# "Don't worry, no one is going to take it".

## An Ethnography on General Trust in Longyearbyen.

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Master Thesis

Department of Social Anthropology

University of Oslo

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# Abstract

This thesis is based on nine months of ethnographic fieldwork done among the residents living in the town of Longyearbyen at Svalbard, about halfway between mainland Norway and the North Pole. During my stay, I have explored the residents 1) everyday life, who they are, and where they come from; 2) the relationship between the differences in how they live their lives in Longyearbyen compared to how they lived in their home countries - when it comes to general trust; and 3) how the residents view Longyearbyen, and their participation in general trust in the town. A general theme throughout this thesis is the participating interests newly moved in residents in Longyearbyen have towards the general trust in town, which can be connected to their motivation for trust, whether it is internal, external or a combination of the two (Hardin, 2002, 52). The participation in general trust has manifested itself in both new and old residents, and is displayed in various ways in Longyearbyen.

This thesis starts with a historical overview of Svalbard, with how Svalbard started as a no man's land and then was given to Norway to preserve and protect, making it Norwegian territory. I have written in chapter 1 about Longyearbyen's development, given the town's unique history of development, before bringing in a part on how the society in Longyearbyen has developed. Chapter 2 is a theoretical chapter focusing on the topic of trust, with sections describing trust and trustworthiness, distrust and demanding trust, personal and general/social trust, element of risk in trust, and trust in Scandinavia and Norway. For chapter 3, I have described how general trust is being played out in Longyearbyen, by bringing in several examples of how I witnessed it during my fieldwork. The chapter describes how property is treated differently in Longyearbyen by the residents, compared to in their home places. Chapter 4 focuses on how foreign residents moving to Longyearbyen adapt to and take part in general trust in Longyearbyen, this being even with the population being quite heterogeneous. In the final chapter, chapter 5, I address how the Norwegian population view trust in Longyearbyen, and how trust is being damaged in relations between strangers, and between people who know each other.

Being that the population in Longyearbyen is highly rotating, with an average stay of 4 years per resident, the society is rapidly changing. My fieldwork was limited to only 9 month, showing only a small part of how the society functions. I am sure that if anyone is lucky enough to do a longer stay in Longyearbyen, they will come up with a wider contribution for the discipline. My ethnography is based on differences in Longyearbyen, but for someone who has the time, one will also find plenty of likenesses as well.

# Acknowledgements

I will start by thanking everyone in Longyearbyen that let me tag along in their lives and sharing with me what they are doing, who they are, and where they come from, offering me assistance in my fieldwork, as well as friendships, making sure I did not go nuts during my first ever dark season. I am forever grateful to the residents in Longyearbyen for giving me access to their society, and not pushing me out. I want to thank Zdenka Sokolickova, a fellow anthropologist who was connected to my department at the University of Oslo when I was planning my fieldwork, for helping me find a place to stay in Longyearbyen, and for warmly welcoming me to the location that was also hers fieldsite. I would like to thank the company I worked for, for making it possible for me to stay in Longyearbyen longer than I had planned, and for bringing such wonderful co-workers into my stay.

I would like to thank my fellow student Stian Hasselø Kline for letting me message him whenever I have felt that the fieldwork has been too much, if there have been situations I have not known what to do in, and in general when I have struggled during my Bachelor and Master studies. I am thankful for the help my friend Clara Gatien has given me, for proofreading through and correcting my spelling in parts of this thesis. I would like to thank my friends Mari Stramrud, Susanne Bergset, Hanna Emilie Skaare, and Ole-Petter Magnussen, for letting me call them whenever I have needed a break from the fieldwork, to talk about "life back home".

I am grateful for the help and assistance I have received from my supervisor, Paul Wenzel Geissler. When I early on in my Master studies realized I would have to completely change my field site, due to Covid-19 restrictions, Geissler was positive and helpful with adjusting and brainstorming to come up with a new idea for my fieldwork. His concrete feedback and comments on my writing, has been crucial in creating this thesis into its finished product.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Gro Søndenå Larsen and Tor-Arne Hurrød Larsen, for always supporting me and believing in me, both in my academic career, and in life in general.

Throughout my thesis, I have tried my best to give an accurate account and analysis of the people I have written about, and their lives. Any shortcomings to be found in the finished product would entirely be my own responsibility.

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Figure 1: Longyearbyen during summer.

# Introduction

Running around at work as a waiter one afternoon in September, cleaning tables and delivering people's food, I stopped for a second to look out the window. It was nice and sunny, blue sky, and not too cold yet, even though the first layer of snow had already arrived. Looking out, I remember that we were sold out of 'Today's special', meaning I had to take in the sign. I went outside, picked up the sign and was ready to walk back in again. Before doing so, I counted 4 strollers parked outside the cafe with toddlers and babies sleeping in them. Next to one of the strollers, the parent had left two bags with groceries from the grocery store as well. I realized that all the strollers had baby calls attached to them, but still. The children were left outside all by themselves, and the only thing that was going to protect them from being taken was a baby call, and this was done by not one parent, but four different ones.

## Topic and research question.

The thought of moving to Svalbard to do an ethnographic study on general trust among the residents in Longyearbyen, seemed exciting and challenging. I was going to move to Svalbard during the winter season, with snow, wind and temperatures down to -30 below Celcius. My intention was to study the residents, while they were living their everyday lives, to conduct research for my Master Thesis. The interest for this research came out of restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic, limiting my options to Norway, a general fazination for the arctic, which I share with a lot of the locals in Longyearbyen, and a conversation with a friend who had visited Longyearbyen. "Svalbard is a part of people's story, but it is also a story in itself" (Torgersen, 2010, 20) "translated by the author". With trust being one of the most important foundations in a society (Jimenez, 2011; Sztompka, 2019; Misztal, 2019; Misztal, 1996), and general/social trust (Misztal, 1996; Kivle, 2020; Barbalet, 2019; Sedlackova & Safr, 2019; Sasaki, 2019, A; Hardin, 2002, Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009) being a topic I was told was quite major in Longyearbyen, I set out to study in a fieldsite where I shared the nationality with about ⅔ of the population. Because of this, it is easy to think that I was doing fieldwork at home, but other than sharing language, currency,

and government, it did not feel much like home. During my fieldwork, I received questions about weapons, snowmobiles, how to dress in -30 degrees, how to fill in papers for the non-Norwegian residents, where to get bank cards, how to sign it at  the gym, how to transport dogs on the planes, and how to protect oneself from a polar bear, which I had no answer to. Gupta & Ferguson (1997) states that anthropology relies on cultural differences through geographical constructions to "encounter difference by going elsewhere, by going to "the field"" (1997, 8). From Morton's (1999) article, one can read of a willingness among anthropologists to turn their gaze back towards "the west", and "home". The main reason for why I chose to do "fieldwork at home", other than it being "one of the inevitable conditions of the modern world" (Peirano, 1998, 106) was due to the Covid-19 pandemic. I knew I was heading to a field that was officially part of the Norwegian Kingdom, but the society I experienced was quite different compared to my home, which is in the south or Norway.

Svalbard has through times been seen as a far off place, an excotic wilderness, belonging to no man (Saville, 2018; Heine, 2009; Torgersen, 2010). "These landscapes [polar] have often entered the modern Western imperial imagination through expeditions and eventually, the scientific enclosure that are research field stations" (Geissler & Kelly, 2016). There is quite a lot of research done at Svalbard, and the Arctic in general, within social science already (Sokolícková & Soukupová, 2021; Timlin et al., 2022; Gartler, S. et al., 2021; Larsen J. N. et al., 2021; Powell, 2017). There is an online community for researchers studying in the arctic, called Arctic Anthropology. Also within the field of anthropology has there been quite a lot of research done at Svalbard, by anthropologists such as Ødegaard (2021) writing about social drama at Svalbard, Sokolíchoná (2021) writing about Chinese tourists at Svalbard, and Schweitzer, Povoroznyuk & Schiesser (2017) writing about Soviet and Russian large-scale projects. There is also a community of social scientists based in Longyearbyen, who are running an online community called Svalbard Social Science for social scientists doing research at Svalbard. A lot of their work is sadly not yet accessible online, but on their webpage they give information about their projects. Today, Svalbard's most developed settlements have running water, electricity, wifi, and 5G mobile internet. I have in this thesis done the untradition thing of adding a whole chapter dedicated to the academic theory of trust and trustworthiness. Therefore, fear not that there is little academic literature on the topic in the introduction, chapter 2 is fully dedicated to it, and will cover the most central topics within trust.

The following research questions are the center for this thesis: How are non-Norwegian residents in Longyearbyen integrated into the way general trust is practiced in Longyearbyen? Built on this general research question, I will further try to dive deeper into 1) how may trust include and exclude people; 2) how the ideas of trust is addressed and discussed among and between the residents in Longyearbyen; and 3) who is trusted, and who is not trusted, and by whom.

Naive as I was when I first went on fieldwork, I thought I would talk to everyone in Longyearbyen, being that I shared nationality with most of them. My plan was to study both the Norwegian and the non-Norwegian population. My new hairdresser at home had lived 10+ years in Longyearbyen, and could reassure me that the population was welcoming. After another conversation with my friend at home that had visited Svalbard, I realized I wanted to study the general trust (Barbalet, 2019; Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009; Eriksen, 2020; Hardin, 2002; Jimenez, 2011) in Longyearbyen - which is "... nothing more than optimistic assessment of trustworthiness and willingness therefore to take small risks on dealing with others whom one does not yet know" (Hardin, 2002, 62). I initiated this research to study general trust among the population in Longyearbyen, and not only with the Norwegian population, but with the non-Norwegian population as well, as my focus group. The constant exchange of giving and receiving trust in town, brings in the anthropological topic of reciprocity, which I will discuss further in chapter 2.

The last part of this introductory chapter will give a systematic outline of the thesis, to let the reader know which topics will be discussed and where they will be covered. I will now go through methodology and ethical considerations.

# Methodology.

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted from mid-March until the end of October in 2021. I moved to Longyearbyen in the middle of the high season for snowmobile trips, and slowly got to witness the transformation from winter til spring, then summer with the boat trips and hiking season kicking in for full, and autumn before the winter returned again. Throughout my stay, I have followed both Norwegian and non-Norwegian residents, some arrived before me, some arrived after me, some had already left by the time I was done, and some remained after I was done. During my stay, I lived in a small apartment down by the

beach in Longyearbyen, a place I frequented during the summer months when bonfires and barbequing was in season. For the rest of the places I would hang out with people, it took me about 10 to 15 minutes to walk to, with the sports hall being the furthest away by 30 minutes walk. During the second month of my stay, I managed to get a job as a waiter at one of the cafes in town, granting me access to certain groups in Longyearbyen and making it easier for people to approach me, being that I was, as I was told once, "taking part in what is going on in town". Further into my fieldwork I got a membership to the sports hall in town, and started to participate in different activities there, granting me further access to different groups in Longyearbyen.

Through the acquaintances I gradually got, I got invited to home parties, meetups, dinners, and going out evenings, covering an even larger part of the population in town. Typical activities I would do with informants were hiking, going out for dinners, going out for a beer, and meeting up at each other's homes for dinners and/or movies. During these activities I would do a participating observant role, where I was taking part in what was going on, while at the same time observing what was happening, and asking questions to understand and to get my informants to explain the situation for me. I have been extremely lucky with using the snowball method to get to know people. Longyearbyen's population is great at introducing people to each other. Particular events throughout my fieldwork that complimented my data in particular was from chapter 3 the first day I met a local and he took me for a walk, explaining how 'no one' locks their doors or cars, and when I realized I could leave my phone on a table without being worried someone would steal it. Learning about Woman 6 and Woman 7's stories in chapter 4 truly gave me an insight to how different people are living in Longyearbyen compared to their home places, and how they are benefiting from the general trust in Longyearbyen. From chapter 5, the complementing event was learning about how managements and bosses take advantage of employees and damage trust relations. Alongside doing participant observations, I have gathered a lot of data during walk a longs when I have been hiking with informants, or gone on snowmobile trips with them. I have only conducted informal interviews, meaning conversations over dinners with informants where we have been discussing my fieldwork and they have told me they want to participate in it if possible, or where they have shared stories that I found to be useful for my projects.

One of my challenges methodologically was getting access to groups in the society. Longyearbyen's society is constructed, with few possibilities for retired, old, sick, criminales, and non-working people. This has created a community with very few old and retired people,

and the few that were in town are 1) not so easy to come by, and 2) had no interest in talking with me. The criminals on the island are being sent down to the mainland, meaning no one from that group for me to study. The hospital in Longyearbyen is not considered a proper hospital. If residents become seriously ill, they have to relocate to the mainland for proper health care, meaning I did not find anyone from this group to study. I have not been able to establish a connection with the kids and youth in Longyearbyen, being that I am a lot older than they are, resulting in them not showing me any interest or letting me into their lives. The last group of people I did not get in touch with, was families with children. This is quite a big group in Longyearbyen, but they stick with each other, busy with picking up kids, driving kids around, their own hobbies, cabin trips, sports events, and work. Most of the families with children I spoke with were those that came by to eat at the place I worked, being too busy to give me time for an actual interview or observation other than what I could do from "outside". The only exception to this was four of my colleagues who had children and would let me hang out with the whole family. These families were all non-Norwegian residents, standing on the outside of the closely knitted Norwegian family group. I was a bit on the outside of most of the Norwegian "ingroups" - further explained in chapter 3 - not granting me too much access, I went with informants who would invite me in and wanted to share with me their everyday life. This led to most of my informants being single people, people who were in relationships, but did not have kids yet, and most of them non-Norwegian. Another challenge I had with the non-Norwegian population would be the language barrier. Some of the residents in Longyearbyen do not speak any Scandinavian language or English, making it quite impossible for me to communicate with them in other ways than body language or through someone who speaks both mine and their language. I have however, managed to keep the gender balance quite optimal, with almost half and half of each gender as my informants. Also, not falling for an ethnocentric approach in my field has been quite a challenge, being that it is easy to fall back and compare to one's own ideas and thoughts.

In my interactions with the residents in Longyearbyen, I think my role for them changed during my fieldwork. Firstly I was a Masters Student, like many others in Longyearbyen, but unlike others I was not connected to the University in Longyearbyen, and therefore became the Master students people could not quite place, even though I informed people I came from the University of Oslo. After I managed to get myself a job at a cafe, I think it became a bit easier for the residents to place me in a group, being that I at that point was a Master student, but also 'the girl that worked at that cafe', hence participated to the society "in a real way", which one of my informants described it once. A lot of faces in

Longyearbyen I knew simply because they had been buying coffee from me, and with the snowball method, the customers - which I would greet when I met them outside of work - would introduce me to their acquaintances and friends. Not surprisingly, I became closer to some of my informants than others as a result of "positionality" (Okely, 2012). Rather than seeing this as too much integration done by the ethnographer, I choose to lean back on anthropology that suggests that a close association with informants can lead to important in-depth knowledge (Okely, 2012, 14-15, 142). In my lack of earlier residency in Longyearbyen, and with less than a year being a resident in Longyearbyen, some of the residents with centuries of residency in Longyearbyen did not see a point in communicating with me, as a 'rookie' and also as 'someone who was moving soon anyways'. Other than that, as a Norwegian speaking fluently Norwegian, I blended in quite well in the community. This also gave me the luxury of traveling to the mainland whenever I wanted, something which was not a given for many of my informants, being that they needed to apply for a visa to land in Norway.

## Ethical considerations.

A problem I came across quite late during my fieldwork, was that even though I was careful to inform everyone I met that I was a Master student from the University of Oslo doing fieldwork for a thesis in Social Anthropology by studying trust in Longyearbyen, people simply forgot. A couple of times during my last months I experienced that people became surprised when I told them I was still studying, even though I knew I had informed them when I first met them. Later on, while digging into this issue, I was informed it was because people got so used to me being a waiter at the cafe, that they forgot why I was originally in Longyearbyen. This resulted in me being extra careful with informing the people that I have written about in this thesis, and making sure it is okay for them to be part of my thesis. Longyearbyen is a small town with only about 2500 residents, making it easy to recognize people. With most of my informants being non-Norwegian, sometimes from countries with few residents in Longyearbyen, I had taken extra caution in anonymizing my informants so they would not get recognized. Therefore, none of the people in this thesis have names, they only go by titles such as Woman/Man, informant or acquaintance. Their countries are not named either, only the part of the world they come from. With about half of the population in Longyearbyen being between the ages of 20 and 44 years old, I have chosen

to use this age category in my research to give the reader an idea of how old the participants in my thesis are, while at the same time keeping their age anonymus.

All data I have collected during my fieldwork have been stored in approved storage clouds by the University of Oslo, behind password protection. I have not taken any audio recordings, afraid the informant's voices would be recognized if I lost them. I have taken few pictures of my informants where they are recognizable, most of the pictures I have are either of nature and trips, or of people all suited up in winter clothes almost impossible to recognize. With my fieldwork taking part during the Covid-19 world pandemic, I also took the safety precautions of traveling to an island remotely located with a not fully functioning hospital into consideration upon departure. I have done my best to follow the American Anthropological Association's code of ethics; "do no harm" (AAA, 2012: 360-361), both when it comes to the society and its residents, but also when it comes to the nature and the animals on Svalbard.

Before starting my fieldwork, I sent my research proposal, and how I planned to store my data as an application to Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD), which is the Norwegian center for research data. During my fieldwork, I have followed the outlines I gave to NSD, and stored my data in a secure way approved both by NSD and The University of Oslo.

# Thesis outline.

This thesis first chapter gives an historical account of the island of Svalbard, its early history, further development and an insight into Longyearbyen from start until today, both historically, but also the changes in society, finishing off with an introduction into my study area and fieldsite. Chapter 2 is a theoretical chapter that describes trust in the academic world, with sections about trust and trustworthiness, distrust and demanding trust, personal and general trust, elements of risk in trust, and trust in Scandinavia and Norway. Chapter 3 addresses the many different ways general trust is practiced in Longyearbyen, and how it participates in making life easier for the residents.

Throughout chapter 4 I study how non-Norwegian residents in Longyearbyen adapt to the way of practicing general trust, the way it is practiced in Longyearbyen. The chapter describes differences in general trust in Longyearbyen, compared to some of the places the non-Norwegians come from. In chapter 5, I have split my focus between on one side focusing on general trust in Longyearbyen from a Norwegian point of view with participation from my Norwegian informants. On the other hand, chapter 5 focuses on trust being damaged among

strangers in Longyearbyen, before finishing off with trust being breached among people that know each other in Longyearbyen.



Figure 2: The edge of Longyearbyen.

# Chapter 1:

Svalbard, the northernmost place to live.

"The summer was kind of dinner time. The sun never sets. September was like the afternoon. The light is weaker and it is soon twilight. Then in November begin three months of total darkness. In the end dawn and morning appear, and the year long day comes to an end." (Jakobsson, 1988, 137) "Translated by the author".

Before diving into the ethnographical chapters of this thesis about trust in Longyearbyen, I want to inform the reader on the significance of Svalbard and its history. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the archipelago of Svalbard to the reader alongside with the archipelago's historical account. During the first two parts of this chapter, I will go through how Svalbard went from being a 'nomansland' to becoming Norwegian territory, before moving on to the development of the town Longyearbyen, where I will proceed on to present Svalbard's residents' unique history followed up by their way of living. In the third part of this chapter, I give an introduction to how Longyearbyen as a society is described in recent literature. Finally, I will finish this chapter by presenting the introduction I had to my field.

# Svalbard.

For the reader to understand the significance of the archipelago of Svalbard, I would like to give a summary of the islands' history and some general information to bring clarity. The name Svalbard, is put together by two words, Sval meaning cold and Bard meaning edge. The archipelago is almost as big as Sri Lanka, and consists of five big islands and several smaller ones, the biggest being Spitsbergen. Svalbard is located between 74* and 81* North and 10* and 35* east, it is the northernmost place on earth where one can live, and belongs to the Kingdom of Norway. Through time, Svalbard has often been connected to the dream of wealth, easily earned money and adventure. Like other polar areas, Svalbard has been a male dominated territorium, attracting men who could work around the clock, earning them high

salaries. Due to the Svalbard treaty, Norway can only claim a low percent of taxes, making working on the island even more beneficial. I will come back to the Svalbard treaty later on.

## The discovery of Svalbard.

Svalbard was first mentioned in the late 1100's. Icelandic people wrote in 1194 that they had discovered the archipelago. If it is the same archipelago that we know of today, is not certain. In the late 1500's, the Dutch people rediscovered the islands, and named it Spitsbergen, a name that is still used today in some languages. By the early 1600's, Svalbard became the center for Dutch and English people for whale hunting. The Danish-Norwegian King claimed sovereignty over the islands in 1612, but no one acknowledged the claim. The question about sovereignty became less important as whale hunting became less profitable. During the 1700's, Russian trapper people started to stay over at the islands during winter, and in the 1800's the Norwegian people also started to spend the winters there to trap and hunt. In many places around the archipelago one can still today see traces of the hunting and trapping people, who were the first people to exploit the islands' natural resources. Until 1920, Svalbard was seen as a *terra nullius*, an area that no one had sovereignty over, it did not belong to any nation - a nomansland. This was quite handy for whomever wanted to exploit the resources on the islands, because there were no nations, terms or taxes to take into account.

