

Queering Mennonite Peacebuilding

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Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) has a long and faithful trajectory of relational peacebuilding with communities in the Global South and North. The worldwide development and relief agency is renowned for its peacebuilding among international development organizations (Welty, 2014; Gerstbauer, 2010; Merry, 2000; Schirch, 2017). MCC engages in a wide range of grassroots peacebuilding activity: advocacy efforts to change governmental policies, peace clubs, university peace programs, interreligious dialogues, nonviolence trainings and workshops, and conversations on peace theology. Unfortunate hallmarks of MCC peacebuilding include policies and an institutional culture that exclude queer or gay Christians from regular employment status with MCC (MCC, 2018) and the minimization of violence experienced by Two-spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning, Intersex, and Asexual (2SLGBTQIA) persons in war, conflict, and peacebuilding. These policies compromise MCC's holistic commitment to eliminating violence and building peace.

MCC can create possibilities for social and cultural change and inclusion by queering its approach to peace. Using a critical feminist lens to highlight discrepant comfort levels with interpretations of violence, I propose a new type of intersectional queer peacebuilding. Intersectional queer peacebuilding takes a comprehensive view of violence, names social structures enacting direct, cultural, and

structural violence (Galtung, 1969), incorporates the skills and perspectives of queer peacebuilders, and illustrates the prevalence of restrictive binaries to widen and deepen practices of Mennonite peacebuilding.

Critical feminist approaches to peace and conflict studies help to expose systemic power and privilege in MCC's peacebuilding orientation. This critical feminist theory compels me to locate and describe my positionality (McLean et al., 2022), identify interpersonal and systemic power (Kappler & Lemay-Hebert, 2019), and consider peacebuilding through a lens of care (Väyrynen et al, 2021). I also consider the way that structural violence is perpetrated against oppressed groups by analyzing personal experiences and identities on a spectrum rather than enforcing fixed binary perspectives (McLeod & O'Reilly, 2019).

I undertake this paper as an insider to Mennonite peacebuilding and a "fringe Mennonite" (Thiessen, 2015). The subjective identities which place me closer to social power and on the inside of Mennonite peace institutions include whiteness, twelve years of experience with MCC as a service and salaried worker, and education and current employment at a Mennonite academic institution. My white skin, a superficial covering with material and social consequences, has enabled me to negotiate and work without interrogation within Mennonite institutions. Work experiences with MCC in Latin America and on the West Coast of the United States between 1996 and 2008 provided firsthand experience with MCC peacebuilding programs. On the other side of the spectrum, certain identities marginalize my access to power and eliminate personal access to sustainable employment with Mennonite Central Committee. I am a woman married to a person of the same sex; I identify as queer and part of the larger 2SLGBTQIA community. While MCC Canada allows celibate single gay people to work in non-leadership positions within MCC, MCC U.S. does not have the same practice.¹ MCC's policies exclude continuous and advanced appointments for 2SLGBTQIA persons. Thus, I approach this study with insider power and experiences and some aspects of a marginalized identity.

In the following sections, I utilize a critical feminist lens to show cracks in the veneer of MCC's peacebuilding. To do so, I draw on a wealth of scholarship on Mennonites and MCC, delve into MCC's peacebuilding history, and analyze Mennonite conceptualizations of violence. These cracks are the opening for MCC to reevaluate its hundred-year maintenance of a policy which excludes the contributions of practitioners who are committed to nonviolence and the Christian faith and are also part of the 2SLGBTQIA community.

MCC's Courageous Relational Peacebuilding

MCC's unique form of peacebuilding is characterized by the actions of courageous people committed to nonviolent peacemaking and relationship building. MCC workers are grounded in Anabaptist theologies of peace and knowledge of conflict transformation (Welty, 2016). Relational peacebuilding workers connect with suffering people who are hungry, dispossessed of their land, identity, or possessions, and experiencing some forms of structural or direct violence (Merry, 2000). In worldwide conflict situations, MCC builds capacity, communication, and relationships among warring grassroots actors. MCC's peace programming emerges from a biblical understanding that Christians should not participate in war and should contribute actively to peacemaking as a form of Christian discipleship (Funk, 2015; Welty, 2012; Roth, 2016). For MCC, the invitation to Christian discipleship is for persons committed to active church engagement and nonviolent peacemaking with one notable exception. Persons who are married to a same-sex partner or who are single and engaging in sexual behaviour with a person of the same or opposite sex are not permitted to work for MCC and/or may face dismissal.² This historical and ongoing behavioural code undermines MCC's courageous character and its relational peacebuilding capacity. Prior to describing this considerable weakness of MCC's peace programming, I provide a brief overview of the development of MCC's peace efforts in order to illustrate the multi-faceted ways that MCC's peace work has developed.

