Psychosocial Conflict Analysis

Implementation example: «Ecogoal» Senegal

A tool for evaluation and self-evaluation that combines and integrates the «Do No Harm»-approach with the psychosocial approach.

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Table of Content

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Here you will find the detailed documentation of a psychosocial conflict analysis which was conducted in Senegal by the Tool's authors, in cooperation with Fastenopfer Switzerland. During the three-days workshop, staff members from different parts of the country programme examined the «Ecogoal»[1] project. The example thus illustrates how the Tool can be used, and can perhaps give you a clearer idea about how such a psychosocial conflict analysis works. However, please note that this is just one example. If applied in a different project and context, the outcome will ultimately be different.

The «Ecogoal» project is active in the field of food security. It works in the north of the country, where access to water is a particularly serious problem. There is no guarantee of food being available to the population throughout the year, and the result is that many Senegalese fall into debt during the annual *soudure*, the period when foodstocks run very low. The aim of «Ecogoal» is to support the poor rural population in the production and marketing of their products by promoting organic and ecological cultivation and applying the principles of Fair Trade, as a way of ensuring a secure income.

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1   The project name was changed by the editors.

The analysis starts in Building Block I, with a mutual introduction of the staff members. They talk to each other about how they personally handle conflicts *(Step 1: My Perspective, see Tool: p. 11)*. The following brief character sketches result:

Ismail[2] (coordinator of the country programme): For more than three years, I have been observing the quarrels between my wife and her sister, without getting involved. I found it difficult to watch these conflicts without intervening, something I would normally do.

Amury (project assistant in the country programme): I learn a bit about conflicts through the media and try to understand them. In daily life, I rather try to avoid them.

Schaima (staff member in the «Ecogoal»-project): In my work, I support people who live in very poor conditions. I have learned that for them, conflicts can have a fundamental impact and I try to help them.

Adija (staff member in the «Ecogoal»-project): My father works in agriculture and owns land on the coast. He frequently comes under pressure from investors who want him to sell the land. I have learned from him that one shouldn't necessarily give in when there is a conflict, but also defend one's own interests.

Umar (staff member): When I was a student in the late 1970s, I participated in protest movements against the regime. I learned about social movements.

Djabrail (staff member): I come from a very religious family. I came to understand at an early age how the Koran teaches us to deal with conflicts. I try to be guided by these rules.

Sara (staff member): I am studying economics and am looking at the principles of a free market economy. From this, I am learning about how companies handle conflicts when dealing with their competitors. When it comes to interpersonal relations, I tend to adapt. I don't like conflicts.

For the staff, talking about their personal experience with conflicts is very new, so new that some find it difficult to express subjective views. The group clearly finds it easier to identify conflicts that they encounter in the project, and those they are concerned about in the country's politics. They then draw up the following list of the con-

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2 All names were changed by the editors.

flicts at the project level *(Step 2: Conflicts at the Project Level, see Tool: p.11)*:

1. A conflict between the project teams and the initiatives for the advancement of women
2. Us against the village mayor
3. The project encounters a lack of respect towards the selected women
4. Staff members are threatened by the community and the project responds by withdrawing
5. Power struggles between leading personalities in the community
6. Leadership conflicts inside and outside of the project
7. Tensions between our project coordination and other rural development projects
8. Lack of security prevents cooperation in the project
9. The suitability of our own project with regard to the interventions by other development aid initiatives
10. Communication problems between the coordinator and the project managers
11. Contradictions in the values held by the staff members
12. Negative memories the local population has of earlier development aid measures

They draw up another list relating to conflicts in the country *(Step 3: Conflicts in the Country, see Tool: p. 11)*:

1. Resource conflict between crop farmers and livestock keepers
2. Risk of political instability resulting from the 2012 elections
3. Intra-religious conflicts in Islam
4. Contradictions between tradition and the law
5. Power: Legitimacy and legality
6. The conflict in the Casamance region continues
7. Exploitation of the land for agricultural purposes at the expense of others
8. Senegal: Power structure in crisis

It can be seen that there are links between the conflicts at the project level and conflicts at the country level. A recurring theme in both lists is the opposition of trends that has to do with different values and influences (tradition, religion, state, globalisation process etc.). The group decides to deal in more depth with the fourth

title, *Staff members are threatened by the community and the project responds by withdrawing*, and the fifth title, *Power struggles between leading personalities in the community*. The main issue here is the question of power and its legitimacy. This theme of the legitimacy of power can also be found in the country list.

They choose the following titles as a synthesis of these topics: Warning: Fraud! Power structure in crisis *(Step 4: Selection, see Tool: p. 11)*. The staff members describe the central conflict topic and elaborate the following Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 1: The Conflict

Warning: Fraud! Power structure in crisis

When visiting the women's group in one of the villages in which «Ecogoal» works, two of the project's staff members encounter a heated argument between those present. The staff members had trained and advised the women on poultry rearing and making use of a solidarity fund. The aim of the meeting with the women is to discuss further trading possibilities. When they arrive, all the women are gathered, as well as the mayor and the chairman of the committee for rural development. The latter had signed the official cooperation agreement, jointly with the coordinator of «Ecogoal». The women accuse the chairman and his wife of embezzlement of funds. To the anger of some in the group, she was chosen by the chairman as the project's treasurer, a fact that the women also hold against the «Ecogoal»-staff. The women don't believe the treasurer or the chairman. They suspect a planned conspiracy.

According to statements made by the treasurer, her husband put her under so much pressure that in the end, she handed over all the money from the solidarity fund to him. Her husband responds virtuously that he acted in the village's interest and used the money for urgent reasons for another project. He would of course make every effort to pay it back. The mayor backs his colleague and confirms his statement, at the same time he reassures the women and promises them that he will do everything so they get their money back. The women respond with mockery and scorn, they don't believe the men. It transpires that a loan paid from the fund to one of the women present is also missing. Here, too, the project workers can't understand the reasons. The women demand from the chairman that the amount should be paid back immediately. They threaten to stop all activities. They are irritated and reproachful even with the project workers. To avoid being dragged further into these tensions, the project announces that it is withdrawing and will stop paying any funds until the matter is sorted out. They urge the community to come to an agreement and leave.