## The Svalbard Treaty.

In the early 1900's, the coal industry at Svalbard started to grow, and the question about sovereignty became relevant. Three separate conferences in the 1910's tried to come to an agreement about sovereignty but without success. Norway had been a neutral party during the first world war, and this was a compelling reason for why the winning nations of the First World War came to the agreement of giving sovereignty over Svalbard to Norway. The treaty, with the name *Treaty Recognising the Sovereignty of Norway over the Archipelago of Spitsbergen,* was signed February 9th 1920 in Paris, and was put into effect August 14th 1925. After the signing, Norway changed the name of the archipelago from Spitsbergen to Svalbard. The Svalbard Treaty is an international agreement, signed by more than 40 countries, and ensures Norway's unrestricted and full sovereignty of Svalbard. The treaty can

be signed at any time, for countries who have not yet signed it. The Svalbard treaty is one of few agreements made as a result of the First World War that still exists and is valid. When the treaty was made, The Soviet Union was not invited to the meeting, but Norway made sure to adjust their way of acting out the sovereignty in a way that could also benefit The Soviet Union, and in 1935 The Soviet Union signed the treaty. During the 20's and 30's, the Soviet Union bought land areas on the archipelago that had previously been Russian or foreign nations' areas of interest.

With the Second World War being an exception, the Norwegian sovereignty over Svalbard has never been challenged, and is applicable for all nations. From mid 1941 and onwards, there were fights at Svalbard between German and allied forces. The Norwegian and Soviet population was evacuated to Great Britain and back to The Soviet Union. Towards the end of the war, The Soviet Union demanded a change in the Svalbard treaty, granting Bjørnøya to The Soviet Union and splitting the responsibility of the rest of Svalbard between Norway and The Soviet Union. During the winter in 1947, the Norwegian government gave a final rejection to The Soviet Union's proposal, and The Soviet Union deemed the case as lost and never brought it up again. During the first couple of decades after the Second World War, Norway was a bit restrained at upholding and enforcing the Norwegian laws down upon the Soviet communities on Svalbard. Throughout the 70's this changed, and Norway took a more leading role in displaying their sovereignty over Svalbard, creating and forcing a more Norwegian ruling policy over that archipelago. Norway makes the rules on Svalbard, a lot of them are the same as on mainland Norway. The treaty provides terms and conditions Norway has to follow when managing the area. That includes terms about how citizens and companies from any nation who has signed the treaty, have the same rights as Norwegian citizens on the island, and they are free to try their luck with Svalbard natural resources with the same conditions as the Norwegian citizens. This also includes tourism, industry, fishing and hunting, mining and commercial and maritime activities, as long as they follow Norwegian laws in their field. The treaty states limitations on the archipelago about it being used as a military base or for warlike purposes, this goes for both Norway as the sovereignty holder and other signing nations of the treaty. Russia, earlier The Soviet Union, is the only signing country of the treaty that has taken advantage of the treaty's right to exploit natural resources on the islands. Like Norway, Russia is extracting coal at Svalbard, but they too have to follow Norway's strict environmental laws for coal mining. In recent times, there have been some difficulties around the topic of who has the rights to the sea areas around the islands, and the rights to extract minerals, petroleum and commercial fishing. When the treaty was signed, it

was based on how the world functioned in 1920, which does not always match up with how the world works in the 21st century.

## Sysselmesteren, the Governor.

Sysselmesteren is the executive, the person with highest authority and the Norwegian government's highest representative on Svalbard. Up until July 1st 2021 Sysselmesteren was called Sysselmann, but was changed to a more gender neutral title being that women can be, and have been, Sysselmann. The word Sysselmann was taken from the middle ages, and described a person who was responsible for the king's property, and carried out collections, prosecutions and police authority. The Sysselmesteren is appointed by the Norwegian King, and their role is a combination of county governour, chief of police, a register or notary public and auxiliary judge at the lower court. The Sysselmester is based in Longyearbyen, but has a helicopter, and boats to get around the islands to inspect it, and reports to the Norwegian Ministry of Justice about what is going on on the Norwegian territory of the archipelago.

## The seed vault.

Another special thing about Svalbard is the importance of the islands for cultivation. At Svalbard, near Longyearbyen, one can find a global seed vault. The first boxes of seeds were stored away in a mine in Longyearbyen in November 1984. The reason behind picking a mine in Longyearbyen, was due to the stable, secure, Norwegian territory, its stable temperature and conditions, needing no power or humans to preserve it for many years to come and to keep the sees protected from possible nuclear wars in the future. In 2007 the project of building a new and modern seed vault was nearly done, and it was officially opened in February 2008. Because the storage rooms are built in the mountain, with the permafrost keeping it cold at the entrance, the seeds will never be in a temperature warmer than -4 degrees Celsius. The idea behind the vault is to store important seeds from useful crops from all over the world, in case the mother plants die. An example of this can be seen in Syria, where they collected their seeds from Svalbard in 2015 to regrow useful crops in their country after the war. In 2017, Syria sent back new seeds to Svalbard for storage, that they had harvested from the seeds they received back in 2015.

## Newer history.

Coal mining at Svalbard started around the end of the 1800's and the beginning of the 1900's with people starting to settle at the archipelago namely because of coal mining. The communities were traditional 'company towns' where the mining companies owned and controlled most of what was going on and how things were, especially regarding infrastructure and working and living conditions of the residents. Throughout time, serious accidents and sudden deaths have been part of Svalbard's history. This can visually be seen on all the burial sites around the archipelago from when whale hunting was big in the 17th and 18th centuries, or on the burial sites from all the accidents in the coal mines. Coal mining has decreased on Svalbard, and today research, tourism and government positions are the new base foundations for communities at Svalbard. Among the communities at Svalbard that once were founded due to coal mining, Ny-Ålesund has become a research station, Pyramiden and Barentsburg are aiming for tourism and Longyearbyen is a mix between research, tourism and creating a community closer to Norwegian mainland communities. After petroleum was discovered, Norway thightend up their grip around Svalbard in the 70s. The idea that no one was allowed to be born or die on the islands, were very much alive, Svalbard was not a place for life cycle communities, giving the residents a lack of attachment.

Svalbard is a part of the Kingdom of Norway, but the islands stand out from the mainland in several ways, and might not be as Norwegian as it appears. Norway is split into counties and cities, Svalbard and Longyearbyen do not count as either. Being that Svalbard is not a place for life cycle communities, every Norwegian citizen on the islands is registered in the cities on the mainland they moved from when settling at Svalbard. Svalbard is outside of the Schengen area, meaning that rules that apply on the Norwegian mainland due to the Schenge agreement, do not necessarily apply at Svalbard. The archipelago is also a Visa free area, so if one first gets to the islands, one can stay for however long one wants to, as long as one is capable of finding a place to live and provide for oneself. 2940 people were registered residents at Svalbard in 2021, 71 more than the year before, and there is an increasing trend going on with 2021's number being the highest recorded. While the population in Hornsund (Polish research station), Pyramiden and Barentsburg (Russian coal communities) are decreasing, the population in Ny-Ålesund (research station) and Longyearbyen are increasing, mostly with Norwegian people. To travel among the communities at Svalbard, one can fly to smaller airports in Ny-Ålesund and Svea (coal mining area). Other

transportation is done either by helicopter, snowmobile in winter season or boat in summer season.

There are no roads between the communities, partly because glaciers cover more than 60 percent of the land area. Geologically, Svalbard is a unique area, with rocks and mountains from all four of earth's eras on the geological time scale. The climate is arctic with little rain, and only about 6 percent of land area has vegetation. A branch of the gulf stream passes by Svalbard's west side, making the climate on the westside warmer than the east side. This combined with climate change warming up the Arctic, the ocean around Svalbard has had less ice during the later years, making fishing a bigger industry by expanding both the season and the areas where one can fish.



Figure 3: Out hiking with informants.

# Longyearbyen.

Now let's take a look at a place behind the world, somewhere north of north, the town called Longyearbyen. I will begin with the city's history, before briefly touching upon the town as a society.

## The start of Longyearbyen.

Longyearbyen was founded in 1906, by a man named John Munro Longyear, and is located by Adventfjorden at Svalbard. In the beginning, the city was called Longyear City, after the founder. The location was selected for coal mining, by the American coal company *The Arctic Coal Company (ACC),* and since Svalbard was a no man's land at that time, ACC did not have to pay taxes on the coal or apply for permission from another nation to start developing Longyear City. During the American times, Longyear city functioned as a work camp, and right before the first world war somewhere between 200 to 250 people stayed at the camp throughout winter. In 1916, the Norwegian coal company *Store Norske Spitsbergen Kullkompani,* short Store Norske, bought the town from the American coal company, and had 141 people staying throughout the winter the first season. The second winter with Store Norske, 216 people stayed in Longyearbyen. To begin with, the women were either wifes of officials, cleaning ladies or waiters in the cantines. In 1925, Norway officially got sovereignty over Svalbard, the town changed its name to Longyearbyen and the Sysselmann and a telegraph operator were based permanently in Longyearbyen. During the 1930s, Longyearbyen started to have cultural exchanges with the Russian settlements on the islands, something which is still happening today. The first school was built in 1937, housing both the teacher and a priest, and the ladies started to take over the jobs as barracks bosses, with responsibilities such as cleaning up after 60 men and making sure they kept it clean.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, Longyearbyen was nearly finished built and ready for mass production of coal mining. There was a fire in one of the mines in 1941, which was put out with help from German planes flying in necessary equipment. Later in 1941, the Norwegian residents were evacuated to Scotland and the Soviet residents to Arkhangelsk. The citizens of Longyearbyen partly destroyed the city, leaving little value behind for the Germans. In 1943, German boats destroyed the rest of Longyearbyen alongside with Grumantbyen and Barentsburg, and the year after a German submarine destroyed Sveagruva. After the Second World War, Longyearbyen was rebuilt with new city areas such as Nybyen, Haugen and a new city center along with the still remaining Sverdrupbyen. The Norwegian government took over the responsibility for the church after the war, while Store Norske still kept responsibilities for the hospital and the school. In 1948, Longyearbyen's well known newspaper *Svalbardposten* was established.

## Evolving into a family community.

The population continued to increase over the 50s and 60s, with more than 650 men, 130 women and 60 children staying throughout the winter 1954-55. The Norwegian government started to take a bigger interest in Longyearbyen and slowly started to intertwine Norwegian values during the 60s, and gave funds for further mining and development. During the cold war, there was some friction between The Soviet Union and Norway, but nothing that escalated to anything critical. Up until 1962, Norway was also mining coal in Kings Bay, known today as Ny-Ålesund, but a major gas explosion accident killing more than 20 workers put an end to the whole production in Kings Bay. Svalbardposten wrote in November 1962, asking the residents to start taking their shoes off when entering buildings, being that the barracks were restored it was very visual to see how dirty it became from the shoes, creating the still running tradition in Longyearbyen of taking ones shoes off when entering a building. Even though snowmobiles had been sold at Svalbard since the mid 60s, it was first in 1969 that the sale of snowmobiles increased into what we know today.

By the early 70s, more family friendly living arrangements were developed, alongside with the Norwegian state taking over more responsibility with developing the social side of Longyearbyen and its infrastructure. This was part of a plan for strengthening Norwegian sovereignty at Svalbard, to build out Longyearbyen and get a bigger Norwegian population there. A further step in this plan was building an airport at Svalbard, which was done in 1975, putting an end to the winter isolasjon at Svalbard. Up until then, one could only travel to Svalbard by boat during the summer months when there was no ice. Further development at Svalbard had to be carefully planned by the Norwegian government, balancing between showing Norwegian sovereignty and not unnecessarily provoking The Soviet Union. By 1976 the Norwegian government had bought almost all of Store Norske's stocks. Residents in Longyearbyen got satellite TV in 1978, and in 1979 the first woman started working in the mines, as a washing lady cleaning the break rooms. The school was improved in the 70s, trying to keep residents, with kids, who were well established with jobs on Svalbard. The mix of Norwegian, Soviet, Dutch and American Svalbard currency on the Islands faded out by the end of the 70s. This was money one had to trade in for mainland money before traveling to the mainland, being that the Svalbard currency had no value other than on Svalbard. The hospital in Longyearbyen had up until the 70s developed into an almost fully modern hospital at that time with special surgeons and a midwife. Even though the hospital had a midwife, she was not there to help birth babies. Children are not allowed to be born at Svalbard, so

pregnant ladies have to travel to the mainland at least two weeks before their due date. Even so, it has happened that children have been born at Svalbard, approximately 15 children registered from the early 1900's to around 1980's.

In 1981, Svalbard was connected to the phone lines on the mainland. Due to the building of family houses and apartments for workers during the 70's, the barracks were emptied during the 80's, and the big cantines were shut down being that no one ate there anymore. Instead, Longyearbyen got a cafe, bank, mail office, library and a grocery store. Tourism, like the way it works today, started in the early 80's when tourists could book trips to Svalbard with local people as tour guides. Within coal mining, there were changes as well during the 80's, with the first woman hired as a coal worker in 1985. And in June 1985, the Fire Chief burned down all barracks in Sverdrupbyen, something he and the director of Store Norske had agreed on being that they did not want a "ghost town" in Longyearbyen since no one lived in the barracks anymore.

The first mine ready for tourism was opened in 1990. This was basically a small part of one of the branches, just enough for tourists to crawl a couple of meters to get a feeling of what it was like to work in the mines. In the early 90s, a lot of the hotel and tourism companies in Longyearbyen expanded, building out hotels and renovating what they already had. Svalbard Polar Travel stood for the biggest expansion, by moving a whole barrack from the Winter Olympics at Lillehammer in 1994 up to Longyearbyen to work as a hotel wing for rooms. The university at Svalbard, UNIS, was built by 1993, and is the world's northernmost university and research institution. A tragic plane crash in 1996 in Adventdalen, resulting in 141 people's death, was one of the reasons for the end of the Russian settlement Pyramiden. Svalbard satellite station was opened in 1997, on the top of Platåfjellet near Longyearbyen. At the end of the 90s, the discussion about whether Longyearbyen was going to continue to be heated up by coal or move over to more environmentally friendly options such as diesel or gas started.

## Further development in Longyearbyen.

By 2001, Svalbard's first local government was elected, with their vision being *unique, safe and creative*, and from January 1st 2002 they took effect. The local government was created to give the residents in Longyearbyen a larger say in their everyday lives, and to strengthen Norwegian sovereignty even further. A further development of Longyearbyen led

to a number of foreign workers entering town, and with UNIS, students and often foreign students and professors also started to arrive in town. The global seed vault was opened in 2008, creating yet another tourist attraction. The way of living life at Svalbard is in newer times changing a lot due to climate changes.

In 2015, two people died because of an avalanche in Longyearbyen where ten houses were moved and crushed by the snow. By 2017, two more buildings were damaged due to an avalanche, leading to the realization that parts of the settlement in Longyearbyen are constantly under avalanche risk in the winter season, due to climate change creating warmer winters. The work of securing risky areas while at the same time building new houses in avalanche safe areas has been going on since 2017 up until today. Both Ny-Ålesund and Longyearbyen have superfast fiber cable connections to the mainland, and in 2019 Telenor started testing and developments of 5G internet in Longyearbyen. Store Norske is running mine 7 in Adventdalen, which delivers coal to the local power plant and European export. After more than 100 years of production of coal in Longyearbyen, it has been decided by the Norwegian government to shut down the production in September 2023. Since 2016, there has been a cleaning up process going on at the Svea mine, removing any trace of mining and returning the place back to its natural state. In 2018, around 100 people were employed by the coal mines, by 2021 there were only 55 persons left. Being that coal mining is fading out, tourism and research are the main reasons why people are still moving to and visiting Svalbard. Svalbard folkehøyskole, a one year school for people to gain life experience after High school, opened in 2019, taking the students out skiing and exploring the wilderness of Svalbard.

In Longyearbyen today, one can find several restaurants, hotels, museums, art galleries, stores, tourist organizations and a cafe. For the locals, one can also find the hospital, the sports hall, Sysselmestere, kindergartens, the church, the local government, a school covering every grade from 1st to 13th and UNIS. Because of more and more tourists traveling to Svalbard, Longyearbyen has started to become known for different music festivals and sports events. The Svalbard Treaty, Svalbard being outside of the Schengen area, the increase of international researchers and professors at UNIS and the many research stations located at Svalbard, has led to Longyearbyen being a quite international town.. Today, Longyearbyen consists of industry, education and research, and tourism. With better and faster ways of traveling between the mainland and Svalbard, the amount of tourists and researchers, both Norwegian and foreign, continue to increase. Some come during midnight sun season which is from April 20th to August 21st, some come during polar night season which is from

October 26th to February 16th, and some come back several times covering more than one season.


## Society.

The start of creating communities at Svalbard was in the early 1900s, and it came together for coal mining. From 1905 production was extended to run all year long, resulting in the need of supplies such as food, and tools to run the mines, but also infrastructure. Svalbard was completely isolated for the whole winter season, only accessible by boat in the summer season, and these were the set terms for whomever who wanted to live at Svalbard. From 1906-1916, called the American times, most people who came to the islands were young, unmarried men who wanted to earn well working in the coal mines. This would be the stereotype of travelers coming to Svalbard for many years. In 1963, 13 mine workers had been allowed to bring their families up to Longyearbyen to live with them, this being the beginning of Longyearbyen slowly changing from being a "company town" to a community for families. Longyearbyen was created due to its location as an arctic resource frontier region (Jensen & Moxnes. 2008, 16). These kinds of company towns exist in many places in the arctic, in locations where there are certain resources to harvest, such as coal, petroleum, gas or metals. When the town "runs out of" the resource, it is usually shut down and abandoned, if there is no alternative income for the town. And as previously seen in Longyearbyen, company towns are often male dominated with people coming and going.

During the 70s and 80s, Jakobsson (1988) described that one did not have to feel isolated in Longyearbyen during the winter season, if one did not want to, even though the town in fact was isolated. There were many associations and unions created in Longyearbyen, from different sports associations, to work unions, where one could participate and socialize. Several of these associations, such as Svalbard Turn, and unions, such as the working union, still exist in Longyearbyen today. The sports associations often also led to visiting the other settlements at Svalbard, for competitions with the local population in Barentsburg and Pyramiden. Alongside with the airport opening, making it easy to travel between mainland and Svalbard, satellite TV and snowmobiling becoming more and more popular, several unions and associations disappeared because people became too busy. With the quick transportation of the planes, the workers in Longyearbyen could be hired, fired and replaced easier, than when they were stuck in town until the boat came back in spring. Store Norske

started to show, during the 80s, an interest for the women in Longyearbyen and their problems. Old, sick, handicapped or people without work were, and still are rare or non existing in Longyearbyen, one has to be able to provide for oneself to live on the islands. If someone becomes ill or does something illegal or criminal, they are shipped down to the mainland. Jacobsen (1988) also explains how the local population in Longyearbyen had a pratley negative relation to the tourists, being that the tourists bought the plane tickets the locals needed to travel between the islands and mainland, resulting in workers not being able to travel up and down as they wanted.

The society has been described as a place where everyone knows everyone, a society without class and a place where there is a "everything will be alright" attitude to most things. From the beginning of Longyearbyen, there was a class difference between the workers in the coal mine, and the official workers from the offices. In newer times, one can notice a difference between for example researchers from UNIS and craftsmen or service workers, and even though "everyone knows everyone", there is limited interaction between the different groups. UNIS has however brought research to town as a major contributor financially, and with its rotating researchers and students, also contributing to Longyearbyen being a rotating, and international society. The population rotates so drastically, and more and more rapidly, that within four years most of the population has changed. This makes one question if Longyearbyen as a society is unstable or just dynamic. As a result of everyone knowing everyone, the society becomes transparent. This together with a high focus on police forces in Longyearbyen, showing of Norway's sovereignty, and all criminals being sent down to the mainland, results in a society with extremely little crime, even with such a high amount of tourists visiting every year. A society with such little crime has resulted in what parents have described as a society where they watch each other's kids, bring each other kids to activities and hang out with other families in a larger amount than what they experienced from the mainland. Jensen & Moxnes (2008) split the society into three categories, explaining how they coexist alongside each other; 1) a group of young people who do not have a deep connection to the place [in my experience, they come for the nature and adventures], 2) foregin people who have come to earn money to send back to their families, and 3) families who have been in Longyearbyen for years, even generations.

