urged Lioness and Lions clubs to merge, but as Veronica says women did not want to join Lions they wanted their own separate club.

Amanda also thought it very paternalistic, and when the parent body in America decided to disband Lioness Clubs and allow them to join Lions, the opposite effect

was caused in Australia. Lionesses dug in their heels and demanded Lioness Clubs be allowed to remain because they did not want to join the men.

To the question of whether women have been validated for their efforts in the same way as those bestowed on male Lions members, the overwhelmingly response was 'no'. *Jessie said, no they have not, Luckily their efforts can no longer be ignored particularly in Lions Clubs. Winny thought probably not, but she didn't join for validation. Amanda also argued that women's efforts have not been validated. She said no, and there is a routine of mateship in place. For women until recent years, there was not even a network in place.*

The validation of women's contribution to society has been seriously lacking in all areas, not only in the Lions Organization. Janice Wetzel (1993:73) suggests this is because "women have been systematically excluded, having no written history, no poetic or artistic tradition, no share in religious ideas, no philosophy, nor representation of society from their perspective".

When Lioness women were asked if they would vote to accept men into their club, the overwhelmingly majority said they would. Although Amanda *failed to see the point in male Lionesses because Lions Clubs have the status in the community*, and the lone dissenter was Molly who said *no - men in men's clubs and women in women's clubs.*

Obviously some men do join Lioness Clubs as the September (1994:10) issue of *The Lion* did a story on Terry, with photo, President of Kubatama, Harare Lioness Club. The author concluded that "in these days of women Lions members reaching positions of leadership as high as district Governors, it is nice to know there is a balance, at least in one part of the world".

It would be interesting to know how many male Lionesses there are in the Association. Although it is difficult to envisage many men in subordinate Lioness Clubs.

In answer to the question to what do they contribute the falling numbers of Lioness clubs in recent times, Jessie said *Women are joining Lions*. Sally agreed *women are joining/forming Lions clubs*. Charlotte said *women going to Lions clubs*. *Some Lioness Clubs have folded to become Lions Clubs*. Zoe thought *Lions as well as Lionesses are lacking membership at present*. *This must be the answer*. Although Molly blames *a decline in community spirit*. Elenore agrees *its the same in all volunteer type clubs*. So too does Sara, she says *it appears to be general in a lot of organizations*. *Perhaps people do not find what they are looking for*.

Anna said *Firstly the directive from International to close Lioness Clubs - a lot of women refused to join Lions*. *Secondly most people now a days don't give a damn about helping others*. Amanda said *In our small community there are many demands - no doubt it is the same everywhere*. *Women generally lead extremely busy lives and try to spread themselves across many fronts*.

Similarly Marie thought *more women are working full time and don't have the hours to spare*. Pamela also said *women are both working in and out of the home and have responsibilities*. *They may not feel they have the time to make a commitment*. *Seems to be a reluctance amongst young people to help the community*.

All of the reasons given for the decline of Lioness Club numbers appear to have merit, but that women are joining or forming Lions Clubs is problematical given that most Lionesses are still standing firm.

In answer to the question can you envisage a time when separate clubs in the Lions movement will be a thing of the past, the majority of women answered *No*. Molly said

no, I hope not. Pamela thought not at this stage. Some women still prefer to operate in a female group.

Amanda said not for a long time. A threat to a woman is a challenge. They'll work so hard to keep Lionesses. Jessie said No, there will be all-women Lions Clubs. Although some women thought mixed clubs was only a matter of time. It would be nice to see, said Anna. Yes, said Charlotte, Sara and Zoe.

The general consensus of opinion was that women preferred the retention of separate clubs for women, as they enjoyed the company of women who all worked well together.

When asked for their views on men not wanting women in Lions Clubs. Jessie said *it is true many have said they will resign if women join. Zoe confirms that this is true because it happened to me. Molly concurs that yes this town is the same - some women may want to take over, but others like myself only want to help. Sally thought it was because there were too many 'old' members. Anne believe a lot of men feel threatened by women joining their all-male club, and Sara is opposed to any club of any type that does not allow joint membershi. Marie believes each club should function according to the wishes of members.*

Molly tells of a Lions Club not willing to accept her as a member. Her husband tried to change their minds, but to no avail. When he became President of the club he again turned the debate to female membership so his wife could attend with him. His motion was defeated because they simply would not accept female members, so he resigned from the club in protest.

Jackie too quoted a case of a woman transferring to a regional Lions Club, the men made it clear they did not want women members and *they made it so unfomfortable for her that she left*. Zoe too *has been denied membership in a Lions club*.

