

Citizens' Trust in Public Institutions of Nepal after April 25, 2015 Earthquake

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Abstract

The assumption is that the Citizens' Trust depends upon the level of performance of public institutions, the people's civic duties and their expectations. The performance of public institutions is categorized according to preparedness, relief/response and reconstruction/rehabilitation during natural disasters like earthquakes, as prescribed by Natural Calamity and Relief Act, 1982 and National Strategy for Disaster Risk Management 2009. To test this assumption, data were collected systematically through questionnaire survey in four districts out of seven heavily struck by April 25, 2015 earthquake. The findings of this study reveal that the security agency had the highest citizens' confidence due to their performance during the relief and response period. Functions like providing relief materials, mapping hazard zones, mobilization of resources, distribution of relief cards etc. had significant relationship with Citizens' Trust whereas the implementation of the disaster plan, providing safe places, relief, and works in disaster affected areas have positive relationship but not significant. On the contrary, exploring dead bodies, providing temporary settlements and coordination with concerned stakeholders had negative effect on Citizens' Trust.

Key words

Citizens' Trust, Public Institutions, Performance, 25th April 2015 earthquake, Acts and Strategies, Nepal

Introduction

Citizens' trust in public institutions shows close relations between the state and the society. Such close proximity can enhance partnership between the citizens and the public institutions working at the central and the local level. Distrust gen-

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erally occurs from the gap of the failure to deliver services that affect in building public confidence in different public institutions. More trust on public institutions denotes greater effectiveness of the public institutions in discharging their functions. In this context, this paper examines the level of Citizens' Trust and public institutions' rate of performance. This paper also explores the role of people's expectations and civic duties to create Citizens' Trust.

Citizens' trust and its determinants

To define trust is vague. Trust studies are associated with several problematic because of several reasons: problems with the definition of trust itself; lack of clarity in relationship between risk and trust; confusion between trust and its antecedents and outcomes; lack of specificity of trust referents leading to confusion in levels of analysis; and failure to consider both the trusting party and the party to be trusted (Mayer and Schoorman, 1995).

Scholars define trust as an attitude (Rousseau et al., 1998), or action of individual or a process (Mollering, 2006) of the governance system. Willingness to take risks is the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trust or, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party. Cook and Wall (1980) defined trust as "the extent to which one is willing to ascribe good intentions to and have confidence in the works and actions of other people". Gabarro (1978, 294) defines trust as the extent to which one person can expect predictability in the other's behavior in terms of what is normally expected of a person acting in good faith. In an integrative model of trust proposed by Mayer et al.(1995:720), trust for a trustee will be a function of the trustee's perceived ability, benevolence and integrity and of the trustor's propensity to trust.

Scholars of trust in institutions believe that trust and distrust are opposite continuum. However, Walle and Six (2006) argue that trust and distrust are not opposites but have different constructs because predisposition to trust and distrust is generally correlated with each other. Secondly, trust and distrust do not just remain an attitude but they are also related behavior. They further argue that the trust and distrust have direct implication for the government. Low level of trust may not be as dangerous as distrust. Trusting citizens help the government to resolve uncertainty in their interaction with the government through trust whereas distrust is associated with risk factor for government. Distrust causes suspicion on the government and its actions. Trust on the government supports policy implementation through reduction in transaction cost. On the contrary, distrust may make it quasi-impossible for policy implementation (Walle and Six, 2006:

12). The research on trust reveals that low level of trust is characterized by declining tax, voting for poorest parties, participating in protest politics etc. In the case of distrust with government, these behaviors may become more extreme. People may not be registered in government database, reject public service and eventually withdraw from the state (Walle and Six, 2006: 12).

Rothstein and Stolle (2008) argue that trust is embedded in the structure and characteristics of political institutions. The institutional efficiency and fairness influence the individual agent's perception. They determine the individual's inference from those who are given the responsibility of guarding the public interest of the rest of the society. They shape the observance of the behavior of fellow citizens as institutional fairness sets the tone. The inferred citizens have to get involved to make democracy work and the economy grow. Governmental institutions would be dysfunctional due to the lack of social capital.

Uslaner (2002) visualizes trust as a moral world view that develops during early socialization. Trust is deeply ingrained and difficult to change. Hardin (2002) depicts trust as a set of interests existing between individuals that develop through life experience. Trust is easily altered by personal interactions or new social and political conditions.