The Norwegian government has been trying to 'Norwegiannize' the archipelago, being that it is Norwegian territory, but no matter how hard they try, the societies and the Norwegian identity on the islands are constructed, and do not exist there naturally. All the young students, researchers or other adventurers that come to Longyearbyen, build up under

the claim that the town is globalized, individualized and a rotating society. Before summers, one can experience a "mass moving" from Longyearbyen, with people who have decided to move from the islands, and with local residents who will be enjoying summer on the mainland for weeks or months. Because of the lack of criminals, sick and old people, the town has also been questioned to be exclusionary and marginalized. The power of language is also part of including or excluding people, where the ones speaking both Norwegian and English are the ones getting the best jobs and opportunities in Longyearbyen, and people who speak neither have on more than one occasion been taken advantage of, this I will come back to later in my thesis. Another thing that has been a part of Longyearbyen since its beginning, which I will also come back to at a later point, is people in high positions and their need to show their power. Longyearbyen is constantly changing, going from being a mining community, to today's community where hiking gear and snowmobiling being the new "standard", but with an average temperature in Longyearbyen throughout the year being between -8 to -2 degress celsius, it is easy to understand peoples need for dressing warm and comfortable. From the second half of 2021, 2552 persons were registered residents in either Longyearbyen or Ny-Ålesund, 757 of them coming from countries other than Norway, with most continents represented. The Norwegian population represented 70 % of the total population in 2021, more than 10 % down from ten years earlier. More than half of Longyearbyen's population is in the age between 20 and 44, and 46 % are women.

## The Svalbard Bacillus.

Lastly, I would like to bring in the local term *the Svalbard bacillus*, as an explanation for why some people stay at Svalbard for years. It is said that the Svalbard bacillus is something that crawls up under one's skin, and takes up residence in one's heart. Some people get it, some people do not, and the ones that do not, usually quickly leave the island again. Meanwhile, the ones that do get it, will always look for a way to return to Svalbard. This is part of what separates the ones that stay from the ones that leave. There is a term called "polar bacillus" (Heiene, 2009), which describes people's general fascination with polar areas, seal and whale hunting, adventures and explorers, and the Svalbard bacillus is a local variant. This also brings in the fascinating scenario of people being homesick to a place that is not supposed to be a home to anyone. The fascination for the light in the sky, the polar night and the midnight sun is said to contribute to the Svalbard bacillus. The bacillus

becomes part of people's inner self, it grows into its own organ working with one's emotions and feelings. People look at polar areas as dangerous, exclusive and far away, making people who experience it want to remember it. Jakobsson (1988) wrote that Svalbard will always be its own world, and tells a story about a carpenter he once met who had lived at Svalbard. The carpenter told him that when he arrived in Longyearbyen he questioned what he was doing in such an awful place, but after leaving Longyearbyen, the carpenter realized that it was probably one of the best periods of his life. Jakobsson (1988) finishes off by explaining how in the end, he ended up with the Svalbard bacillus himself, enchanted by how the year changes, the different seasons and the different lights described in the start of this chapter.

# First day at Svalbard.

On the 15th of March 2021, I landed at Svalbard airport. Before landing, the pilot had informed us that there was unexpected snow on the runway, so we might have had to turn around and land at Tromsø airport, if they did not manage to land at Svalbard airport. Luckily, the landing at Svalbard went smoothly. It was blue sky, a strong wind and -24 degrees outside of the plane, and I was freezing before I even left the plane and was surprised to see how lightly dressed some people were. Svalbard Airport is tiny, and by entering the pickup area for luggage, you also enter the exit hall, where one can enjoy a stuffed polar bear at the luggage bond while one waits for one's own luggage. The lightly dressed people quickly collected their suitcases and left the airport in waiting cars. I was one of the last ones to leave the airport. The taxi driver, an Asian, English speaking woman around 50 years I would guess, drove me for the 10 minutes it took to get to my apartment. The road consisted of a long straight road from the airport, until one reached the start of town after about 5 minutes. Along the way, on the left side I saw Adventfjorden, and on the right side were hanging carts that were used in the 1900's to transport coal from town to the old harbor close to the airport. We passed by the power plant station, the gas station (which I later came to learn was the only public gas station in town) and a whole lot that looked like industrial buildings.

After the taxi left, I localized the right door - unlocked and with the keys in, like the landlord had promised - and carried all my luggage inside. Thanks to Google, I found out the local stores location and opening hours, making me unpack my bags enough to find thick winter clothing, getting dressed and leaving the house. Being that it was -24 degrees outside,

I could not rely on my phone to survive in the cold, meaning I tried to memorize the map in my head before leaving my house. After leaving my house, I quickly found what I expected was UNIS, meaning I was on the right track. By UNIS, the main walking street starts, so I followed the street up past the Radisson hotel, past the hospital, and what I guessed was a kindergartner (later found out it was indeed a kindergartner), followed up by a big building that had "Kulturhuset" (Culture House) written on it which apparently hosted a library, cafe and cinema. After the Culture House, was the local government's house, with the mail office on the opposite side of the road. Here I stopped a woman and asked for directions to the store, thinking I had missed it. She informed me that it was just in the next building on the left side, but it could be a bit hard to realize that it was indeed the store being that the building was being renovated. I thanked her, and walked up to the store and entered. I do not know what I was expecting from a store located in the northernmost place to live, but entering the store was disappointing. The food was randomly placed around in the store, some were placed on pallets, the renovation work was going on inside as well, making the store feel nothing like its equal stores from the same brand on the mainland. [After the renovation, the store turned into a brand new, good quality store like the brand is known for on the mainland] I bought what I needed, and walked back to my house. By the time I had gotten back, it was almost dark outside, and I could barely see Adventfjorden.

When I came home, I made myself dinner with the little kitchen equipment I had. My landlord had promised to stop by later in the evening with more kitchen equipment. After dinner, I continued unpacking my bags, and tried my best to make my living place as cozy as possible. Eventually, my landlord showed up with a whole basket with kitchen equipment, telling me to take whatever I needed, and the rest I could just place in the storage. He also helped me connect to the wifi, and made sure I knew how the oven worked (it had a timer). He informed me that he was quite busy with work, being that it was high season for the tourists, but reassured me that he would come by with the leasing contract as soon as he had the time (this took him more than two months, not that I was complaining). The rest of my first day in the field, I spent swiping through Tinder (Tinder is an app that people use to swipe through people's profiles to find someone to meet up with and go on dates with or meet new friends). I had decided before I moved up that I would try to use Tinder as one of many ways of meeting people.

# Concluding comments.

Through this chapter, I have enlightened the reader about Svalbard's significance and described some of the bigger historical events in the history of the archipelago Svalbard. I have gone through how Svalbard went from being a nomansland to becoming a part of the Norwegian Kingdom, ruled by the Norwegian government, and terms set in the Svalbard treaty that took effect in 1925. Further on, I have gone through Longyearbyen's historical development, from how it started as an American coal working camp up until today's modern community with running water and electricity in almost every home, phone service, an airport, several shopping stores, hotels and restaurants. In part three, I went through how Longyearbyen society have been described in newer literature, ranging from being a place where everybody knows everybody and it is a society without class, to being an exclusive community because there is nearly none old, sick, poor or handicapped people living in Longyearbyen. Lastly in this chapter, I finished by giving the reader an opportunity to experience my first day in the field through my experiences from that day.

# Chapter 2:

Anthropological trust.

"What is trust? Trust is having confidence in the honesty of another". - Said by the villain in *The King's Man*.

"...the frequently quoted statement, first published in 1900, that 'Without the general trust that people have in each other, society itself would disintegrate'". (Barbalet, 2019,11).

"The importance of trust in social life is due to the fundamental fact, noticed already by ancient philosophers, namely that a human being is essentially social. We cannot survive without others. The trouble is that we can almost never be sure how others will act toward us, or react to our actions."(Sztompka, 2019, 34).

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a brief historical account on the anthropological field of trust, how it has developed, and the contemporary characteristics of the field. To start this chapter off, I will start by giving a description of what trust is, followed by bringing in the term trustworthiness and how that term and trust are linked together. The next part of this chapter will go through how trust is described through academia, followed by how transparency and the flow of information influences trust. The chapters shortly touch upon the topic of demanding and requesting trust. Next off is the history of trust, when it first became a topic and how it has evolved over time. Thereafter is a section that firstly describes personal trust, before moving on to the topic of social and general trust. From there on, I have given an explanation of reciprocity's role in trust, before bringing in the important topic of distrust. After that follows a section on what creates trust, and then the differences of 'high' and 'low' trustees. Finally the element of risk in trust is discussed, before finishing this chapter with trust in Scandinavia and Norway.

# The Concept of Trust.

"The main definition of trust in the *Oxford English Dictionary* identifies trust as 'confidence in or reliance on some quality or attributes of a person or thing, or the truth of a statement'". (Misztal, 2996, 16)

## Describing trust.

Throughout the field of trust - and trustworthiness - within social science, there are many writers who have defined or try to define what trust is. Some come up with their own definitions, others use the definition made by others. Sztompka (2019) described trust as a bond between two people, where person A expects person B to act beneficial towards person A. If person B fulfills his part, he proves himself trustworthy to person A, meaning he has the right to be trusted by person A (Sztompka, 2019, 35). Trust has been described as willingly being vulnerable to another person's actions, in the belief that "things will be all right"(Nooteboom, 2019, 61). Another definition points out how trust builds on the belief that, if it can be avoided, others will not intentionally or on purpose harm us. Instead, they will, if it is possible, act out in our interest (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 311). One definition defines trust as a psychological state where a person compromises - with the intention to accept being vulnerable - on behalf of another person's behavior or intentions, this being based on positive expectations (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 10). Delhey & Newton describe trust as an encapsulated interest where shared interests are involved, where others will perform beneficially towards others, or in worst case, not do any harm or damage (Delhey & Newton, 2003, 105). Trust has been described as an expectation, that when in risky or uncertain situations, others will act in a way that is beneficent reciprocity for both parties involved, and that trust is present when a person choose not to gain at others expense when they have the opportunity too (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 17).

Misztal explains trust as a future expectation or belief that people will act appropriately from our point of view (1996, 24). Cook, Levi & Hardin gives three possible explanations for trust. The first one, where trust comes from the idea that the trustee cares for the truster, they call *the other-regarding preferences rationale*. In the second idea called *incentives rationale*, trust springs out of the idea that the trustee is motivated to take the truster's interests into account. The last idea, called *competence rational,* indicates that the

trustee will act out in the interest of the truster (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 42-43). Trust has been described as a party's character and motives, which builds a judgment, belief or prediction about the party's possible future action. Based on the available evidence, the trustor will judge the trustee's trustworthiness, and this process will set the terms for the trust relationship between the parts (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 11). Sztompka reflects around trust as being a bet about the possible future actions from other people (2019, 35). Trust is based on a feeling or a belief, Barbalet (2019) writes, connecting it to the thought that trust will always be a type or expectation. This means that trust is future oriented by nature; "Trust is not simply a belief or a feeling about another person but a belief or feeling about what that person is likely to do in the future" (Barbalet, 2019, 14). Lastly, I want to bring in the definition stating that trust exists when a person has faith in another person to be motivated to act in their interest, or to "take his or her interest to heart" (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005, 2). For this thesis I will use Cook, Levi & Hardin's (2009) definition of trust from their page 17, that I described at the end of the previous paragraph.

## Trustworthiness.

In the same family as the term trust, we find trustworthiness. Trustworthiness has been described as the capacity one has to commit oneself to fulfill legitimate expectations others have of you, and it is both a necessary foundation and is said to be a key to maintaining the existence of any society (Misztal, 1996, 12). If one is being trusted, because the trustor sees the trustee as highly motivated to do what it has been trusted to do, one is trustworthy (Hardin, 2002, 28). The bigger the ability people have to deliver what they have promised, the more trustworthy other people will believe you are. Meaning that the evaluation of one's trustworthiness relies on the involved relationships' nature, the relationship's embedded network, and various other circumstances around the environment and social context (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 56, 184). If a person takes one's interest into account, is strongly morally committed to, or has a nature of being a trustworthy character, the person will be described as trustworthy (Cook, Russell & Levi, 2005, 21). Russell writes that the reason why people involve themselves in trustworthiness and trust, is because they give people an opportunity to cooperate for mutual benefits, "Cooperation is the prior and central concern" (Russell, 2002, 173).

In Dietz, Gillespie & Chao's (2010) article, one can read about three prominent aspects of trustworthiness which have been identified. Number one is ability; one's skills, characteristics and competencies which enable a person to influence a specific situation. Number two is benevolence; how a person shows their genuine care and concern for another person, and the trustees perception of positive orientation towards the trustor. The last one is integrity; the trustees' consistency of showing honesty and fairness to principles set by the trustor (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 10). Three characteristics of trustworthiness, according to Sasaki (2019, A), is reputation, performance, and appearance. More times than not, people will use all three of them, in various combinations often arranged in prefered orders, to determine a person's trustworthiness. Sasaki (2019, A) elaborates on how traditional, elitist societies often determined someone's trustworthiness based on symbolic marks of distinctions, such as medals, titles, or diplomas. In societies who are more egalitarian and democratic, factors such as popular fame, visibility in media and one's numbers of followers in social media has an impact on how trustworthy one is seen (Sasaki, 2019, A, 178-179).

## About trust.

Trust is seen as "a highly problematic but recurrent feature of social relationships" (Misztal, 1996, 12). Russell explains that, trust can not be relevant without there being a possible chance of defection, betrayal or exit by the person who is being trusted (2002, 12). It is claimed that there are higher levels of trust between individuals who are well-educated and in general richer than the average level in its society (Glaeser, Laibson, Schenkman & Soutter, 2000, 816). Dietz, Gillespie & Chao (2010) question if there is only one, etic universal model applicable for trust and trust development in the world, or if people around the world have an emic and different understanding and practice of trust. They further elaborate on how a lot of studies about trust mostly has an etic perspective, where it is being assumed that the Western countries' ways of practicing trust concepts, models and measures is covering for studying trust in non-Western societies. Further on, they elaborate on how this approach has been criticized, with arguments such as "it is much more productive to explore and compare the meaning of trust and its antecedents and consequences as perceived in various cultures" (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 8). Ending off, Dietz, Gillespie & Chao (2010) explains how the meaning of trust, its nature and levels may vary and be different in

other non-Western places and nations, and how a integrated etic/emic approach will be a promising approach for future research on the topic of trust. In modern society, Delhey & Newton (2005) writes, trust relations are strengthened by group attachments and connections, and an extensive and intense social exchange range which together creates a web that aloves for reciprocity, trust and mutual obligations to grow (2005, 312).

In his article, Eriksen (2022) introduces the idea of separating trust into two categories, distinguishing between trusting a *who* and trusting a *what*. If one relies on one's common citizens but not one's government, then one is trusting a *who*, or in this case many of them. If one lives in a society where the government is reliable, but not one's fellow citizens, then one is trusting a *what* (Eriksen, 2022). Being that trust involves uncertainty and vulnerability, Nooteboom (2019) claims that there is an importante intuitive and emotional dimension to trust, and with trust's influence in relationships between groups and people, it is looked upon as extraordinarily important in societies (Sasaki, 2019, B). Tveter (2020) describes trust as ambiguous and complex, and elaborates how "Trust is both reflexive and intuitive, conceptualized as strategic, symbolic, relational and institutional", and to achieve a psychological state where one is accepting being vulnerable to hopefully benefit from another person's intentions or behavior, is looked upon as a desirable and valued (Tveter, 2020, 225). Trust's existence is dependent on it creating its own preconditions, which has to be recognized as trustworthy. Societies with an investigating culture are a good example of this; the culture becomes trustworthy due to the investigation, which again puts trust as the value capable of the investigation (Jimenez, 2011, 193). Jimenez (2011) states that for trust to become meaningful, it needs a realm that 'lies after' trust. By this, he claims that society has no trust unless it is in an 'after-trusting' mode. This paragraph shows that there is not one right way of studying trust, with different levels of trust within different groups of people, different views on trust through emic/etic approaches, with Eriksen's (2022) trusting a *who* or a *what*, how trust can be reinforcing in investigating communities, and Jimenez (2011) statemeant of a realm that lies after trust.

## Transparency and Information.

One of the most important factors that trust is dependent on, is "the timely availability of complete, relevant, and reliable information" (Jimenez, 2011, 181), or in other words, trust is dependent on transparency in appropriate levels. Evidence gathered, the quality of the

evidence, and the evidence's interpretation is central to the trust process. Gathering information and evidence for the trust process, can be separated into presumptive and direct bases of trust. Direct evidence is information that has been gathered through firsthand knowledge and interactions. On the other side, presumptive evidence is when one chooses to trust a person without having any prior knowledge of the person, and has to rely on evidence from other sources. Such sources can be; 1) information received about a person's membership in certain organizational or social groups or categories, 2) information received from third parties, 3) role expectations: expecting others to behave a certain way due to their responsibilities, obligations, and possibly expertise that comes with their roles, and 4) regulations and institutions (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 12). Control and trust can be seen as compliments or substitutes, and they both may be present at the same time. When trust and control are seen as compliments, it can be due to the levels of control one might experience, one might choose to trust a person. Opposite, due to the trust one has in another person, one might choose to let go of one's control in certain situations. When trust and control are seen as substitutions, the case is often that there is so much control that there is no need for trust, being that the high levels of control minimizes the levels of risks. If one is responsible for imposing control over another, one can not be said to be trusted (Dietz, Gillespie, Chao, 2010, 13). I want to finish this section with Jimenez 'description on how information has no boundaries and moves freely; " information nests information that connects to other information that informs other information that relates to other information that explains other information, and so on" (2011, 184). The importance of information and transparency will be visual in my ethnographic material especially in the section about ingroups and outgroups, and in the section about what the conversation topics in town generally are.

## Demanding trust.

There is no such thing as bribing, demanding or purchasing trust. To emphasize the importance of this, Misztal brings in the age-old truth that by any attempts to buy trust, one will simply destroy all chances one had of gaining trust (1996, 21). If a person is not being trusted, that person's demand to be trusted will first off all, not be followed up being that trust can not be demanded, and second of all, this behavior gives the trustor knowledge that it probably would not be vise to trust the demander. This connects with the fact that the demand gives no knowledge of who the demander actually is, given the trustor little to build a trusting

relationship on (Hardin, 2002, 59). A general rule within trust is that it is given from one person to another based on choices taken individually, and that force and pressure has no place in a trusting relationship, making it impossible to receive trust by demanding it (Barbalet, 2019, 22).

## Trust history.

Among contemporary social scientists, there is a general consensus about the importance of social trust. Trust as an interest has been covered by sociology, economics, history, philosophy, political science, management and organization studies, psychology, political theory, and anthropology among others. Delhey & Newton (2003) writes that efficiency in market economics, and economic growth are contributed by trust, alongside with social integration, provision of public goods, co-operation and harmony, democratic stability and development, personal life satisfaction, and good health and a long lifetime. One of the first statements published about trust, is a frequently quoted statement from 1900, claiming that society itself would fall to pieces, if it were not for people having general trust in each other (Barbalet, 2019). From the start of the 1900's up until 1950's, academic literature on the topic of trust mainly consisted of the term being used about corporate trust and anti-trust juridical measures, unlike today where the term is used about support, cooperation and interpersonal relations. From the 1950's onwards to the 1970's, a different understanding of trust started to emerge in academic literature due to publications on social psychologists' interest in interpersonal trust (Barbalet, 2019, 11). Within trust, there are five variables which are indirectly or directly linked to trust; income equality, protestant religious traditions, wealth, good government, and ethnic fractionalization (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 321). In Delhey & Newton's (2003) article, they seperate trust into two schools. The first school views trust as an individual property which is connected to individual characteristics, such as personality traits, or demographic and social characteristics such as gender, income, class, age and education. The second school views trust as social trust, and that it is a property of social systems. The second school claims that it is essential to look at trust from a top-down perspective, and focus on the rising and systemic properties in a society, and the society's central institutions. In the literature on trust, it is being argued that once capacity to control what is going on in one's own life, and a persons optimism - being two core personality traits - takes part creating trust, and especially one's optimism is part in creating

generalized trust (Delhey & Newton, 2003, 95). One of the clear points for wanting to create more trust, taken out of the large scale of contemporary literature on trust, is the benefits trust gives by easing the way to social, cooperative relations (Hardin, 2002, 173). Trust relations, Cook, Hardin & Levi (2005) writes, can be different from one culture to another. This can be a result due to differences in the institutions, and social structures that exist to build up under and support cooperation and social relations norms in general (Cook, Gardin & Levi, 2005, 194). It is widespread within the social sciences that trust is decreasing in modern society, making it harder to cooperate. This makes the high general trust at Svalbard even more attractive.

