Trust a resilience builder for sustainable development in a disaster-prone district: Insights from Chimanimani rural district, Zimbabwe

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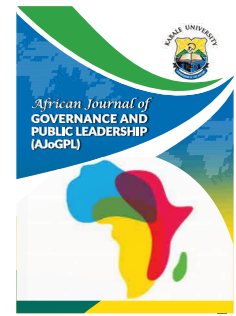Research Council of Zimbabwe

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Abstract

Politics, social diversity and the current economic meltdown have divided citizens in Zimbabwe. Infrastructural, political and socio-economic growth in the first decade of independence was based on the generality's trust in the newly-independent country' institutional systems. However, corruption, non-transparency and failure to put in place systems of accountability have tainted the functionality of community and government institutional systems. This is a sign of a severe human factor decay. Government effort to build trust has been demonstrated through putting in place institutions to deal with corruption at various levels. A study was carried out in Chimanimani District to assess the level of trust of the Chimanimani community in 29 institutional systems. An exploratory design using descriptive statistics was utilised. A Likert-type questionnaire was used to collect data. Convenience and judgmental sampling were used to select 220 grassroots community people to participate in the study. Descriptive data analysis using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19.0 for windows (SPSS Inc: Chicago, IL, USA) was used. The results revealed low a level of trust among individuals, households, government departments, council, civic society and political parties. The researchers concluded that little trust or no trust among individuals and institutions is the biggest disservice to resilience building and disaster management. Revisiting the traditional judiciary, decision making and social healing platforms such as *Matare* to reorient those who provide service to communities is highly recommended. In fact, there is nothing shameful in going back to the African traditional past and modifying it to suit the current society (*Sankofa*) which promoted trust for the resilience of both the family and society.

Key words: Hazards, Matare, Sankofa, Shock, Social Capital, Disaster

Introduction

In communities, resilience has been used in a number of different contexts ranging from climate change to sustainability and to the role of resilience in reducing the vulnerability of communities from natural disasters (Chirisa et al., 2016). Zimbabwe has been divided politically, economically, socially and culturally. This makes it a fragile, non-resilient and disaster-prone state. Remedial actions are available. The remedies are enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20 of 2013). Clear sections on culture, the cornerstone to nation building, and corruption, the cancer that is gnawing at society to its marrow, are available in the Constitution.

However, having these sections and implementing them are two different things. Looking back, taking and embracing that which as a nation (our culture) we have ignored is not a sign of weakness. Once we recollect our conscience and embrace the lost tradition, we will resolve our society's challenges. Our tradition is the remedy to the current human factor decay. Embracing tradition builds trust. Trust is a necessity for community resilience.

In his Address on the Occasion of Presidential Inauguration on 25 May 2019, the South African President Elect Cyril Ramaphosa affirmed that lack of trust by citizen in the very systems that are expected to give hope and resilience to them is a big challenge. He said, "*In recent times our people have watched as some of those in whom they had invested their trust have surrendered to the temptation of power and riches. They have seen some of the very institutions of our democracy eroded and resources squandered. The challenges we face are real. But they are not insurmountable. They can be resolved. And we are going to solve them. In the face of all these challenges our people have remained resolute, resilient, unwavering in their desire for a better South Africa.* "

The speech summed it all. That trust has been a way of living among Africans and has been a resilience builder. Indeed, building trust inculcates a sense of collective action, social inclusion and empowerment. Trust empowers citizens to question, without fear, what is happening around them. In return, those in positions of providing service are obliged to act in a transparent and accountable manner. Traditionally, the Shona elders of Zimbabwe believed that the community was a family. Family did not only refer to a household or those connected biologically or by marriage, but referred to the society which shared a common culture and interests. Every member of the family was expected to account for his/her actions. This implied a well-organised individual, one who had confidence in himself or herself and trusted him/herself, his/her family and the community at large. This is why in this study, the principle of looking back to reclaim that good we have lost (*Sankofa*) is being advocated for.

