

(DE-)LEGITIMATION IN THE ANTHROPOCENE: A PERSPECTIVE OF AGONISTIC POLITICS

Codebook

User guide/description (for peer review):

We coded the assembled data corpus (interview transcripts, participant observation, and selected secondary data sources) in the following, systematic matter:

1. We divided actors into challengers and incumbents, which we coded separately
 - a. Challengers: Individuals or organizations whose communications clearly disprove of fossil fuel expansion, i.e., developing new fields after 2021
 - b. Incumbents: Individuals or organizations whose communications clearly endorse fossil fuel expansion, i.e., developing new fields after 2021
(we do not distinguish ‘judgement validation institutions’ because with few exceptions all interviewees had a clear private opinion on this question)
2. We categorized utterances into the following categories which actors used to rhetorically justify (incumbents) or disprove of fossil fuel expansion (challengers).
 - a. Climate/environmental (code 100)
 - b. Economic/fiscal (code 200)
 - c. Political/geopolitical/legal (code 300)
3. Where utterances describe strategies or actions, we separated those into categories that actors use to either defend existing dominant subject positions or strike new and powerful subject positions.
 - a. Legal action (code 400)
 - b. Political lobbying (code 500)
 - c. Corporate strategy (code 600)

We found that actors in most cases, independently if they are challengers or incumbents, talk about reasons or actions with respect to fossil fuel expansion in either of these six categories. Following this logic, challengers were given the 101, 102, 103 when they used

climate/environmental arguments *against* the expansion of fossil fuels. Meanwhile, incumbents were given the code 151, 152, 153 when they used climate/environmental arguments *in favor* of expanding fossil fuels in Norway or the U.K. (e.g., because the production-related emissions are lower in Norway, than in, say, Qatar).

Additionally, we added another category '***Other***' (codes 700) to each group (incumbents/challengers) where utterances allude to joint themes (e.g., current market trends, innovations, political sentiments) that are not directly in favor or against public licensing policy on the matter but still provide relevant insights to the debate.

Where interviewees (e.g., a challenger) talk about how actors in the antagonistic field think or act, we coded utterances in the original category (i.e., challenger).

All code categories represent aggregate categories from more than 200 initial raw codes, that are available from the first author.

Challengers: Disproving of fossil fuel expansion

General category	Code	Sub-category	Description/rationale	Semantic descriptors
<i>Rhetorical elements (justifications)</i>				
<i>Climate/environmental</i>	100			
	101	Global climate impact	Developing new fossil fuels leads to overshooting the global carbon budget and accelerates the risks and impacts of global warming	Scope 3 emissions, need to reach international climate objectives, international responsibility, climate justice
	102	Local environmental pollution or degradation	Developing new fossil fuels leads to local pollution/degradation (which is undesirable)	Harm to fragile areas, including birds or marine life, Place-based conservationism, harm to landscapes, tourism, 'pristine nature'
	103	System's perspective and uncertainty	Even though individual arguments are cogent, they do not add up at systems level, which invalidates the argument	Incogency of arguments, exceptionalism, tipping elements
<i>Economic/fiscal</i>	200			
	201	Stranded assets	Once long lead times between exploration and production have passed (10-15 years), demand will have ceased (costs too high)	Demand side EU/UK, ambitious climate targets, importers of fuel, lead times
	202	Jobs	Renewables will provide for better and more sustainable/lasting jobs (while new licenses do not secure existing jobs)	Renewables, Decommissioning

203	Skills	The fossil fuel industry is crowding out skills that are urgently needed elsewhere in the economy	Crowing out, skills, labor market
204	Technology/new industries	Alternative technologies exist and can become profitable	CCS, renewables, equipment manufacturing, reinvestment
205	Shared prosperity	The country needs a new social contract, including redistribution and more public ownership of assets	Public ownership of assets, redistribution, narrative or myth
206	Negative externalities	If decarbonized new production appears, it will consume too much renewable electricity which instead the mainland needs	externality, electricity scarcity, Melkøya in Northern Norway
207	Fiscal independence	The government is fiscally independent from new oil and gas given marginal revenue from the Sovereign Wealth Fund (Norway)	Oil fund, Government Pension Fund Global, real rate of return, budget deficit

*Political/geopolitical/
legal*

300

301	Tax losses	The government foregoes tax revenue by granting exemptions/subsidies; provides mis-aligned incentives	Deductions, tax revenue, incentives, exploration and development costs
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302	Resilience	An energy system independent of fossil fuels is the least geopolitically dependent	Energy security via renewables
303	International reputation	A licensing ban can increase int' legitimacy/credibility/reputation of the country; Joining BOGA	Legitimacy, reputation, external views, credibility