MCC's peace programming was first focused on creating alternative service options for male conscientious objectors. In North America, MCC and Mennonite church members advocated to the Canadian and US governments for male draftees to be considered conscientious objectors (COs) to war; they also advocated and helped to create programs in which male COs could offer their alternative service. Many Mennonite conscientious objectors participated in the United States government's Civilian Public Service program. In 1951, MCC created the Pax program, its own program for COs to serve internationally. Between 1951 and 1975, male COs laboured for two-year terms in Europe and Latin America (Redekop, 2001). The Pax program kept some Mennonite men out of war and helped MCC to develop its three-prong approach of offering relief, development, and peacebuilding in the name of Christ (Homan, 2000).

For Mennonite women who wanted to live out their commitment to nonviolence, there were fewer options. Nonetheless, some Mennonite women claimed conscientious objector identities and

volunteered in a variety of capacities including as matrons,³ nurses, mental health workers, and administrators (Epp, 2016; Weaver et al., 2020). In the Pax era, MCC supported an array of sewing circles, thrift shops, and the creation of a cooperative for artisans to sell their crafts in North America. These relief efforts spearheaded by women in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s formed a substantial foundation for MCC's peace work.

MCC's peace and development work, from its involvement with Civilian Public Service to the Pax program and Self-Help Crafts (which eventually became Ten Thousand Villages), was based on relational encounters and a growing desire for peace witness. While being immersed in local contexts and listening to local peoples, MCC workers expanded MCC's peace work globally. For example, when the recipients of MCC's relief efforts encouraged MCC to advocate for significant changes to North American foreign policy, MCC created advocacy units from which to do so (Epp-Tiessen, 2016). These units in Washington, DC, Ottawa, and at the United Nations in New York became part of the larger framework of MCC's peace work. MCC's Peace Section, which began in the 1960s and continued through the mid-1990s, encompassed both North American and broader international and intercultural peacebuilding efforts.⁴ In this context, MCC started programs to develop mediation and conflict transformation.

Two renowned Mennonite peacebuilders, John Paul Lederach and Ron Kraybill, shaped MCC's peace efforts. Lederach, the first director of MCC's International Conciliation Services, listened intently to MCC partners and developed elicitive and strategic grassroots peacebuilding (Hunter-Bowman, 2016; Lederach, 1997). Kraybill, an influential initial director of local peacemaking through the Mennonite Conciliation Service, shaped religiously oriented peacebuilding and popularized self-care for the peacebuilder (Potter, 2002). Under the leadership of these scholars and practitioners, MCC's peace witness grew and gained prominence.

Scholarly accounts of MCC's development and peace programs paint a picture of worldwide, small-scale successes. They emphasize MCC's effectiveness despite its small size, its coherent embodiment of community accountability, and its holistic approach (Gerstbauer, 2010; Dicklitch & Rice, 2004; Welty, 2012; Welty, 2014). Historian John Roth (2016) describes MCC's peace work as comprehensive, meeting the needs of people regardless of political or religious identities and financially supporting global peace organizations working to eliminate structural injustices. Dicklitch and Rice (2004) highlight MCC's work alongside, and in relationship with, partners as key to MCC's success as a development organization. As a

peacebuilding organization, its outcomes are also measured in an ability to respond to widespread violence. In the next section, I discuss MCC's characterization of violence.