## Personal trust.

Trust can be seen as a personal thing, and according to Delhey & Newton's article, people learn from their parents early in life how to trust (2003, 95). In his article, Barbalet (2019) writes that some of the terms that trust operates within, which are properties of individuals, are emotions, dispositions, feelings and affects, and cognitions and beliefs. By trusting people, a person avoids isolating itself by extending trust between itself and others. In contrast to social norms, status and comparable phenomena, trust is not capable of being defined in set terms by enforcement, third-party involvement of facilitation. He continues by stating that trust relations always exist between two people, essentially dyadic, also in relations where one of the parts is a 'thing', such as an institution, government, money, or a profession. In the above cases, and similar ones, he writes, the trustor is an individual person (Barbalet, 2019, 13). The amount two people have of social connections, such as how long they have known each other and how many common friends they have, gives in general a good suggestion of how much trust and trustworthiness there is between the two persons (Glaeser, Laibson, Schenkman & Soutter, 2000, 814). Barbalet explains how trust as a concept refers to relations where a person, who has decided to trust, builds the holding point for the connection. He finishes off by stating that, it is only individually acting persons who can reciprocate and provide trust (Barbalet, 2019, 14). To trust more than a relatively small group of people, is something we can not do, Hardin (2002) writes. He continues by saying that also, large groups of people can not be trusted either. Further on, he explains how one might trust most or even all of the members of the group/s, when interacting with them dyadically. When it comes to relying on the members of a group to encapsulate the interests

of others, it is something that can not be expected (Hardin, 2002, 174). Personal trust, is by Cook, Hardin & Levi also called *encapsulated trust;* "According to this concept of trust, we trust you because we think you take our interest to heart and encapsulate our interest in your own. You do so typically because you want to continue our relationship, and you therefore want to act in our interest" (2005, 5).

## General/social trust.

On the other side of personal trust, is social, also called general, trust. Social trust, Sedlackova & Safr (2019) writes, can be defined as the general trust one has in other people. Social/general trust, alongside respect for differences, and tolerance for inter-groups, helps to create a civic culture, and further on supporting democracy (Sedlackova & Safr, 2019). Tveter (2020) writes that general trust, which she calls horizontal trust, tells people the requirements for socially acting. In Hardin's (2002) book, generalized trust is when one trusts other people one might encounter with, with just few restrictions on what one would trust them with. In surveys where people have been asked if they would generally trust others, the general trust has been described as ".. they would trust most people within somewhat narrow limits" (Hardin, 2002, 10). General/social trust is trusting random strangers, or social institutions without having prior knowledge or relations with the others (Hardin, 2002, 60, 61). Hardin describes general trust as "... nothing more than optimistic assessment of trustworthiness and willingness therefore to take small risks on dealing with others whom one does not yet know" (2002, 62), which will be the definition this thesis is based on. At best, general trust is much like trust in government, in ways such as the fact that most of the people one interacts with, one expects them to be at least reasonably trustworthy (Hardin, 2002, 180). Generalized trust, explained by Pettersen (2019), indicates the possible opportunity between citizens to work together, and to take part in institutions in their society. He elaborates by explaining how general trust in general involves trust between partners that do not already know each other. Cook, Hardin & Levi (2005) bring in an explanation on how in small societies a century ago or more the society's population would mostly have interacted only with each other, knowing well who could and who could not be trusted.

General trust indicates a person's availability for generally trusting other people, and is based on how one's personality is colored by one's cultural background and early development experiences, and maintain quite stable throughout one's adulthood (Dietz,

Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 10-11). A survey stated that generalized trust is unevenly distributed around the globe, with Norway and Sweden having six out of ten people stating that most people can be trusted, whereas in Brazil and Turkey, not even one out of ten shares the same opinion as Norway and Sweden (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 311). It has been shown that the greater the similarities of other people are understood to be, the more they trust each other, hence higher trust is found in more homogeneous societies. Societies with a high level of general trust, usually have a more modernized population, and one or more of these indicators in its population; education, a small agricultural sector, wealth, and long lifetime. Meanwhile, general trust is not outstandingly only connected with population size, population density or measures of urbanization in a society. Modern societies with great economics giving the population personal independence and great individual freedom have found ways to uphold the social trust within their societies (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 322).

General trust is trusting people one does not know. Being that general trust has a strength, both indirectly and directly connected, in homogeneous societies, one can question how general general trust actually is (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 324). Barbalet (2019) describes social trust as a 'public good', because trust has the possibility to create and maintain solidarity in social relationships and systems, thus giving it the position as a property of collective units. Pettersen's (2019) points out how general trust is a rare phenomena, and from 77 countries who took part in a World Values Survey, only 9 countries had a majority of its population claiming that most people can be trusted. The other countries' population responded that one can never be too careful when interacting with others (Pettersen, 2019, 17-18). From what I have written about general trust up until now, one would believe that the modern European countries, with wealth and educated people would have a high level of trust. From the World Values Survey, one can see the opposite, with Germany only having 42 % of its population trusting the rest of the population, France with 19%, USA having 38%, Spain having 30%, and Great Britannia having 30% (Pettersen, 2019, 18). A different approach to trust, is to look at it as a property, belonging to society rather than to people. People take part in, benefit from, and contribute to a trusting culture, but also from political and social institutions that support the development of trusting behavior and attitudes. Democratic and richer countries have a higher percentage of general trust than less democratic and poorer countries (Delhey & Newton, 2003). Almost no relationships are based altogether upon what is known for sure about another individual, making society dependent on the general trust that people have in each other, for without it society would go to rack and ruin. "If trust were not as strong as, or stronger than, rational

proof of personal observation" (Misztal 1996, 50), quite few relationships in society would sustain. This paragraph shows the important benefits of general trust, and how general trust is a rare phenomenon, even among the democratic and rich nations in the West.

## Reciprocal trust.

A relation based on trust is built on mutual interdependence and knowledge that over time has been developed around one's relation of reciprocal trustworthiness (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005, 2). Trust can be seen as wrapped in a reciprocal expectation, meaning it is expected to give back trust once someone gives you trust, but trust also exists in nonhuman forms, making the reciprocal relationship a bit harder (Jimenez, 2011, 179). Mauss argues that "the obligation to give, the obligation to receive and reciprocate" (1970, 50) goes beyond his example with gift giving. Like gift giving, trust is an act that does not require immediate reciprocity, and where what to give in return is necessary discussed at the moment of the offering. At one point however, it is expected to return the favor - either it being a gift or trust - and in Mauss' (1970) archaic societies built on "gift-relationships, 'There is no middle path; there is either trust or mistrust'" (Misztal, 1996, 16-17). If a trustworthy relationship is wanted, making the other person reciprocally dependent on one's trustworthiness, is one way to make trustworthy interactions. By having both parts being reciprocally trusting, one gets a relationship which is mutually reinforcing for both parts, "I trust you because it is in your interest to do what I trust you to do, and you trust me for the reciprocal reason" (Hardin, 2002, 17). One will lose one's trust credibility as a direct result of breaking promises. Having lost one's credibility, one also loses the opportunity to make promises, "the real penalty here is not that others will no longer rely on me but that they will not let me rely on them" (Hardin, 2002, 19). Trust and reciprocity are values that have been given the role as pillars in society and civilization, alongside reciprocated trusting relationships as the key to human happiness (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 4-5). Through experiences in different situations, relationships evolve and one acquires knowledge about another's strengths and weaknesses, showing how trust development is an organic and never ending process, colored by reciprocity and trusting behavior by others (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 11-12).

## Distrust.

When discussing the topic of trustworthiness and trust, one also needs to bring in the topic of distrust. It is easy to see how one might think of distrust as the opposite of trust, meaning that one will distrust someone if one does not trust a person. I want to argue that distrust is in fact the negative of trust, like Hardin (2002) argues, "If I trust you, I have specific ground for the trust. In parallel, if I distrust you, I have specific grounds for the distrust" (2002, 90). If one has this approach to trust and distrust, one can also choose to be ignorant about someone, choosing to not neither trust nor distrust someone, until one has better knowledge about the person in question of the trust relationship. In the situations where distrust is created - for example if someone believes another person's interest strongly conflicts with their own interest - the consequences will be lost opportunities, lost chances of cooperation, and a clear ground on how to act toward the other person (Hardin, 2002, 91, 95, 164). Distrust, alongside skepticism, sets boundaries for interactions with others, making someone not accept being vulnerable to another person and trusting them, based on previously negative experiences or behavior from a person - seeking distrust in every relationship is not seen as desirable. Viewed as the most realistic way to approach social settings, is to find a balance between suspicion and naive expectancy (Tveter, 2020, 225). Barbalet (2019) argues that trust that has been broken can lead to social relations being interrupted. "Broken trust not only reveals the limitations of the trusted betrayer but also limitations in the judgment of the trust giver; and it is always likely that this fact will inhibit public declaration of betrayal of trust" (Barbalet, 2019, 17).

In Sztompka's (2019) text, it is argued that distrust can lead to the production of anxiety and suspiciousness, this again can end up being paralyzing for interactions and actions. People with a perception of mistrust, often show one or more out of these traits; 1) feeling highly withdrawn and lonely, 2) has less willpower to open up to other people, 3) less likely to talk about private and intimate topics with other people, and 4) feeling less likely to receive sympathy, understanding, and bonding in conversations with others (Rotenberg, 2019, 166). Any big changes in normal everyday life, such as conflicts, social changes, and disruption, can increase the chance of creating untrustworthy behavior and distrust. On the other hand, if a society comes against a common enemy, it can push society together and create more trust (Delhey & Newton, 2005). Distrust can be present anywhere, making it sometimes hard to cooperate, and disrupt social order. Distrust can in some cases also be useful, by putting an end to cooperation between people and other people, or people and

institutions that would take advantage of one's trust (Cook Hardin & Levi, 2005). According to Cook, Hardin & Levi ".. distrust is the negative of trust. A's trust of B entails that A's interests be encapsulated in B's interests to some extent. *A is likely to distrust B if there is a dominant conflict of B's interests with A's*" (2005, 63). Further on, they explain that two conditions for trust is believing that someone has the will to do what they have been trusted to do, and believing that someone has the motivation to act in one's interest. When it comes to distrust, they add conflict of interest as a concern, stating that if people have the same interest, it does not necessarily mean that trust is created. But, in situations where contrary interest occurs, distrust is created (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005), showing how easily networks of trust can quickly become networks of distrust, just by a change of interests.

## What creates trust.

"Only a small child, a lover, Abraham speaking to his god, or a rabid follower of a charismatic leader might be able to say "I trust you" without implicit modifier" (Hardin, 2002, 9). Trust can be based on relations people experienced while growing up, and experiences from later in life. Another theory is that trust is a social characteristic that is organic, and that a person's trust is built from structures in their society (Pettersen, 2019). In Pettersen's (2019) article, he claims that trust is not a personal characteristic which someone has or not, instead people have to scan society around them to decide whether they find it trustworthy or not. The more people who participate in general trust, the more will people believe in general trust, turning it into a self-reinforcing good circle (Pettersen, 2019, 19). In smaller communities, people may have ongoing, overlapping relationships going on with each other. These kinds of relationships normally create knowledge of whom to trust and not, and they create reasons for people to trust each other (Hardin, 2002, 21). Being that trust is a product of one's experiences, it will constantly change based on one's surroundings (Pettersen, 2019, 21). In Dietz, Gillespie & Chao's (2010) article, they have written a four stage process of how to build trust; 1) Context: before a first encounter, people come with their own cultural background, different levels of trust, cross-culture experience, and willingness to adapt. 2) Opening stance: in the first encounter, people arrive with reasons for either trusting or distrusting the other party, such good reasons can be shared cultural tiles, or bad reasons such as enemy nations or companies. In these encounters, one needs a willingness from both parts to suspend judgment, to encourage a successful engagement. 3)

In an early phase of a relationship, people gather trust-relevant information, initiate communication, interpret signals, and adjust their own expectations. People will have a certain level of willingness to overcome misunderstandings. Moving on from here, depending on the trust-building effort, comes: 4a) The 'breakthrough': In encounters where enough positive insight has been gathered, a successful trust relationship can be created. People may adjust their own behavior a bit, to approach a comfortable level of cooperation for trust to be built. 4b) The 'breakdown': people do not receive enough positive insight for wanting to build a trusting relationship, or they receive insights which are discomforting or culturally intolerable for them, and the differences are not reconciling, resulting in distrust. Depending on the relationship either going part 4a, or 4b, comes 5) Consequences: In a trusting relationship mutual understanding and affection is reachable, and cultural interpretations of each other should be ebb off. In a distrusting relationship, the parts will terminate the relationship. If one is forced to continue the relationship, it will be colored by suspicion, unless one later will come to an understanding (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010).

The problem in the study of trust is colored by cause and effect, according to Delhey & Newton (2003). They question if people become more trusting by taking part in voluntary work, or if it is the people that take part in voluntary work that are more trusting to begin with, and that the distrusting people in general take less part in voluntary work. Further on, they also question if people develop trust on a higher level due to life being 'easy' for them, or is life 'easy' for them due to their high level of trust (Delhey & Newton, 2003). Hardin (2002) brings in a story of an acquaintance he once had, that he was told by certain people that this person was to be trusted. Hardin came to realize that if this person could be trusted or not depended on who he asked. He discovered that many people did not trust this person the slightest because of his manipulative and false nature. Those who did not trust the man, often had interests that were in conflict with the man's interests. Hardin concluded that the man could be deeply trusted by those who shared the same interests as him, and not trusted by those who had conflicting interests with him (2002). Cook, Hardin & Levi (2005) argues that trust requires a certain amount of knowledge. By their definition, it is impossible to trust several of one's own acquaintances, strangers, governments, institutions or other large collectives (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005). The trust one has, is built on information which is gathered through others, via connections one might have in the same network. Based on one's reputation, people determine if they will risk cooperating and trusting another party (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005). If there is a power difference between the parties involved in a trust relationship, the relation might be with stable legal, political and social institutions (Cook,

Hardin & Levi, 2005). If a person is generally optimistic in life, it can be easier for others to cooperate and create a trust relationship with them. This optimism may be an effect of having a network of people with a high level of trustworthiness supporting them, generating this 'easily' gained trust benefit (Hardin, 2002, 84). The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader an insight into what kind of ideas and behavior that creates trust.

## High and low trustees.

People may differ in how big their capacity for trust is, this was found already in some of the earlier studies on trust (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005). This means that in the same situation, people may trust differently, separating people into 'low trustees' and 'high trustees'. Further on, Cook, Hardin & Levi (2005) argues that being either low or high truster, is a result of either being born that way, or it is a result of one's earlier experiences with trust, especially from early years in life, usually with family members. Rotenberg found that low trustees could be seen as a result of loneliness from one or more of these life periods; early childhood, middle childhood, and young adulthood (2019, 165). When it comes to the association between age and trust, Sasaki found that elderly people trust more, while young people distrust more (2019, A, 198). In Cook, Hardin & Levi's (2005), there is a deeper description of high- and low trustees. Low trustees need clear evidence that someone can in fact be trusted, before they will choose to trust them. High trustees have a hard time lying, are generally more trustworthy, and will in most cases be more likable. High trustees participate more in volunteering work, and take more often than low trustees, part in socially valuable behavior. The high trustee will often possess social intelligence enough to be able to separate between who can be trusted and who can not be trusted, to a much higher degree than the low trustee. The main difference between the two categories is their level of cautiousness (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005, 23). In general, high trustees are less cautious and low trustees are more cautious, especially when it comes to dealing with strangers (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005, 25). People trust on different levels, based on childhood, previous experiences in life and the people they surround themselves with, as proven in this paragraph, which has also been important for my fieldwork, being that my informants come from a lot of different backgrounds.

## Element of risk.

"Trust … always involves an element of risk - the risk that the other on whose actions I depend, but which I cannot in any way control, may act contrary to my expectations" (Jimenez, 2011, 188). If the world only had people who were trustworthy, trust would be unproblematic. The reality is that most times, one can not tell exactly to which extent others' trustworthiness will reach, when it comes to taking others into concern (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005). Sasaki's (2019, B) explains how with every effort to create a relationship of trust, or to cooperate with someone, there is a certain degree of risk. The article describes trust as pervasive, being that the initial phase of every relationship is colored by doubt and uncertainty, where the parts are searching for the right amount of trust to mimic the other part. Trust in the early stage of a relationship is important, due to all the critical experiences one has with others in the early initial phase of a relationship. Misztal writes that the reason for trust to be so unique, is because it relies on more than just believing; "in fact, to trust is to believe despite uncertainty" (Misztal, 1996, 18). Due to one's inability to control and monitor others' behavior, knowing others motivations and generally due to uncertainty of social reality, there is always an element of risk when involved with trust.

Delhey & Newton (2005) argues that there is a connection between wealthy societies and trust, claiming that the wealthier a society is - with basic material needs being covered - the more the population of said society are willing to take a risk in trusting others. Due to the wealth of the society, it is both less rewarding and less necessary to act untrustworthy, generally reducing the risk when trusting others in the society and encouraging economic growth (Delhey & Newton, 2005, 314). All trust carries risk, but it is less risky for rich people compared to poor people. The poor people have little to nothing to risk losing, if their trust is betrayed. The rich, on the other hand, har relatively less to lose if they trust others, being that they have more, and in return, the rich generally have more to gain from trusting behavior than they have to lose. It has been concluded that one can see that general trust is practiced more by the 'winners' in society, based on subjective happiness, money, life satisfaction, high level jobs and status (Delhey & Newton, 2003). In trust relations structure, there will always be a latent risk, but, in a society which is relatively benign, people usually can accept the chance of risk in trust relationships until it is discovered that people in the society are not worthy of trust and cooperation (Hardin, 2002, 131). There is always an element of risk in trust, being that one can not control the acts of others. What is interesting is that, the wealthier a society is, the less people have to lose on trusting others, which is quite

applicable in Longyearbyen, with a Norwegian population taxing less than on the mainland, hence they have generally more money, and a non-Norwegian population earing generally a more than they would in their home countries.

## Trust in Scandinavia - in Norway.

The purpose of this paragraph is to give the reader an insight into how trust and general trust is practiced in Scandinavia and Norway. Trust is often viewed as perhaps the most fundamental value in Norway and the other Nordic countries; Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland. As a value, it colors personal relationships, business relationships, and the relationship between citizens and government (Aspøy, 2016). Due to historically stable rules, well functioning public institutions, strong civil societies, and high social capital, the Scandinavian societies have been rated among the highest trusting societies in the world (Tveter, 2020 & Eriksen, 2022). Trust, if reintroduced as a public management shaping value, occurs in an environment that is already trusting. For example, "In Norway, the trust model was politically introduced for the Oslo municipality in 2017 through a social democratic political statement emphasizing trust and openness and the reduction of detailed control mechanisms" (Tveter, 2020, 228). An explanation for the high level of trust in Norway, has been given to the fact that Norway has no crisis. In general, people are satisfied in their lives, either they are co-workers, top managers, or common citizens, leading the population to have a high level of trust in the public sector, compared to other European countries (Tveter, 2020, 235). The Norwegian population have a high level of trust in each other, trust in strangers and trust in public institutions. The trust creates a safer atmosphere to interact with people in, and social relations grow stronger. Trust also benefits the society by making it more efficient, with the population benefiting from public institutions, paying taxes, trusting the banks with their money and placing children in kindergarten and schools without having to think twice about it, which stands against the norm in most countries (Aasland, 2016, 6).

As a currency, trust is something Norway has a lot of. Unlike money as a currency, trust has a unique ability; the more one uses trust, the more one will gain, and one can never run out of trust if it is used right (Aasland, 2016). Societies where the majority of the population trust the rest of the population, is an exception. On the top of the list of countries where this is the reality, one finds the Nordic countries. In Norway, 74% of the population participate in general trust. Compared to the 77 other countries that took part in the WVS

(World Values Survey) survey from 2017 to 2021, only 9 countries' population took part in general trust (Pettersen, 2019, 2), the majority felt that when interacting with others, one can never be too careful. Normally in societies where diversity and heterogeneity increases, the general trust decreases. Interestingly, in Norway, the opposite is happening, the trust keeps on increasings, even with the growing differences in society. This has partially been attributed to the increasing level of education, increasing political trust and that the majority of the population are satisfied with their salaries (Pettersen, 2019).

Within the trusting global north, there is a major difference between the Scandinavians - who generally trust others - and the Americans - who generally do not trust others (Eriksen, 2022). Eriksen (2022) states how trust can take a lifetime to build up, but can be destroyed in moments, and when the Covid pandemic hit the world in 2020, most of the current population in Norway had never experienced anything close to the situation of uncertainty and decline. Being that trust in institutions and the state is deeply established in Norway, when the pandemic hit, the population went out of their ways to take part in and follow the instructions that were given by the government and public health institutions. One explanation for the high level of general trust in Norway, Eriksen (2022) assignes to *Janteloven*.

*Janteloven, the Law of Jante. Its ten commandments were formulated in a 1933 novel by the Dano-Norwegian author Aksel Andemose (1899-1965), and essentially states that nobody has the right to think that he or she is better than others. Widely held to be a flaw in the Scandinavian national characters, the Law of Jante has connotations of envy, conformism and petit-bourgeois prejudice* (Eriksen, 2022).