Charlotte thought *as they have Lioness clubs operating I don't see the need for women to join all-male Lions clubs- leave them to it*. Pamela opted for a concensual approach *Lions clubs should accept female members and Lioness clubs male members, but it should be up to the members of the club to make the final decisions*. Winny agreed *I think men are entitled to a club vote on the matter*. Amanda suggested that her area is the same *but within the past 12 months 2 women (not Lionesses) have sucessfully applied and been accepted and the club is functioning well - but some women in Lioness clubs feel threatened by these women*.

Membership it seems has always been a contentious issue in Lions Clubs. Veronica thought *discrimination was not one sided because there was some Lioness Clubs that would not welcome men into their clubs either*.

Realistically how many men would want to be Lionesses? With Lions International directing women to now become Lions, and some Lions Clubs, and individual Lions still rejecting women, the International body should address the situation, and condemn Lions Clubs that still practice discrimination. Because as Jackie says *they are not too shy, or too proud, to invite women in to keep their clubs alive when they look like folding*. Would be interesting to see just how many clubs fall into this catagory.

When asked do you think having 121 female presidents of Lions Clubs out of a total of 1400 Lions clubs is significant, they were all pleasantly surprised. Sally said *its getting there- women in Lions are making a move*. Winny said *in due course this number will do doubt increase*. Elenore said *You gotta start somewhere*. Anna said *I am not a feminist but feel they have earn the position - good on them*. Pamela said

probably the same percentage as for women in leadership roles in other parts of the community, employment etc.,.

Sara thought these figures were significant, *but may increase in time, shows some acceptance in some areas of Lionism.* Amanda was *pleasantly surprised that it was so many. Yes this is significant - but a long way to go yet.* Jessie thought *roughly 9 per cent is good.*

Molly thought *nearly 10 per cent is a fair result.* Marie said *it proves women and men can both perform these duties.* Zoe said *they are showing that if necessary women can hold these positions.* Sally thought it shows *that the best person gets the job.* Amanda said *these figures means that acceptance is there. 8 per cent in 9 years, given that the majority of members are male is something.*

When asked what role did they see women will fulfil in Lions International in the year 2000, Charlotte said *they will be seen and heard I'm sure.* Winny thought *A separate significant role.* Elenore thought that *there will still be separate male and female clubs.* Anna said *I hope that we would have the same full rights - thats men and women.* Sara thought *possibly combined Lions clubs/ powerful women may rise to prominence.* Jessie said *same as they have always done - a big role.*

Pamela envisaged that *women will continue to work diligently for the community in Lionism or some other organization.* While Molly hoped *they slow down and come back to doing things together.* Zoe thought *women will be accepted into Lionism.* Amanda thought *probably not much different to 1996, subservient to Lions clubs with a small number of women actually being Lions.* Marie concluded that *women are more available in the hours husbands are at work. Their cooking and organizing such things bridal parades, fashion parades raise a lot of money and basically it is the*

money raised at these things that keep our foundations going, and I imagine they will continue to do so in the future.

Generally women in Lions clubs are very happy to be there , they speak in glowing terms of life as a female 'Lion'.

Heather especially wanted to join a mixed club and had no previous connection with Lioness Clubs or Auxiliaries. She is currently president of her Lions club where all members are equal. She said *her club is only small and does not undertake any ambitious projects, but mainly concentrates on the selling of cakes and mints and securing venues for the sale of same.* She has just spent 40 hours selling meat tray raffles to purchase equipment for the 'blue nurses'.

Heather would like to see all clubs mixed Lions Clubs. She said that *all members of her club were equal,* but admitted that *most of the organizational work was done by the women.* She said that although *women had gained equality in her club it was no place for shrinking violets - women have to speak up, got to have a bit of push.* She *loves it there and enjoys the community work.*

Elizabeth too was a member of a mixed club and was the reason she joined.

She had never been a Lioness or on the Auxiliary. She essentially joined for *social and business contacts.* She enjoys *the social activities most about her club and they all do equal amounts of work there, but dislikes selling raffle tickets.* Interestingly, she thought *Lioness Clubs should be abolished because they are subordinate clubs and had a low profile because members are older.* She believed *younger women (goers) joined Lions clubs, because they are more egalitarian and provide opportunities for advancement not possible in Lioness Clubs.*

Margaret is a female Lion. Her Lioness Club voted to close down and join their all male sponsoring club, because the Lions Club was in trouble because of dwindling male membership. She loves the Lions Club and now serves the community beside her husband. She loved being a Lioness but would never go back to a Lioness Club thought it a backward step. But, she said *local Lioness clubs raised vast amounts of money*. She thought the modern day Lions Clubs are very progressive and women have enhanced the overall image of the Lions Organization. Margaret quoted a confrontation with a male Lion who questioned her 'bona fides' as a Lion, and admitted that there was still some pockets of resistance of women in Lions Clubs.