The described conflict situation is staged in a role play *(Step 5: Rashōmon, see Tool: p. 11)*. The relationships between the actors in the conflict are brought out as follows:

The chairman of the village committee for rural development is characterised as a tall, strong, handsome and dominant man. He is the first to move to the centre of the room and embodies power and influence. His aim is to take the cash box from his wife. He holds out his hand towards her in a demanding gesture. He is physically stronger than his wife, and uses his strength against her to put pressure on her. He explains the conflict as follows: «I have asked my wife to lend me the money from the fund because I am responsible for another project, for which I lack funds.» With the cash in his hands, he appears superficially to be satisfied to have the money. But his demeanour does not depict a very convinced victor.

His wife places herself opposite him, at a safe distance. She is a petite woman, self-confident and striving for autonomy. She holds the cash box firmly in her hands. She embodies determination to defend her cash box. Only in her face can one detect fear of the man opposite her. The more she is being threatened by her husband, the more fear one can detect in her, and so she gives up. She is doubly threatened, first by her husband, and then by the women. She gives the following account: «I am responsible for the fund of the women's initiative and I have done everything to ensure that the money does not go astray.»

The husband of the woman who did not pay back her credit places himself at a short distance behind the chairman and gives the impression of being uninvolved, so as not to be noticed. He benefits from the conflict and feels justified to beat his wife, so that she hands over her hard-earned money to him. He says flatly: «My wife and I share all the money. We don't have any problems with each other.»

His wife holds her hand against her face, with a long-suffering look. She tells the women the following tale: «When I entered the bus on the way back from the market to the village, someone stole my bag with the money in it and hit me in the face.» She is ashamed and turns away from her husband. She is also ashamed in front of the women in the group and hides the domestic conflict. She feels abandoned. She has no hope that the women's group can change anything about her desolate situation.

The members of the solidarity fund take their position, with raised index finger, and stand next to the married couple. They watch and monitor the woman's demeanour and turn towards her in a threatening stance. They murmur: «The chairman's wife is in cahoots with her husband. She is lying and hasn't defended the funds at all as she claims. Perhaps the two project workers, who live in our village, have also diverted money. That was the reason why they signed the contract with the chairman of the committee for rural development rather than with the mayor.» The women are angry with the treasurer and feel deceived by her. They are also angry with the project workers, whom they don't trust.

Another member of the solidarity fund, a widow with her son, keeps a good distance from the scene. The woman firmly holds her son's hand and her gaze is turned to the floor. Her son looks towards the married couple and he watches with interest what happens between them. The widow thinks to herself: «The chairman of the village committee has such a lot of responsibility in his office as chairman. There is no doubt at all that he is right.» She is ashamed for the chairman's wife, who comes across as aggressive and masculine. Two male project workers and one female project worker position themselves together behind the wife. The two male project workers, who are tall and strongly built, seem depressed. They gaze at the floor with sagging shoulders, weak, withdrawn. They would love to just ignore the situation. They believe neither the woman, nor the husband, nor the members of the solidarity fund. They expound several versions, one of which assumes a personal quarrel between the women which they put down to the polygamous family relations in Senegal, which often cause a lot of jealousy. They take the view that they can't do anything to change the situation because it is a family problem in which one shouldn't get involved. They are frustrated because they have worked very hard for the project and now see the achievement of their project goals being jeopardised.

The female project worker stands upright, in a watch-out posture, fully prepared to intervene in the situation between the couple. She assumes that the chairman has forcibly taken the cash box from his wife and never intended to pay the money back. She is angry with the committee chairman. In the role play, this anger becomes very noticeable for her: «I really feel like scratching his face!» Moreover, she realises that she is also angry with all the women in the group, because they always blame each other first instead of sticking together and really support each other. In the role play, she identifies very much with the wife of the chairman and develops a lot of empathy for her. She sees her as a victim twice over: the victim of her husband, but also the victim of the women.

The coordinator of «Ecogoal» places himself at quite a distance from the scene and would like to ignore the situation, because it makes him very angry. He feels the tension in his body and adopts an attacking stance. He stretches out his arm as if he was carrying a weapon and wanted to shoot the perpetrator. He thinks to himself: «The chairman of the village committee has stolen the cash box to issue a challenge to me and my project. It

won't be long before he influences the other communities and misuses the money for my projects for other purposes. I am worried and I am angry.» The closer the coordinator moves towards the quarrelling couple during the role play, the more noticeable the fear and anger become. He finds it difficult to cope. When he is positioned next to the chairman's wife, he suddenly has tears in his eyes. He cries, interrupts the dramatic presentation and starts to talk about his feelings. «It kills me.» His inner conflict between wanting to take flight on the one hand, and attacking on the other hand, but also the role conflict that he, as a man, should have to occupy the dominant position, become noticeable.

The mayor, as the last person, positions himself next to the chairman. He is of tall stature, appears influential but also, with his bowed head, somewhat lost for words. Local elections are to be held soon. As the mayor of the municipality, he does not want the conflict to escalate further, become public and create a bad image for his electoral district. He thinks: «The chairman of the committee for rural development has stolen the money to use it in another project for which he is responsible and has promised support to his colleagues. I have to help the committee chairman to save the projects. The chairman's wife is an obstacle to my plans. She is too honest with the project workers. We could have come to a better internal agreement amongst ourselves. Furthermore, I am suspicious of the programme coordinator. He asks too many questions.»

In the discussion about the exercise, the group notes that, although the chosen conflict situation is an example of the «crisis of leaders», the role play has brought the dispute over gender relations to the fore. The conflict between the married couple becomes clearly evident and is at the centre of the scenic presentation. Through the physical gestures in the role play, it is possible to gain an insight into the feelings and define the conflict more clearly. The group stresses that the conflict is really occurring between those who want to hang on to traditional gender roles and those who are working for change and equal rights in gender relations.

Everyone present is emotionally very involved at the end of the first building block. There is speculation whether it did indeed happen like that,

similar examples are discussed, they search for explanations etc. One thing becomes quite clear in the discussion: These intra-family conflicts are in fact based around a gender conflict that affects everyone, and which is becoming increasingly a controversial issue in Senegal. It also becomes clear that in a role play, all figures influence the conflict, even those who are on the margins of events.

The group starts to determine the actors and stakeholders in the conflict at different levels of intervention. The participants elaborate the following Summary of Results *(Step 1: Key Actors, see Tool: p. 18)*.