The traditional platforms of education, decision-making and the judiciary system (*Matare*) which dovetailed with the changing traditions need to be revisited. Trust was inculcated and strengthened at *Matare*. Trust is a virtue of human factor development and a capability that is required for community resilience. Therefore, investing in building trust at individual, household, community, district, regional and national level is a pre-requisite for resilience. In this study, we defined and explained key issues relating to trust, and its role in resilience building, disaster preparedness and governance. We highlight examples of shocks, stressors and hazards that have divided individuals, families, communities and our society at large. As a result of low levels of trust, community members no longer accept even early disaster warnings. They have developed a wait-and-see attitude (Marango et al., 2018). The wait-and-see attitude, for example, made the people of Chimanimani and other parts of the country fail to take heed of the warnings about two cyclones, Eline and Idai, which left trails of human, animal, property, infrastructure and livelihood losses.

Matare are part of an indigenous governance system in Africa which worked well at family and community level in the past. Afrocentricity is anchored on the principle of dare (singular noun) or *Matare* (plural noun) because it allows democratic participation. *Matare* provided a platform for checks and balances (Marango, 2011). The *Matare* concept exists in the family, community, business and government, civic, social and global organisations. These exhibit the rich indigenous knowledge of transparent leadership styles among African societies (Marango et al., 2018). *Matare* were all-encompassing. Anyone was free to

participate without fear of reprisal. The community acted as security for participation. Having this in mind, African leaders at all levels should start reconsidering home grow systems of governance which inculcate trust in them. Foreign governance strategies that come as blueprints and with predefined conditions have been a disservice to Africa. They have, over time, mutated into vices, leading to the extinction of that which held Africans together as one people. The only remedy is looking back to our past the *Sankofa* way.

Quan-Baffour (2012) defines *Sankofa* as gazing back to indigenous knowledge and skills in order to reclaim them. It is going back for that which was lost in the past. *Sankofa* represents a mythical bird among the Akan people of Ghana. It flies with its head turned backwards and with an egg on its mouth. This symbolises the wisdom in learning from one's past, to understand the present and shape the future. The egg symbolises a 'gem' or knowledge of the past from which wisdom is derived. The new generation can benefit from this wisdom (Shapiro, 1990). Indeed, the past illuminates the present. There is need for introspection in order to reflect on the important past so that one plans a suitable action to bring about change. We use the phrase 'critical *Sankofa*' to refer to the approach in which one looks at his traditional past with critical eyes. One then selects elements that would be of use to the present life to build a better future. *Sankofa* is a reminder to everyone to look back to the past practices and revive that which has served their communities for millennia in order to solve the present problems.

Traditional societies were built on trust. Trust is a human factor virtue. Human factor is a recipe for sustainable development. It is a promoter of good governance. It is the opposite of personal and community vices such as corruption, non-accountability, non-transparency and insensitivity to doing wrong. Human factor cuts across personal and community institutional systems. As the cradle of mankind, Africa has been known for human factor development. However, the advent of colonial and foreign knowledge systems distorted the African way of life. African tradition was known for its altruism and non-affinity to egocentric tendencies. In the true African setting, corruption and self-centredness are unAfrican. Any act of corruption or self-love at the expense of others would be exposed openly at *Matare*. According to Adjibolosoo (1993: 142), Human factor refers to " *[t]he spectrum of personality characteristics and other dimensions of human performance that enable social, economic and political institutions to function and remain functional over time. Such dimensions sustain the workings and application of the rule of law, political harmony, a disciplined labour force, just legal systems, respect for human dignity and the sanctity of life and social welfare, among others. As is often the case, no social, economic or political institutions can function effectively without being upheld by a network of committed persons who stand firmly by them. Such persons must strongly believe in and continually affirm the ideals of society.*"

Trust refers to mutual faithfulness (Lewis & Weigert, 1985). The term faithfulness was borrowed from Simmel's (1964) sociological work. It is a multi-layered concept which encompasses attributes such as dependability, credibility, faithfulness, information sharing, and the expectation of cooperation between partners (Lamothe & Lamothe, 2011). Trust is the cornerstone of all social relationships. From a sociological perspective, trust is a precondition for the functionality of any society. Luhmann (1979) argues that there are no alternatives to trust except chaos and paralysing fear. The function of trust is therefore the reduction of these complexities (Luhmann, 1979). Scholars argue that the modern industrial society is organised by complex and tightly integrated temporal structures (Lewis and Weigert, 1985). McAllister (1995) posits that social trust is a lubricant to relationships and social systems. It facilitates coordinated action.