Gloria was also a member of another mixed club as her Lioness Club was asked to merge with the sponsor Lions Club because of falling male membership. She has no qualms about calling herself a 'chairman', and does not hold *with all that feminist rubbish*. When asked if she thought that her husband would go about calling himself the 'chairwoman', she said *he probably would*. After a lengthy condemnation of the evils of feminism, she then proceeded to quote an example of discrimination directed at her by male 'Lions' at a convention. who questioned her right to call herself a 'Lion'. But she said *I gave as good as I got*. These three protagonists were not male members of her mixed club, as her club is *a happy unisex club*.

Those women who have unselfishly closed down their Lioness Clubs and joined their sponsoring club have displayed a true humanistic spirit, devoid of all the pettiness and discrimination that has for years been directed at women by the very same clubs. Females are now members of Lions Clubs whoes male members once threatened to resign if women should be permitted to infiltrate their ranks. Yet faced with the possibility of extinction these same men Jackie says *are not too shy or too proud to encourage Lioness Clubs to join their Lions Clubs to keep them alive*.

Women in Lions Clubs are happy to be there and are very protective and defensive of Lions International generally, and their own Lions Club specifically. They display a reluctant to dwell on, or discuss past discriminatory practices. Yet they may well remember that they are in Lions Clubs today, not because individual Lions Clubs or Lions International thought them worthy of inclusion, but because the American Supreme Court ruled it discrimination to refuse them entry. The anti-discrimination Act that was responsible for that ruling to be handed down, was fought for and won by American feminists. Woman in Lions Clubs took advantage of those gains won by feminists that allowed women into Lions Clubs. Yet female Lions are quick to disassociate themselves from feminists. But what did women in the Lions Organization do themselves to fight against the years of discrimination they endured at the hands of Lions Clubs generally and Lions International particularly? By joining Lions Clubs women have shown they too believe in equality, exactly like other feminists do also.

CONCLUSIONS

Lions International has manipulated women and exploited their resourcefulness from the very beginning to ensure that women did not reap the kudos, generated by the good deeds performed in the name of Lions. To keep women out of Lions Clubs, they were shuffled off into Lioness Clubs, subordinate clubs with limited autonomy within restricted boundaries. In addition they had to endure this inferior label and the threat of dismissal if they did not conform and perform within the guidelines set for them. Guidelines that were not conducive to generating the maximum amount of revenue possible, but guidelines that were framed for Lionesses to ensure their conformity so they would not over shadow Lions Clubs.

Lions International ignored the fact that women had a proud, proven record of community service, and instead actively worked to promote themselves, in all-male Lions Clubs, as the initiators and original providers of service to the community, which they were not. In spite of all the obstacles constructed to retard their progress Lioness Clubs excelled. Lionesses showed their resolve, expertise and ingenuity when it came to fund raising as they raised large sums of money through many and varied methods.

Specifically because of the vast amounts of revenue generated by Lioness Clubs, and as the work they perform is equivalent to that done by Lions Clubs, Lioness women do not feel they should be discriminated against by being termed a 'subordinate' club, or as an 'activity', or a 'project' of their sponsoring Lions Club. Indeed, they feel very strongly that they have earned their right to expect equal status, as their record is testimony to the contribution that they have made over the years to the Lions Organization.

Lions International pays 'lip service' to the idea that Lioness Clubs are their greatest asset, but the rhetoric does not fit the reality. Denied voting rights on matters affecting

their clubs, not only reinforces their subordination, but perpetuates the idea the Lionesses cannot think for themselves, and that Lions know what is best for them.

Lions International has issued a directive to Lioness Clubs to become Lions, but many women want to remain in a separate women's club. They fear that if they convert to an all-women Lions Club, many women will be lost because they cannot afford the fees that Lions International demands from Lions. Lions International has an obligation to somehow incorporate those women, who are not financially independent into the organization, instead of penalising them for being full time housewives and mothers. Lions International needs to devise a scheme to retain and/or recruit all those who express a desire to become community service providers, regardless of their socio-economic position, because not only does charity begin at home, but more workers for Lions ensures that more worthy causes can be accommodated.

Overall the dominant reoccurring theme resounding throughout the interviews and questionnaires was of the friendships developed, and the camaraderie that has evolved for Lioness women in their clubs. They feel a strong sense of loyalty to other women and that is why they have stayed Lionesses, and why some feel threatened by those women who have rushed off to join mixed clubs.