Cook and Gronke (2005:785) suggest that low trust in government and low confidence in institutions reflects skepticism, an unwillingness to presume that political authorities should be given the benefit of the doubt in the American context. They argue that lack of trust cannot be equated with active distrust in government (Cook and Gronke, 2005:789). Also, low level of trust in government and confidence in institutions represent at least the potential for a crisis in governability if not democracy in the United States.

Kim (2010) argues that government performance, citizen empowerment and citizen satisfaction with self-expression values are associated with public trust in the government in Japan and South Korea based on the Asia Barometer Survey of 2003, 2004 and 2006.

Scholars acknowledge that the cause and effects of public trust in government are complex. Several scholars in developed countries emphasize the impact that citizen's perceptions of economic and political performance exert on trust in government (Wong et al., 2011; Donovan and Bowler. 2004; Mishler and Rose, 2001). Mishler and Rose (2001) find that the government performance is a significant source of political trust in new post-communist democracies, while interpersonal trust as a cultural element is not. To raise political trust, the government should always respond promptly and effectively to public priorities, namely, by

promoting economic development, rooting out political corruption and protection of human rights and freedoms (Wong et al., 2011:12). Institutional context, political culture, and citizen-state relationships may also be important factors that determine the level of trust in government (Bouchkaert, Van de Walle and Kampen, 2005; Christensen and Laegreid, 2005). Norris (1999) argues that the rise of critical citizen causes the decline of political support. This is declination of political support is due to creation of social capital (Pharr & Putnam, 2000).

Ma and Yang (2014:334) explore the relationship between authoritarian orientation in 13 East Asian societies and political trust. According to them, authoritarian orientation could be an important source of political trust.

The findings of Jamil and Askvik (2013) reveal that the dimension of trustworthiness- prompt and efficient, friendly and helpful and predictable and reliable are significantly related to trust in civil service in Bangladesh and Nepal barring corruption. They argue when public institutions are less trustworthy, the quality of institutions required for the functioning of democratic governance will be difficult to establish and sustain. The less trusted public officials may also degenerate generalized social trust. Better policy performance by institutions generates trust among citizens (Askvik, Jamil & Dhakal, 2011). The trust in public institutions primarily depends upon how citizen assess the performance of such institutions. Jamil and et al. (2016) argue that citizen who voted for the party in power had more trust in Anti-Corruption Agency in the case of Bangladesh and Nepal. Contrary to this, citizen who voted for the opposition party may tend to distrust the Anti-Corruption Agency. It shows that political partisan is a factor to determine the level of trust.

The general assumption derived from a review of literature is that the level of performance of government determines the level of trust. In this context, I examined the level of trust influenced by government performance to respond to provide relief materials after the April 25, 2015 earthquake and to rehabilitate/reconstruct physical infrastructures.

Impacts of April 25, 2015 earthquake and its politics

Natural disasters are varied such as earthquakes, floods, landslides, slope failures etc. Disaster is an event, concentrated in time and space, in which a society (or community) undergoes severe danger and incurs such losses to its members and physical appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfillment of all or some of the essential functions of the society is prevented (Fritz, 1961). It is clearly evident that Nepal is the 11th most earthquake-prone country in the world. The first recorded earthquake in Nepal was in 1255 AD. The 1934 AD

great earthquake measured 8.4 on the Richter scale and ten thousand people lost their life in the earthquake.. Since then, Nepal has been struck by earthquakes in 1980, 1988 and 2011 also. The lesson of the earthquakes calls for Nepal to be prepared for any such disaster. As a result, the Natural Disaster Relief Act (NDRA), 1982 was formulated. The immediate rescue and relief works as well as disaster preparedness and mitigation activities are critical to mitigate disasters. The mitigation depends upon the institutional arrangement, government's policy and programs before and after the earthquake, dissemination of earthquake-related information to the people in disaster prone areas, deployment of emergency troops for support and rehabilitation. This Act has the provision of conducting the mitigating activities before and after the disasters. This Act also has provisions for the Disaster Relief Committees at the central, regional, district and local levels.