After having read this, one might think that nothing good can come out of a society living very much by following this view on life. However, by viewing this approach in a different light, the Law of Jante offers a society an opportunity to work together for a common good and show solidarity to each other, rather than working towards selfish goals and desires. Eriksen finishes his article by giving four possible explanations for Norway's high level of general trust; 1) Norway has short social distance, everybody knows someone who knows someone who knows the prime minister, making the distance between the society's high and low short, making the society modest with a strong collective identity. 2) Due to Norway's late urbanization, rural values of conformity and equality are still strong. Due to this, social control between strangers is usually quite effective. 3) The small size of

the population, seen together with the first two points, creates a society which is quite homogeneous. Metaphorically speaking, everyone becomes everyone's neighbor. 4) Interaction between people and state is largely harmonious and benign. Most Norwegians believe that the Norwegian state can offer services which they need, and in the need of police assistance, the police will come to their rescue (Eriksen, 2022). Mauss (1970) states that the general trust in Scandinavian societies is a result of a reciprocal present relationship, which one might think is voluntary, but in reality is obligatory (Mauss, 1970, 3). This paragraph shows how even though the Norwegian society is becoming less homogeneous, the general trust is still increasing. The reasons for the high level of general trust is given partially to the law of Jante, but also Eriksen's (2022) four reasons; short social distancing, strong rural values, small population, and harmonious and benign communication.

# Concluding comments

Throughout this chapter, the reader has been given a description of what trust and general trust is, and should have a brief idea of these terms for the further reading of the empirical chapters. The chapter includes how by proving oneself to be trusted, one becomes trustworthy. Moving on, the chapter brings in academic explanations on how richer and wealthier people - such as the population in Longyearbyen - trust more, and how some academics split between trusting a *who* or a *what*. The next part shows how a society's transparency and flow of information - which will be shown later in the ethnographical chapters - makes it easier to trust each other, before moving on to showing how damaging it is to demand trust, and how that only ends up in ruining one's chance of receiving trust. The next section goes into the history of trust in academia, from how it was first written about in the early 1900's, to its development during the time up until the 70's. I moved on to a deeper description of personal trust - trust between two people - and social/general trust - trust between a person and a bigger group, government or institution. Following, the importance of reciprocity in trust, by giving, receiving, and giving back. Distrust - which there will be several examples of in the ethnographic chapters - was discussed after, by not being the opposite of trust, but like someone can earn a person's trust, someone can also earn their distrust. The chapter's next part explains what creates trust, with Dietz, Gillespie & Chao's (2010) four stages to build trust. Further on, the differences between 'high' trustees - that easily trust and are better at trusting the right people - and 'low' trustees - that in general need

a lot more convincing to trust others, which I observed during my fieldwork, with one of my informants commenting on trusting people from a certain nationality. To finish the chapter of, I brought in the element of risk in trust, how there is always a possibility that the trustee will not act the way that was expected, before ending the chapter with trust in Scandinavia and Norway, how the population there is in general much more trustworthy than most people in the world, to give the reader an explanation for why trust is so unique there.



Figure 4: Cloudy day in Longyearbyen.

# Chapter 3:

Social/General trust in Longyearbyen.

"... if everyone assumes everyone is trustworthy, then it is in the interest of everyone to be trustworthy. What evolves socially, then, is trustworthiness, which begets trust and, increasingly, actual instances of cooperation" (Hardin, 2002, 138).

Through this chapter, I hope to give the reader an insight into how general trust is being practiced in Longyearbyen, both by Norwegian citizens, and by non-Norwegian citizens in general. The chapter will give examples of how people act in a way in Longyearbyen, that they possibly would not do back where they moved from or came from, before living in Longyearbyen. I will bring in several examples throughout this chapter to illustrate how the residents of Longyearbyen practice general trust, with how they treat their cars, snowmobiles, houses and apartments, and weapons. I have chosen to write the examples in the order I experienced them, starting with the first example from when I moved to Longyearbyen in March, and the other ones following throughout my fieldwork periode.

# One Man, Several Cars and Apartments?

Not long after I moved to Longyearbyen, in March, I matched with a Norwegian guy on Tinder - like more than half of the town's population, he was between 20 and 44 years - in this story I will refer to him as Man 1. I explained how I had recently moved to Longyearbyen, and did not really know anyone or anything in town. Man 1 asked if I would like to go for a walk one day, he had a dog, which needed air everyday, and then he could also show me around. Perfect I thought, and we agreed to meet up the following day. It was about -20 degrees, but the sky was blue and the sun was shining. We met by the church, and we started walking out on the old road towards the airport. Man 1 had asked if I had any weapons, which I did not, so he had brought his. Being that there is a constant chance of running into polar bears at Svalbard, it is always recommended to bring a weapon once one leaves the settlement and move outside the polar bear signs. This was a person I had never

met before, but I trusted him to keep me safe in case we ran into a polar bear, and being that I was new in town, I will admit that I was quite paranoid that that would happen just around any corner. He let me walk the dog, and we conversed about where we came from, what he was working with, and the reason for how we ended up on the island. Man 1 told me about how he was going to have three friends visiting from his hometown, next week. I asked if they all were going to stay at his place, and Man 1 explained how one friend was going to stay at his place. The other two were going to stay at the apartment just across the hall, being that his neighbor was not home, and had leaned it out to him. Being curious, I asked if that was something he and his neighbor did a lot, and the reply surprised me. Apparently, it was totally normal for Man 1 and his neighbor to borrow each other's apartments if needed, or if one had something the other needed - anything from a kitchen tool to a music speaker - they could simply just enter each other's apartments and collect what they needed. Even though Longyearbyen is a community where people usually have money, it is remotely located. This results in certain commodities not being available, or having long and expensive shipping time - such as flowers, certain kitchen equipment, snowmobiles, and cars, therefore I will argue that they can be compared to the Tiv society in Nigeria's prestige commodity sphere "shagba" which was commodities not available for outsiders (Bohannan, 1959). The sharing or each others belongings can be seen as a classic example of what Barbalet describes when he writes; "for a person to trust another person means that that person believes or feels that the person they trusted is reliable, that their needs or interests will be not contravened but in some way satisfied by the other person" (Barbalet, 2019, 14).

After the walk, Man 1 offered to go for a drive, so I could see what was outside of town as well. I offered to wait in the parking lot while he went to his apartment with the dog and to fetch the car keys, he laughed at me. The car was parked with the keys in the ignition, and the dog was going in the backseat. Sharing cars with friends and neighbors was also quite common in Man 1's life, being that all of their cars were parked with the keys in, they could easily swap cars when needed. Seatbelt was something not to think about, apparently no one used that Man 1 explained. We headed out of town, opposite the direction of the airport, further into Advent Valley, towards Mine 7. We stopped along the way a couple of times so I could take pictures and enjoy the view, before we turned around by Mine 7. We headed back towards town, followed by Man 1 dropping me off at home. I thanked for a great day, and for him taking me out on a drive to see something else than just the city. Being that I had been out the whole day, with a person that was practically a stranger to me, bringing a lethal weapon with us, and letting him take me for a drive, I guess one can say that I could - in this

situation - be described how Pettersen (2019) describe Sdanvinavians; trustworthy, but naive. In Longyearbyen, it takes approximately 45 minutes to drive from one end of the road to the opposite end, in the longest direction, if one follows the speed limit. This, I would argue, also participates in making it easier for people to lend out their cars and leave their cars unlocked, because where are people going to drive them, if they steal them? In this story, we see clearly how Man 1, by trusting others with his properties, takes advantage of trust being the "glue" (Brunn et al. 2020) in society creating positive self-reinforcing relations.

## The Snowmobiles.

In the beginning of April, I had booked myself on a snowmobile trip out of town. The weather forecast predicted, and was spot on with sun, blue sky and -10 degrees Celsius. Being that it was no common holiday, and just an average week day, I got to go on the trip alone with the guide. The guide was a man - from now on referred to as Man 2 - from a Western European country, and like Man 1, between 20 and 44 years old. One of the first things I had to do, was to sign a paper stating that I went out on the trip on my own responsibility. Following that, I was given clothes, shoes, and a helmet to wear on the trip before we headed out and towards the snowmobiles. On the way to the scooters, we ran into the manager of the company, he said that we could just text about the payment later, and agree on a transaction later, very trustworthy of him, I was thinking. When we got to the snowmobiles, I was surprised to see they were all parked with the keys in, ready to go. It would be no challenge at all to get hold of a snowmobile for a trip, if all snowmobiles in Longyearbyen were parked with the keys in, I thought to myself. In this situation, Man 2 and the company he works for might practice Cook, Hardin & Levi's (2005) argument that by treating clients with trust and respect, one will gain reciprocity in return. Man 2 showed me the basics of how to drive a snowmobile, before we headed out. Again, I guess I could be categorized as a trustworthy and naive Scandianiva (Pettersen, 2019), heading out on a trip with a stranger, who was a much bigger and stronger person than I was, who also had a weapon with him, but still I felt quite safe.  We drove to one of the ice caves not far from town, geared up with a head torch and spikes for the boots, before we headed down into the ice cave. Once we were at the end inside the cave, Man 2 had brought snacks and warm drinks for us to consume. While we were taking this break, Man 2 told me he wants to move to and settle in Norway, and I asked why he would not want to settle in his home country.

"Honestly, because [the people from his country] are assholes," he stated sadly. I asked him to elaborate further what he meant by that.

*"Yeah… Norwegians are much more respectful. And people in [his home country] are afraid all the time, but in Norway nothing ever happens. I have an aunt that used to live in Copenhagen, she said the same about Denmark, that it was all so safe. One time in [his home country], I saw an old woman who was walking down some stairs to the metro, and I reached out to offer her a hand to lean on while going down. Before she realized that I was only there to help her, I saw how scared I made her feel. I could literally see in her eyes that she was afraid of me, before she realized I only wanted to help and not hurt her or steal from her". - Man 2 explained.*

In Man 2's stordy, one can clearly see how the old lady has turned her distrust towards strangers into a xenophobia, giving her a ethnocentric perspective, with all the "malevolent destructiveness" (Atzwanger, Schäfer & Schmitt, 1998) that comes with distrust. Before we left the ice cave, Man 2 also told me about how whenever he was going places, he always took his bike. It did not matter where he was going or where he parked it, he never locked it, and he had never experienced getting it stolen from him. When we exited the ice cave going back out again, I commented on how strange it was that we could just park the snowmobiles outside of the ice cave, leave them there with the keys in, be gone for more than an hour, and find them in the exact same spot as we had parked them, when we came back. A possible reason for this was the fact that our snowmobiles had license plates, and on top of that stickers on them claiming their ownership to the company, resulting in complete, relevant, and reliable information about the snowmobiles, which I showed in chapter 2 is important for a high level of general trust.

Later that same month, I went on a second snowmobile trip. This time, it was a different company, and the guide was a woman - from here on referred to as Woman 1 - from a Western European country, and in the same age category as more than half the town. The trip had been booked together with an acquaintance of mine; Woman 2, who is from the same Western European country as Man 2, and in the same age category as Man 1, Man 2, and Woman 1. We arrived quite early to the company's building, where we were given the proper gear, an information brief on what the plan for the day was, and an introduction to how to drive the snowmobiles. I don't know why I was surprised by it, but when we went outside to find the right snowmobiles, start them up and get going, of course we found the snowmobiles with the keys in them already. This same occurrence happened yet again, when I went on

another snowmobile trip before the end of April. This time, me and Woman 2, had booked a long trip, all the way to Svalbard's east coast, the region that is known for high chances of spotting polar bears. Yet again, I had booked with a different company. We were picked up around 8 in the morning, it was nice and sunny weather, but it was cold, around -15 degrees. The guide, Man 3, was from a Southern European country, and was probably the first man on the island I met that was over 44 years old. After we arrived at the company's building, we were again given proper gear, information about the trip and shown a demonstration on the snowmobiles. On this trip, I was also introduced to Man 4, which I will return to later. When we were about to start on the trip, we went outside, found the snowmobiles we were going to drive, and just like before, we found the snowmobiles with the keys already in the ignition ready to start. In both of these snowmobile stories, one can clearly see examples of general trust how Hardin (2002) describes it in chapter 2; by trusting random strangers without having prior knowledge or relations with the others.

# The Keys.

By the end of April, some acquaintances of mine were planning a bonfire at the beach. Unlike most of the population in Longyearbyen, who live up in the town around the shopping center and stores, I lived down by the beach, and for once it was going to be nice to be the one with the shortest way home after the party. I walked down to the beach around 8 pm. There was already a whole group of about 10 people sitting around the bonfire. It was sunny and blue sky, but quite windy, so unless one was sitting close to the bonfire, one would freeze. I greeted the people I already knew, and introduced myself to the people I did not know. That is how I came to know Woman 3. She was from a Western European country, and in the same age category as half of Longyearbyen, between 20 and 44 years. She was working as a guide, so most of her days were spent picking up people from different hotels, driving them to her company's building, gearing up people and taking them out on trips - sometimes twice a day. When she asked me what I was doing on the island, I answered I was there to do fieldwork for my Master thesis in social anthropology. Woman 3 was a bit confused, so I described social anthropology for her the best I could. After that, I elaborated about what my thesis was going to be about, she was fascinated. Both about me coming to Longyearbyen to do my studies, but also about how interesting it actually is to look at trust in Longyearbyen, and how different it can be from other places around the world. One of the

things Woman 3 pointed out that was different for her in Longyearbyen, compared to in her home country, is the use of keys, or actually the lack of using keys. She commented on how, basically "everyone" leaves their houses and cars unlocked in Longyearbyen. This is something that could never happen in Woman 3's own hometown, things would get stolen, she explained. When she went to work in the morning, she left her house unlocked, before getting into an unlocked car to drive to pick up guests. If she had to wait for guests, Woman 3 would leave the car unlocked in the parking area. After parking at her company's building, she would leave the car unlocked. The guests could leave their personal belongings, that they were afraid of bringing on the tours, in an unlocked house while they were out on trips. After Woman 3 dropped off her guest when they were done with the trips, she would drive back to her own place, park the car unlocked, and go back into her house, which had been unlocked the entire day, just to find that nothing was missing. This is an example of Woman 3 trusting what Eriksen (2022) categorizes as a *who*, she relies on her common citizens.

In the change of April to May, Man 4 invited me for dinner one evening. Man 4 came from Norway, had recently moved to Longyearbyen, and was also in the age gap between 20 and 44. We had met up several times since the snowmobile trip to the east coast, and on one occasion I had mentioned that I missed a proper Norwegian dinner. Man 4 had a car - which was quite new - so he picked me up at my place after he had been to the grocery store, then we went for a short drive around town before driving back to his place. He showed me around in his apartment, before he realized he forgot the food in his car. On his way out to fetch the food, he grabbed the car keys on the living room table. I was actually quite puzzled about it, starting to get used to people not using keys. Man 4 carried all the food into the apartment, and I carried it into the kitchen. On his last round from the car, Man 4 asked me to help him remember that he had indeed locked his car. We had a great evening with dinner and nice conversations. By the end of the evening, I thanked Man 4 for having me over and for being a great host. I put on my shoes and jacket, was about to walk out the front door, but got stopped. The door was locked, Man 4 had locked his front door on his way back in earlier from collecting the food from his car. I turned around and looked funny as Man 4, "Hehehe, I still keep on locking the front door, like I am still living in [the town he moved from on the mainland]," he explained. Man 4, being a Norwegian, moving to a location that is considered Norwegian, with most of the population being Norwegians, went against Cook, Levi & Hardin statement of "People are more likely to trust someone from the same ethnic group" (2009, 42). I will argue that Man 4 could be placed in what chapter 2 describes as a low

trustee category, meaning Man 4 is more cautious in whom he trusts, and needs clear evidence that someone can indeed be trusted.

# The Guides.

In early May, I had made plans with Woman 3 - age between 20 and 44 years old, and from a Western European country - to join her to her company's place, to meet the new puppies they had there. Being that we were driving to the company's building on a snowmobile, and that I did not own a helmet, Woman 3 had borrowed a helmet for me, from a friend of hers which saw her, as described in chapter 2, as trustworthy. We met up at 2 pm, I got the helmet on, before we headed towards her job. I had never been out driving with her before, but I climbed on to the back of her snowmobile, and held on as best as I could. Luckily for me, we only hit two bumps on the way, but I will admit, I did fly off my seat a little bit, and it did not really make me look forward to the drive back home later. Once we arrived, we parked the snowmobile along with other parked snowmobiles, and left it there with the keys in, of course. We walked into one of the buildings, to take off our helmets and snowmobile gear. Inside, we ran into a colleague of Woman 3, Man 5, which I got introduced to. He was in the same age category as Woman 3, and also from a Western European country. He asked us if we wanted to help feed the dogs, so we agreed to do that, but first we went and found proper clothes - suit, shoes, and gloves - that I could borrow, so my own things would not get ruined by the dogs. Being that one's level of trust is constantly changing based on one's surroundings - according to Pettersen (2019) in chapter 2 - and with Woman 3 and Man 5 having been in Longyearbyen's high level of general trust for a while, they lend me the equipment without hesitation. When we arrived by the dogs, they clearly understood that they were going to get fed, being that they were jumping up and down and barking a lot.

When we were feeding the puppies, Woman 3 told me that the puppies have been nicknamed "monsters", when I asked why, she laughed and explained that it is because they are not trained yet, and since there are a whole bunch of them, they attack people. About 10 minutes later, I personally got to experience the little "monsters" myself, being that I sat down in the dog yard with food to offer the puppies, and all six or seven of them came running at me at ones, burying me in puppies while jumping on me, nibbling on my hair and biting on my suit. Eventually Woman 3 came to pull me out of the puppy pile, being that I was incapable of getting myself out of it. Woman 3 told me that the company has people

visiting them all the time, because people want to play with the puppies. Most of the time, people find one of the employees and ask if it is okay that they go and play with the puppies, but often it also happens that someone from the company finds strangers in the dog yard playing with the puppies. Woman 3 told me that in general, they have had no problems with either the people asking if they can play with the puppies, or with the people just walking in and starting playing with the puppies. These incidents can be explained by Cook, Levi & Hardin's (2009) explanation of group memberships. The visitors to the dog yard's puppies are most of the time local visitors from Longyearbyen - hence in the same group as the employees in the company - being that the tourists often do not have transportation options to get to the location by themselves, and Cook, Levi & Hardin argue that "shared group membership is the key factor to understanding trust in strangers" (2009, 18).

# Flare Guns.

Later in May, I met up with Man 5 to go hiking on a beautifully sunny day. Man 5 had asked a colleague if he could borrow his snowmobile and drive it to my place. The colleague did not mind, and borrowed it out to Man 5. We were supposed to go climbing one of the mountain tops that surrounds the town, but Man 5 did not have spikes for his shoes, I did not have any extra, and mine were many sizes too small for us to be able to wear one each. [In the winter season, when the mountains are covered in snow at Svalbard, often the snow freezes and becomes quite icy and hard. To make hiking the mountains easier, one can put spikes on one's shoes, to get a better grip on the icy parts]. Instead, we decided to hike around the Advent fjord, over to the other side called Hiorthamn. Man 5 had brought both a flare gun - which is used to try to scare polar bears away, it is mostly just sound and a flash to scare - and a rifle - in case one actually has to aim at and shoot a polar bear if it attacks. After we had walked for a while, we found a cabin which had a bench facing the sun, and placed out of the wind. Man 5 told me that if I wanted to, I could befriend his and Woman 3's boss, and then I could borrow the extra flare gun the company has to go hiking with the dogs whenever I want. I was surprised at how easily I could get hold of a flare gun, but Man 5 said it was no big deal, being that they had other people stopping by at the company borrowing the extra flare gun all the time to take the dogs out for a walk. In this story we see clearly how a sense of belonging to the same small community, with ongoing, overlapping relations creates trust, described by Hardin in chapter 2.

By mid May, I was tired of always having to find someone to hike with who could bring a weapon, if I wanted to leave Longyearbyen town. I knew that an acquaintance of mine, who had temporarily moved from the island, had left behind a flare gun. I figured, if I could borrow his flare gun, I could at least hike Sukkertoppen and Platåfjellet up to Varden, if I wanted a break from town. I reached out, and sent a message to my acquaintance, Man 6 in the age group between 20 and 44 years, and from a Western European country. He was wondering what I was going to use the flare gun for, and I explained I would mostly use it when I would go for a hike to either Sukkertoppen or Varden by Platåfjellet (which are the two most hiked mountain tops surrounding the town). Man 6 said that was no problem, but that I should not go further away from town alone only with his flare gun, being that if I did run into a polar bear, a flare gun will not do much actual harm to the animal. To retrieve the flare gun, I could just contact his friends to arrange pick up time and place. He would also contact his friend to let the friend know I would come and pick it up. A couple of days later, I went by Man 6's friend and collected the flare gun, which had just been stored away in a storage room for no one to use it. Throughout my stay at Svalbard, I ended up using the flare gun quite a lot, several times while I hiked Sukkertoppen and up to Varden, but I also brought it on several occasions out on snowmobile trips when I was going out with friends who had only rifles and no flare gun, to cover the need for both guns. Almost a year after I first got hold of the flare gun, Man 6 was back on the island, and needed the flare gun, resulting in me giving it back to its rightful owner. This story shows a case of Mauss' (1970) reciprocal trust, with Man 6 lending me his flare gun, and me being able to give it back a year later in the same condition, creating a trustworthy relationship.