Lioness women have suggested that they do not like to be known as a 'subordinate' club because the work they do is identical to that performed by Lions Clubs. They also want voting rights on matters concerning their clubs. Women in Lioness Clubs are strongly opposed to the fact that their status is tied to the fees they pay. They believe that they have earned the right to equal status with Lions Clubs because of all their past contributions. They insist on the retention of Lioness Clubs. They do not want to convert to Lions Clubs because they feel they will lose their identity and become just another Lions Club, and become embroiled in the politics of gender, associated with being a female Lion.

Women in Lioness Clubs have endured their subordinate status, and went on to find self fulfillment. They have spurned all efforts to abolish their Lioness Clubs, and join Lions Clubs because there is nothing in the Lions Clubs that they find alluring. They are still defying the latest call from Lions International to join/form Lions Clubs. The resistance resolve is still strong, and Lioness Clubs are still standing firm.

Female Lions, unlike Lioness women, are now in charge of their own destiny and have the voting power to ensure that equality is maintained. They can now scale the rungs of the hierarchial ladder, and although District Governor is a good start, perhaps in the not too distant future, a female International President need not be only a hypothetical illusion. Therefore Lions International should maintain a vigil and rein in, or else dismiss male members of Lions Clubs who continue to display blatant gender discrimination practices against female members. Also female Lions themselves should no longer tolerate such behaviour that kept them alienated for so long, but instead should establish a united front to eliminate sexual discrimination in all its forms, because the ability to help others is not determined by gender. Lions Clubs can no longer afford to alienate women any longer because the need to help citizens in distress is perennial.

Feminists have achieved many victories over the years in the face of strong opposition. Sadly much of this opposition, in some cases, has come from other women. All women take for granted many of the things they can now enjoy, and which always was their basic human right, but which was denied them, simply because they were women. The fact is these concessions had to be won because they were not simply given. Power sharing, is a feminist term, and means exactly that, sharing power with men because women represent over half of the world's population, do most of the unpaid work and receive less of the rewards or recognition.

Now that women are accepted into the Lions Organization, as fully fledged members with the same status and public profile as their male colleagues, and in many instances working beside their partners, they are contented and continue to display the same boundless energy as they have always done. Women have strengthened Lions Clubs throughout the world, and have made a once aging association more attractive to a younger generation of service providers. They have shown that women still today are invaluable, as they play an enormous role in caring for others in the wider community.

Governments alone can never hope to provide all the services needed by all those who require help. Lions Clubs fill the void, and generally enhance the lives of people who in some cases, have thought that their lives have not been worth living. But thanks to the men and women in Lions many people in desperate situations have been given new hope.

The caring work of Lions has transcended cultural, sexual and racial boundaries across the length and breadth of the world. A perusal of any Lion magazine, or public literature extolling their virtues, will allow one to glean an insight into just what their compassionate work entails. Examples are shown of blind people being able to see again, the crippled and lame are suddenly mobile, bed-ridden patients soon are able to do some things for themselves. The list is endless of recipients whose lives have been seemingly miraculously transformed by the caring work of members of the Lions Organization. Indeed, the work of Lions is spoken about in exalted terms and revered from the highest office in the land. Successive Australian Prime Ministers have 'sung' their praises at conventions. Specific examples of their work are highlighted in medical journals and even written up in 'Hansard'. The number of Foundations and Institutions established by Lions for the benefit of needy recipients in our society is truly remarkable.

Now that women have become female Lions they continue to support these excellent projects, only now they are recognized as co-workers and as colleagues of their fellow Lions. Women, only now, are truly members of the Lion's family, a family that is no longer dysfunctional, because it is more democratic in nature, and less patriarchal in enterprise. Regardless of their anti-feminist rhetoric, women in the Lions Organization have shown, by their actions, that they too believe in the feminist ideals of equality, and fair play, as they pursue the goals of social justice within the Lions Organization.

Women in Lions, because of their unique position also, having access to Lions networks in many countries, have an ideal opportunity to co-ordinate their efforts, to fight inequality in all its forms, wherever it exists. Also female Lions need to reflect momentarily on the fact that, had it not been for other feminists, Anti-Discrimination Legislation would not be law, and they would be still denied membership in Lions, not because they were not devoted community service providers and excellent fund-raisers, but simply because they were women.

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LETTERS

On men, women and Lions

Since women were permitted to become Lions in 1987, some (male) Lions still harbour fears about women members joining their clubs. District V3 Women-in-Lionism chairman Stephanie Johnson recently put pen to paper and summed up - and answered - the main "fears":

1. They will try to take-over

The notion that somehow women will want to take over is not borne out by the experience of the clubs that have women members. What is apparent is that some women have certain skills, especially with administration, and will often take on tasks that require organisational skills.