Summary of Results 2: Key Actors According to the Conflict Level

Level	Actors
International	Fastenopfer, Misereor, students from Belgium
National	Coordinator of the Fastenopfer programme in Senegal
Regional/community	Chairman of the committee for rural development, the village mayor, the members of the solidarity fund
Family	Chairman of the committee for rural development and his wife, the husband who took the money from his wife and his wife, the other men and their wives

The regional or municipal level is the most important level for the project because that is where it carries out its activities. The international level also plays a part because the project is influenced and financially supported by it. The project only intervenes periodically at the national level. As regards the level of the family, the project does intervene, but only in relation to economic aspects.

After defining the actors at so-called conflict levels, the term conflict dimension is introduced. Four dimensions are identified in order to make clear distinctions between conflicts. The following Summary of Results is elaborated along the conflict dimensions *(Step 2: Conflict Issue and Ways in Which the Conflict is Carried out, see Tool: p. 18)*:

Summary of Results 3: Conflict Issue According to Conflict Dimension

Cultural Affiliation

There is a contradiction between the values of the culture being introduced through the project, e.g. gender equality, the active promotion of individuals, and particularly of individual women, and the social conditions as defined by tradition, for example the father's position as head of the family, who has the legitimate right to make decisions. Traditionally, it is the man to whom the position of power in his social environment is attributed. Those who want to preserve this form of cultural identity have an interest, as men, to be acknowledged in this position. To assert their interests, they use cultural and religious rules, but also physical presence. So the conflict is also about cultural values. The unequal gender relations and the efforts to changing these play a central role in this, particularly at the local level. That is where women's initiatives, which are supported by international organizations, take root. Those who work for the advancement of women seek to improve the cultural understanding of a woman's role in terms of her rights to participate in decision-making and have a say within the social context, which entails the reduction of the man's claim to power. In doing so, they make reference to international conventions.

Political Economy

The economic power balance between men and women in the region is changing. Many men have become unemployed because economic downturns in industry and agriculture have hit male workers in particular. Men, and all the more so those whose gender identity is based on their traditional values, want to retain, or regain, their political and economic independence. Some women succeed, at the regional level, in setting up local initiatives designed to help small businesses flourish. In order to be able to succeed economically, they have to change how they see their role as women. The interest of those who want to promote changes in gender relations is to attain greater financial security in the household, and strive for greater economic independence. So the conflict involves arguments about money. In this, both physical power and corruption on the one hand, and international legitimation on the other hand, are used as means of power.

Political Participation

Political decision-making power is in the hands of the men. They occupy the positions of chairman of the committee for rural development, of mayor, coordinator, President of the country, Chairman of Fastenopfer, etc. Equally, when it comes to political participation, those men who adhere to the traditional role model want to safeguard their position of power and avoid losing power. Those who are striving for change demand political participation for women in order to strengthen their independence. So the conflict revolves around sharing power. One side calls on tradition to enforce their interests, the other side refers to national and international laws.

Individual/Subjective

Gender influences the individual's position within social relations and the forms of recognition associated with it. This depends on what form of recognition the individual claims, and what he or she is denied. The chairman of the committee for rural development wants to claim power as the leader both in the family and in the village. The wife's interest lies in continuing the project and not to be responsible for the project's collapse. The mayor wants to prevent his village from getting a negative image, and not lose any votes to the opposition. By contrast, the members of the solidarity fund want to reduce injustice. The conflict is about one's own position in the family and the village. To assert these interests, physical threats and repression are used on the one hand, and group solidarity on the other.

In the discussion, it is noted that all dimensions play a role in the conflict and must be taken into account in the subsequent analysis. To understand what social and psychological processes play a role in the conflict, the group defines the following key issues *(Step 3: Key Psychosocial Issues, see Tool: p. 18)*:

Threat

Women who participate in the project and strive for autonomy and independence, or who implement this project, are being threatened. But the men who are actively promoting women, e.g. the project coordinator, also feel threatened. They are being put under pressure by persons in authority at the community level and by close male family members. Threats from one woman against another woman can also occur. The wife of the chairman of the village committee for rural development was threatened by the women of the solidarity fund because she was ultimately unable to assert herself against her husband. Some amongst them might assume that she submits to her husband's interests and does not really take her own concerns seriously. The threat has been latently present for a long time. The threat is not predictable. It can only be kept in check through submission and conformity.

Fear

Fear is permanently present, but it is not talked about. It is secret. Neither do the women of the solidarity fund talk amongst themselves about their way of dealing with the threat, nor do the couples talk with each other about their relationship conflicts. The project workers, too, avoid talking about threats and feelings of fear.

Destruction

The group discusses what forms the destruction might have taken. They come up with different ideas, e.g. whether the wife of the chairman of the village committee had perhaps conspired with her husband from the start about embezzling the money, and is pretending to the members of the solidarity fund that she has been threatened. If it is assumed that there has been a threat, the group believes that both wives faced a real situation of being threatened by their husbands, which destroyed the marital trust if this had previously existed. If the wife was threatened with being abandoned, or if the man became physically violent, then the destruction could have posed an existential threat.

Trauma

The group assumes that neither of the two women has developed typical trauma symptoms. Depending on the past history and the real experience of violence, psychological or physical stress reactions could occur. The women in the project do not talk about these symptoms and avoid making a connection between the experiences of violence and oppression and their own personal forms of psychological and physical suffering.

Loss	Grief
As regards experiences of loss, this does not concern the loss of persons, but rather the loss of male authority, which is to be restored by means of appropriating the money from the solidarity fund. The group of women lose the money they paid in, the possibility of taking out a loan, and finally the project that provides them with materials for rearing chickens. Along with this, the women's hopes, particularly those of the poorest women, of freeing their own family from dire poverty, can be destroyed. Presumably, many also lose their faith that the women could change their precarious situation in a positive way out of their own initiative.	It can be assumed that the conflict triggers grief both in the women and the men, but that in both, a feeling of helplessness and anger predominates.

The group discusses whether the conflict exacerbates divisions between those who want to continue to conform to traditional values and those who want change. Presumably, the arguments around cultural values and family traditions are not new. However, the group takes the view that external influences have become stronger, which heightens tensions. They further note that the forms of threat, destruction and loss do not directly endanger a person's life, but certainly influence and structure social behaviour and psychological well-being.