# Not Locked.

Sometime in June, I was meeting up with Man 5. We had originally planned for a hike, but both had had long working days, so we agreed on going out for burgers instead. Man 5 drove his car to my place, parked it outside and waited by my door for me to come out so we could walk to the restaurant. I had bought him some Norwegian candy to try, which I gave to him before we went to the restaurant. When we passed by his car, Man 5 opened the door, grabbed his jacket, and laid the candy in his car, before closing the door again, but not bothering to lock his car. While we were out eating, we saw an ad on a sales platform of someone selling a small wardrobe in Longyearbyen. We discussed how it would fit quite well

in my apartment, being that one of the tables in my apartment was broken, and I was lacking surface space. Man 5 offered to help me pick it up and bring it home, being that he had a car. I texted the person selling the wardrobe, and she replied that she would place the wardrobe outside of her door, and that we could just enter her building and collect it. When Man 5 and I were done eating, we walked back to my place to get the car. The seller had sent me the adresse, so we drove there and parked in front of the building. It was a big house with several apartments in, with one common entrance door. The door was unlocked, making it easy for Man 5 and me to gain access to the building. We found the right floor and the right apartment, with the wardrobe being placed outside the door to the side. We picked up the wardrobe, and left without letting the seller know we had been there. The money I transferred online. By exiting the apartment building, we left the entrance door unlocked after us, the same way as how we found it. When residents of Longyearbyen choose not to lock their doors for strangers, I will argue that this is done because the residents place the other residents in the same ingroup as themselves, automatically making them trust each other, simply because they are in the same group of people. A similar example can be seen in Cook, Levi & Hardin (2009) article, where they separate people into ingroups and outgroups, claiming that ingroup members are rated as more trustworthy, and that they are viewed as having positive qualities.

In September, I was hanging out at one of the town's several hostel-like establishments, with an acquaintance of mine. She was currently at work there, when we were hanging out, and another friend of hers was also there. The acquaintance in this story will be named Woman 4. She is from a southern european country, and fits in the age group of 20-44 years old. While Woman 4 was walking back and forth, doing her work related activities, while also communicating with us, I would every now and then chat with her friend. All three of us had earlier that day discussed the alcohol consumption on this island, how it looks like in general people drink more on the island that what they do on the mainland, but that is a topic for another paper. At one point during our meet up, Woman 4' friend asked if Woman 4 had a phone charger, being that the friend's phone was running out of power. Woman 4 replied back that she indeed had a phone charger that her friend could borrow, but that it was in her room, so the friend would have to go and fetch it in her room. Woman 4 gave her room key to her friend, Woman 4 was not sure if her room was locked or not, and explained to her friend where in the room the charger would be. The friend set off to find, first the room, and then find the charger. In the meantime, me and Woman 4 continued the conversation about alcohol that we had started upon earlier.

Not long after, the friend returned looking quite satisfied. The friend had indeed managed to find both the room, and then the phone charger. Upon the return, the friend plugged the charger into an outlet, before joining me back again in the sitting area I was sitting in. After we, all three of us, had been hanging out for quite a while, the friend decided to go and do something else. Upon leaving, the friend remembered the keys to Woman 4, and handed them back to Woman 4. Woman 4 asked if the friend had locked the room or not after leaving it, where the friend replied that the room had been left locked. Woman 4 almost started laughing a little bit, both me and the friend looked at her wondering why she was laughing. Woman 4 explained that she just found the idea of someone locking their rooms in that place, while still being in the building, to be funny. The friend answered by wondering why Woman 4 had offered the keys, if she did not want her room to be locked. Woman 4 replied that it was because she could not remember if she had left the building that day or not, and in that case might have locked the door. Woman 4 finished the topic of not locking her room by stating to me and the friend that "you don't need to do that [locking one's door] here [meaning in the building she was staying]". Being that Woman 4 was living in a quite dense network in her building, having both repeated and past interactions with the people she was living with, she was, according to Cook, Levi & Hardin (2009) in chapter 2, more likely to know and trust the other actors of whom she was living with.

## Personal belongings.

The last example I will bring into this chapter, of how people practice general trust in Longyearbyen, is shown in public places with personal belongings. As a Norwegian myself, I have never experienced this anywhere on the mainland, and if you are a Norwegian reading this article, who has experienced this somewhere on the mainland, consider yourself a lucky one. On several occasions I have done this myself, and on several occasions I have witnessed other people doing this; leaving personal belongings on one's table to show others that the table is taken. This practice can be considered unusual, especially considering Hardin's explanation of whom people say they trust, "people typically trust certain relatives, friends, and close associates" (2002, 3). Being that I have been working as a waiter, in no less than four different food serving places in Longyearbyen, I have seen my fair share of people practicing this. I have on several occasions seen families leaving all their personal belongings - phones, wallets, jackets, strollers, and whatever else they needed on their trip out - by a

table in one of town's cafes, to disappear into the library for hours to play with their kids. Several times have I witnessed ladies leaving their purses - with all their personal belongings - by their tables, to go to for example the ladies room. Many times I have seen people leaving either their phones or their wallets at their table, when they leave the table for any reason, whether it be to order food at the bar, going for a smoke outside, or chatting with someone else they know in the restaurant. Personally, I have left my phone on a table at at least three seperate restaurants in Longyearbyen, to show to others that the table is taken. I have left my wallet at at least two separate restaurants in Longyearbyen, to show others that the table is taken. I have left my computer at both one of the pubs in town, but also at a table in the local library, to show others that the table is taken. In totale, this I have done not only five times, one time each place, but several times in all the different restaurants. Throughout this story, one can see a classic example of general trust, in the way Hardin (2002) describes general trust in chapter 2 "willingness … to take small risks on dealing with others who one does not yet know" (2002, 62).

# Concluding comments.

Throughout chapter 3, the reader has been given an insight into how people in Longyearbyen practice general trust through borrowing each other's cars, apartments, and snowmobiles, to benefit from trust being the glue that creates positive relations. The examples contain both Norwegian citizens, and non-Norwegian citizens, and show how the residents of Longyearbyen on certain occasions act differently, and in a more trustworthy manner, than what they do in the places they moved from, where there often was a higher level of distrust and low trustees. The chapter shows how people treat their things differently, some of their possessions have great value, almost recklessly by leaving it around, trusting that people will leave it be, seen in this chapter as cars that are parked unlocked and often with the keys in, snowmobiles that are parked ready with the keys in the ignition ready to go, weapons that are being borrowed from one person to another, and personal belonging such as phones, wallets, and purses being left around to indicate to others that the seat is taken. The purpose of this chapter has been to show how people, without having prior knowledge or relations with each other, trust random strangers - just like Hardin (2002) describes it in chapter 2 - as a part of the general trust in Longyearbyen.

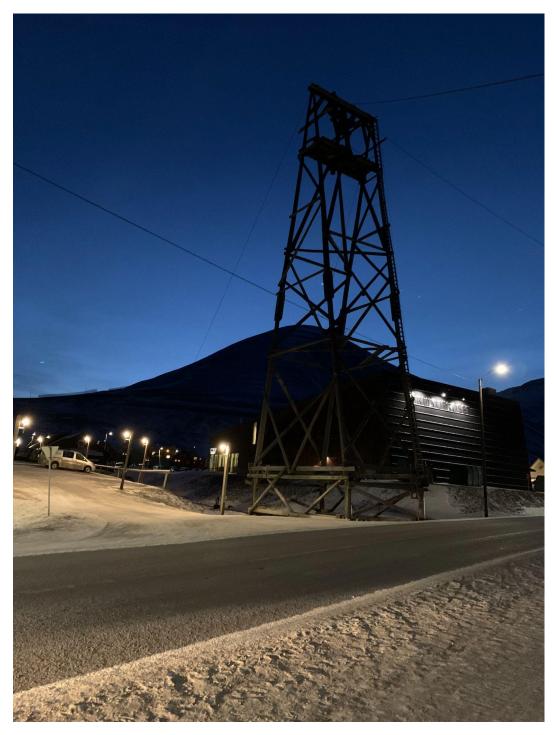"Don't worry, no one is going to take it".



Figure 5: The cultural house at the end of dark season.

# Chapter 4:

Foreigners benefiting from social trust in Longyearbyen.

"... more diverse communities offer increased opportunities for both intergroup contact and intergroup conflict …. as well as increased tolerance and intermarriage." (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 209).

".. developing and maintaining trust between different 'cultures' is a formidable challenge. People from different cultures often bring to relationship building efforts 'alien' values and beliefs, 'peculiar' behaviors and even incompatible assumptions, which can prevent successful interactions and fruitful collaboration" (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, 5).

The purpose of this chapter is to show the reader how foreigners in Longyearbyen adapt to the way of practicing general trust, the way it is practiced in Longyearbyen. Delhey & Newton wrote about the Nordic countries that they are "exceptional cases. Norway, Sweden and Denmark have the highest levels of trust of any of our 60 nations [in their survey], Finland and Iceland are not far behind. All five countries are Protestant, rich, and ethnically homogeneous, and have high good government scores" (2005, 320), which is interesting being that the population in Longyearbyen is highly heterogeneous compared to mainland Norway. Throughout the chapter I will bring in examples of how the non-Norwegian residents practices general trust in Longyearbyen, to amplify the differences of general trust - in Longyearbyen compared to resident's home countries - I have been told about while doing fieldwork in Longyearbyen.

# Looking for it?

One afternoon in early June, I ran into Man 7 - a guy from the south of Europe, and in the age group of between 20 and 44. I had gone out for a cup of coffee, and he was out to get some food. This was not long after I first met Man 7, so we still did not know much about each other. While we were waiting in the queue to place our orders, he asked me what had

brought me to Longyearbyen. The first time I met Man 7, we had barely greeted each other before we both got busy talking with other people. I explained to him how I had moved to Longyearbyen to do fieldwork for my Master Thesis in Social Anthropology. Man 7 was fascinated that I was studying Social Anthropology, and asked me to elaborate a bit more on what my fieldwork was about. I answered that I would gladly do that, and told him how I wanted to look at how foreigners in Longyearbyen are integrated into the Norwegian way of practicing general trust. "I think people look for it though, when they come here," Man 7 replied about foreigners in Longyearbyen taking part in the general trust. I interpreted from Man 7's statement that trust in Longyearbyen were a positive, reinforcing cultural trope - a common agreement within a culture that not one individual can take credit for, such as the trope of food in France, or the sexualized trope of colonial domination (Voss, 2008).

A couple of days later, I ran into Man 7 again, and we hung out for a couple of hours chatting at his place. At one point during the afternoon, we returned back to the topic of my studies in Longyearbyen. I reminded him of what he had said the last time we spoke about it, and he wanted to correct and adjust his statement from our previous conversation. Man 7 was afraid that it had sounded like he meant that people moved to Longyearbyen because they had heard that it was a society which had a high level of its population practicing general trust. He explained that what he had tried to say was that after people move to Longyearbyen, and experience themselves the benefits of a society that is big on practicing general trust, people want to take part in, practice, and obtain the general trust themselves. By explaining this to me even further, Man 7 showed me that the residents in Longyearbyen - especially non-Norwegians - were fully aware of the high level of trust in town, and that they want to participate in it, being that "...humans are born with a natural disposition to trust others" (Coates, 2019, 3). This desire to take part in the general trust can further be explained by Coates (2019) showing how by linking trust to hope, people's desires to live better lives require them to trust both others and faith.

By mid June, I was out at the beach with some locals from Longyearbyen, making a bonfire and watching people going for very short, and very cold dips in the sea. Woman 3, and Man 5 were there, they had brought both co-workers, and other friends from town that were also locals. One of Woman 3's friends, which I will call Woman 5, was there. Woman 5 was from North America, and between 20 and 44 years old. Woman 5 had an interesting observation when it came to Norwegian people and trust, she had also been living on the mainland. According to Woman 5, people from her home country define themselves based on what kind of community they belonged to. Woman 5 comes from a country where less than

10% of the population trust the government, and where the country's residents have lost confidence in public schools and unions (Misztal, 2019). She continued explaining that their communities vary intensely and can be quite different, and because of this, people will emphasize which community they belong to if it is a "good community". Woman 5 stated that she was surprised when she first moved to Norway, finding that Norwegian people do not do the same. She later concluded with herself that Norwegians not claim belonging to any certain community probably came from the fact that the Norwegian "community" in itself is generally so good and trustworthy that it does not need to be categorized into smaller communities. This I showed to be true during chapter 2, with trust being one of the most fundamental values in Norway (Aspøy, 2016), and being that the Scandinavian societies are - in the world - rated as some of the highest trusting societies (Tveter, 2020 & Eriksen, 2022).

Most of the time I mentioned my research topic to my informants, they knew quite well what I was talking about, the Norwegian residents less than the non-Norwegian residents. Often when I brought it up, the non-Norwegian residents were quite eager to discuss it. With the Norwegian residents coming from the mainland, where the difference in general trust is not that big compared to Longyearbyen, I could not blame them for not wanting to discuss it with me. For the non-Norwegian residents, most of whom came from countries where less than 20% of their population felt that they could trust strangers, I was grateful for them being willing to participate in my fieldwork and showing such a fascination both towards my research, and the general trust in Longyearbyen. The main function of trust has been described as "to reduce the complexity of action contexts and to facilitate decision-making and actions for all players" (Seele, 2011). With general trust being low in most parts of the world, I will argue it must have been quite liberating moving to a location where general trust exists in such a high level as in Longyearbyen reducing complexity and facilitating decision-making a lot, for many of the non-Norwegian residents. The big contrast to their home locations, which my informants told me about, makes it quite understandable that the general trust is something they are quite aware of, and also value highly.

## Trustworthy, or naive?

One morning in September, I woke up, got ready and went to work at 10 am. When I came to work, there was an electrician there, fixing some cables under the store's check out machine. I did not think much of it, I did my work preparing the cafe and I left him to do his

work. Not long before I opened at 11 am, the electrician had put the panels back into their places, and left. When my first customer showed up at 11:01 am, and was about to pay, I realized what a big mistake the electrician had made. He had unplugged the power cable for the card reader, and apparently not plugged it back in. So there I was, all alone at work, with customers coming in to buy things, with no way of getting paid from them, unless they had cash. Desperately I called my boss, who of course was in a meeting and could not pick up, so I texted him saying I had no way of receiving payments from the guests. He replied, saying he would be there as soon as he could. In the meantime, my coworker had gotten into work, so we decided to sell what we could, and make people either pay cash, or print out peoples orders and ask them to come by later to pay for their orders. Being that most of the customers were regulars, who came in for lunch every day, I will argue that by telling people to come back later to pay was a direct response to all of us sharing the same reality, leaning on Coates' (2019) statement that "trust emerges from a sense of shared reality" (2019, 6), meaning I could trust the customers to indeed come back later an pay for their food. By the time I had managed to remove the panels, track down the right cable, discovered that it was indeed not plugged in, and plugged it back in, the lunch rush was over and we had "sold" half of our products. Our boss also showed up when I was putting the panels back in place, grateful that we had managed to fix the problem ourselves. During the time the card reader was down, we had sold food to one elderly couple who had paid with cash, everyone else we had told to come back later. The great thing with a community where general trust is high, is that everyone did come back at a later point, either the same day or later that week, to pay for their food.

In mid October, I planned with a couple of my coworkers to go out to eat at a restaurant later that same day. I finished at work early that day, so after work I headed home to relax a bit and change before going out. The restaurant we had agreed on going to, is one of the towns restaurants which are located inside one of the town's many hotels. We had agreed on meeting around 19, I showed up first, therefore I went and sat by the bar and chatted with the bartender - who was an acquaintance of mine. The bartender was quite stressed, the same as the receptionist running back and forth. The hotel had lost its wifi, hence everything electrical was down basically. They informed me that this meant no sending food orders to the kitchen via computers, no one could pay for products from the gift shop at the reception, no one could pay for their food at the restaurant, no one could pay for their drinks at the bar, and no one could check out and pay for their stay at the reception. When I asked how they were dealing with the situation, and why they did not close everything, they

replied that they had a team of IT-guys working on it, claiming that the problem would soon be fixed. Another reason for why they did not close was because it was afternoon, so no guests were supposed to check out. There were few enough guests that the waiters had time to run to the kitchen with food orders. As for the payments, most of the restaurant guests, bar guests and people that wanted to buy products from the gift shop, were guests staying at the hotel, hence the food, drinks, and products could be written on their rooms and paid for later when the wifi would be back and everything would work as normal again. As for guests who were not staying at the hotel, simply, we were asked to come back at a later point to pay.

My coworkers showed up not too long after me, and we went and sat down in the restaurant. After figuring out what we wanted to eat, we gave our orders to the waiters, who then had to run them to the kitchen himself. After we were done eating, we had been at the restaurant for so long that the hotel's wifi had been fixed, and we could pay for our food like we normally would. I asked if they had a lot of people that would have to come back in to pay for the food, the reply was that; yes, they did have quite a lot of unpaid bills, but all were registered on a name and phone number, most of them were for locals living in Longyearbyen, and most of them were for regular guests of the restaurant, meaning that the staff expected the guests to come back and eat at a later point, and could therefore in worst case scenario remind the guest of their unpaid bill then. In both the cases, both mine at work and at the hotel, the guests showed great appreciation over the staff trusting them to eat and 'buy' products, with the agreement of them returning for payment later. Even though I, and the workers at the hotel, put ourselves in a situation where "the possibility of being disappointed by the actions of others" (Wesser, 2018, 2) were there, we still chose to believe in the general trust in Longyearbyen.

## First interactions.

By the month of July, I started to notice some new regular customers coming in to buy lunch at the place I worked. One of them was a woman from the south of America, and in the same age category as half of Longyearbyen, between 20 and 44 years old, and in this paper she will only be referred to as Woman 6. On quiet days, I would bring both the food and whatever she was drinking to her table, for her and her friends. On busy days, when I did not have time to bring the food directly to the table, and would have to shout out that it was ready, Woman 6 could come to the counter and pick it up, while giving me one of those

understable smiles, while thanking me for making her food. This led to me often chatting with Woman 6 whenever she would come by, she was easy to talk to, and a nice human to interact with. After having served her for maybe five or six times, she came in one day when it was quiet. She ordered food as normal, and I started to prepare it. When it was done, I brought it to her table, and the conversation was on. That day, I asked her how she, out of all the places on earth, had ended up at Svalbard, being that it is almost opposite to the place where she came from. "It is a long story, I do not have time for that now," was the reply I got back, along with a feeling that she was not interested in sharing this story with me. At least not in that place and that time.

An aquantainze of mine was moving away from the island at the start of September, and had therefore invited a bunch of people for a bonfire at the beach, including me. Before the bonfire, he had invited a selected few to join him for dinner, which I also happened to be invited to. Among the group of people who were at the dinner, was a female friend of my acquaintance. She, from a Eastern European country, aged between 20 and 44, will in this paper bear the name of Woman 7. I did not talk much with Woman 7, but we had a good tone and joked a little about whether we should travel together after christmas to visit our friend in his new town. Both Woman 6 and Woman 7 came from completely different countries, compared to Svalbard, but they were soon going to show me how they had managed to adapt to their new society (Steward, 1955) being that they had moved to a location with quite different surroundings and ways of behaving in the society.

## Second time.

In October, it was again time for a new good buy party, for another acquaintance of mine, and again Woman 7 was there. Ever since that first meeting I had with her at the previous goodbye party, we had had a good tone, and chatted every time we ran into each other, either it being at my workplace, or in general around town. There were a lot of people at the goodbye party, which the guy who was leaving had decided to have at one of the restaurants in town, meaning whomever you sat down next to, you would be sitting next to for a while. Luckily for me, I got a seat next to Woman 7. During the evening, she asked me what I was studying again. She could not fully remember what I had told her when we first met. I explained that I was studying Social Anthropology, with a focus on general trust in Longyearbyen, and how foreigners who move to Longyearbyen are integrated and take part

in that general trust. Woman 7 stated that she fully understood my fascination with the topic, and that she had been amazed the first time she visited a Scandinavian country - when it comes to the level of general trust. She also stated that general trust on Svalbard was extreme, being that "everybody knows everybody", and people do not bother to steal cars and snowmobiles, because where are they gonna drive them? Being that there are no roads between the settlements at Svalbard, one would have to return the car back to Longyearbyen at one point for fuel, and then get caught. And as for the snowmobiles, it also needs fuel, meaning one would have to return to one of the settlements to fuel as well and then get caught. Later on in the conversation, Woman 7 told me about her "missing" house keys. I asked her what she meant about missing house keys, if they were gone. "Not really, I just don't know where I have put them," she explained. I asked if she wanted to elaborate a bit more on the situation, being that I was a little bit lost in the conversation. Woman 7 explained that ever since she had moved to Svalbard, and Longyearbyen, she had been living in the same apartment. At an early point, she did not feel the need to lock her front door anymore, when leaving her apartment. Now, over two years later, she still did not lock her front door when leaving her apartment. The problem now was that she was looking for somewhere new to move, wanting a change, but that also meant she had to find her house keys to the apartment she was currently living in. I laughed a bit, and claimed that that was an interesting way of losing one's keys, "normally people lose them outside of their homes," I said, "not inside one's own house due to the lack of being used". Woman 7 agreed and laughed along with me. For someone not to lock their homes would require people to "have confidence or trust in almost everyone" (Hardin, 2002, 116).