Therefore, it cannot be overemphasised that trust is an indispensable and integral component of social relationships. This is so because trust involves the unavoidable elements such as risk and potential doubt. The impact of trust at individual level is the same at all the other levels. This is so because households, communities, districts, regions and nations are made up of many individuals. Trust is built through maintaining some level of honest, effective communication, well-thought decisions, reliability, accepting mistakes and undertaking remedial actions, being in pursuit of righteousness, not downplaying own and others' efforts and, finally, freedom of expression. From this explanation, it is now clear that social trust is the fulcrum of resilience at all levels.

When disasters strike, there is need for resilience. World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002) defines disaster as an occurrence disrupting the normal conditions of existence and causing a level of suffering that exceeds the capacity of adjustment of the affected community. National Institute for Disaster Management (NIDM, 2003) defines a disaster as an event or series of events which gives rise to casualties and damage or loss of properties, infrastructure, environment, essential services or means of livelihood on such a scale which is beyond the normal capacity of the affected community to cope with. In other words, disasters are not only natural but include social and political phenomena such as wars, social conflicts and coups. Resilience is therefore a prerequisite for a community to function and remain functional over time. Building disaster resilience is therefore very important. This can be done by investing in infrastructure such as building hospitals and houses that are earthquake-proof, and schools that can be used as cyclone shelters; developing skills to diversify income sources; improving systems that provide an early warning of shocks and stresses, and making sure these warnings lead to early action; and using insurance providers to minimise the impact of a disaster and transfer risk away from vulnerable governments and communities (DFID, 2013). However, in this study a social perspective to resilience building is forwarded. Material things alone, without building the right mindset for resilience, do not yield the best results.

No one agreed definition is given. However, the term has its origin in Latin resalire, implying "*to spring back*". Thus, the term was derived from Physical Science. Overseas Development Institute ODI (2016) defines resilience as "*the capacity to ensure that adverse shocks and stressors do not have long lasting adverse development consequences.*" In this paper, we will adopt the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC)'s definition of resilience as;
The ability of individuals, communities, organizations or countries exposed to disasters, crises and underlying vulnerabilities to anticipate, prepare for, reduce the impact of, cope with and recover from the effects of shocks and stresses without compromising their long-term prospects (IFRC, 2014: 6).
DFID (2013) posits that 'building disaster resilience' is a phrase used to describe the process of helping communities and countries to be better prepared to withstand and rapidly recover from a shock such as an earthquake, drought, flood or cyclone. According to IFRC (2014), resilience is required at various levels. An individual is said to be resilient when he/she is healthy and empowered. Health denotes having knowledge, skills, competencies and a mindset to adapt to new situations and improve one's life, and those of one's family, friends and community. A resilient household is one with resilient members. A resilient community is one that has potential for strengthening the resilience of its constituent individuals and households.

Community resilience is possible when communities are prepared for disasters. This is so because disasters are always part of our lives. For example, DFID (2013) notes that in 2010, natural disasters affected more

than 200 million people, killed nearly 270,000 and caused around $110 billion of damage. In 2011, the world faced the first famine of the 21st Century in the Horn of Africa, multiple earthquakes, tsunamis and other natural disasters around the word. In 1970, a cyclone in Bangladesh killed nearly half a million people and one of a similar strength in 2007 killed 4,000. In the intervening 37 years, Bangladesh had become more resilient through the development of disaster resilient infrastructure and better disaster risk management strategies. With this in mind, it is a factual to say worst scenarios are likely to come. Preparedness and resilience are therefore imperative. DFID (2013) argues that building the resilience of countries and communities can limit the effects of a disaster and the devastation it causes.