MCC's peacemaking approach correlates with its understanding of violence. MCC does not have a publicized or standardized definition of violence (J. Buller, personal communication, November 3, 2022). However, MCC has produced study guides on many different forms of violence—gun violence, sexual abuse in the home and church, and militarism. The study guide on gun violence describes how MCC views active-shooter and systemic violence. The brief publication *Principles and Practices* describes MCC and the types of violence it exists to eradicate (MCC, 2011). MCC webpages featuring peacebuilding work in Indonesia, Colombia, Nigeria, and Lebanon also give evidence of MCC's understanding of violence (MCC, n.d.). MCC understands violence to be the systems and structures of poverty, colonialism, war-making, state-making, and oppression that harm people and make life less livable (MCC, n.d.; MCC, 2011; Buller et al., 2021). Some of those violent systems or systems of oppression explicitly named by MCC are racism and sexism. MCC also identifies the direct violence of interpersonal assault and active shooters, the normalization of violence in society, and the violence which emerges from fear (Buller et al, 2021). As evidence of these distinct approaches to violence, MCC's peacebuilding work includes the North American programs Women's Concern, to address issues of domestic violence; Damascus Road and Roots of Justice, to respond to racism (de Léon-Hartshorn, 2020); and Indigenous Neighbours, to recognize and diminish colonial violence. Multi-layered MCC responses to the violence of economic globalization and undocumented migration are found in many regional MCC immigration programs (Dueck-Read, 2016). MCC's international peace work with local Anabaptist churches and partnering nongovernment agencies seems to have a similar understanding of violence as emanating from powerful, discriminating social systems and structures (MCC, n.d.).

MCC's perception of violence shares commonalities with the work of peace scholar Johan Galtung, who conceptualizes violence as a triad of components: structural, cultural, and direct. Direct violence is physical, sexual, emotional, and psychic harm resulting from the actions of one person to another. Structural violence is the force, damage, and oppression of impersonal social systems created to privilege the needs of one group over another (Galtung, 1969). Cultural violence includes the social symbols and norms of interaction that people use to justify both direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1990). While there is strong correlation between what

MCC names as violence, the work that they do, and scholarly conceptions of violence, MCC seems unable to name or identify a harmful structure that they perpetuate: the systemic oppression of heterosexism.

Some Mennonite scholars have clearly identified heterosexist violence and call on Anabaptists to recognize such injustice. In her study of queer justice in Mennonite Church USA, Stephanie Krehbiel (2015) contends that “Mennonite conflicts over LGBTQ inclusion are also struggles over how violence should be defined” (p. iii). She interrogates what happens when exclusion is not called violence and invites Mennonites to see the harm of church-based discernment processes about LGBTQ inclusion, arguing that such processes can, and do, hurt queer people and their families. Kathy Evans (2014) also invites Mennonite peacebuilders and churches to consider the ways that exclusion has harmed not only 2SLGBTQIA folks but also their families, the pastors and churches that have been kicked out of conferences, and people who have yet to come to understand their sexual and gender identities. Stutzman-Amstutz and Evans (2016) advocate for seeing the harm of queer exclusion on the continuum of violence. While exploring the need for Mennonite theology informed by trauma, Melanie Kampen (2020) discusses intersectional violence and contends that Anabaptist peace theology has failed to understand the intertwining violence of racism, anti-queerness, and transphobia. Kimberly Penner (2017) argues that a significant component of Mennonite identity has made it difficult for churches to see that they enact violence against women in their peace-focused church. The thinking is, if Mennonites are members of peace churches, how can they harm others? Could the same logic be true of MCC’s peacebuilding, in that MCC cannot see the violence it authorizes?

Perhaps MCC personnel have not intimately examined the violence of homophobia, transphobia, and heterosexism. Historian Rachel Waltner Goossen (2005) explains that when Mennonites study a certain kind of violence, they develop peace theologies to respond to such violence. Could MCC create new peacebuilding strategies? Or would the fear of examining and potentially naming heterosexism as violence paralyze MCC, as happens in some churches?

Perhaps MCC’s understanding of violence has difficulty resonating and taking shape when it threatens to interrupt the ways that white, heterosexual Anabaptists use social power. Historian Tobin Miller Shearer, a former MCC worker, continually implores white Mennonites to acknowledge their systemic privilege and power (Shearer, 2017; Shearer, 2019). He pleads for white Mennonites to listen to the voices of Black people and other people of colour and to

recognize that what people of colour want is often *not* the route that white Mennonites take (Shearer, 2019). White Mennonites may want to think of themselves as anti-racist but, perhaps, it is their connection to systemic power which makes it difficult to listen to the voices that would help them to do so.