2. They are bossy and temperamental

Whatever is said of some women can also be said of some men. We have all seen the temperamental member who sulks if the vote goes against him, or who tries to undermine the democracy of the club by lobbying other members, intimidating behaviour or threat of resignation.

3. Our wives wouldn't like it

The initial concerns that some members wives, or Lioness Clubs and Ladies Auxiliaries, have is usually dispelled very quickly. There is no plot to close down or poach from the auxiliaries and Lionesses, but the fact is that there are many women in those situations who would love to be invited to join Lions, but are fearful of straining the friendships of the other women or upsetting their partner, so they follow the 'party line'. This can be overcome by encouraging and nurturing these potential members.

4. We will lose a lot of our current members

Unfortunately, there are a number of men who make the sweeping statement that they will not tolerate women in their club and will resign. It is a pity that this 'fire from the hip' attitude is taken, because having once made the statement, it is difficult to retract without losing face. It takes a certain amount of courage to say "I was wrong". But it has been said many times - and with dignity. Very few men have actually left their clubs because a woman has been admitted.

THE OBSERVER

The Enigma of Lions

The much maligned *Lions Clubs International Constitution* is one of very few sets of rules that have been found to work in every country where Lions clubs operate. Dictatorships or democracies - and the many systems that emerge between those extremes - all foster Lions clubs that function within the same standard constitutional pattern.

Despite this, it is not unusual for members to hear a call, from those who have a different agenda, to ignore this remarkable document which allows a broad freedom of action to meet almost any business variation.

It is used by some to establish a unilateral system, which sees a few people dominate the mass of members because the opportunity to discuss projects and policies is maintained strictly at general club meetings. Committees are unattractive to such clubs, for they do not allow the few to dominate all topics.

It is used most effectively when every member has an input through a committee and no one is given the opportunity to command an undue influence upon the thinking and decision making processes.

Highly promoted projects and activities can gain an unnatural advantage over those which had their genesis in the local community, but which do not attract the support of the District operations.

This broad licence is given to the clubs licensed to bear the name of the Lions, provided they meet the universal standards of ethics and behaviour. It is a small price to pay to share the prestige of many remarkable clubs and foundations carrying the same imprimatur that annually produce projects valued at more than SUS1500 million.

5. We will not be able to tell jokes and/or drink

It is a fact, although they may not say so, many men are offended or embarrassed by blue jokes. We all enjoy a joke that is in reasonably good taste. Most of us enjoy a drink or two, in moderation. Some men and women prefer not to drink alcohol, and this doesn't affect their ability to be a good Lion.

Lion Stephanie Johnson
Chairman, V3 Women-in-Lionism.

Kernot's quest

Dear Senator Kernot,

I am the District Chairman for the Youth of the Year Quest for Lions Clubs International District 201 V1 in Victoria for the second year. The article in *Good Weekend* (4 Nov. 95) disturbed me as it could deter young women from entering this worthwhile Quest.

In May this year, a young woman from NSW won this Quest and will take her overseas trip. Other young women have won it over the years. In fact, young women this year won my club final, the regional final, the district final and the state final. So I think you may have had a biased informant originally.

I might add, that I am Vice District Governor-elect for Lions District 201 V1 for 1996-97, so will be District Governor in 1997-98. I have had no difficulty in being heard in the Lions movement.

It would be appreciated if you could give a commendatory letter on the Quest, to in some way soften the impression your article gave.

Hazel E. (Wendy) Jenkins
V1 Youth of the Year Chairman

(See: How Senator's 'Turning Point' ... was incorrectly based - *The Lion*, Dec-Jan '96).

Well supplied

I would like to compliment our MD Club Supplies in Newcastle for their promptness in the delivery of orders received from individual clubs and district chairmen, etc. It doesn't matter to them if the order is for free Lions information brochures or a valuable piece of jewellery - their fast response is the same.

And there is no charge for delivery!
Keep up your good work.

Lion Celeste Parker
District: 201Q1 Public Relations

THE OBSERVER

Words without Deeds are Meaningless

We use impersonal words far too often to explain the purpose of service. 'Making the world a better place'; 'Selfless service', 'To give our aid to the weak'...these and many more similar well meaning phrases roll easily off the tongue, but none of them give substance to the ingredient that counts most and demands our caring attention - *people*.