According to the IFRC (2014), resilience can be at local government too. Local government is viewed as having the capacity to either strengthen or weaken resilience at the individual, household and community levels. At national government level, resilience deals with policy, social protection systems, infrastructure, laws and governance issues, and can profoundly impact community resilience. Organisations such as National Societies (government departments, civic society groups, and political parties) make contributions that are integral to resilience at all levels. Then there is also regional and global resilience. The impacts of conflicts, violence and insecurity, hunger, mass migration, economic recession and prosperity, pandemics, pollution and climate change, positive and negative effects of globalisation and new technologies all offer examples of the inter-connectedness of the levels. Actions at one level can negatively or positively impact the other levels.

Shock refers to a sudden event with an important and often negative impact on the vulnerability of a system and its parts. Shocks represent significant negative (or positive) impacts on people's means of living and on the functioning of a state. A stressor, on the other hand, is a long-term trend that weakens the potential of a given system and deepens the vulnerability of its actors. Vulnerability means susceptibility to harm and exposure to hazards. A hazard refers to the potential occurrence of a natural or human-induced physical event or trend that may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, as well as damage and loss to property, infrastructure, livelihoods, service provision, ecosystems and environmental resources (IPCC, 2012).

In Figure 1 below, we give the Zimbabwean range of shocks, stressors and hazards (disasters) that have been, and are still being experienced. The Zimbabwean experiences have divided the citizens. Citizens measured the responsiveness of those who give them services. They then thought of what would happen to them when worst scenarios came. People had experienced disasters before, and they developed perceptions about service providers. They attributed the attitude of service providers to the general governance of individual institutions and the nation at large. Citizens lost all trust in both themselves and institutional systems. This situation has led to very low resilience at individual, community and national levels.

Figure 1: Resilience Challenges in Zimbabwe
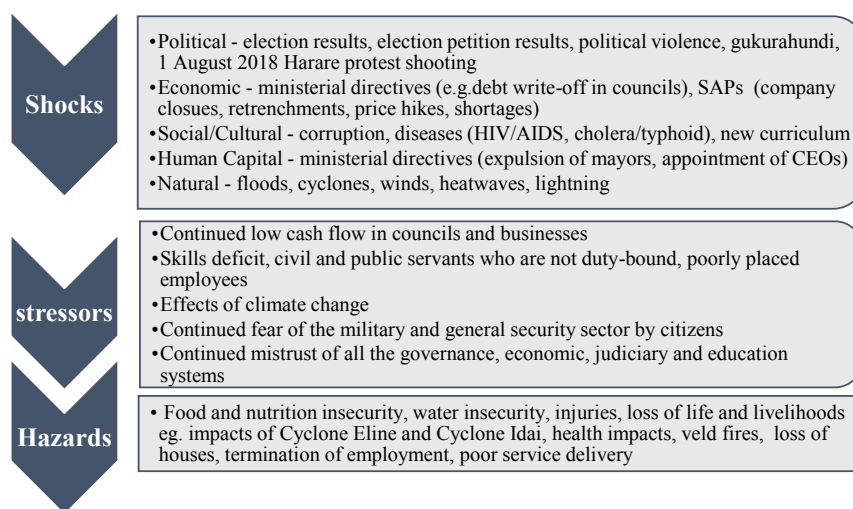
The level of trust in the various institutions in Chimanimani District was based on perceptions that had been built over time in citizens. Experience was the basis of the community people's judgment on whether to trust or doubt the institutional systems which they felt were a reflection of the system at national level.