Many Mennonite scholars have proposed that MCC analyze its proximity and use of systemic power. Carl Stauffer (2016) recommends an intrapersonal and systemic process to examine power, arguing that, “If we as Mennonites desire to genuinely engage the injustices surrounding us, we will be required to take stock of our own agency (both personal and structural) in misusing and abusing our dominant power-positions in race, gender, class and religion resulting in the exploitation and oppression of others” (p. 160). While I would add sexual orientation to his list of power-positions, the purpose of examining power is not just to acknowledge our wrongdoing but to see how our power enacts violence and hurts people. Other Mennonite scholars emphasize the need to change the lens of analysis from how to help suffering persons to how to change powerful systems harming others. Lucille Marr (2005) stresses that MCC must learn how their work is oppressive in terms of gender, class, race, and colonial power. Melanie Kampen (2019) articulates the need for Mennonites to know the ways that violence and power intersect. Studying relationships between Mennonite settlers and Indigenous peoples, Kampen says that white settler Mennonites have not considered the ways they exercise social power in interacting with Indigenous people. Truth requires the study and acknowledgment of harm as well as comprehending how these experiences continue to inform understanding of Mennonites as innocent of committing, or entangled in, colonial violence (Kampen, 2019). MCC must also consider the ways that it is propagating heterosexism to the detriment of society and the church.

It is time for MCC to acknowledge the systems and structures of harm in which they participate. MCC workers and partners of colour have been clamoring for MCC to examine their intertwined participation in racism, sexism, colonialism, and heterosexism for years. In 1976, four persons of colour created an MCC pamphlet calling on white Mennonites to owe up to violence, domination, and the effects of oppression (Kennell, 2020). While MCC supported the publication of this document, the challenge remains. In 2014, Wendi Moore-O’Neal, fired from her work with MCC Central States because she married a woman, engaged this injustice nonviolently and publicly. She filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), created a film about her organizing efforts and how her race and sexual orientation led her to lose her job with MCC,

and organized with others (Moore-O'Neal & McMahon, 2018). Moore-O'Neal requests that MCC define celibacy and engage in conversation about MCC policies (Krehbiel, 2018). MCC stands to gain authenticity in its peacebuilding pursuits by examining its entanglement with systems of racism, colonialism, sexism, and heterosexism.

Critical Feminist Analysis

As I apply a critical feminist lens to MCC's peacebuilding, I reiterate the importance of locating and naming systems and structures of power, the obligation to expand notions of violence, and the need to consider aspects of care. Critical feminist scholars point to the urgency to articulate axes of power, namely race, sexuality, and ability (McLeod & O'Reilly, 2019). Racism, sexism, heterosexism and ableism are ubiquitous systems that continually advantage white, male, cisgender, heterosexual, and able-bodied persons. While I do not endeavour to fully analyze these systems of power and how they function within the realm of MCC and MCC's peacebuilding program, the policy and practice of excluding 2SLGBTQIA persons from positions of leadership and ongoing employment with MCC is evidence of the exclusionary power of heterosexism.

Heterosexism is also evident in mainstream peacebuilding literature. The experiences of 2SLGBTQIA persons as peacebuilders and people experiencing violence are barely visible. Gender is understood to represent women or men in a binary classification system. This heterosexual and gendered framing of the field is being quietly contested. Queer education scholar Robert Mizzi and peacebuilding scholar Sean Byrne stress the importance of including queer identities in peace education to advance visibility (Mizzi, 2009; Mizzi & Byrne, 2015). They also propose a productive conversation between the theoretical frameworks of queer theory and peace and conflict studies (Mizzi & Byrne, 2015). Other queer peace scholars decry the lack of understanding of contextual queer experiences. Jamie Hagen, Megan Daigle, and Henri Myrntinen (2021) contend that the violence that sexual and gender minorities face in situations of armed conflict is not adequately studied. They find that the research done thus far shows that gender and sexual minorities face violence not just in the streets and the public square but also in private spaces like in homes, shelters, and refugee camps. Furthermore, they illustrate another alarming dynamic where pro-2SLGBTQIA rhetoric is used to frame Muslim and other racialized immigrants as backward. This, in turn, produces more violence

against racialized gender and sexual minorities (Hagen, Daigle and Myrntinen, 2021). Mennonite historian Ben Goossen (2019) made a similar connection about framing the Global South as homophobic. In a viral Facebook post, he accused global Mennonite leadership of supporting a binary pitting gay and “gay-friendlier” white European and North American Mennonites against racialized Mennonites in the Global South. The binary functions to erase the existence of queer people in the Global South and is more evidence of heterosexism.