Non-rhetorical elements (actions/strategies to strike new and powerful subject positions)

Legal action	400
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401	Suits against government	File a suit (e.g., against licensing, environmental assessment and permitting)	grounds, local communities, legal strategies
402	Suits against companies/individuals	File a suit (e.g., against climate damage/misleading advertising)	Sponsoring, PR, marketing, misleading advertising
403	Provocation of state prosecution	Acquittal of climate activists from criminal offences, which leads media coverage and legal precedents	Non-neutrality of the law, mini-debate, acquittal, criminal offence

Political action	500			
	501	Influencing actors with political power at national level	Organize meetings with national decision makers	Parliamentarians/political parties/other
	502	Influencing of EU/int. policy/demand side	Influence decision makers at EU/int. level	Europe, Brussels, Germany, Austria
	503	Public campaigning to 'catch voters'	Political strategies of convincing voters	'Wedge issue', PR campaigns
	504	Formation of actor alliances	Strategies involving synergies between actors with common goal	NGOs, political parties, labor unions
	505	Civil disobedience/direct action/mass mobilization	Climate action, protests to achieve political goals	Friday-for-futures, school strikes, direct action
Corporate strategy	600			
	601	Shareholder activism	Strategies aimed to influence board decisions favoring fossil phase-out	Shareholder activism, state owners, non-state owners, groups of like-minded
	602	Targeted campaigns (e.g., EquinorOut, change of public mandates)	Diverse campaigning strategies favoring fossil phase-out	Social media, international campaigning, synergies, change mandate 'maximizing production' of NSTA
	603	Enabling conditions for industrial diversification and strategy re-alignment	Exit plan, managed decline, need for a just transition plan	State-led transformation, industrial policy

	604	Creation of new actors	e.g., creation of Great British Energy	Great British Energy, de-risking, change of ownership
Other	700			
	701	Future development trends	How challengers speak/speculate about the future	Diverse
	702	Perspective on past developments/history	How challengers speak about past events	Diverse
	703	Misguided beliefs or narratives	Critical or cynical utterances involving narrative elements.	Exploitative nature; tricks, lies, misguided beliefs; or narratives.
	704	Moral imperatives	e.g., Europe should be a blueprint for other countries to follow suit	Should be's, orderly transition, Global South, just transition
	705	Obstacles to the transition	How challengers perceive the energy transition to be obstructed	Political/geopolitical/legal/economic/uncertainty/identities/culture, tax policy
	706	How challengers see incumbents	i.e., challenger's perception how incumbents talk about the issue	They, our enemies/adversaries, people in power
	707	UK and Norway comparison	Comparison from a challenger's perspective; also includes comparisons to DK/SWE	depletion rate, role of government, economics of oil and gas, history
	708	Relation to authority from judgement validation institutions	How challengers relate to/talk about scientific/legal/political authority	Science, the law, parliament

709	Radical flank effect	The effect that constituencies come to be perceived moderate because of more radical ‘fringe’ actors	Radical flank effect
710	Challengers acknowledge some arguments of incumbents	Agonism (respect your adversary)	‘polite confrontation’, conversation, respect
711	Goal of the challenger field	i.e., goals stated by members of the environmental movement	Needs, destination, goals
712	Political consensus/dissensus	How to reach a political consensus about a licensing stop; difficulties	Consensus, possibility, impossibility

Incumbents: Defending fossil fuel expansion

General category	Code	Sub-category	Description/rationale	Semantic descriptors
<i>Rhetorical elements (justifications)</i>				
<i>Climate/environmental</i>	100			
	151	Relatively clean production	Domestically produced oil and gas is cleaner than imported oil and gas	clean oil and gas, environmentally friendly

	152	Past achievements on reducing scope 1/2 or national-territorial emissions	Achievements in terms of reducing emission-intensities of fuel produced	electrification, prevention of flaring, reduction of operated emissions (scope 1 and 2)
	153	Substitution argument	More polluting fuels can be replaced by less polluting fuels (e.g., gas produced in Norway) which is good for the climate	Substitutability, unintended negative side-effects
	154	Petrochemical industry	Since not all fossil fuels are destined to be combusted (some are for the petrochemical industry), it is justifiable to develop the industry	Petrochemical industry
	155	Gas as a transition fuel and 'remaining room for O&G'	Gas different than oil; seen as a transition fuel to alternative gases or energy supplies	transformative energy supply, transition fuel, supposedly alignment with Paris Agreement or certain 1.5° C scenarios
<i>Economic/fiscal</i>	200			
	251	Affordability/Prosperity	Fossil fuel expansion legitimate because without energy prices will become unaffordable	Energy prices, past achievements, Norway's O&G sector as a 'happy story'