The Government of Nepal has also formulated relevant policy framework for mitigation of earthquake effects and protection mechanism which have been emphasized since the Sixth Plan (1980-85). The present periodic plan also emphasizes adoption of preparedness policy for safety from earthquakes. The Government of Nepal has also prepared the National Action Plan on Disaster Management. The plan has specified priorities to be undertaken in the field of disaster management including earthquake preparedness to be implemented by the responsible agencies.

Despite this arrangement for disaster management in Nepal, 8,790 people lost their life and 22,493 people were injured due to the earthquake on April 25, 2015 and subsequent aftershocks. The earthquake measured 7.6 on the Richter scale. Its epicenter was in Barpak, Gorkha District about 76 km northwest of Kathmandu. Due to this earthquake, the life of about one-third of the population has been affected. Thirty-one districts out of 75 districts were impacted. GoN declared 14 districts as 'Crisis hit' and 17 partially affected.

It is estimated that the total value of disaster effects (damages and losses) caused by the earthquake is NPR 706 billion or equivalent to US\$ 7 billion. Of that amount, 76 percent of the total effect represent the value of destroyed physical assets and the remaining 24 percent reflects the loss and higher costs of production of goods and services due to the earthquake. It has also severely affected social sectors (housing and human settlement, health, education and heritage) which accounts for about 60 percent of the total damages. Likewise, there were impacts on productive sectors which accounts to 25 percent. Tourism and agriculture sectors were badly affected.

Table 1: Disaster effects in Nepal due to earthquake in April 25, 2015

	Disaster effect (NRP Million)			Required cost	
	Damage	Losses	Total	NRP Million	Percent
Social Sector	355028	53537	408625	407747	60.9
Housing and Human Settlement	303632	46908	350540	327762	49
Health	6422	1122	7544	14690	2.2
Education	28064	3254	31318	39706	5.9
Cultural heritage	16910	2313	19223	20553	3.1
Nutrition				5036	0.8
Productive sector	58074	120046	178121	115618	17.3
Agriculture	16405	11962	28366	15561	2.3
Irrigation	383		383	467	0.1
Commerce	9015	7938	16953	20051	3
Industry	8394	10877	19271	7357	1.1
Tourism	18863	62379	81242	38710	5.8
Finance	5015	26890	31905	33472	5
Infrastructure sector	52460	14323	66783	74266	11.1
Electricity	17807	3435	21242	18586	2.8
Communication	3610	5085	8695	4939	0.7
Community infrastructure	3349		3349	4450	0.7
Transport	17188	4930	22118	28185	4.2
Water and sanitation	10506	873	11379	18106	2.7
Cross cutting issue	51872	1061	53933	71873	10.7
Governance	18757		18757	18442	2.8
Disaster and risk reduction	155		155	8204	1.2
Environment and Forestry	32960	1061	34021	25197	3.8
Employment and livelihood				12547	1.9
Social Protection				6398	1
Gender and social inclusion				1086	0.2
Grand Total	517434	189027	706461	669505	100
Total in US Dollar	5174	1890	7065	6695	

Source: National Planning Commission, Nepal, Post Disaster Assessment, 2015, p. XIII & XIX

Infrastructure sectors- electricity, communication, transports, water and sanitation also accounts for about 10 percent of the damages. The remaining five per-

cent of the total damage and loss represent the cross-cutting issues such as governance, disaster-risk reduction, environment and forestry sectors.

For immediate response and rescue operation, more than 90 percent of the security forces were mobilized. Overall, 22,500 civil servants, 65,059 staff of Nepal Army, 41,776 staff of Nepal Police and 24,775 staff of Armed Police Force as well as 4000 government and private health workers were mobilized to aid rescue and relief efforts. In this operation, more than 60 countries including UN and other international agencies were involved. However, more than a month after the disaster, tens of thousands of people are still reported to be living either in temporary or transitional shelters in spaces presumed to be safe from landslides and rain. The distribution of relief materials proved challenging because of the remoteness of many villages, rugged terrain, threats of landslides and logistical difficulties. There were also duplication and imbalance in the supply of relief materials benefiting the more accessible villages disproportionately.