The participants examine the question of which of the groups are weakened, and which are strengthened by the conflict. They come to the conclusion that at the present time, this issue has not yet been decided. The conflict is still ongoing. But they see a trend emerging in which the conflict is being played out at the women's expense. It is noted:

Summary of Results 4: Key Psychosocial Issues / Weakened and Strengthened Groups

Threats and fear play a key role in social relations. Hopelessness and anger are also very strong. The conflict is having a greater effect on the women.
Potentially, the women of the solidarity fund, as the poorest of the poor, are weakened as a result of the conflict. One reason for this is the theft of their project funds. Another reason is that the conflict divides the group. Furthermore, because of the withdrawal of the project, they are not given any support in dealing with the conflict. The chance to support each other as women, and to discuss their problems and possible actions, is jeopardized. The internal disputes will discourage precisely those who, because of their wretched living conditions, already tend towards resignation and isolation. The tensions increase their fear of threats, their hopelessness and anger.
The men act in solidarity with each other and mutually strengthen their position of power so as not to have to relinquish it to the women. The project, too, strengthens the men. It integrates them into the project activities by giving them responsibility, and thus confirms their position as being superior to that of the women.

After analysing the conflict level, the conflict dimensions and the psychosocial aspects, it becomes quite clear how closely the economic and political changes and the cultural and family aspects affect each other. It can be seen how the individual problems of their target group are linked to this. The group notes that while it occasionally noticed problems of individuals, it had not seen the structural connections. For the group members, these conflicts were relationship conflicts which everyone knows about and which have nothing to do with the project, because the goal is to deal with economic development. The discussion comes to the conclusion that the crisis concerning power, in particular in the communities, clearly also has to do with changes in gender relations, and is connected to the crisis over positions of power in the families. The group discusses whether to reformulate its conflict title. Instead of saying: *Warning: Fraud! Power structure in crisis*, it could say: *Warning: Gender Conflict! Families in crisis*.

The group now examines what factors there are that connect the parties in a conflict, and what divides them, and how this transforms the conflict. They remind themselves once more that, on the one side, they see the chairman of the rural committee, who is representative of the group that wants to preserve the gender-specific traditions. On the other side, they see the female treasurer and the members of the solidarity fund, who are representatives of the group that strives for autonomy in gender relations.

Summary of Results 5: Connecting and Dividing Factors

Connecting factors

The village of Sao: *Both sides identify with their village and aspire to a positive development. The shared interest can be used positively for conflict transformation.*

The municipal administration: *It is a connecting factor, since both sides refer to it. However, since the implementation and interpretation of the regulating principles is strongly influenced by the traditional dispensation of justice and can be interpreted in each individual's own interest, it is judged as not being transformative in its current form.*

Development programme in the village: *It is a connecting factor because all village residents are affected by it.*

The village committee for rural development: *The agreements of the farmers are aimed at both sides. But since its composition is very patriarchal, and there is a danger that only the interests of the chairman are represented, it is not transformative.*

Tradition: *Both sides live with the same traditions. It plays an important role in conflict transformation.*

Family cohesion: *The shared idea that family concerns take priority can be conflict-transforming because both can intrinsically understand the interests of the other.*

Needs: *A connecting factor because both want to achieve better living conditions so as not to have to migrate to the city.*

Dividing factors

Development programme in the village: *Only one party to the conflict has responsibility for its implementation, so it is not conflict-transforming. If the interests of both parties to the conflict were represented, then the development programme could have a conflict-transforming effect.*

Sharing-out of resources: *This is exclusively in the hands of the men, while the women's interests are not taken into consideration. That is why it is not transformative.*

Division of power: *On regional and municipal level it is unequal and therefore not transformative, because women cannot assert themselves and an imbalance remains.*

Family cohesion: *Through their women's initiative, the women show that their solidarity is sometimes more important than family unity. This view is not shared by the other side. There is a potential to transform the conflict because strengthening the women can contribute to improving family living conditions and cushion the collapse in the male-dominated labour sector.*

Tradition: *Tradition divides if there is a contradiction between rigid interpretation and dynamically changeable developments. However, those who do not seek any changes in gender relations appeal to the subordination of women as being an established tradition, which does not contribute to transformation.*

Lack of solidarity among women: *The in-*

Religion: *Religion is very much a connecting factor in the village, because all respect their faith and belong to the same community.*

Ethnic affiliation: *Connecting, because all the parties to the conflict belong to the same ethnic group.*

The principle of equality: *Connecting, because both sides accept this principle. It means that those who do not submit to the normal codes of behaviour are despised. It is not conflict-transforming because the women only succeed in obtaining changes if they take themselves seriously as individuals with their needs and desires and have the courage to become independent (of the man, and also of the views of other women).*

dividual man remains more powerful than the group of women. Because conflicts in gender relations are negotiated individually and no changes can occur at the social level, it is not transformative.

Women's oppression: *Divisive and not transformative, because it establishes a perpetrator–victim relationship between the sexes and negative feelings predominate.*

Advancement of women: *Divisive and conflict-transforming because women are explicitly promoted and because an existing power imbalance is changed.*

The chicken coop: *Divisive and conflict-transforming because women are specifically supported to improve poultry rearing.*

Regarding the question of how the conflict has developed, the group notes the following *(Step 4: Course of the Conflict, see Tool: p. 23)*:

Six months before the project started with its work, a study was carried out about the levels of poverty in the region. The research found that 50 percent of the region's population were classified as in need of aid. This led to the introduction of poultry rearing in order to enhance the women's income. Women were to contribute to funding the building of the chicken coops by taking on the costs for the sand, the concrete and the manual work. For the women, the conflict began even before the chicken coops were built, because their husbands took on the costs for the materials and had to pay the labourers. Only after that could the women themselves get involved in rearing chickens. The group wonders whether an internal arrangement had been made between the woman and her husband that she would pay back the money to the husband after the chickens had been sold.

The staff members recall a situation during one of their visits to the chairman and his wife, prior to the meeting at which the conflict escalated. Although the wife opened the door, she did not welcome them as would be normal. Her husband appeared behind her and greeted them. At the time, the project workers interpreted the situation as a security issue, because it was already late in the evening. When discussing this later with the team, they noted that the woman was very wary and always avoided taking responsibility when project decisions were due to be made, and did not take decisions. The project staff drew her attention to her responsibility as a signatory to the contract and put pressure on her. The group noted that at no time did the woman say anything about her internal family difficulties. She did not confide in them.