Methodology

This study was carried in the Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe. The district is found in the eastern highlands' province of Manicaland. Chimanimani shares borders with Mozambique in the east, Chipinge District in the south, Buhera District to the west and Mutare District to the north. The District has a population of around 133 810 (ZIMSTAT, 2013). The female population constitutes 52 %. A rugged terrain typifies the district. The altitude ranges from 6 000 m in the east to 600 m in the west, with an average annual rainfall of 1 000 mm in the east and 200 mm in the west. Chimanimani is endowed with natural resources, including forests, fertile soils and precious minerals such as gold, diamonds, lime and copper. The district also boasts spectacular tourist sites, namely, the Bridal Veil Falls, Pera Falls, Vhimba Botanical Reserves and Chimanimani Mountains. This makes it a viable tourist destination.

A quantitative design in the form of a case study was employed in collecting data. The design was in the form of a survey. A survey is viewed as a sociological investigation method, which uses questions or statistical methods to collect information about people's views (Shuttleworth, 2008). Surveys allow researchers to collect a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time. They are less expensive than other data collection techniques. They are quick and easy to create and administer. Surveys can be used to collect information on a wide range of research problems, such as personal facts, attitudes, past behaviours and opinions (Terell, 2012). However, surveys have some disadvantages. If poorly constructed and administered, they can undermine a well-designed study. Various choices of answers provided on a survey may not be accurate reflections of how the participants truly feel.

The selection of participants was randomised. A Likert-scale was used to collect data on community perceptions of the level of social trust in the district. Non-probability sampling methods, both convenience and judgmental, were employed. The method was used because at the time of the study, Chimanimani Rural

District Council did not have a complete record of its residents. Secondly, there were certain respondents with valuable information. These individuals include the district administrator and councillors who could be sampled purposively only. These sampling methods were also found to be relatively cheaper in terms of time and financing.

Five wards out of 23 in the district, namely, Mhandarume (Ward 2), Mhakwe (18), Chikwakwa (19), Chakohwa (3), and Chimanimani Urban (15) participated in the study. Mhandarume has a population of 2938, Chakohwa 4492, Mhakwe 2457, Chikwakwa 3573 and Chimanimani urban 3647. From each Ward, 44 respondents representing various households were selected. A total of 220 local residents participated in the study. A questionnaire in the form of a Likert Scale was used as a tool to collect data and to determine the opinions of respondents. Data was entered into the computer using the Microsoft Excel software package. It was then imported into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19.0 for Windows (SPSS Inc: Chicago, IL, USA). Frequencies of the scores of the dimensions, namely, empowerment and governance, were calculated. The Kruskal-Wallis test for k-independent samples was used to determine if there were any perceptive differences among the Wards. Post-hoc tests for effects that were found to be significantly different were then carried out using the independent samples MannWhitney test.

Ethical clearance was sought from the University of Venda's Ethics Committee and the Chimanimani Rural District Council. Meetings with key stakeholders such as the District Administrator, local community and political leadership were carried out. Written consent was sought. Those who participated understood what it meant to either participate or not. Personal details such as the names of respondents were not included on the questionnaire in order to protect them from possible reprisals. The researchers clarified to the participants how the publication of the findings will be published to ensure honesty and justice.

Results

Demographic Information

Out of the 220 people who participated in this study, 53 % were females. Forty-five percent of the respondents were 20–35 years old followed by 33 % who were aged 36-50 years. Those aged 51-65 years constituted 10 % of the respondents, with 7 % and 5 % being less than 20 years and more than 65 years old, respectively. The majority of the participants (63 %) were married, with 23 % being single and 8 % widowed. Divorcees and those who were co-habiting formed 5 % and 1 % of the total number of respondents, respectively. Most of the respondents (43 %) had attained secondary school level education compared to 32 % who had tertiary qualifications. Almost 15 % had only primary schooling with the remainder having no formal education at all. Approximately 66 % of the respondents had lived in the district for more than 10 years while 18 % had resided there for 6-10 years. Only 16 % of the respondents had resided in the respective wards for less than 5 years. While 47 % reported that they were not employed, 31 % were permanently employed and 12 % self-employed. About 8 % of the respondents were still attending school. An almost negligible proportion of the respondents were in temporary employment.
3.2 Level of social Trust in Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe

Table 1 shows the level of social trust in the Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe. On the level of trust in the family, the majority (82 % of the respondents) agreed that they trusted their family members, whilst only 18 % either disagreed or were not sure. On trust in neighbours, slightly above half (65 %) of the participants agreed that they trusted their neighbours, 19 % did not and 16 % were not sure. From the results, it was revealed that only half (50 %) trusted their village members, 28 % did not and 22 % were not sure. Fairly above half (62 %) trusted their councillors, while 38 % either disagreed or were not sure. The same result was obtained in the survey on the level of trust in the traditional leadership.

Table 1: Level of Social Trust in Chimanimani District

The following people or organisations are so trustworthy that I do not need to be too careful when dealing with them.					
People/Organisation	SD	D	NS	A	SA
1. My family members	7.5	5.7	5	30.2	51.6
2. My neighbours	6.9	12.6	15.7	36.5	28.3
3. Village members	8.2	19.5	22	28.3	22
4. Ward Councillor	9.4	10.1	18.9	30.2	31.4
5. Headmen (Traditional leaders)	7.5	11.9	18.2	31.4	30.8
6. Local radio stations	28.9	18.2	23.9	15.1	13.8
7. Ministry of information and Publicity	25.8	25.2	19.5	22	7.5
8. The Police	20.1	20.8	11.3	27.7	20.1
9. Newspapers (government owned, e.g., Zimpapers)	18.9	25.2	22	21.4	12.6
10. Independent press (e.g., Zimbabwe Independent, etc.)	15.7	15.7	22	31.4	15.1
11. Ministry of Local Government, including the DA's Office	19.5	18.2	23.9	26.4	11.9
12. Rural District Council Officials	15.1	12.6	13.8	35.8	22.6
13. NGOs operating in the ward	4.4	11.3	11.9	35.8	36.5
14. CBOs operating in the ward	8.2	10.7	22.6	37.1	21.4
15. Agricultural Extension officials	10.8	15.8	19.6	29.7	24.1
16. Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) officials	25.2	17.6	21.4	25.8	10.1
17. Staff members of local schools	12.6	13.2	11.3	38.4	24.5
18. Ministry of Youth staff	20.8	19.5	30.2	17	12.6
19. Ministry of Gender and Women's Affairs staff	27	18.2	23.3	18.2	13.2
20. District Development Fund staff	20.8	12.6	28.3	22	16.4
21. Zimbabwe Electoral Commission	33.3	14.5	20.1	23.3	8.8
22. Department of Registry	14.5	12.6	20.1	32.1	20.8
23. Local Churches	12.7	9.5	8.9	36.1	32.9
24. Central Intelligence Organisation	23.9	18.9	19.5	22	15.7
25. MP's Offices	22.6	19.5	20.1	21.4	16.4
26. Department of Lands	28.5	12	29.1	21.5	8.9
27. Department of Wildlife and National Parks	27.7	9.4	20.8	34.6	7.5
28. Ministry of Health staff	11.9	6.9	18.2	32.7	30.2
29. Political parties	31.4	22	18.9	11.9	15.7

Key: SD strongly disagree **D** disagree **NS** not sure **A** agree **SA** strongly agree