Immediately after the great disaster, GoN focused its attention on reconstructing the physical damages and rehabilitate the displaced people in safer places. GoN and the political parties also agreed to form the National Reconstruction Authority (NRA). Due to petty interests of the political parties, it was not constituted in time. To collect the required resources for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the people, the Government of Nepal organized an international conference inviting countries including donor agencies. All the countries which participated in the conference pledged to provide NRP 400 billions against the estimated requirement of NRP 700 billions. At the same time, the Government of Nepal provided NRP 15000 for zinc plate roof and NRP 10000 to purchase warm clothes for the winter to each victim. The Government of Nepal also declared to provide NRP 200 thousand grant to construct house and NRP 300 thousand loan in group deposit. At the same time, the Government of Nepal also declared to provide NRP 1.5 million soft loan for outside Kathmandu valley and NRP 2.5 million for Kathmandu in order to construct an earthquake resistant new building. In December 2015, the Government of Nepal became able to pass the Reconstruction of Earthquake Affected Structure, 2015 bill from the parliament. As per this Act, the Government of Nepal constituted the National Reconstruction Authority (NRA) with the objective of promptly completing the reconstruction works of the structures damaged due to the earthquake in a sustainable, resilient and planned manner. It also aims to promote national interest and provide social justice by making resettlement and translocation of the people and families displaced by the earthquake. To expedite reconstruction and rehabilitation works, there are two committees such as advisory and steering committee headed by the

prime minister in the NRA. One more seven-member committee for day-to-day function is headed by the chief executive officer.

Till this date, NRA has collected the information of damages and losses due to the earthquake again. NRA has formulated six procedures for reconstruction which include 1. Distribution of Private House Reconstruction Grants procedure, 2. Environmental Impact Assessment procedure, 3. Land Acquisition procedure, 4. Land Registration procedure, 5. Public Procurement procedure, and 6. Mobilization of Non-governmental Organization.

The working speed of NRA is observed to be very slow due to the delay in the formulation of the Reconstruction Bill. Nepali Congress (the ruling party during the disaster) and UML including other communist parties each wanted the executive post of the NRA. In the mean time, the government changed and the new constitution was promulgated with UML becoming the ruling party and the Nepali Congress became the opposition. Once again the tussle for the NRA executive post continued. At the same time, India sealed its boarder indirectly showing its displeasure at the government's dealing with Terai-Madhesh-based political parties. As a result, materials required for the reconstruction were short in supply in the market.

In this context, do Nepali citizens trust the Government of Nepal for reconstruction of physical damages and rehabilitation of the displaced people? It is pertinent to research Citizens' Trust on the government after the April 25, 2015 earthquake so it would be worthwhile to understand how the citizen's expectations have been managed in Nepal.

Methodology of trust survey after April earthquake in Nepal

The earthquake in Nepal on April 25 and May 12, 2015 affected 14 out of 75 total districts. Among them, seven districts which include Kathmandu, Dhading, Lalitpur, Nuwakot, Sindhupalchok, Gorkha, and Kavrepalanchok were severely affected. Of these seven districts, four districts (Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Nuwakot and Dhading) were chosen purposively. The most damaged specific locations of these districts were Harishiddhi/Jharuwarasi, New Buspark area, Kakani and Chhatredeurali respectively. Respondents whose house was struck in these specific locations by the earthquake were selected for the Trust Survey after the earthquake systematically. A total of 194 respondents, of them 51 from Lalitpur (Harishiddhi/Jharuwarasi), 75 from Kathmandu (New Buspark Area), 19 from Nuwakot (Kakani) and 49 from Dhading (Chhatredeurali) were contacted to col-

lect the required information of trust after the earthquake in Nepal. Demographically, there were fifty percent women and fifty percent men respondents. Religiously, 87 percent respondents were Hindus, 9 percent Buddhists, one percent Islam and three percent Christians. Likewise, 91 percent of the respondents were literate and nine illiterate. To analyze the collected data, multivariate regression model was employed where Citizens' Trust was the dependent variable. The level of performance of the government and civic duties and their expectations were independent variables.

Data analysis/findings

In this study, trust refers to the confidence of the citizens towards the public institutions which is treated as a dependent variable. The respondents were asked to evaluate the Citizens' confidence on public institutions for their preparedness against natural disasters like earthquakes. Likewise, there was a question to evaluate the number of public institutions and how much the citizens had confidence on them during the relief and response phase of the disaster. This was followed by the question of citizens' confidence on public institutions for their readiness to reconstruct and rehabilitate the loss of physical infrastructures due to the earthquake.