The little girl's abused and frightened, the malformed young man relying upon help to face life with confidence, a tired forgotten community overburdened with the weight of unemployment and the dishevelled state of the existence. Hungry, frightened, beaten faces that have lost the will and the energy to fight against the shabbiness of their lives.

All too many faces jostle for our attention, crying often silently for our attention and care. Money is not the need, for they have lost - or never had - the capacity to look after themselves. Bitterness has too often swamped all other feelings from their minds, yet there are people in our lucky world who wonder why violence and property abuse is becoming more and more the bane of our lives?

Caring action will gradually reverse this sickness in our society. If we have the courage to provide it, later generations will enjoy a more peaceful, secure life. If we fail that challenge the world of *Mad Max* and *Romper Stomper* will consume us all.

"It's too late!" you say? "I can't change the world!"

Yes you can, if all who wear the Lion's badge can accept the challenge and ACT, rather than impersonally pay for someone else to perform as your proxy.

Want...Want...Want

"What do we Want?...When do we Want it?...Now!" This call is typical of the selfish society in which we live where almost everything is focused on WANT. Advertising is predicted to encourage us to want something. Even little children are not immune from the insidious enticement that goads us to seek the unaffordable or unattainable.

Is it any wonder, then, that we have become obsessed with our own WANTS, with little care for the needs of others.

Pin Club Meeting

The 4th Annual General meeting of the Australian Pin Trading Club will be held in the James Alexander Room, Grosvenor Hotel, North Terrace, Adelaide, on Sunday 5 May 1996 to commence at 8am. This meeting will take the form of a Breakfast meeting held in conjunction with the 44th MD201 Convention.

Know the Law

Free talks on the law will again be offered in *Law Week* by New South Wales lawyers, who will be available to speak to community groups statewide about some of the areas of the law most commonly encountered by people in the course of their every day lives. While *Law Week* this year will be celebrated the week beginning 12 May, this service is available throughout the year. Given adequate notice, a talk can be arranged at any time to suit your convenience. The lawyers who provide this voluntary service are offering the

INFORMATION

community their time and expertise to promote a better understanding of the law, the legal system and the legal profession. For enquiries, please contact the co-ordinator, Liz Sheehan, on (02) 9926 0257.

Big 40 for Fairfield

The Lions Club of Fairfield (N2) is celebrating its 40th anniversary at its Changeover Dinner to be held at the Sheridan Hotel, Fairfield Road, Guildford on Saturday 29 June, 6.30 for 7pm. Dress is formal. Past members interested in attending can contact Lion Bill Petty (02) 871 8087 or Lion Harry Richardson (02) 604 6417.

24th FeNaCING Festival

The Lions Club of Karratha and Dampier (W1) is holding its 24th FeNaCING Festival on Saturday and Sunday, 3 and 4 August at the Bulgarra Oval Complex, Karratha, WA, The

festival is a major attraction for the Shire of Roebourne and derives its name from the chemical symbols of the major local resources: Fe for iron ore, NaCl for salt and NG for natural gas. An invitation is extended to all Lion members to take the opportunity to visit the region during the festival.

Two New Countries Join Association

Lions Clubs International has grown with the addition of two new countries—the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Both were former republics of the Soviet Union, and their addition brings the number of member nations in the association to 180.

The Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia, Lions Club was organized by the Moscow (North), Russia, club. In the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Bishkek (Host) Lions Club was organized by the Moscow (Intercontinental), Russia, club.

LETTERS

From page 5

Women are being ignored

As a woman in Lions I congratulate Lion Stephanie Johnson for her letter re men's fears and attitudes to women in Lions (*The Lion*, Feb '96).

I heartily concur with her sentiments. There is an immense potential membership pool out there in our communities, of very talented people who just happen to be women. They are being ignored in a lot of clubs' quests for members.

Society has changed; family commitments by both men and women are different now than in the past. Lions needs to tap into community minded people, regardless of gender, who find themselves with time to contribute their talents to the wider community. That includes women!

There are a lot of people out there who want to help make this world a better place; 86,727 women in Lions (*The Lion*, Feb '96) as at June 1995 just "ain't" enough.

Gender has nothing to do with one's ability to commit oneself to the Lions *Code of Ethics* and the Lions *Objects*.

Lion Kate Milford

Secretary, Kurri Kurri Lions (N3)

P.S. I have, on rare occasions, experienced an underlying resentment from men to my being a Lion. However, I consider that to be their problem not mine.

Your HELPLINE

Make contact with other *Woman's Day* readers and tap into the wealth of knowledge of millions of Australians through your special page

COMPILED BY SHEILA STEVENS

MATT'S HAT PARADE

It's been like Christmas every day for 13-year-old Matthew Hurlston (right) since his mum, Elaine, wrote to Your Helpline requesting hats for her son's collection (*WD*, August 28).