The conflict between the couple escalates and impacts on the conduct of those involved in the project. Violence is a tool in the dispute. For the chairman's wife, it becomes threatening because she is being attacked by her husband and denounced and aggressively insulted by the group of women. The women's group also accuses the project workers of having tolerated the situation and being secretly aware of it. The project workers decide to withdraw from the community in order to protect themselves.

Together with the coordinator, the project workers begin to talk about the conflicts they encounter in the communities. They are worried about the existing potential for conflict in the rural regions. They also observe that power struggles are

escalating among the political and religious elites. On the one hand, there is a lack of direction, and on the other hand, the massively growing popularity of certain religious leaders. At the moment, the project workers are uncertain about how to act with regard to these conflicts in the project. When choosing which of the six different sequences suggested by the Tool to assign the conflict to, they choose the second sequence. Their conflict is not one of war with acute threats and massive escalation.

They produce the following Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 6: Conflict History

First sequence – Before the start of the conflict: There is a lack of clarity about the division of roles in the project between women and men, and at the start of the project, the women find themselves dependent on their husbands. The main responsibility for the project fund is borne by the wife of the chairman of the committee for rural development, with whom the contract negotiations between the municipality and the project coordination were conducted. The role of the chairman is not set out clearly in the contract. The wife thus finds herself in a double bind. She becomes involved in a conflict with her husband around autonomy and independence, and she stands up for her project. Towards outsiders, she is submissive to her husband, as is her duty traditionally. She refrains from making decisions before she has discussed them with her husband. Neither the group of women, nor the project workers become aware of the conflict in good time. She gets no support from outsiders.

Second sequence – Beginning of the conflict and chronification: The conflict becomes threatening. The threat is also perceived by the project workers. Instead of reflecting together on their own emotional processes of fear and anger and elaborating possible actions for conflict transformation, the project is in jeopardy with the termination of the cooperation. The project staff withdraw and leave those responsible to deal with the process of clarifying the situation. The project workers are worried about the existing potential for conflict. They begin to talk about their fears. They realise that so far, they lack options for action in the project.

The group discusses how the conflict can deteriorate and how it could best be resolved. They develop a conflict-transforming and a conflict-escalating scenario *(Step 5: Future Developments, see Tool: p. 23)*:

Conflict-transforming scenario

The project staff start discussions with the women's group and the committee for rural development. They reflect together on the different views of the course of the conflict and offer themselves as partners in facilitating a joint meeting. This eventually takes place. The parties to the conflict agree to specific, contractually fixed agreements that are designed to prevent further conflicts.

Conflict-escalating scenario

In order to resolve the conflict and not to attract even more attention to his village, the mayor prom-

ises the women support in the repayment of the money. Because of contacts that some women have to his political opponents in the neighbouring community, the conflict attracts public attention as a case of money laundering. This increases the tensions inside the women's group, the married couples but also inside the project team, which is divided about the developments and about how to proceed.

The group discusses how it actually wants gender relations to evolve. It becomes clear to them that they lack a shared vision in this respect, and that they don't actually know the different positions of the staff members on this subject. They elaborate the following Summary of Results.

Summary of Results 7: Future Developments

The project staff members share their different perspectives of the conflict and develop contextual strategies for conflict transformation, which they integrate into their other activities. They observe and document the processes of change and discuss the results together. They become more sensitive to conflicts. They begin to notice conflicts earlier and, working jointly with the actors and target groups, they develop appropriate options for action. In the discussion process, the staff members develop a joint position with regard to the changes in gender relations. They convey their observations on the psychosocial processes to the national project partners and develop a shared vision of the gender question with them. They support each other in the integration of methods of enhancing food security, the psychosocial approach, gender mainstreaming and conflict transformation.

In the next Building Block, the project work is examined. The participants start by describing their activities and roles in the project *(Step 1: Project Activities in Relation to the Conflict Dimensions, see Tool: p. 26)*:

Ismail, the project coordinator, is responsible for cooperation with the international and national project partners. In addition to the day-to-day communications, he is currently working with other actors on a strategy of improved lobbying of the Fair Trade principles. They have formed the National Federation for Organic Agriculture («Fédération Nationale Pour l'Agriculture Biologique», FENAB).

Amury is the project assistant and does the groundwork for the coordinator. Working with the representatives of the communities, he prepares the contracts. The coordinator then signs the contracts. Amury is also responsible for the financial accounting and communicates on matters between the project staff. He is also responsible for monitoring and evaluation and for organising the team structures.

Schaima, Adija and Djabrail mainly organise training sessions on legal and financial issues of the solidarity funds. Every two months, they attend the member meetings in twelve different villages in the region. Together with the members of the solidarity funds, they prepare agreements to stop income being wasted on traditional family celebrations such as weddings or funerals. Schaima is also responsible for public relations work. Recently, she was involved in raising people's awareness, in cooperation with a local radio station, about methods of ensuring food security and household budgeting. Adija organised a regional exchange for the participants in the poultry rearing-project and the solidarity funds, to enable them to learn with and from others. Sara is concerned with the sale of the products, and helps the farmers to develop better networks for trading. She runs advanced training sessions for small businesses. She now supports twelve groups in developing sales strategies; in addition to selling in local markets, three shops have been opened to sell organic products.

After describing their activities, the group considers to what extent it takes account of the different conflict dimensions that were brought out in Building Block III. They come to the following conclusion:

Concerning cultural aspects or questions of identity, they find that these are partly taken into consideration in the project interventions. In particular, attention is paid to the problem of wasting funds on traditional celebrations. Together with the members of the solidarity funds, the project elaborated an agreement that specifies for whom and what the income cannot be used. The aim was to protect the poor families against indebtedness. However, the importance of gender relations is not taken into consideration in the training sessions.

The project is guided by material conditions when choosing the place of the intervention, the definition of the target group and the agreements on goals. It thus takes the conflict dimension of political economy into account. The project also responds to regional and rural disadvantage and is careful, in its choice of the target group, to promote women especially and to strive for equality and self-determination. So conflicts related to the dimension of political participation are partly considered. With regard to the conflict dimension subjective/individual, it becomes clear that, while the material progress of the individual woman is important for the project, her individual development in terms of her family and social relationships is not taken into consideration.

In the next step, the group examines the effects of its activities on the conflict. To this end, they look at the Summary of Results 5, which deals with the connecting and dividing factors in the conflict. They note that, although the project influences all the factors listed there, the project does not necessarily use them in relation to conflict transformation. This means, they were not particularly aware of some of those factors, and did not take up others. Finally they had, as already said, mainly focused on the economic aspect of the conflict, which is why they did not consciously take up the other dividers and connectors *(Step 2: Effects of the Project on the Conflict, see Tool: p. 26)*.