The finding of the study reveals that citizens' trust on security agencies (Nepal Armed Police Force, Nepal Army and Nepal Police) is in the first position. In the second position, foreign governments and INGOs are ranked. Likewise, local bodies such as the municipalities and Village Development Committees were in the third rank. These local bodies are followed by community based organizations such as school teachers and NGOs/CBOs.

The DDCs and students unions are in the fourth rank. The central government especially civil service and judiciary are just before trade unions and political parties which are found to be the least trusted institutions on Citizens' evaluation scale. A question arises as to why the security agencies are in the first position rather than the civilian institutions. It is because the security agencies were trained to tackle natural disasters with their preparedness. They proved that they could be deployed immediately after the April 25, 2015 earthquake to rescue the victims. They had saved life and property of the people who were vulnerable even though they were not well equipped. They put their own life at risk and continued the rescue operation. They searched for the dead bodies of the victims and handed them to their relatives. More than 85 percent of the security personnel were in the field for the rescue operation during the response and rescue phase of

the disaster. Likewise, citizens had confidence in the security agencies for rehabilitation and reconstruction. For rehabilitation and reconstruction, Nepali Army has been constructing community buildings for those Citizens who were marginalized.

Table 2: Citizen's trust in public institutions

	Preparedness (%)	Relief and Response (%)	Reconstruction/ Rehabilitation (%)
	Confidence	Confidence	Confidence
Nepal Armed Police Force	85	95	78
Nepal Army	84	92	76
Nepal Police	82	88	74
Foreign government	82	67	71
INGOs	66	63	69
Municipality/VDC	60	61	60
Chief District Office	59	56	59
School teachers	58	52	54
NGOs/CBOs	58	58	57
District Development Committee (DDC)	55	54	62
Students Unions	53	47	55
Central government/ Civil service	50	52	54
Judiciary	49	49	47
Trade Unions	48	43	49
Political Parties	36	32	36
N	194	194	194

Question: Here is a number public institution. For each one, how much are you confidence from the role of Public Institution for disaster management during preparedness, relief and response and reconstruction/rehabilitation.

Note: There was a four-point scale. In the table, only quite a lot of and a great deal of confidence are shown. 'Do not know' and 'not very much confidence' and 'none at all' are excluded.

Source: Field study, 2015

Citizens trusted the foreign governments and INGOs in the second rank because they had been providing technical and financial support for tackling the effects of the natural disaster. Japan, US AID, JAIKA, and other governments had provided training for preparedness, rescue and relief and reconstruction and rehabilitation phase. More than 4,000 foreign military personnel and civilians were mobilized during the rescue and response phase. This kind of support provided by foreign governments saved the life and property of the Citizens.

In the third rank, local governmental agencies (Municipality/VDC, CDO offices and DDCs) were found due to their untiring support for the citizens during the response and relief period. Citizens were found to have more confidence on DDCs for reconstruction and rehabilitation after the earthquake. The Citizens evaluated the Central Government especially the role played by civil servants at mid-point only. Political parties and trade union were at the bottom level because they indulged in politics in the name of the victims. They were involved in politicking for the appointment of the CEO of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority. Also, they were involved in toppling the government. They were in competition for key positions to be held by their own pet persons rather than qualified ones.

Performance of government for disaster management and citizen's trust

Nepal has been experiencing natural disasters like earthquakes, floods, landslides and avalanches from time to time. To manage and mitigate the risk of natural disaster, Nepal formulated Natural Calamity Relief Act (NCRA) 1982 (amended in 1989 & 1992). The aim of this Act is to make arrangements for the operation of relief and maintenance works with a view to protect the people's life and property in general and public property in particular. This Act gives the mandate to the government to perform the task of disaster management of Nepal. So, this Act is a major tool for natural disaster management in Nepal. To carry out the activities related to natural disaster management, it envisages the committees at the central, regional and local level. It also fixes the activities for different level committees. The central Natural Calamity Relief Committee headed by Minister of Home Affairs has to formulate and implement the policy and programs related to natural calamity relief work. There are other sub-committees for health service delivery headed by Minister of Health, and for physical infrastructure headed by Minister of Physical Planning. Besides, there is also a regional committee to give necessary suggestions to the central committee and coordinate the district and local committees. The main function of the district committee is to coordinate with the local committee; to formulate the district plan for disaster management; to monitor the activities carried out by local committees etc. Likewise, the local committee should also prepare the detailed description of natural calamities, mobilize the volunteers and provide feedback to the district committee. This Act also empowers the government to enforce state emergency during the period of such intensive disasters. It also furnishes some special rights to the disaster manager for managing rescue and relief works in an effective and efficient manner. It also empowers the government to allocate dedicated funds from the central to the

local level as Disaster Relief Fund for delivering effective relief and rescue tasks during disasters. However, this Act is basically focused on relief work rather than prevention and mitigation of natural disasters, and reconstruction and rehabilitation of the people of natural disasters like the earthquake.