Matthew, who has cerebral palsy, has been inundated with hats and caps of all shapes and colours. So far he's received more than 700 – and they're still arriving.

"I think it's great and I'd like to say thank you to everyone who sent them," says the happy teenager. "I wear a different hat each day."

Says mum Elaine: "I've stopped counting the hats. I'd hoped Matthew would get about 50 to put around his room, but they've been coming fast and furious.

"It's been overwhelming and has brought me to tears some days. The letters have been wonderful."

"Matt is delighted. He

thinks it's fantastic that people have done this."

Even the courier who brought the first batch of hats to their home returned later the same day with another 40 hats that he'd collected for Matt on his travels. And he's been back three times since with more.

"There have been too many letters and parcels to acknowledge individually, but some people have asked us to send a photo of Matt wearing their hats, and we've done that," says Elaine. "Words just can't express our thanks to everyone."

To cap it all, The Service Professionals Dream Foundation offered to make another dream come true. As a result, Matt was in the October 21 studio audience for *Hey Hey It's Saturday* – his favourite TV show.



Picture: Frankston Standard

● PRESSING PROBLEM

I press flowers, which I frame. I've been doing it for three years, but sometimes have a problem with mildew during the pressing process. Can anyone offer suggestions for preventing this? Please contact Donna Novak, 28 Bailey Street, Woody Point, Qld 4019.

● LAYING EGGS

I am trying to find some old china laying eggs, which were once used under broody hens. Nowadays, only plastic ones are available, though I am told golf balls also do the trick. I have created an old-world kitchen, so I would dearly love some old china eggs to display. If you can help, please write to: Mrs A.

Waters, Lot 4 Bellingen Road, Fernmount, NSW 2454.

● SURVIVOR'S STORY

I hope someone can help me in my desperate search for a copy of a book, written by my brother, Doug Candish, who was a prisoner of war in World War II. The name of the book is *We Who Survived*, printed in 1966. I lent my copy to someone and it was never returned. Please write to: Mrs M. Russell, 6 Bennelong Crescent, Macquarie, ACT 2614.

● MACHINE PARTS

I have recently partly restored a Singer 32-1 sewing machine (circa 1914-1916). I need a bobbin, sewing foot and bobbin winder. Can

anyone help with these parts, and with any information about this machine? Please write to: R.J. Howard, PO Box 83, Taroom, Qld 4420.

● LIONESS'S SHARE

Most people are aware of the good work that members of Lions Clubs do in our community, but I am interested in researching the valuable community work that women in Lioness Clubs do. I would appreciate it if past and present Lioness women would write to me about their experiences regarding their work in these clubs and why a separate woman's club was formed. Any literature would also be most welcome. All information will be treated

confidentially and no names will be used. Please write to: Bev Morton, PO Box 146, Cairns, Qld 4870.

● THIS LITTLE PIGGY ...

I am trying to find someone who breeds or sells miniature pigs, as I would love to have one for our family pet. Please contact: D. Donovan, 7 Wyreema Avenue, Goonellabah, NSW 2480.

Write to: Your Helpline, *Woman's Day*, GPO Box 5245, Sydney, NSW 2001. Include a photograph where suitable (send a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you want photos returned). Replies to requests on this page should be sent direct to the letter-writer. Due to the number of letters received each week, not all can be used.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Department of Women's Studies
The Undercroft, Ground Floor Napier Building

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

My name is **Beverly Morton**. I am undertaking my Masters degree in the Women's Studies Department at the University of Adelaide.

My study is looking at women's experiences in the Lions and Lioness clubs and the relationship between the two clubs. I am hoping to speak with six men and women who are members of Lions/Lioness clubs about the community work they do, the status afforded both clubs by the wider community, and why the necessity to form a separate club for women. The discussions will provide an opportunity for you to reflect upon both the positive and negative aspects of both clubs as perceived by you.

The study is completely confidential, so that nothing you say will be reported in a way that you or any other individual or specific institution or organisation would be able to be identified (unless the information I give about the person or organisation is already publicly known).

The way that I carry out our conversation will be to organise a time and place that suits you to meet. The meeting would take 40-60 minutes and will be more like a 'conversation' than a formal interview.

I would like to tape the conversation if that is agreeable to you. Your real name would not be connected with the tape and the tape would be erased as soon as I have finished using it to take a transcript of our conversation. If you prefer not to be tape recorded I am happy to just take notes instead. If you wish to check a copy of my notes before I use them in my study, please indicate this on the consent form. You can be confident that no personal or identifying information will be included in the study. I will use an invented name to attach to your interview notes.