The group further examines to what extent it influences the psychosocial problems. The group members note that although the project is specifically concerned with the group of women who suffer poor living conditions, the conflict tends to weaken this group. So with its present strategy, the project is unintentionally causing this group

to be further weakened. As regards the local leaders, the group notes that the project is indirectly concerned with this group. They do not see it as the target group. They now realise that the project has, through their interventions, unintentionally led to a further strengthening of this group. They supplement the Summary of Results.

Summary of Results 4: Key Psychosocial Issues / Weakened and Strengthened Groups

Threats and fear play a key role in social relations. Hopelessness and anger are also very strong. The conflict is having a greater effect on the women.

Potentially, the women of the solidarity fund, as the poorest of the poor, are weakened as a result of the conflict. One reason for this is the theft of their project funds. Another reason is that the conflict divides the group. Furthermore, because of the withdrawal of the project, they are not given any support in dealing with the conflict. The chance to support each other as women, and to discuss their problems and possible actions, is jeopardized. The internal disputes will discourage precisely those who, because of their wretched living conditions, already tend towards resignation and isolation. The tensions increase their fear of threats, their hopelessness and anger.

The project concerns itself specifically with this group. This group is weakened by the conflict. Through its interventions, the project unintentionally has the effect of further weakening this group.

The men act in solidarity with each other and mutually strengthen their position of power so as not to have to relinquish it to the women. The project, too, strengthens the men. It integrates them into the project activities by giving them responsibility, and thus confirms their position as being superior to that of the women.

The project concerns itself indirectly with this group. This group is strengthened by the conflict. Through its interventions, the project unintentionally has the effect of further strengthening this group.

The conflict development, too, is evaluated from the perspective of the project intervention and integrated into the Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 6: Conflict History

First sequence – Before the start of the conflict: There is a lack of clarity about the division of roles in the project between women and men, and at the start of the project, the women find themselves dependent on their husbands. The main responsibility for the project fund is borne by the wife of the chairman of the committee for rural development, with whom the contract negotiations between the municipality and the project coordination were conducted. The role of the chairman is not set out clearly in the contract. The wife thus finds herself in a double

bind. She becomes involved in a conflict with her husband around autonomy and independence, and she stands up for her project. Towards outsiders, she is submissive to her husband, as is her duty traditionally. She refrains from making decisions before she has discussed them with her husband. Neither the group of women, nor the project workers, become aware of the conflict in good time. She gets no support from outsiders.

Second sequence – Beginning of the conflict and chronification: The conflict becomes threatening. The threat is also perceived by the project workers. Instead of reflecting together on their own emotional processes of fear and anger and elaborating possible actions for conflict transformation, the project is in jeopardy with the termination of the cooperation. The project staff withdraw and leave those responsible to deal with the process of clarifying the situation. The project workers are worried about the existing potential for conflict. They begin to talk about their fears. They realise that so far, they lack options for action in the project.

The retreat of the project staff and the threat of ending the cooperation are not appropriate. Those in the community who are involved need support. The conduct of the project staff does not contribute to the conflict transformation because the parties in the conflict are left to cope on their own and the stronger party in the conflict profits from the withdrawal. With the withdrawal, the project conveys the message that the conflict is about an individual dispute rather than a socially unequal power relationship which they want to influence. It is appropriate to discuss the situation in the team and to become aware how significant these conflicts are in the project work and how important it is, in a project on food security, to develop strategies for conflict transformation.

The group responds cautiously to the question about their personal preferences with regard to the actors in the described conflict *(Step 3: Effects of the Implicit Ethical Messages on the Conflict, see Tool: p. 26)*. Gradually, some are able to indicate their own interests. To the group's astonishment, it emerges that opinions differ widely. Schaima explicitly backs the chairman's wife and takes her side. Her interest as a woman is to support other strong women in order to reinforce a feeling of solidarity among them. Other staff members have doubts about the wife's statements. Adija backs the members of the solidarity fund who accuse the chairman's wife. The two young staff members Amury and Djabrail remark that they like the mayor's calm intervention, who from their perspective suggested a practical solution. The coordinator says that the advancement of, and equal rights for, women is in the project's interest, and that this also corresponds to his personal interest. He would like there to be at least a process of clarification among the women. That would mean that the project activities could be resumed.

What becomes apparent in the discussion is how difficult it is to be honest with the team about personal preferences. But it also reveals how little discussion there has been until now about the different, and also contradictory, interests. The team itself is very split on how it should interpret this conflict constellation.

Together, the staff members work out what implicit ethical messages they transmit to the community and reflect on how they influence the dividing and connecting factors in the conflict by doing so. It becomes clear to them how contradictory their implicit ethical messages regarding the conflict are. They produce the following Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 8: Implicit Ethical Messages

Connecting factors

The village of Sao: *The message «We respond to the needs of the community» strengthens the connecting factor.*

The municipal administration: *The message «The chairman and the mayor are our partners» does not contribute to conflict transformation. Instead, those who have been strengthened gain from it.*

The village committee for rural development: *The message «Mutual gifts of power between the project and the chairman» strengthens patriarchal structures, which does not contribute to conflict transformation.*

Family cohesion: *Family cohesion as a connecting factor is not strengthened by the two messages: «Work in the project is more important than private life» and «Social and family conflicts are not our concern and have nothing to do with us», so that the potential for conflict transformation remains unexploited.*

Needs: *The message «We can help» strengthens the connecting factor because all are given hope.*

The principle of equality: *While the message «We adapt to the team rules. We put our personal interest in the second place» strengthens the connecting factor, it does not do so in a conflict-transforming sense, because the personal interest relating to women's advancement does not coincide for everyone with the project interest.*

Dividing factors

Development programme in the village: *The message «We can help» strengthens the dividing factor, but not in the conflict-transforming sense, because the interests of both parties to the conflict are not taken into consideration in the project implementation.*

Allocation of resources: *The message «We support women's advancement» strengthens the dividing factor in the conflict-transforming sense. However, when combined with the message «We do not question the differences in power between the sexes», the factor is weakened again.*

Family cohesion: *The message «Work in the project is more important than private life» strengthens the dividing factor in the conflict-transforming sense. The message «Social and family conflicts are not our concern and have nothing to do with us» is, however, in contradiction with this.*