I had showed up to the goodbye party together with a coworker of mine. We had agreed on going together to the party, but also leave the party together. My coworker had another dinner after the goodbye party, and I had to get up early the next day for work. We left around 09:30 pm. My coworker had showed up to the goodbye party with a car, and when we left she asked me if I could drive her to her dinner, and then park her car back home at her place. She would walk home after the dinner, being that she wanted wine for her meal. That was not a problem for me, I would still be home early for bed. After leaving the goodbye party, I drove my coworker to the restaurant she was meeting up with friends at, and then I drove her car back to her place and parked it in its spot. The car keys, I put them in her open shoe shelf in the apartment building she was living in, where anyone could get access to them, like my coworker told me too. My coworker simply trusted her neighbors to not take

her car keys, following Jimenes's (2011) description of elements of risk in trust, which I wrote about in chapter 2.

# "The long story".

One day during the dark season, I woke up to an invitation to a party that was going to be only three days ahead in time. I accepted the invitation, and went through the next couple of days like I normally would. On the third day, I worked early, took a nap and ate dinner before starting to get ready for the party. Making the dinner took a bit longer than I had anticipated, making me run late for the party. I walked from my home to the party. It is a weird thing walking around in town during the dark season, the sun never rises above the horizon, meaning that it is darkness 24 hours a day, and since it is so cold, below -5 Celsius at almost all times, all smell disappears as well. Making walks in the dark season quite numbing for the senses, with no smell, little visibility, and being that one is usually dressed in beanis and hoods, one can not really hear well either. When I got closer to the building where the party was, I could hear the music, and the closer I got, the more I could smell the cigarettes. I knew there was going to be a lot of people there, from all over the world, so I took a deep breath, and embraced myself before I went inside to meet and greet people. Dietz, Gillespie, and Chao (2010) has written about how cross-cultural interactions can lead to embarrassments, psychological distress, misunderstandings, and a feeling of low self efficacy, and this was absolutely the case for me when I first moved to Longyearbyen and started meeting non-Norwegian residents. At this point, when I was about to enter the party, I would say I had gotten quite good at coping with the cross-cultural interactions - interactions "between people of different cultural backgrounds" (Stronza, 2001, 264), luckily! There were a lot of people at the party, and a lot of people that I knew, or knew of. I socialized throughout the evening with different people, before I at one point ended up on the same sofa as Woman 6 and Woman 7.

They had been there since the party started, and needed a small break. I asked how life was going, and they asked me back, wondering how it was going with my fieldwork. This turned out to be the evening that I was going to hear Woman 6's story. She told me that she came from a country in South America, and had lived there for most of her life. She came from a smaller town, but had moved to the capital when she was about 18 years old. Woman 6 had lived in the capital for many years, not fully grasping how dangerous it was. She

explained that it was not until after she had moved away from the city that she realized how scared she had been while living there. Things she used to do while living in that capital was not leaving her apartment after a certain time, constantly looking over her shoulders and checking if someone was behind her, avoiding certain areas of the capitol where there were a lot of crimes, never carrying all her personal belongings in one purse. When Woman 6 told me about this, Woman 7 had been listening to the conversation, and could tell that she had been experiencing the same while she was living in her home country in East of Europe. Woman 7 could also tell how she had on no less than three different occasions been knocked down on open street by strangers, and had to be hospitalized for a while after. Both Woman 6 and Woman 7 had specific grounds (Hardin, 2002) for building distrust towards their societies, with multiple incidents where their trust had been breached. The attacks were one of the reasons why Woman 7 had decided to move away from her home country. She had first moved to a Scandinavian country, before moving to Longyearbyen. Both Woman 6 and Woman 7 told how they long after moving away from their home countries, still would look over their shoulders, stay at home after certain hours, be afraid while walking alone after dark, and not bring all their personal belongings in the same purse. As a result of their previous living conditions and distrust, Woman 6 and Woman 7 had become suspicious of others, and to some degree experienced anxiety (Sztompka, 2019).

It was not until Woman 7 moved to Longyearbyen, did she manage to start relaxing and not look over her shoulders at all. Even though living in the Scandinavian country that Woman 7 had, had been nice, moving to Longyearbyen was a new start for her, she explained. Finally she could be out for as long as she wanted, not having to plan to be at home before a certain time. The only thing she had to worry about while walking outside in the dark, was running into polar bears. Instead of being afraid that someone would steal her purse or backpack, she could now leave her phone on the table in a restaurant, and it would still be there upon her return. Woman 6 agreed to Woman 7's description, and told us how she could wear whatever she wanted whenever she wanted, not being afraid of being violated or harassed by strangers. Longyearbyen had given them both a free place, where the only thing they had to worry about was keeping their jobs, and keeping their apartments. They did not have to think about being attacked, harasset, violated, followed, robbed, or kidnapped. In small societies, such as Longyearbyen, "general norms of cooperativeness govern many behaviors" (Hardin, 2002, 184), a cooperativeness described over here by Woman 6 and Woman 7, which leads to general trust in the society.

# People with kids.

One evening in October I was at work, and I was chatting with Man 8, a man from East Europe, and in the age between 20 and 44 years old. He told me about his job in Longyearbyen, and for how many years he had been living and working in Longyearbyen. He and his girlfriend had a kid together, and the whole family was based in Longyearbyen. Man 8 told me that he was in general very happy with his life, and how he had basically everything he needed in life in Longyearbyen. When I asked him if he wanted to move from the island, his response was negative. Man 8 saw no way that his life would be better for him and his family if they moved away from the island, in fact, he pointed out some of the reasons for why it was good for them to stay. Both him and his girlfriend were working, and were earning quite a lot more money working in Longyearbyen, than if they had been living in Man 8's home country. They were both well connected with friends and hobbies in town, giving them a meaningful social life. The main reason for why they chose to stay was for their child.  According to Man 8, his child would grow up in the safest place in the world. The only thing one had to worry about in this place were polar bears. Other than that, Man 8's trust to others - which Sedlackova & Safr (2019) explains in chapter 2 as social trust - in town allowed him to send his kid out to play whenever and with whomever without being worried, the kid could walk alone home from school without problems, the kid could visit friends after school and walk there all by himself, the kid could go to the store to buy things if needed all by himself. Man 8  did not have to worry about the safety of his kid, for as long as they were living in Longyearbyen.

On the other side of the scale, one evening in July I had made plans with Woman 8, a woman from East Asia in the age between 20 and 44 year old. We were drinking wine at her place, and chatting about life in general. She told me about herself and her boyfriend, their relationship, her family, her work, where she had been traveling, and how she had ended up in Longyearbyen. We had a common acquaintance  on the island who recently had a baby, so that became a part of the conversation as well. Woman 8's view on raising a child in Longyearbyen was quite different from what I had seen and heard up until that point. She told a bit about her own childhood, growing up with strict parents that would give her a slap if she did something wrong, and how she would from an early age learn from her mistakes because her parents did not come rushing to fix things for her and help her. Today, she was grateful for how her parents had raised her, preparing her for 'the real world out there'. Woman 8 explained how she saw a childhood in Longyearbyen as growing up in a constructed, and

fake environment. The town was too safe, the only thing a child had to worry about was polar bears. She mentioned how in several cases she had also witnessed parents rushing to their kids to help them with the smallest tasks, not letting the kid figure out how to do things on their own. She ended her view on the topic by stating that if she were to have kids, she would not raise them at Svalbard, or in Norway in general. It is too safe in these places, and she wants her kids to be tougher and prepared for 'what is out there in the real world'. These stories show how great, but also too safe a childhood in Longyearbyen possibly could be. A downside to growing up in Longyearbyen, being a child of non-Norwegians, is that one is not granted Norwegian citizenship. Meaning that the children growing up far from their parents' culture, not officially being part of the Norwegian culture either, increases the chance of feeling without identity (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

# Concluding comments.

This chapter has focused on giving the reader an insight into how foreigners in Longyearbyen adapt to the way of practicing general trust, the way it is practiced in Longyearbyen. The chapter starts off with Man 7's description of how residents want to take part in the general trust in Longyearbyen, which exists almost as a cultural trope. Followed by the workers at the hotel, and the residents in town's shared experience of reality, making it possible for them to sell and buy products without proper payment methods, because they trust each other to come back to pay later. The next part of this chapter focuses on Woman 6 and Woman 7's stories of how they had lived a life prior to Longyearbyen making them suspicious and anxious, and in general feeling unsafe. The story gives an insight into how moving to Longyearbyen had given the ladies a free place where they could learn to trust again, and participate in the general trust in town. The chapter finished off with Man 8's statement of how safe it is to raise his child in a society like Longyearbyen with such a high level of general trust, and Woman 8's comment on how Longyearbyen is too safe, that it does not prepare a child for 'how the real world is'. Through the stories in this chapter, I have shown how non-Norwegian residents find it rewarding to take part in the general trust in Longyearbyen. The chapter gives examples of how the residents might not always want to talk about trust in all settings, depending on their personal experiences with general trust and trust in general from earlier in life. Woman 6 and Woman 7 experience of the general trust in Longyearbyen, convinced them both to try trusting people again, being that they could see

how others benefitted from the openness and safety the general trust created in town, with its transparency and flow of information.

how others benefitted from the openness and safety the general trust created in town, with its transparency and flow of information.

# Chapter 5:

From a Norwegian point of view, and breaches of trust.

"...benefits that trust provides. For instance, it is seen as essential for stable relationships, vital for the maintenance of cooperation, fundamental for any exchange and necessary for even the most routine of everyday interactions". (Misztal, 1996, 12).

"...some stakeholders…. fear that trust is decreasing in the Scandinavian societies". (Tveter, 2020, 226).

For this last ethnographic chapter in this thesis, I want to give an insight into my Norwegian informants perspective on general trust in Longyearbyen, and how they see the foreigners' integration into the general trust in Longyearbyen. The chapter will discuss how the idea of trust is addressed and discussed among and between people. Based on readings I have done, and conversations I have had, I want to give examples of how trust and general trust in Longyearbyen is in certain situations being damaged, jeopardized, and breached. I am not trying to state that general trust in Longyearbyen is declining in general, it is more of a spreading debate about the decline of trust. The chapter's last part will give an overview of breaches of trust among strangers in Longyearbyen, before finishing off with a section about breach of trust between people who are not strangers - giving an insight into who people in Longyearbyen trust, and who they do not trust.

## The "Norwegian side".

### Ingroups and outgroups.

About ⅔ of the population in Longyearbyen is Norwegian residents who have moved from mainland Norway to settle at Svalbard. As I have written earlier in this paper, about half of the population is between 20 and 44 years old, making the population quite constructed compared to populations elsewhere. Even though Svalbard has been "man's land" previously, in today's Longyearbyen the population is almost half and half men and women. What I

experienced during my fieldwork was that the town's population was partially split into groups separating between the Norwegians and the non-Norwegians. This can be a result of what Jain (1996) describes as ethnic groups where "central and culturally valued institutions and activities… may be deeply involved in its boundary maintenance" (1996, 723). Within the Norwegians, I also experienced groups, such as between new and old residents, groups of those who had family in town and those who did not. People were split into groups based on their jobs, and people were being placed in groups depending on what kind of hobbies they had, sports one played, and voluntary activities one participated in. This splitting of people into groups, leads to, I will argue, ingroup members and outgroup members. An ingroup person is someone who shares a salient social category with someone else, placing them in the same group. Outgroup members do not share a salient social category, therefore they stand on the outside (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 20). Group members have certain expectations to ingroup members; one) "expect fellow ingroup members to favor the ingroup over an outgroup in the allocation of resources…, two, approve of individuals who do favor the ingroup over an outgroup…, and, three, judge allocations favoring the ingroup to be fair" (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 18). These ingroups and outgroups are quite visual. For example, I was told how a newly moved in Norwegian resident was trying to have a conversation with a resident who had been living in Longyearbyen for years. The "old" resident cut off the conversation and walked away when she realized how new the new resident was. I also saw an example of this for example when I joined an informant to his football game, and his team players included me in their group because I showed up to cheer on them.These groups among the Norwegian residents are quite interesting being that equality is a strong value in the Nordic countries, and the Scandinavians need to feel equal to be able to see each other as equals (Gullestad, 2002). A result of Nordic likeness, fitting together, and having the same views, people can end up avoiding "others" to uphold and promote the "peace and quiet", and the likeness (Gullestad, 2002), giving an explanation of why the residents in Longyearbyen are split into groups.

## Scandinavian/Norwegian trust.

Among my informants, it is the informants that come from outside of Scandinavia that are the most shocked about the high level of general trust in Longyearbyen. In conversations with Scandinavian informants, trust was rarely a topic that surfaced, unless I brought it up

because someone asked me about my fieldwork. It happened more often in conversations with non-Scandinavian informants, that they would give me examples of things they could never do in their home places that they could in Longyearbyen, like parking one's car unlocked. The general trust in Longyearbyen leads to the residents having trust in the institutions in town as well. This kind of trust involves positive expectations from the public systems, and is closely linked with having positive interpersonal expectations from people that operate within the same structures. "Hence, trust in the context of public organizations includes the development of trustworthy extra- and intra-organisational relationships (Tveter, 2020, 225), meaning that the towns residents create trust relationships within and across the ingroups and outgroups as well, being that they live in a society where the institutions works well enough for them to not really having to think about whom to trust and not.

One evening when I was out with two acquaintances - non-Norwegian residents - one of them mentioned that he had a Norwegian friend that was born and raised in the same town as me. I got curious and asked what the friend's name was, my acquaintance told me, and I had no idea who the person was. I took out my friend and searched up the person on social media platforms to check if I had any common friends with him, turns out I had a lot. And a lot of my close friends were friends with him on social media. He was from the opposite side of town than me, but had gone to the same high school as a lot of my friends. One of the acquaintances I was out with asked why Norwegians always do that, I was confused and asked what it is that we always do. He replied that whenever he mentions to a Norwegian person that he knows a Norwegian person, the Norwegian person will almost always check to see if they have common friends or acquaintances. I admitted that I had never thought of that before, but that he was completely right being that I usually do search up people. Later on, during my reading period for this thesis, I discovered what this phenomenon truly was. Sasaki (2019, A) writes that one way people judge the trustworthiness of others focuses on people's inherent similarities, things such as being alumni of the same school, the same gender, having the same birthplace, and/or the same nationality. When sharing one or several of these characteristics, people are often viewed as more trustworthy. This has also been written about by Sztompka who states that "Metaphorically speaking trust provides a bridge over the sea of uncertainty" (2019, 35). Meaning that when trust occurs between two individuals, the parts search for factors such as the other's reputation, appearance, performance, and credentials, to lower the element of risk in the relationship. Having Norwegians practicing this search for factors in one another, leads to trust becoming a normative, cultural percept, which again builds an expectation that even strangers can be trustful and trustworthy. This can be

connected back to what Woman 5 said in chapter 4 about Norway being viewed as one big community in its whole, being that the general level of wealth, education, and citizens satisfaction is all over high.

With me realizing this process first after a non-Norwegian resident pointed it out to me, and later on reading about it I was curious to see if it was only me who had acquired this knowledge so late in life. It turns out, based on discussing this topic with several of my Norwegian informants in Longyearbyen, my informants were unaware of how they practice this part of their trust culture as well. From what I have acquired of knowledge about the topic of trust for my Norwegians informants, they are not aware of how high their own level of general trust is. Being that my Norwegian informants have moved from mainland Norway, where 75% of the general population have trust in the rest of the population (Pettersen, 2019, 2), my informants does not really recognize the high level of general trust in Longyearbyen, and therefore did not bother to converse about it with me, they explained. One of the few remarks I have heard from Norwegians about the differences of the levels of general trust in Longyearbyen compared to mainland Norway, was when Man 4 in chapter 3 commented on him still locking his front door thinking he was still living in the city he moved from on the mainland. During the conversations I have had with my Norwegian informants, none of them voluntarily brought up the topic of differences in general trust in Scandinavia and Norway, compared to other places in the world. In the event of trust being a topic in conversations with Norwegian informants, I have been the one to bring it up. My informants concluded that the high level of general trust in Scandinavia, Norway and Svalbard is a given. Most of my informants in Longyearbyen are in the age between 20 ang 44 years, indicating that my Norwegian and Scandinavian informants are too young to have experienced their societies in a different way than being high on general trust.

## "Everybody knows everything".

Longyearbyen is a small community, with about 2500 residents. The residents in Longyearbyen, in my opinion, possess what Lien (2001) calles "island effect", meaning that the residents are in general open to outsiders. For new residents who do not know a lot of people, and in general will possess more information about the community as a group, instead of the individuals, "there is a tendency to simplify the perception of the social environment by identifying all individuals with the group to which they belong" (Misztal, 1996, 126). Like

the society Lien (2001) studied, is also Longyearbyen a dynamic society with people moving in and out quite often, with the remaining population being open and welcoming. The residents' ongoing relationships and continuous networking with new people, provides information for the residents about other residents interests, motivations, and intimate knowledge about each other, supporting trust in each other (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005. Sasaki, 2019, A). Jimenez (2011) writes about air traffic controllers who are dependents on reliable information to create a trustworthy system to help navigate airplanes. If the controllers receive poor information, it will flaws their systems and result in poor reporting and controlling. The infrastructure of information creates a trustworthy system for the controllers to operate in, just like infrastructure of information in Longyearbyen creates a trustworthy system for the residents to operate in. With the infrastructure of information, the residents in Longyearbyen can depend on relevant, complete, and reliable information, which creates appropriate levels of transparency to state that the society is trustworthy (Jimenez, 2011, 181). If it is a good thing to live in a society where everyone knows everything, is questionable.

Often when I was out in town with informants, both Norwegian informants and non-Norwegian, I was given an insight to discussion topics. Being that Longyearbyen is a small place, the conversations I observed were often about who got the new job that was available, who got the most drunk during the weekend, who was dating who, who was leaving the island, and who was coming back, previous parties that had happened in town, previous trips and upcoming trips people were going to in the weekends, and the different places people had worked before working where they were working now, among others. The stories often involved people I had no idea who was, being that they were not on the island anymore. In general, conversations mostly cover topics such as relations between residents, being that "everybody knows everybody". Many people in Longyearbyen have worked in several companies, doing the same kind of jobs, and often also changed jobs but stayed in the same companies. This leads to a common conversation topic being working conditions, salaries, tasks at work, coworkers, and management. Being that many people have worked in several places, in working conditions consisting often of half and half men and women. From what I have been told by informants, these working relations, including the fact that the population in Longyearbyen is almost half and half men and women, has led to the level of trust between men and women being similar to levels of trust between men and men, and women and women.

## Non-Norwegian's trustworthiness.

Trust has been associated with freedom of speech, and openness (Tveter, 2020, 237), indicating that a society which is high on trust, is also a society where one can talk one's opinion, and expect openness from others. Sadly, this is not always the case. I have experienced on several occasions that Norwegian people will swap from speaking Norwegian to speaking English, if they realize someone in the room or conversation does not speak Norwegian. A similar case was written about by Eidheim (1996), where the lap people in north of Norway would swap to Norwegian language if there was someone around not speaking lap language. Through conversations with my informants, this was both nice, being that they could communicate in English about what they need, but also bad because they did not have to learn Norwegian and most of the time would miss out on Norwegian conversations. For the next part of this chapter, I want to focus on a topic that it took me a while to discover in Longyearbyen, being that I myself am a Norwegian; the different treatment of Norwegians and non-Norwegians. To get access to this topic, I firstly needed to become close enough with the non-Norwegian informants for them to open up to me about the topic, and to bring me along to activities and earends to show the differences. I want to give an example of trust in Longyearbyen being breached.

I had an informant from a central European country, who was between 20 and 44 years old. One afternoon we decided to go window shopping in the stores, just to see if there was anything new in town. First we went to all the stores selling jackets, pants, shoes and gear for being outside. After finishing in the sports and outdoor activity stores, we continued in the souvenir shops. Being that we had different interests in things, sometimes we would enter a shop and head two different directions to look at what we found interesting. I started noticing it after we had been to several stores, after my informant made me aware of it, and I am not saying this happened in every store we went to. One store where my informant wanted to try shoes, he did not really get any help from the salesperson. They did not have his size on the shelves, so he wanted to ask for another size. The Norwegian salesperson had barely looked at him while he was trying on shoes, and had not shown any interest in asking if he needed any assistance. I took the shoe and walked over to the salesperson that was just standing by the check out. I asked that person in Norwegian, if they had it in the size my informant wanted. All of a sudden the salesperson became the most polite and nice person, helping with finding the right size. When my informant could respond in Norwegian upon the question of whether or not the shoe fit him, the service became even better. The salesperson

now showed us different varieties of the kind of shoe my informant wanted, but from different brands as well, and was almost running to the back to get the shoes in the right sizes. I will argue that this is a result of what Pettersen (2019) and Misztal (1996) writes, that people "tend to trust our fellow countrymen rather than others" (1996, 192). Cook, Hardin & Levi also writes about this topic, stating that "In general, we are likely to deal more with those whom we trust" (2005, 67), which was probably what the Norwegian salesperson did, when she realized that I had the same nationality.