252	Jobs and economic stimulus	Fossil fuel expansion legitimate because of domestic jobs and economic security, investment.	Jobs, job security, number of employees, supply industry
253	Demand side/market logic	The demand side to determine the supply, not vice versa	Need to focus on reducing demand
254	Technology	Fossil fuel expansion legitimate because of technological progress	CCS, DAC, scalability etc
255	Energy/supply security	New licenses are necessary to guarantee domestic energy security (especially UK; but also Norway with relation to Europe)	harm, energy security, reliance on imports
256	Uncertainty of alternatives	Cannot stop new licenses because of the uncertainty of alternatives (or controversies or costs related to it)	Fear, afraid, collapse, overnight, new fields to prevent too steep a decline
<i>Political/geopolitical/legal</i>		300	
351	Need for reliable energy supply	European partners dependent on domestic production for energy security (especially Norway)	Being a stable supplier to Europe
352	Argument to expand production as crisis response	How incumbents justify expansion as crisis response	Russia's invasion of Ukraine/Covid

	353	Politically impossible to phase out fossil fuel production	How incumbents justify the status quo based on an ‘impossibility’ to change	Cynicism, realism..
	354	Need to stay independent from other (authoritarian) regimes	How incumbents use arguments of geopolitical independence to justify domestic production	Russia, Iran, U.S., geopolitical (in-)dependence
<i>Non-rhetorical elements (actions/strategies to defend dominant subject positions)</i>				
Legal action	400			
	451	Suits against protesters (e.g., destruction of property)	How incumbents sue protestants	State prosecution for criminal offence, fines, prison
	452	Appealing to an injunction/juridical review	How incumbents use the possibility of legal appeals to contest unfavorable legal decisions	Appeal, EFTA court, Oslo District Court, UK Supreme court, attribution of impacts
	453	Investor-state settlement disputes (ISDS)	Taking governments to supra-national arbitration tribunals to gain compensation with respect to losses incurred by climate policies	ISDS, investment governance, arbitration
Political action	500			
	551	Development finance	Providing financial/technical support for fossil fuel development abroad	e.g., Oil for development program
	552	Influence local MPs	Influence local MPs to vote for pro-oil proposals in parliament	Jobs argument, local MPs, coast population

	553	Influence political decision makers	Lobby actions for better framework conditions	EU, Brussels, Oslo, Westminster
	554	Nepotism	Labor Party, GOV, Equinor	Swing door, revolving door
Corporate strategy	600			
	651	Mergers and acquisitions	Strategic interest purchases, joint ventures, acquisitions	Merger of UK assets between Shell and Equinor
	652	Corporate image/PR	Strategies to control public image and relations	Media, advertisements, marketing, sponsorships and donations
	653	Controlling 'shareholder activism'	Strategies to protect pro-oil shareholder majorities	Close relations between Board and main shareholders
	654	Strategy re-alignment / adaptation	Because of changing framework conditions, capital is re-directed, e.g., where returns are highest, and risk lowest	Internationalization, perception of stranded asset risks
Other	700			
	751	Outlook/speculation future developments	How incumbents speak/speculate about the future	Diverse
	752	Perspective on past developments	How incumbents speak about past events	Diverse

753	Trilemma / trade-offs	Acknowledgements of conflicting objectives	Climate versus economic versus security goals
754	UK and Norway comparison	Comparison from incumbent's perspective; can include DK/SWE	Depletion rate, role of government, economics of oil and gas, history
755	Relation to authority from judgment validation institution	How incumbents talk about IEA, IPCC, science etc	Science, the law, parliament
756	How incumbents see challengers	I.e., incumbent's perception how challengers talk about the issue	Climate activists, environmentalists, greens
757	Norway: depletion rate, policy to develop the basin, Oil Fund	Economics of new licenses, Oil Fund, Equinor, relation to EU	Diverse
758	Grand narrative of the petroleum industry and national development	Incumbent's phrases that are telling of grand underlying narratives	"Happy story of Norway O&G", "O&G industry better than Trump", Oil as a Savior from being a poor country
759	Recognition of challenger's arguments	E.g., concerning fiscal space in Norway, the need to decarbonize	Diverse
760	Goal of the incumbent field	Delay phaseout, maximize production, profits, state revenue	Needs, destination, goals
761	UK: Declining basin, ongoing transition	Explains shift of policies, skills transfer, actor relationships	Scotland