As noted, critical feminist scholars advance expanding notions of violence. Some scholars encourage an appreciation of knowledge attained through experience (Julian et al., 2019). Experiential knowledge gained through peacebuilding activity and reflection can lead to a fuller comprehension of violence. Currently the exclusion of queer people from ongoing employment with MCC means that such persons may not share their lived experiences and knowledge. MCC cannot more closely examine the violence against queer people without including insider sources of knowledge.

Feminist analyses also interrogate care and its gendered structure. Vaittinen et al. (2019) ask that peacebuilding practice consider “how care is present, what kind of care is present, and what particular relations of care do for everyday peace and the potential for transformation in conflict and post-conflict societies” (p. 208). Eleanor Gordon (2022) describes what happens to peacebuilding organizations when they do not hold the value of care: exclusion and incomplete peace. Gordon argues that peacebuilding organizations do not value care work when they expect more than full-time commitment from workers and thereby exclude workers who must commit time to caring for children or elderly parents. The excluded labourers are often women⁵ and the result is constrained peacebuilding that does not draw on the knowledge and skills of a wide demographic. Similarly, MCC loses out on the perspectives of queer peacebuilders with its adherence to a policy of exclusion. The exclusion of the voices, perspectives, suffering, and contributions of queer people leaves many without MCC solidarity or care and highlights MCC’s participation in exclusionary violence or heterosexism.

Another perspective emerging from feminist thinking and radical movements is that of queer theory (McCann & Monagan, 2019). Queer theory emerged in the academy to disrupt and subvert binary ways of thinking, making evident that gender and sexuality are often categorized exclusively (Halperin, 2003; Fotopoulos, 2012). To queer something is to resist and go against the normalized flow (McCann & Monagan, 2019). Further, queer theory is not just a study of the

subjects of oppression. It provides an analytical tool that helps to identify and examine oppressive social systems (Yep, 2014). By employing queer theory, participants begin to see the ways that institutions and societies are ordered under gender binaries and, through analysis of heteronormativity, may discover new possibilities.

Intersectional and Queer Mennonite Peacebuilding

Interdisciplinary queer Mennonite scholars provide direction to queer Mennonite peacebuilding. Queer Mennonite novelist and scholar Jan Braun (2014) invites Mennonites to queer marriage by utilizing Mennonite values to upturn consumer culture. She invites queering through a process of dismantling binaries, unhelpful notions which pit one side against the other. More particularly, she notes, “In breaking up binaries, we can be reminded of a wider field of experience, need, thought, belief, and possibilities” (p. 110). In a 2015 study, Alicia Dueck-Read suggested a re-consideration of Mennonite identity in conjunction with a movement to open space for transgender and queer people. Her study shows that many queer and transgender people from Mennonite families and institutions struggle to maintain a connection to Mennonites. Daniel Shank Cruz (2019) examines queer Mennonite literature and invites an understanding of the activist nature of queer theory. Cruz suggests that queer Mennonite literature makes oppression apparent and opens space to analyze relationships of power. Stephanie Chandler Burns (2020) suggests that queering Anabaptist theology could re-vitalize Anabaptist ways of understanding and relating to God and address binary thinking in order to take a fresh look at oppression of race, gender, sexual orientation, ability-disability, and socioeconomic status among many inequities. Lastly, Rachel Goossen’s multi-year study (2021) centres the voices of queer Mennonite leaders. One participant, Annabeth Roeschley, saw potential for radical change:

Queer justice would revolutionize our church, it would revolutionize society. And yet, where are we? Have we ultimately restructured the kinds of systems and have we dismantled the kinds of power structures that allowed queer people to disappear quietly, and that still undermine the work of people of color? (Goossen, 2021, p. 87)

Roeschly articulates a demand to change systems and structures that obscure justice for people with identities that are categorized, policed, and excluded, including racialized, disabled, and queer Mennonites (Goossen, 2021).