After we were done in the store trying shoes, we went to another store to look at what they had there. Among all the things they were selling were watches. Before we found the watches, I was looking at one thing in one part of the store, and my informant was looking at something else in another part of the store. He slowly worked his way towards the watches - that were locked in glass cabinets - being that he has an interest for watches. We were the only people in the store at that point, and the salesperson was just hanging around by the checkout cashier. I heard my informant talking with the salesperson in English about the watches, what kind of brands they had, what kind of watches it was, and generally discussing the look of them. After a while, when I was done looking at what I wanted to look at, I walked over to my informant and asked him in English - being that that was the language we used to communicate in - if he saw anything he liked. He replied back to me that indeed he did see a couple of watches that he liked and would not mind trying them on. I was confused as to why the salesperson had not offered him to try them already. I asked in Norwegian if it was possible to try some of the watches, and that changed the whole interaction between my informant and the salesperson. The salesperson replied back that it was not a problem at all, and went to get the keys to the glass cabinet. My informant got to try on all the watches he wanted, got the watches adjusted to his hand wrists, could take off annoying price tags to get a better feeling of how the watch felt, and in general got a much better customer service. I want to argue that this is not necessarily people being xenophobic, but can also be people chooseing ingroup-favoring, which is not necesairly "tied to stereotypes of either any particular group of the ingroup" (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 20). Being that Norway has such a high functioning government providing a high level of general trust, which "should critically reflect the quality of democratic institutions" (Sedlackova, 2019, 113), it is possible that the salespersons also took advantage of the democracy's "freedom to trust but also the freedom not to trust" (Sedlackova, 2019, 113).

# Breaching Trust in Longyearbyen.

## Breaching trust among strangers.

Filling one's spare time is more and more often a challenge for the modern day human being. Quite often, the answer to this challenge is television, and streaming devices. The impact of this, alongside the high level of divorces, and other factors that influence private life, "suggests that we interact less today than our peers did fifty years ago" (Hardin, 2002, 178), creating societies with less interactions, and therefore less general trust. As I described in chapter 2 of this thesis, trust is when someone realizes that "furthering their interests furthers mine and I recognize this fact, they will have potential reason to judge me to be trustworthy" (Hardi, 2002, 134). Möllering (2019) argues that trust works as "self-reinforcing processes that may be slow to get started but that tend to spiral up to levels that essentially lock …. [partners] into their trust-based relationships, even when the trust had been jeopardized" (Möllering, 2019, 141). For the last part of this chapter, I will give examples of how the trust in Longyearbyen has been jeopardized.

The population in Longyearbyen is around 2500 people. The number of snowmobiles registered at Svalbard is also about 2500, and if we add all of those snowmobiles which are not registered, there is basically one snowmobile per person on the island. The snowmobiles are important to the residents at Svalbard. Heine (2009) wrote in her master dissertation about Svalbard that the snowmobiles were seen as kind of a "holy cow" by the residents. She explained how the snowmobiles were representing an important possibility of getting out of town for a while, giving the residents freedom and independence. In many ways, Heine (2009) writes, are the snowmobiles an anomaly (Douglas, 1957) - an exception from the normal - with both its noises breaking the silent found in the wilderness of Svalbard, and its polluting gas as a contrast to the pure and clean wilderness at Svalbard. Today's drivers are much the same as the drivers when Heine (2009) wrote her paper, "people in all ages, genders, and jobs goes on snowmobile trips; both the priest and the mine worker, the midwife and the governour, the teacher and the bartender, families with children and teanagers. Tourists and visitors go on guided trips or rent their own snowmobiles"(2009, 42).

Longyearbyen, being the small community it is, has its own unofficial facebook group where people post events that are happening, ask questions they have, and give information in general to the residents in town. I asked to become a member of this facebook group before I

moved to Longyearbyen in March 2021, and was granted access by the time I landed at Svalbard. Being that I moved up in March, it was in the middle of the snowmobile season, and high season. Most of my days in the beginning went by with walks, dropping by at different stores every day, trying to meet people, and checking the facebook group for upcoming events and what was generally going on in town. I noticed not long after I moved up a trend on the facebook group, sadly. Several people had experienced getting parts from their snowmobiles taken off and stolen, and were asking in the facebook group if anyone had seen, heard or knew anything about it, and to whomever had done it, asking them to please return the parts they had taken. On at least three different posts, from mid March until the snowmobile season was over in May, had someone experienced getting parts stolen. One was a lid to the gas tank, one was a windscreen, and one was a part to a gps attachment. Kicksleds were also frequently reported missing on the facebook group, lucky the ones I saw posted about got returned to their rightful owners. The kicksleds can probably be compared with how bikes are reported missing in the time of year when there is no snow. From what my informants have told me, the kicksleds and the bikes go missing because people borrow them when they are going home from the pubs at night. Few people in Longyearbyen lock their bikes and kicksleds, then when drunk and tipsy people are on their way home in the night and find a faster way to get home, it is too tempting for them not to take the bike or the kicksleds. There was also one post in September, a building up in Nybyne was being emptied of residents because it was not fit for living in anymore. One of the residents had returned to collect her last couple of things before moving out, only to find that someone had been in her room and taken her tv, speaker, and some other technical things. She was clearly frustrated in the facebook post, asking whomever had taken it to kindly return it to her new address, either by showing up on her door, or leaving it anonymously in the entrance of her building.

I want to bring in the structural violence Farmer (2004) mentions in his article about Haitian residents, and how that can be compared to the creation of "structural distrust" from the Norwegian Government. Norwegian residents have national IDs with ID numbers, while non-Norwegian residents are given just a D number, making it harder for non-Norwegian residents to get access to benefits, being that they work and pay taxes to Norway. D number residents are missing out on, from what my informants have told me, benefits such as life insurance, they get only limited bank access, very restricted when it comes to mortgage, online payment solutions, and ordering credit cards. Just like the Haitians Farmer (2004) writes about, some of my informants told me that they have accepted the - in their eyes -

unfair treatment and systematic different distribution they are receiving and experiencing from the Norwegian government.

One day in late May I was working full day at work, meaning done at 6 pm. When I was done at work, and walking home, I received a message from Woman 3, asking if I would like to join her for dinner at one of the restaurants in town that evening. I agreed to that, and being that she would be at the restaurant not long after, I headed there right away instead of going home first. Woman 3 showed up not long after I had, and we both ordered food and drinks. Another acquaintance of mine - from the West of Europe and in the age of 20 to 44 year old - came by the restaurant as well. He had a day off from work, so we invited him to join us for dinner, which he accepted. After we all were done with our dinners, we agreed to move to one of the town's other restaurants, being that my acquaintance knew of a tasty dessert they had. Sadly, when we showed up at the restaurant, it was closed for the day, therefore we went to a third restaurant where we knew they had a good dessert as well. When we arrived there, we got a table and me and Woman 3 ordered dessert, while my acquaintance ordered some more food and dessert. The conversation around the table was work related - Woman 3 had had a challenging day at work - and about people we all knew in town, who had been out the previous weekend and who were going out next weekend. We left the restaurant around 10 pm, and headed home. All three of us were walking in the same direction, my acquaintance was the first one to part, being that he lived in a different place in town. Woman 3 and I walked together for the rest of the trip home. She was going to stay over at a friend's place who was living close to me. I expressed my worries about walking alone in that part of town during dark season, what if I would run into a polar bear. Woman 3 replied that it would not be a problem, I could just run into the closest house or car being that no one locks it anyways, "or at least no one used to lock their doors, apparently there are different times now I've been told", Woman 3 finished the conversation. It was hard for me to observe if things really were changing, being that I was only doing fieldwork for a set time period, but if it is the case that trust is decreasing that can be seen as critical, being that "trust is a fundamental resource, as with trust societies flourish and 'when trust is destroyed, societies falter and collapse" (Misztal, 1996, 41), meaning that if enough residents in Longyearbyen lose their general trust, the society can crumple.

One day in July one day, I went for a hike with Man 4 and Man 5. Upon returning from the hike, it took us a while to spot where the car was parked, and I joked about what we would have done if we came back from the hike and the car had been taken. To mine, and Man 5's surprise, Man 4 informed us that that could not have happened, being that he had

locked the car when we left it. When Man 5 asked why Man 4 had locked the car, Man 4 replied that he had a pretty new car, and he did not trust people in town enough to leave it unlocked when he parked it somewhere. This comes back to my earlier assumption that Man 4 is a low trustee, needing clear evidence of trust, before choosing to trust others, which I elaborated more on in chapter 2.

## Breaching trust among people who know each other.

In June I ran into an acquaintance of mine, from Asia and at the age between 20 and 44 years old. She was having a bad day, she told me. When I asked what was wrong, she told me how one of her family members, who was also living in Longyearbyen, had gotten a new contract in the company she was working in, and how the new contract was worse than the previous one. The new contract gave the family member less working hours, even though the family member wanted more hours. The working hours were also worse than the ones the family member had already had. To make it even worse, my acqauitance's family member was the only one in the company that had gotten a new contract. When I asked what kind of job the family member had, and in which company, my acquaintances told me that this company was doing this to a lot of their employees. The owner, apparently a Norwegian person, hired mostly non-Norwegian speaking people. I was further told that the owner would do all paperwork - contracts, important information, resignitions - in Norwegian, so that the employees did not understand what the papers said. Apparently the owner had made at least one employee resign from their job without knowing it, by having the employee sign a resignation in Norwegian which they did not know what said, my acquaintances told me. This kind of action - done by the owner - takes part in damaging the trust in Longyearbyen, making the town suffer (Hardin, 2002).

Early one day in late July, I went out to eat lunch with Woman 3, and Man 5. During lunch Woman 3 told me she was a bit disappointed and frustrated, so I asked why. Woman 3 told me, and Man 5, how several of her personal belongings had gone missing from her home. Being that she was living right next to her job, her coworkers would sometimes stop by and hang out at her place. She had asked her coworkers several times if they had seen her things, or had mistakenly taken her things instead of their own, but had not received any answer to her questions. Among the things she was missing was a GoPro camera, a GPS, and a pair of ski goggles -  the goggles she had later found in the lunchroom at her work place.

When Woman 3 had asked her manager what to do with the situation, the manager had cut her off quickly stating that no one had stolen her things, they were probably just misplaced by herself or that someone had moved them. These reactions from Woman 3's manager and coworkers lead to Woman 3 getting a negative mindset towards her working place. Being that her job also found it annoying that Woman 3 was asking so much about her belongings, the coworkers and manager developed a negative mindset towards Woman 3 as well - according to what Man 5 had heard - leading to how Cook, Levi & Hardin (2009) describe creating less trust; "If a group has a negative mindset, the group will get poisoned from within, and trust each other and outsiders less" (Cook, Levi & Hardin, 2009, 20).

Another example of people that are not trusted by other people in Longyearbyen is for example, I was out drinking coffee with an informant of mine - a woman from Asia - when someone we knew walked into the coffee shop to buy coffee as well. The person who had walked in, came over to us to chat a bit before sitting down somewhere else in the coffee shop with the people that came together with the person. When me and my informant were left to ourselves again, my informant told me that the person we had just talked to could not be trusted. When I asked my informant why, she replied that it was because of the country - Eastern European - that the person came from, that people in general from that country could not be trusted, my informant told me. I was also told by another informant of mine about a manager in Longyearbyen who was firing employees without reasonable cause, just out of personal motives. This action led to the other employees losing the trust relationship they had with the manager, because the employees did not feel safe in their jobs anymore not knowing who would be the next one to get fired. These last examples of people not trusting people from certain countries and not trusting managers, I will argue is the same case that I showed in chapter 2 with Hardin's (2002) acquaintance that could be deeply trusted by those who shared the same interests at the person, but could not be trusted at all by people who had conflicting interests.

# Concluding comments.

This final chapter has focussed on showing a Norwegian perspective on the general trust that is being practiced in Longyearbyen. The chapter has discussed topics such as how some Norwegian residents are separated into ingroups and outgroups - which is quite uniqe being that Norwegians see each others as equal (Gullestad, 2002) - how they talk about trust

in Longyearbyen, how they contrast general trust in Longyearbyen compared to on the Norwegian mainland, and compared to the world in general. Being that Longyearbyen is a society with high functional institutions, the chapter also brings in how residents trust each other, also a cross of the ingroups and outgroups. Further on, the chapter has discussed how some Norwegians build trust bridges by searching up and looking for common acquaintances with other people they meet. Longyearbyen is a place where "everybody knows everybody", and it is somehow easy for new residents to become part of the population being that information is easily accessible and transparent, but also how information is shared among "everyone" about "everyone". Based on interactions I have had, I was enlightened about the different treatments of different nationalities - such as my informant trying shoes and watches - which creates situations where the general trust can become damaged. The last section of this chapter focuses on how the general trust in Longyearbyen in certain situations are being jeopardized between strangers, and in certain situations are being breached between people who know each other. This is based on several thefts of people's personal belongings, different groups having negative experiences with other groups, clearly separating people in ingroups and outgroups with no favorable attitude towards each other. To finish the chapter off, I brought in examples such as the manager firing employees, the manager giving employees worse contracts, or people that lock their cars and apartments, not maintaining the general trust.

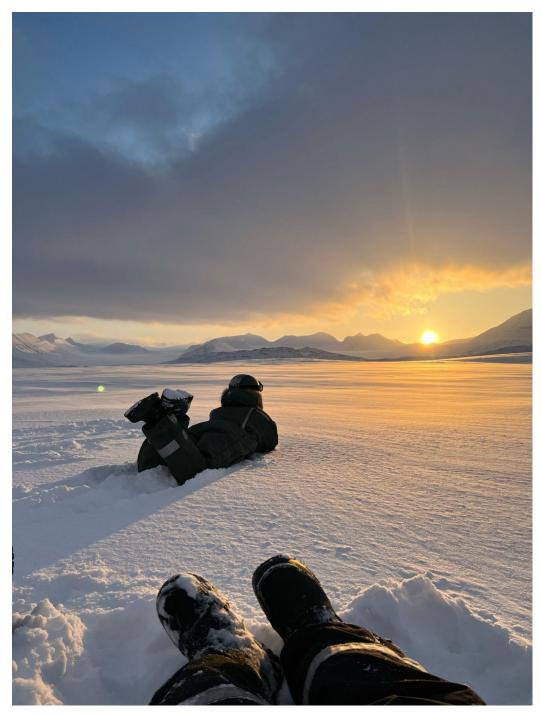"Don't worry, no one is going to take it".

Figure 6: Me seeing the sun for the first time after dark season.

# Concluding Remarks.

My "Ethnography on General Trust in Longyearbyen" has been challenging and rewarding at the same time. Even though some would consider it as "fieldwork at home", moving from one part of the country to the other, was a challenge. At the same time, I would not be without all the experiences I have had during my fieldwork, with built friendships, work experience, and nature experiences, such as hikes, snowmobile trips, and cabin trips.

The thesis' first chapter gave the reader an introduction to the significance of Svalbard and the history of Longyearbyen, describing how the society of Longyearbyen came to be the way it is in our times. The anthropological field of trust is not the most researched field - even though it was firstly mentioned in the early 1900's - which at times has made it challenging for me to find good literature. Through chapter 2 I gave the reader a description of what trust is, described as an expectation, that when in risky or uncertain situations, others will act in a way that is beneficent reciprocity for both parties involved, and that trust is present when a person choose not to gain at others expense when they have the opportunity too. Alongside trust, the term general/social trust has been vital for this thesis, which in this paper has been described as "... nothing more than optimistic assessment of trustworthiness and willingness therefore to take small risks on dealing with others whom one does not yet know" (Hardin, 2002, 62). I have given a description of how richer and wealthier societies often have a higher level of general trust.

As for the main research question in this thesis, how non-Norwegian residents in Longyearbyen are integrated into the way general trust is practiced in Longyearbyen, the thesis gives several examples to this. Man 7 from chapter 4 describes the general trust in Longyearbyen almost as a cultural trope, that non-Norwegian residents want to take part in when they see the benefits of general trust. Like Man 1, from chapter 3, my non-Norwegian informants would leave their cars parked with keys in, they left their snowmobiles with the keys in, they did not lock their apartments, and by leaving personal belongings on restaurant tables to show the table was taken. Both me, and the hotel workers - mostly non-Norwegian workers - in chapter 4, relied on general trust when we sold products to customers without any way to receive payment on the spot. In chapter 4, the reader met Woman 6 and Woman 7 that came from two different sides of the world, who both learned to trust again after moving to Longyearbyen and taking part in the general trust after seeing the benefits of it.

For the first sub question in this thesis, how may trust include and exclude people, I would like to bring in my informant from central Europe who wanted to try on shoes and watches. The salespersons' lack of trust in him, excluded him from being able to try the products he wanted. The salespersons apparent trust in me, included my informant in being able to try the products he wanted. In chapter 5, there is also an example of how one of my informants excludes a person - that we ran into at a cafe - based on the fact that she does not trust her. The topic of ingroups and outgroups, from chapter 5, is relevant in the discussion of how trust include and exclude in Longyearbyen. Even though there is a high level of general trust in Longyearbyen, I have seen examples of people including or excluding others based on them being part of the same groups, or acquaintances of the groups, for example when I joined an informant to his football game, and his team players included me in their group because I showed up to cheer on them.

The idea of trust and how it is discussed and addressed among and between residents in Longyearbyen, have in my experience varied greatly depending on nationality. From the Norwegian informants I had, they saw it almost as a given that Longyearbyen had such a high level of trust, being that mainland Norway has a population where 75% trust the rest of the population. For Woman 6 and Woman 7, it had been life changing, moving to Longyearbyen and participating in the general trust, learning to trust people again, after living a suspicious and anxious life. Man 8, from chapter 4, explained that due to the high level of trust in Longyearbyen, he would not move anywhere else to raise his child. On the contrary, Woman 8 from chapter 4, would not want to raise future children in Longyearbyen, due to the high level of trust, explaining how she found Longyearbyen to be too safe, not preparing a child for "the real world out there". From chapter 5, I will bring in the story of my two non-Norwegian informants who made me aware of how some Norwegians practice trust by trying to find connections and common acquaintances with other Norwegians, from searching each other up on social media. This was a practice I had not thought about that some Norwegians - me included - do, and it was enlightening to discuss that aspect of Norwegian trust with my informants.

For the final sub question in this thesis, who is trusted, and who is not trusted, and by whom, I will first bring in the ingroups and outgroups from chapter 5, explaining how in general they trust each other more among the members of the same ingroup, than members of outgroups. Further on, I will bring in the guides from chapter 3, and how tourists trust them to bring them out on amazing adventures in the wilderness for Svalbard, but also trust them to bring them safely back to town. In general, the population in Longyearbyen trusts the

population in Longyearbyen - general trust - when it comes to not locking doors, cars, and leaving cars and snowmobiles with the keys in the ignition. Parents in Longyearbyen trust the kindergartens and the school to keep their children safe from the polar bears. As for people who are not trusted, I will again bring in my informants - from chapter 5 - who did not trust the lady we met in the cafe due to her nationality. The manager who was firing employees due to personal reasons lost his trust among his employees. The acquaintance of mine from chapter 5, who had a family member who had gotten a worse work contract, showed an example of a boss who lost his trust from his employees. Woman 3's story, from chapter 5, shows an example of how she stopped trusting her boss and coworkers after several of her personal belongings disappeared, and no one at work bothered to help her look for them or even reply back when she asked if anyone had seen her things.

In conclusion, Longyearbyen is a society with an extremely high level of trust and general trust. On more than one occasion, I was told that "things are not what they used to be", and that "things are changing", if this is true or not, is something I can not answer, being that my short stay only showed me what was going on in that period I was in Longyearbyen. The residents I have been studying, appreciate and participate in the general trust in town, explaining how it makes their lives easier not having to worry about people breaking into their homes, stealing their cars, the possibility of forgetting things behind and upon return, finding it in the same location, or their belongings being delivered to a receptionist, salesperson or librarian. How they save time on not looking for keys, how they can live peaceful and comfortable lives, not having to worry about being attacked, harassed, or robbed. My informants did tell me about trust being breached and jeopardized, which I have shown during the paper. I will finish this paper off by stating that I hope the general trust in Longyearbyen will remain high, and not take too much damage from the actions of a minority of people.

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