Community perceptions on trust in the local radio stations showed that 47 % did not agree that they trusted them, 24 % were not sure and 29 % agreed. 51% of the participants did not trust the Ministry of Information and Publicity, 28 % trusted it and 21 % were not decided. Slightly below half (47 % of the respondents) trusted the police, 41 % did not and 11 % were unsure. 44% of the respondents did not trust what they read from the (Zimpapers Group) government owned public newspapers, 34 % trusted and the remainder were not sure. Slightly below half (47 %) trusted the privately owned (Independent newspapers), whilst 31 % did not. Only 37 % of the respondents trusted the District Administrator's office, whilst 38 % did not and 24 % reserved their decision. Slightly above half (58 %) trusted the local authority staff (Chimanimani Rural District Council), 28 % did not and 14 % were not sure. A significant number of respondents (72 %) said that they trusted the NGOs operating in the district, and only 16 % did not. 59% of the respondents revealed that they trusted the local CBO, whilst 19 % distrusted and the remainder were undecided. The Agricultural Extension Officers were fairly not trusted with a total of 64 % of the respondents expressing their distrust, while 26 % expressed trust in them. Almost 43 % did not trust the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) officials, 36 % trusted them and the rest were neutral. Teachers were fairly not trusted as demonstrated by 69 % of the respondents expressing their disagreement and only about 26 % agreeing with the statement of trust. Generally, community people neither trusted nor mistrusted the Ministry of Youth staff as revealed by the results. The same applied to the Ministry of Gender and Women's Affairs and District Development Fund (DDF) staff. About 49 % of the respondents did not trust the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) whilst about 32 % did. The Department of Registry was fairly trusted with slightly above half (53 %) of the participants expressing agreement. There was a high level of trust in churches (69 %) whilst 22 % doubted them. There was scepticism with regard to the Central Intelligence Organisation, with only 38 % agreeing that they trusted it. The Member of Parliament was only trusted by 37 % of the respondents; the rest ether disagreed or could not give their views. Only about 30 % trusted the Department of Lands. Of all the participants, only 42 % agreed that they trusted the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. There was fair confidence in local health personnel as revealed by 62 % of the respondents agreeing with the statement of trust. Community members did not trust political parties as shown by 52 % of the participants expressing their disagreement, with an extra 19 % not giving their opinion.

Discussion

The concept of resilience is increasingly being placed at the centre of urban management narratives as stated in the Sustainable Development Goal number 11 through which world leaders committed to creating sustainable, safe, resilient and inclusive communities by 2030 (Parnell, 2016). In general terms, urban resilience explains the ability of cities and towns to sustain continuity amid the stresses and shocks that it may go through. In their definition, Meerow, Newell and Stults (2016: 39) state that urban resilience is the ability of an urban system and all its constituents (socio-ecological and socio-technical networks across temporal and spatial scales) to maintain or rapidly retain desired functions in the face of a disturbance, to adapt to change and to quickly transform systems that limit current or future adaptive capacity.

The results revealed severe lack of trust in most of the institutions. Looking closely at the results, only those institutions that work closely with people, consulting and involving people in decision-making, were trusted. Examples of the institutional systems that scored more than 60 % include the family,

neighbourhoods, councillor, traditional leaders, church members, school staff, health staff and the Non-Governmental organisations. These systems allow the participation of everyone. They make decisions pamisangano (family and community gatherings) which are forms of *Matare*. Participatory governance in these systems is the norm. Allowing community members to take active participation in issues that have a bearing on their destinies makes them players rather than spectators on the development field (Marango et al., 2016; 2018). Chikerema (2013) argues that citizen participation is a desired part of community development which should be part of policy-making, implementation and evaluation. Africa Community Publishing & Development Trust (ACPD, 2006) posits that participation implies taking part individually and collectively as a community in decision-making at each step of the development process.Participating in decision-making ushers in a sense of familihood, social inclusion and collective action. These feelings cultivate trust.

It was revealed from the results that the agricultural extension officers, the Rural District Council (the local authority), Registry Department and some Community Based Organisations were trusted by just above 50 %. This is not good enough. For example, in order for The Rural District Council to provide service to the people under its jurisdiction, the residents should pay rates. But the question is, how can residents pay rates to an organisation they do not trust? The local authority needs financial resources to buy fire tenders, graders, front end loaders and ambulances, and to build clinics and hospitals, all of which are very important in disaster management. Residents can build resilience when they know that in case of emergencies, the local authority is prepared to respond on time. Shapiro (1990), Zucker (1986) and Pennings & Woiceshyn (1987) note that trust has influence on coordination and control at both institutional and interpersonal levels of organisation. Mukanganise (2011) argues that trust amongst institutions in communities contribute to equitable and sustainable community development in the long term.