Besides, National Strategy for Disaster Risk Management (NSDRM) 2009 was prepared on the base of Hyogo Framework for Action 2005. The aim of NSDRM is to provide guidance and ensure effective disaster management through development and implementation of the concept of effective preparedness for mitigation, disaster risk reduction and incidence of calamities. In addition, it has emphasized 29 activities to be carried out for disaster management. These are education, shelter, infrastructure, physical planning, livelihood protection, water and sanitation, information and communication, search and rescue etc. Likewise, periodic plans since the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) till this date emphasize disaster management. The plan emphasis is on policy formation and strengthening institutional mechanism.

The performance of government is guided by these policies. In brief, the performance of the government on the basis of disaster management concept is categorized into three groups. The performance should be carried out before, during and after natural disasters.

Preparedness must be in place before any natural disaster which include functions such as study and analysis of natural disasters and updated record of natural disasters to find the causes of disasters. The government should also prepare action plan for disaster management. For the effective management, the government should coordinate with the stakeholders. It should have stocks of necessary logistic materials for disaster management if any natural disaster occurs. Training also should be provided up to the grassroots level to save life and property of people.

To find out the Citizens' Trust level due to performance of Nepal's government to manage natural disaster like earthquake, questions were asked citizen about the level of government performance before, during and after natural disaster. A number of questions was set on the basis of the disaster act. In this analysis, citizens' trust is dependent and level of government performance is independent variable of the study.

The assumption of this study is that there would be more Citizens' Trust if the government performs these activities before any natural disaster strikes. The finding from the study shows that none of these functions are at a significant level. The functions like 'study and analysis of disaster,' 'updated record of natural disaster for finding their cause' and 'training for disaster management up to grass-

roots level' are found to be negative. It means these activities are not performed by the government before any natural disaster. However, functions such as 'plan of action for disaster management, coordination with stakeholders, communication etc. are in position but at an insignificant level of 5 percent. Thus, the Citizens' Trust is significantly related with preparedness i.e. before natural disaster.

Table 3: performance of government before, during and after natural disaster and trust

3.1: before natural disaster

Before natural disaster	b	t	p-value
Constant	84.926	8.110	.00**
Study and analysis of disaster	-1.115	-.334	.739
Updated record of natural disaster for finding their causes.	-6.486	-1.715	.090
Plan of action for the disaster management.	5.182	1.581	.118
Coordination with stakeholders.	2.832	.908	.366
Storage of necessary logistic material for disaster management.	3.719	1.041	.301
Effective communication system and transportation plan.	4.942	1.220	.226
Mechanism to make aware people in affective areas	5.328	1.666	.100
Training for disaster management upto grass-roots level.	-3.575	-1.222	.225
R square	0.304		
F	4.378		.000**
Durbin Watson	1.821		

Question: Performance of public institutions to address the natural disaster In the given statement 1 refers to completely disagree, 2- partially disagree, 3- neutral, 4- partially agree and 5- completely agree. In these scale 1 is lowest of the scale and 5 is the highest of the scale.

*** Level of significance at 1 percent, * Level of significance at 5 percent*

Source: Field study, 2015 N= 194

A number of questions on relief and response were asked. These questions included 'implementation of disaster plan, deployment of trained manpower immediately after the earthquake, saving of life and property of victims. Similarly, questions were related to primary health service delivery, providing safe places and relief materials and exploring dead bodies etc. The study revealed that providing relief materials during the earthquake was highly significant at one percent level of significance. Transparency in accounts system was also found to have significant relationship with Citizens' Trust at 5 percent level of significance. The rest of the activities were insignificant. The study also shows that securing the

life and property, health service delivery and exploring dead bodies were not accomplished as required. Therefore, these activities had negative relationship with Citizens' Trust.