Lack of solidarity among women: *The message «Social and family conflicts are not our concern and have nothing to do with us» contradicts the goal of the project, which is to strengthen solidarity among women, since women are currently still very dependent in a social and family context. Through the message, the project also indicates that its support is limited, which is why the message does not contribute to conflict transformation.*

Oppression of women: *The message «Social and family conflicts are not our concern and have nothing to do with us» does not strengthen the weakened group.*

Advancement of women: *The message «We promote women in the project, though in private life I am not so sure whether equality is the right way», which some of the staff back, contradicts the message of others: «We promote women in the project, I also try to change gender roles in private life.» Although the dividing factor is strengthened in the sense of conflict transformation, the disunity in the team conveys that the support of the project in asserting women's interests remains limited.*

The members of the group are amazed about what they can implicitly convey through their attitude, and how they influence the conflict without having intended to. What is interesting for the participants is the converse conclusion, that they can explicitly use conscious messages in order to induce the changes they want to make. The participants then ask themselves what role gender relations actually play in the relationships with their cooperation partners *(Step 4: Effects of the Relations Between the Project Partners on the Conflict, see Tool: p. 26)*. They realise how little reflection takes place about the promotion of women in the context of the specific challenges in Senegal, and quite specifically in the rural region of the north. The group elaborates the following Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 9: Cooperation with Partners

The promotion of women and gender mainstreaming play an important role in international cooperative relationships. They form part of the written agreements between «Ecogoal» and Fastenopfer. At international meetings of the coordinators, the international donors convey information and standards on gender mainstreaming. However, those in charge do not evaluate the interventions of gender mainstreaming in relation to the specific project. The conflicts, which the project influences at the regional level, are not discussed or evaluated. Thus, the positions and interests of the contractual partners remain generalised and are not clarified in context and related to the specific conflict. There is no debate about the vision of change. In the national cooperation with partners, the topic remains very underexposed. While national and international organisations offer training on gender mainstreaming, and «Ecogoal» may happen to meet its national cooperation partners there, the training sessions do not offer a forum for exchanging views about one's own position, interests, standards and strategies.

Having discussed their relations with the cooperation partners with regard to the conflict, the group now starts to talk about itself as a team and about its conflict culture *(Step 5: Dealing with Conflicts in the Team, see Tool: p. 26)*. They all more or less agree that they relate to each other in a very «Senegalese» way. As a rule, they get along well when it comes to their work, but they avoid conflicts and tensions. This also applies to the conflict topic of gender equality. All the staff

members are part of this social situation and partly live in polygamous family structures themselves. The contradictions between the project activities and the private family interests are not raised in the team. At the end of the discussion, it becomes quite clear that there is as little discussion about their own gender conflicts in the team as there is of this issue in the community. The conflict is covered up and avoided. Conversely, it now becomes clear why the project responds by withdrawing. How can it deal appropriately with this conflict topic with the target group if there is no discussion about gender conflict in the team itself or in one's own family. The group records the following Summary of Results:

Summary of Results 10: Team Problems

The team discusses conflicts during work. As a rule, there is not real quarrel, but rather they jointly look for solutions. Personal opinions and one's own feelings are not openly verbalised. The individual goes along with the group's approach. During the team discussions, the coordinator makes sure that the women in the team get to speak. He allows them to speak if he notices that they want to say something, but that the group is not taking notice of the woman's attempt to be listened to. The coordinator harmonizes communication in the group. Other staff members often fail to notice his interventions. The coordinator is the only one who talks about his fears. The others don't take his feelings seriously and don't pay attention to his fears.

Key question 1: Relation to the conflict

The project relates too narrowly to the gender conflict it has identified. Although it wants to transform the conflict, the distinctive regional and family features of the conflict and of the specific target group have not been adequately defined. To put it more precisely: The tensions that occur between individuals at the family and professional level (conflict dimension subjective/individual) and that flow from their affinity as a woman and as a man (conflict dimension cultural affiliation) are not sufficiently highlighted. For example, the project does not consciously pay attention to the values by which the respective family is guided, how the household is managed in the target group families or who allocates and controls the resources in the household, despite the fact that the project changes these informal and traditional rules through its intervention. Since the project did not intend to consider the conflict dimensions of individual/subject and cultural affiliation, in addition to the economic interventions, the staff find it quite difficult to notice the changes that are triggered by the project at the individual and cultural level. Correspondingly, the staff fail to communicate with each other about the shared vision of a positive development in relation to these two conflict dimensions. The consequence is that the project staff remain unclear about how to interpret specific feelings in their groups in order to understand the social group processes, and how they can deal with these feelings. The project should change its method of intervention in such a way that the project staff can support the families in this process of change over the long term.

The project thus runs the risk of reinforcing internal family tensions. It may contribute to restricting the women's efforts at autonomy, instead of giving both groups the opportunity to consider their relationship, their self-image as men and women, and redefine it. This can lead to a situation where the project unintentionally fails to support the (weakened) group of women and that instead, the men profit from the project.

Key question 2: Influence on dividing and connecting factors

With regard to the connecting factors, the project should strengthen the municipal administration as connector, with both sides drawing up agreements so that everyone involved can refer to them. An important message could, for example, state: «Both (municipal administration and the target group/women) are our partners.» The project should also strengthen the village committee for rural development as a connector, by supporting the participation of women in the development plan. A message could say: «Gifts for the village committee if it takes the advancement of women seriously.» The dividing factor of the development programme in the village should no longer be strengthened. Instead, support should be given to the interests of both parties to the conflict being represented in the planning and implementing of activities.

The project can use religion as connecting or dividing factor in discussing religious attitudes and secular orientation. The principle of equality should be strengthened as a connecting factor and a means of conflict transformation, by elaborating a shared vision with the members of the project, which serves as a guide for both parties.

The topic of the family is clearly underexposed. The project should therefore encourage a discussion about what family cohesion means for the woman and the man, and how they want to shape it. In doing so, the project would strengthen family cohesion as a connector in the conflict. A motto could be: «Good family cohesion is an important concern for us, and moreover, social and family conflicts are, in addition to economic-political aspects, also our concern.»