An example to buttress the foregoing argument is that when Cyclone Idai hit Chimanimani and Chipinge, the Councils did not have basic resources to start response efforts. Some people who could have survived died trapped by rocks and fallen buildings and trees. One of the researchers of this paper had first-hand experience and was a victim of the disaster, having lost almost all his household furniture and food. The Chimanimani Rural District Council was severely incapacitated in terms of financial and plant equipment. Thompson (1967) posits that under conditions of uncertainty and complexity that require mutual adjustment, sustained, effective, coordinated action is possible where there is mutual confidence or trust.

Lack of investment in trust building impairs resilience at all levels. This is the cause of rampant closures of most business entities in Zimbabwe. Most business enterprises are stressed and shocked by mere announcements of new government policies. For example, whenever a new monetary policy is announced, prices and exchange rates are exaggerated due to shock. These exaggerations have driven some promising entrepreneurs out of business. On the other hand, suicide cases are going high. Without confidence in the systems, people easily give up. They die of causes that are avoidable. They do not take chances or risks that can be one form of resilience. Importantly, trust enables people to take risks. Porter et al. (1975: 497) postulate that, "*Where there is trust, there is the feeling that others will not take advantage of me.*" In other words, when systems right from community up to national level are trusted, the economy will not fail. The citizens will collectively support the system until it is out of the challenges, feeling that "we are all in it" and no one is taking advantage of the situation.

Of the 29 institutional systems investigated, 14 scored below half. This is evidence of severe human factor decay. Even the media, Members of Parliament, political parties and many other Government Departments were not trusted. These systems are important because they save as the sources of information about opportunities and impending disasters. They are there as stewards of good community welfare. Trust is based on the expectation that service delivery systems have the right competence and attitude to deliver. Barber (1983), Gook & Wall (1980) and Shapiro (1987) argue that competence and responsibility are central to understandings of trust. Trust is also based on the expectation that one will find what is expected rather than what is feared (Deutsch, 1973).

When there is trust, community members communicate effectively and contribute to a sustained development agenda of their community. Simmel (1964) argues that trust allows social interactions to proceed on a simple and confident basis. Simmel (1964) further notes that in the absence of trust, monstrous complexity posed by contingent futures would paralyse action. Resilience in disaster prone areas is based on trust. From the functionalist perspective, trust binds communities together. The sense "together we stand and divided we fall" enables communities to withstand, accept calamities and to keep going thereafter. Baber (1983) argues that trust is functionally necessary for the continuance of harmonious social relationships. However, when trust is breached its continuance in particular social bonds become problematic. For example, friends and spouses sometimes come to distrust each other; citizens lose trust in the government, the judicial system, the news media, or the monetary currency; patients and clients wonder if doctors and lawyers are trustworthy at all. Such distrust leads to dysfunctionality in complex interpersonal and institutional relationships.

McAllister (1995) notes that at individual and family levels, people make emotional investments in trust relationships, express genuine care and concern for the welfare of partners, believe in the intrinsic virtue of such relationships, and believe that these sentiments are reciprocated. Thus, the emotional ties linking individuals provide the basis for trust. These emotional ties enable individuals to soldier on even in the event of a social shock. They give that sense of having somewhere to fall back on, hence a remedy for suicide.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Trust is the basis for community continuance. When individuals and communities have a sense that they have somewhere to fall back on, they become prepared for shocks, stressors and hazards. Institutional systems that are trusted by citizens seem to perform better and are better resourced. They get resourced from the citizens who support them. Their support is derived from participation of all at the community gatherings (*Matare*). The traditional conduct of community meetings in which every member is given immunity while participating in *Matare* is the way to go. Those who are corrupt are shamed and those who work hard for the good of their community are rewarded by way of public praise. It is recommended that we look back and reconsider the past traditional virtues of transparency and accountability. These virtues are the sources of trust and community strength.

Acknowledgments

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