If you decide to participate in the study, you are free to change your mind and withdraw at any time. Also you are not obliged to answer questions or to discuss any issues that you do not wish to discuss. You do not have to give me any reason if you do decide to withdraw from the study.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you want more information about the study. If you have concerns which you do not wish to discuss with me directly contact Dr Kay Schaffer who is head of the Department and a member of the Departmental Ethics committee.

I look forward to your participation and the chance to hear your ideas and experiences in relation to the Lioness/Lions club.

Yours sincerely

Beverly Morton
P.O. Box 146
Cairns Qld 4870
Phone 330020

Dr Kay Schaffer
Head, Department of Women's Studies
University of Adelaide S.A. 5006
Phone 08.303.3675



THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Department of Women's Studies
The Undercroft, Ground Floor Napier Building

CONSENT FORM

STUDY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES AS MEMBERS OF LIONESSE/LIONS CLUBS

Research undertaken by Beverly Morton as part of her Master of Arts (Women's Studies) degree within the Women's Studies Department of the University of Adelaide.

I (print your name),....., have been provided with a description of the aims and purpose of this research. I give my permission for this interview with Beverly Morton.

I understand that my name will never be connected with any of the information that I provide and that Beverly Morton will create a pseudonym to identify me. Neither will the identity of any person or institution I name be revealed in connection with this interview (unless the information I give about the person or institution is already publicly known).

[] I do not wish the interview to be tape recorded

[] I agree to have the interview tape recorded

I am aware that my participation is completely voluntary and that:

I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, and that I do not have to give reasons for justification for doing so.

I can withdraw the information that I provide at any time during the information gathering stage of the study.

I am under no obligation to divulge information or to discuss issues if I do not wish to do so.

I understand that the researcher will provide me with a copy of the research if I so desire.

Please indicate below whether you wish to check the transcript before it is used, and if you would like information about the findings of the study.

YES/ NO I DO / DO NOT wish to check the transcript

YES/ NO I DO / DO NOT wish to receive information about the results of the study.

(If you answered YES to either of the above, please provide a postal address)

.....Street

.....Suburb/Town.....Postcode

.....Phone Number/s

Signed (Participant).....

Signed (Interviewer).....Date.....

- What was your reason initially for joining a Lioness club?
- As you are now eligible to become a Lion why have you remained a Lioness?
- Would you like to see your Lioness club become an all-women Lions club?
- Do you think Lioness clubs should have the same status as Lions enjoy?
- Why?
- If your sponsoring Lions club looked like folding would you:
- (a) vote that your Lioness club should close down and merge with the Lions club to keep them going? or
 - (b) would you vote to let your sponsoring club close, stay a Lioness club and look for another Lions club to sponsor your club?
- Why were Lioness clubs formed originally?
- Why do you think Lions International withdrew support for Lioness clubs in 1991?
- Australia now has 169 Lioness clubs with 2864 members, why to you believe so many women have remained in Lioness clubs?

0. Many women have claimed that some Lions clubs will not accept women members at all. What are your views?

1. Would you vote to accept men in your Lioness club?

2. Some women have expressed a view for the formation of three (3) categories of Lions clubs with equal status:

Lions men only clubs;

Lions women only clubs; and

Lions men and women mixed clubs.

What are your thoughts?

3. Women have been eligible to become Lions for 9 years now. Do you think that having 121 female presidents of Lions club out of a total of 1400 Lions clubs is significant?

4. Why? In what way?

5. In 1993/4 there were 193 Lioness clubs in Australia.
In 1994/5 there were 178 Lioness clubs in Australia = 15 down.
In 1995/6 there is 169 Lioness clubs in Australia = 9 down.
To what do you contribute this falling trend in recent times?

6. As more and more women continue to join Lions clubs do you think Lioness clubs are losing their relevance?

7. Why?

18. Why were Lioness clubs formed originally?
19. How do you feel about Lioness clubs being termed a 'sub'
20. Do you believe Lioness clubs should have voting rights?
21. Women have been involved with, and contributing to Lioness clubs. The Lioness club was formed in 1917. Do you believe women have been validated for their efforts as those bestowed on male Lions?
22. Lions was originally formed as a club for both men and women. Do you think women were banned from membership shortly after?
23. Why do you think women elected to work in auxiliaries of Lions if they were denied membership?
24. Can you envisage a time when separate women clubs in the Lioness International will be a thing of the past?
25. Given the significant, separate contribution made by women in the Lioness International historically, what role do you envisage women will fulfil in the International in the year 2000?