After the group's discussion whether, instead of the advancement of women, perhaps the promotion of families was important so as not to heighten the tensions, the group makes the following recommendation: The dividing factor of specifically promoting women should be strengthened, whereby at the same time the differences in gender relations should be focussed on and negotiated. The message «We promote women» should be retained, in order to strengthen the dividing factor in the sense of conflict transformation. But at the same time, the message should be applied: «We promote women in the project because gender equality is the right way, but what equality means for us is something we must determine together.» In this,

solidarity among women plays an important role and should be strengthened. For example by the message: «Solidarity among women is important in order to change social and family conflicts. We support you in this.» The oppression of women should be taken seriously in this process, and should be focussed on.

The project should take the conflicts that arise due to different traditional views seriously and create space for negotiations. The chicken coop as a dividing (equality) but also as a connecting (improvement of the family's economic situation) factor should be strengthened, and at the same time, support should be given to the families to discuss and negotiate the existing conflicts about the power balance in the family.

Key question 3: Goal definition
The goal should be to discuss the conflict with the women and the chairman of the committee for rural development, so as to be able to validate the results of the analysis and to determine what social changes are triggered by the project. All those involved need to learn to understand these processes, to become clear about their different interests and find out how they want to behave in the conflict. Over the longer term, it would be important to establish a «continuous framework» in which the social changes triggered by the project and possible internal family disputes can be discussed. In particular, the conflicts that arise due to the gender relationship should no longer be dealt with in secret.

As regards the goal definition of the project, the formulated goals for improving food security through agricultural projects and entrepreneurship in low-income families should be retained. In addition, goals should be established that relate to the social transformation processes in gender relations and family relations.

The goal of promoting women's advancement should be discussed in connection with the power relations between the sexes, and the objective should be better articulated. Only then can the sub-goals be more clearly determined and differentiated. The following sub-goals are proposed for this purpose:
– Participation and responsibility for decision-making processes in the municipality's administrative structures

– Participation and responsibility for decision-making processes (e.g. resource allocation) in the field of rural development
– Participation and responsibility for decision-making processes in household management (distribution of tasks, resource allocation) in the families
– The promotion of communication and ability to deal with conflicts within the low-income families should be a further goal, so as to be able to define specific roles and tasks with regard to gender relations
– Promotion of solidarity among women

The project should formulate goals that relate to the cooperation with the municipal administration, not only related to the original target group. The goal is to advise the municipal administration in the planning and implementation of its development programme. The following sub-goals are proposed for this purpose:
– Exchange of views and agreements between secular outlooks and religious views, which are put in writing and in which different actors, as for example religious representatives, women delegates and parties, should participate.

The agreements on preventing income being wasted on traditional family celebrations such as weddings and funerals should be retained because they have proved effective.

Key question 4: Target group
Supporting the target group of low-income families in rural areas should be retained. In particular, the work should be with the women who have been defined as a potentially «weakened» group in the conflict. But there should also be work with the men, and it should be determined what the goal is. Another target group should be families who suffer from a high potential of violence, and in which perpetrator-victim relations are observed. These should be given special support and advice to enable a change in their stressful living situation. At the regional level, the target group should be broadened to include political and religious actors. In this regard, it is recommended that advice is given to the municipal administration in respect of its institutional structures and decision-making processes, so as to obtain an improvement in political participation and to include different representatives

in the decision-making processes. The goal is for the actors to become aware of the processes of social change with regard to gender relations, and to develop clearer options for action, which can then be useful guidelines for the members of the community.

Key question 5: Method
The legal and financial advice provided to the solidarity funds should be supplemented by the social empowerment of the women. The women and families should be supported psychosocially in this process. It should be clearly defined which activities are conducted only for the women, which with the men, which with both and which might include other family members and other members of the community. The agreements on preventing income being wasted on traditional family celebrations function quite well. These experiences can be used to develop methods that relate to changes in gender relations.

The methods of public relations work are already very sophisticated. The information about food security and issues of household management that is publicly broadcast can be supplemented by the conflict topic. The connection between the social and economic-political changes and the conflicts within families can be explained and discussed. This can be used to raise awareness of the problems of gender relations.

The regional committee functions well. The groups should, in addition to strategies on food security and income security, talk about coping strategies in connection with family and gender-specific changes and conflicts.

Key question 6: Cooperation with partners
Both in the national and the international networks, a clearer reference should be made to gender conflict, including the difficulties encountered in the field in developing this theme. The subject of empowering women should be discussed more in context, related to the specific regional challenges and specificities of the respective project. The existing networks should be better used, so as to exchange views about strategies of promoting women's advancement and developing regional standards if need be.

Key question 7: Project structures
Regarding the internal team organization, moni-

toring and evaluation should not only be treated in the existing reports, but also involve regular workshops (at least once a year) with the staff members and the project partners. This allows the discussion of subject-specific issues inside the team and a better analysis of and dealing with conflicts. The budget should be adapted to this purpose. The income structure of the staff members is not considered to be a problem, since it is guided by the classification of their professional training.

Key question 8: Institutional safeguarding of psychosocial stability (conflict culture, self-protection)
Informal possibilities of dealing with stress at the workplace and with team conflicts already exist in the team. On the one hand, individual staff members communicate among themselves and support each other. On the other hand, individual staff members turn to the coordinator, who discusses the conflict with the persons involved. There are also formal options in the organization of dealing with stress in the workplace and team conflicts. For example, staff members can apply for leave. If they feel physically unwell, they can take sick leave. Since the conflict culture in the team tends towards harmonious interaction, these few formal and informal options work quite well.

The following recommendations for informal possibilities are made: Because of the harmonising conflict culture, it is often not made clear in the team discussions how differently particular situations with the target group are perceived, and what discrepancy arises in the perception and interpretation of the situation. Therefore, the different perceptions and the conflicts that relate to the gender roles should be more clearly expressed. In addition, there should be space to consciously and openly deal with the conflicts between the demands made by family commitments (childcare, housework, resistance by the family to the professional activity) and the demands made by the organization (efficiency at work, presence during working hours). Furthermore, it should be possible to express a personal opinion, defend it, argue, and also express feelings. This can allow the viewpoints of the opposite sex, or of one's own sex, to be better understood. This conscious dealing with one's own and others' perception of a situation in the

team can help to better understand other situations in the project in connection with the target group. If feelings are being expressed, the staff members should take these seriously.

Suggested formal possibilities are to establish team supervision, take up sensitivities and work motivation as an agenda point in internal team meetings, conduct regular staff discussions with the coordinator, and promote regular external coaching for the coordinator.