3.2: during natural disaster

During Natural disaster	b	t	p-value
Constant	65.092	6.876	.000**
Implementation of disaster plan	1.771	.583	.562
Deployment of trained manpower during natural disaster	3.728	1.599	.114
Saving life and property of victims	-.401	-.167	.868
Public institutions provided primary health care.	-4.229	-1.787	.078
Public institutions provided safe place to stay.	1.764	.673	.503
Public institution provided relief materials during natural disaster.	13.409	5.719	.000**
Exploring dead body and informing to their relatives.	-1.411	-.630	.530
Transparent accounting system	6.178	2.055	.043*
R square	0.588		
F	14.434		.00**
Durbin Watson	1.811		

Question: Performance of public institutions to address the natural disaster In the given statement 1 refers to completely disagree, 2- partially disagree, 3- neutral, 4- partially agree and 5- completely agree. In these scale 1 is lowest of the scale and 5 is the highest of the scale.

*** Level of significance at 1 percent, * Level of significance at 5 percent*

Source: Field study, 2015 N= 194

Questions were also asked regarding the activities prescribed by the Natural Calamity Relief Act and National Strategy for Disaster Risk Management to be performed by the government after a natural disaster related to reconstruction and rehabilitation. Among these activities, arrangement of basic services to the victims, distribution of relief cards to the affected people; implementation of land use zoning; preparation of hazard maps of the disaster prone areas; mobilization of internal and external resources etc. have have significant relationship with Citizens' Trust. However, the government fails to assess loss of life and property which had negative relationship with Citizens' Trust. The government could not arrange temporary settlements as required which also had negative relationship with Citizens' Trust. It also could not protect and reduce the loss of life and property. However, the government operated rescue and relief works for disaster affected people. It had positive relationship with Citizens' Trust. Overall, the government was partially able to perform the activities prescribed by the law.

3.3: After natural disaster

After Natural disaster	b	t	p-value
Constant	79.428	6.882	.000**
Arrangement of basic service to the victims.	5.686	2.457	.017
Assessment of loss of life and property due to disaster	-.765	-.336	.738
Public institutions made an arrangement of temporary settlements.	-3.971	-1.478	.144
Operation of rescue and relief works in disaster affected areas.	5.157	1.974	.053
Public institutions distributed rasan/relief card to affected people.	8.524	3.382	.001**
Public institutions provided immediate relief fund to affected people.	-1.408	-.546	.587
Public institutions protected and reduced the loss of life and property.	5.193	1.717	.091
Public institutions implemented effective land use zoning.	7.272	2.216	.030*
Public institutions prepared hazard maps of the disaster prone areas.	5.183	2.043	.045*
Coordinated among different agencies	-6.349	-2.387	.020*
Mobilized internal and external resources	7.871	2.748	.008**
Provided soft loan for constructing collapse houses/land etc.	-12.492	-5.130	.000**
Public institutions made tax free at affected area	-4.123	-1.995	.050*
R square	0.713		
F	12.231		.00**
Durbin Watson	1.433		

Question: Performance of public institutions to address the natural disaster In the given statement 1 refers to completely disagree, 2- partially disagree, 3- neutral, 4- partially agree and 5- completely agree. In these scale 1 is lowest of the scale and 5 is the highest of the scale.

*** Level of significance at 1 percent, * Level of significance at 5 percent*

Source: Field study, 2015 N= 194

Peoples' expectations and their role and citizens' trust

The next hypothesis of this study was that the accomplishment of Citizens' duties expedited the speed of government performance and eventually led to Citizens' Trust. Here, citizens' duty refers to the adoption of coping strategies by the citizens. The government should enable citizens to cope with natural disasters like an earthquake. The citizens should arrange rescue materials themselves and their family members so that the people do not suffer as much for not having rescue materials. They should also take initiatives to reconstruct their damaged houses or shelters.

Here, people's expectations and their role is taken as independent variable whereas Citizens' trust as dependent variable.