These Mennonite scholars show the creative possibilities of queering Mennonite ways of doing. Critical feminism illustrates a complementary approach to systemic powers and care. Queer theory both affirms other ways of being and invites a disruption in the flow to see the oppressive violence of sexism and heterosexism. Further, an intersectional approach considers the realities and needs of people marginalized and empowered by interlocking identities (Lederach, 2020; Kappler and Lemay-Hébert, 2019). Through an intersectional conflict analysis, queer women's experience of violence in armed conflict, as well as when they enter homes, shelters, or supposedly safe places, can become evident. An intersectional lens considers oppressive systems of race, gender, ability, and national origin among many, and may open possibilities of viewing and considering different experiences.

Intersectional queer peacebuilding is an alternative approach to peacebuilding. It is inclusive of different identities and examines the power of gendered and sexual binaries, and engages continually in intersectional analysis. Intersectional queer peacebuilding is a type of "subversive engagement" (Stauffer, 2016) which takes seriously the call to care for all persons. Such a focus, on care in peacebuilding, "helps us to better comprehend the localised and particular needs of people—that is, the everyday sources of suffering and deprivation—that must be responded with care, in order for trust and peaceful transformation to emerge" (Vaittinen, 2019, p. 208). Thus, intersectional care as a practice of peacebuilding is contextually specific and incorporates people on the margins.

I am not alone in advocating for listening to voices on the margins in Mennonite peacebuilding work. Lisa Schirch identifies the need for an inclusive field and the incorporation of intersectional analysis to repair and reinvigorate Mennonite peacebuilding. Queer persons with previous MCC service have also called for, and organized for, inclusion (Schirch, 2017; Schirch, 2022). After 1976, when MCC worker Martin Rock was fired in the usual MCC way by not having his contract renewed and being told not to reapply, he founded the organization Brethren Mennonite Concerns (BMC) to spread joy and acceptance for queer love. Within MCC today, there are individuals who choose not to sign their commitment to lifestyle expectations and invite both heterosexual and queer MCC workers to do the same. Calls for inclusion are coming from inside MCC and from those on the outside.

Conclusion

Queer or 2SLGBTQIA persons are part of MCC's history. Some were kicked out of MCC while others continued in the closet. Some of us came to recognize our sexualities once we completed MCC service while others are quietly "out" and working for MCC today—not sure if they will have a job tomorrow or what will happen when they find a partner or choose to get married. Until MCC can embrace reflection and implementation of a new type of queer intersectional Mennonite peacebuilding, exclusion and violence will continue.

The idea of queer Mennonite peacebuilding draws from the well of Mennonite scholarly reflection and concentrated efforts by MCC workers to listen in the field. It re-situates listening and invites deep attending to people that MCC, by way of policy, has excluded. I invite MCC to follow the practice of well-known peacebuilder John Paul Lederach and embrace humility and a posture of appreciation (Hunter-Bowman, 2016). In appreciating queer voices and eradicating MCC's exclusionary policies, MCC may find renewal, including new local and global partners, new donors and constituency to support the agency, and a reinvigoration of courageous peacebuilding.

In sum, to queer Mennonite peacebuilding is to build on MCC's history of listening to the voices of marginalized people, whether they are queer, racialized, or disabled, queerly disabled, or any other combination of marginalized identities. To queer Mennonite peacebuilding is to resist the status quo, and to name, examine, and respond to the patriarchal and heteronormative systems and structures of society and within homes, communities, churches, and non-government organizations. Ultimately, the goal of queering Mennonite peacebuilding is to create a more inclusive, just, and robust peace among peoples on the earth.

Notes

- ¹ In 2018, MCC created two codes of conduct for MCC personnel, the basic and standard codes. The basic code is interpreted as allowing gay people to work for MCC while in a same-sex relationship or marriage. The standard code, however, states that MCC workers and board members must "abide by an understanding of sexual intimacy as only within marriage between one man and one woman" (MCC, 2018, p. 2). The standard code is uniform policy for all MCC workers and personnel in the United States and leadership personnel in both Canada and the United States.
- ² See Krehbiel (2018) and the film *This Little Light* by Moore-O'Neal (2018) to learn about the firing of MCC worker Wendi Moore-O'Neal in 2014. See Leas

(1977) and watch Brethren Mennonite Council for LGBT Interests (2017) to learn about the dismissal of Martin Rock in 1977.

- ³ Matrons cooked and cleaned for male volunteers working in the community.
⁴ For a more in-depth analysis of the development of MCC's peace work, read Peachey (2022).
⁵ For more on the gendered realities of care work, see Eisler (2012).

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