Table 4: People's expectation/their role and trust

Variables	b	t	p-value
Constant	59.509	3.928	.000**
I prepared myself to cope with natural disaster like earthquake, flood, epidemics etc.	2.479	1.293	.199
Public institutions helped me to prepare to cope with natural disaster like earthquake.	3.432	1.482	.142
I arrange myself/my family to arrange rescue materials as an immediate response to address earthquake.	2.469	1.059	.293
Public institutions provided rescue materials as an immediate response to address earthquake.	.389	.189	.850
I do myself/family to reconstruct the damage from earthquake	10.686	5.740	.000**
Public institution is highly expected to reconstruct the damage from earthquake	4.288	2.091	.039**
I am aware myself/family to rehabilitate after earthquake	-9.050	-3.544	.001**
I expect the role of public institutions to rehabilitate the victim of earthquake.	6.686	2.637	.010**
R Square	.566		
F	14.922		.00**

Question: Role of the general public: In the given statement 1 refers to completely agree, 2- partially agree, 3- neutral, 4- partially disagree and 5- completely disagree. In these scale 1 is highest of the scale and 5 is the lowest of the scale

*** Level of significance at 1 percent, * Level of significance at 5 percent*

Source: Field study, 2015 N=194

The R2 value of the model fits in this study suggests that the model explains 56.6 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. The value of F in this model is 14.99, which also is more than 10. Therefore, the model fits. The study showed that reconstruction of the damaged houses by the citizens themselves and rehabilitation of their family members were highly significant with Citizens' Trust. In addition, the expectation to reconstruct the buildings damaged by the earthquake has also significant relationship at 5 percent significance level. However, the rehabilitation of their family members by themselves was negatively related. The rest of the activities to be performed by the citizens themselves has positive relationship with Citizen's Trust but not significant. For example, preparation to cope with natural disasters and support from the government to cope with natural

disasters have positive relationship with Citizens' Trust. Despite some civic duties of the citizens, they have expectations from the government. On the one hand, there was expectation from the people's side while on the other hand it was not fulfilled by the government that led to lesser degree of Citizens' Trust.

Conclusion

The study defines Citizens' Trust as citizens confidence on public institutions. The number of public institutions collectively play the role of the government. The study showed that the security agencies (Nepal Armed Police Force, Nepal Army, Nepal Police) stood at first position of Citizens' Trust level because of their contribution and support for the citizens during the April 25, 2015 earthquake and thereafter. Foreign governments and INGOs were in the second position of Citizens' confidence barometer which was followed by locally based public institutions. The political parties and trade unions were found to be in the lowest echelon of the people's confidence. The civil service and judiciary were also one step ahead of the political parties and trade unions in the rating.

The study has two assumptions. One is higher performance of government during natural disasters like an earthquake creates higher Citizens' Trust. The second assumption is that the expectation and Citizen's role are also determinant factors for Citizens' Trust. The performance of the government before natural disasters like an earthquake does not have significant relationship with the Citizens' Trust. It was because the preparation made by the government was not known to the people. The preparedness before the disaster was to be reflected after the natural disaster. In the true sense, it was not realized when the earthquake on April 25, 2015 and thereafter struck 14 districts of the country. There was chaos and uncertainty in earthquake affected areas. However, providing relief materials during the earthquake and transparent accounting system only had significant relationship with Citizens' Trust. Other activities such delivering primary health care, saving the life of victims, exploring for dead bodies etc. had negative relationship with Citizens' Trust. Besides, the implementation of the disaster plan and deployment of trained manpower had positive relationship with Citizens' Trust but not very significant. Similarly, providing ration/relief cards to victims, arrangement of basic services, identifying land use zoning, preparation of hazard maps created Citizens' Trust significantly. However, coordination with the stakeholders, mobilization of internal and external resources, providing loans for construction of houses and making it tax free in the affected areas were found significant at 5 percent of significance level but negative relationship with Citizens' Trust.

The second assumption is that the more the people's expectations and their civic duties the more the Citizens' Trust on the government. When people reconstruct the damages from the earthquake, it is Citizens' Trust. People's awareness also has significant relationship with Citizens' Trust. The expectation for the rehabilitation of the victims of the earthquake had significant relationship with Citizens' Trust. However, preparation to cope with a natural disaster like the earthquake, support from the government and expectation from it to build their houses had positive relationship with Citizens' Trust but not at a significant level.

Thus, the study showed that the level of performance of the government was not as much as prescribed by the law. Due to the lack of proper performance of the government the Citizen's Trust in the government was lower. Still people had expectations from the government for rehabilitation and reconstruction of their houses damaged by the earthquake.

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