

APPENDIX TABLE 1: Beliefs and actions in opposition to a licensing ban (incumbents, ordered by relative frequency).

<i>General cat.</i>	<i>Sub-cat.</i>	<i>Belief/action</i>	<i>Share (%)</i> *	<i>Representative quote</i>
Climate/env.	101	"Relatively clean production"	55%	"Norway produces oil and gas in the least polluting ways [...] a lot of countries are willing to produce oil and gas with much worse effects for climate and for the natural environment, and they are willing to sell it without worrying about what the consequences will be of this" (OBS6 - NOR)
	102	"Gas as a transition fuel"	30%	"One of the main sources of CO ₂ emissions globally is the burning of coal to produce electricity [...] [a]ccelerating the replacement of coal with renewables, natural gas or various combinations of these are some of the lowest hanging fruits on the road to decarbonization" (Norwegian Offshore Directorate 2024)
	103	"Past achievements"	25%	"We have an ambition to reduce our emissions by 50% by 2030 and have reduced our emissions by 30% since 2015. The ambition to reduce our net carbon intensity remains firm [...]" (Equinor, AGM 2024)
Econ./fiscal	201	"Contribution to social and economic welfare"	65%	"The revenues from the petroleum sector have been far bigger than anyone expected few a few years ago [...] we should admit that the [Oil] Fund has increased that fast, that it has been so much money to spend that it has not been hard to stay below the expected return" (GOV4 - NOR)
	202	"Econ. and fiscal stimulus"	45%	"The most important effect on the Norwegian economy from the oil and gas sector is the investments [which in 2014 was] 236 billion Norwegian kronor [about USD 23 billion]. In a small economy with 5 million people, that's rather stimulating. And if you had a breakdown on those 236 billion[...] a lot of the investments have been linked to new licenses, new fields" (IND6 - NOR)
	203	"Demand side/market logic"	40%	"A world without any hydrocarbons, that's in no scenarios [...] we feel that Norway should be a stable and predictable supplier of oil and gas as long as the market is there" (IND9 - NOR)
Pol./geopol./legal	301	"Adapting to changing geopolitical contexts"	40%	"It [Russia's invasion of Ukraine] was a crisis, an unprecedented crisis, and one where [...] Equinor was called on to maximize production and available volumes into Europe" (IND6 - NOR)
	302	"Need to maintain political mandates"	30%	"The baseline is that it's the Norwegian people own the resources on the Norwegian Continental Shelf [...] it's a governmental and parliamentary question if we are to continue to do [O&G exploration] or not. And of course, we are always trying to do it within our license to operate" (IND9 - NOR)
	303	Legality of the activity	10%	"Emissions from the share of Norwegian exported petroleum that later ends up being burned are actually causally related to development and operation in Norway. Legally, however, such emissions are not "indirect effects of a project" pursuant to the EIA Directive" (The State - Oslo District Court ruling)
Legal strategy	401	"Incumbents appeal against challengers"	10%	"Our appeal, the appeal from the state, [resulted in] the decision to request for the EFTA court's view on the interpretation of the EU project directive" (GOV2 - NOR)
	402	"Adjunct legal actions"	10%	"After Rosebank got the green light last year, Labor Party Shadow Secretary in Energy (Ed Milliband) mentioned publicly that the Labor Party wouldn't revoke licenses [...] because of the potential arbitration claims" (LAW5 - UK)
	501	"Political lobbying"	25%	"My job on is to lobby the oil and gas framework conditions [...] since we're an interest organization for oil and gas companies, our message is that there's still room for the petroleum industry also in a 2050 perspective [...] one chooses its arguments for one's case but that applies for both sides [referring to environmental organizations on the other side, author's note]" (IND1 - NOR)

Influencing political decisions	502	"Strengthening the state-industry-labor nexus"	10%	<i>"What we have [in Norway] is unique: we have corporate cooperation between labor movements, the state and the industries" (OBS6 - NOR)</i>
Corporate strategy	601	"Re-align corporate strategy"	20%	<i>"[It's] all about scale and return on investment, why bother in the UK when you with all of the pressure that you will face [on] the front pages on the newspaper [...] when you can go and work in Algeria or Venezuela [and] nobody knows what you're doing" (LAW2). "You'll be looking for the next lunch in oil and gas abroad" (IND3 - UK)</i>
	602	"Reject activist shareholder proposals"	20%	<i>"I believe that in that we agree, everyone who's been in this room that the goal is net zero, but the path to choose [to get there], we seem to disagree about that [...] the board's recommendations is that the general meeting votes against the proposals" (Equinor AGM 2024)</i>

*Note: *Within-group share indicates the percentage of incumbents in the assembled data corpus whose utterances express a given belief or refer to a given action or strategy at least once.*

APPENDIX TABLE 2: Beliefs and actions in favor of a licensing ban (challengers, ordered by relative frequency).

<i>General cat.</i>	<i>Sub-cat.</i>	<i>Belief/action</i>	<i>Share (%) *</i>	<i>Representative quote</i>
Climate/env.	151	"Global climate impact"	49%	<i>"[The Oslo District Court and UK Supreme Court Ruling] is a massive moment because it's showing, probably for the first time, [...] who is responsible for the emissions caused by oil and gas: the people producing it and earning the money are responsible" (CSO2 - NOR)</i>
	152	"System's perspective and uncertainty"	22%	<i>"In terms of carbon capture, my simple answer is: I don't think we have time to hope that something might come off these speculative technologies [...] it's a bet, and it's a very risky bet. We don't have any guarantees" (Big Oil in Court: Rosebank and the fight for the North Sea - UK)</i>
	153	"Local environmental degradation"	14%	<i>"[Drilling for O&G also has] a local environmental impact [...] that's why we were successful in campaigning together with other Norwegian NGOs to ban licenses for exploration in the Lofoten area" (OBS1 - NOR)</i>
Econ./fiscal	251	"Economic arguments against expansion"	49%	<i>"Europe has needed and needs gas now - but a new field [...] will take 10 to 15 years before it's in production. So you'll have to be sure that they need that gas in 2040 [...] So we are basically putting all our money into this gamble against the climate targets [...] If we win this bet, then the world loses which is a poor bet to make but that's what the government is doing" (POL2 - NOR)</i>
	252	"Possibilities of alternatives"	46%	<i>"40-60 meter works well [for offshore wind]. The potential is massive, but due to the policy that we are not prepared to sell electricity to Europe [...] it's impossible to make that case. [Otherwise] we could be really the battery for Europe" (IND8 - NOR)</i>
	253	"Social injustice"	24%	<i>"[In the UK we've got] the Swedish, the French, the Germans, the Irish. We've even got the Thai national oil company [...] the Koreans, the Chinese, even the Russians are there. They're all exploiting it. [...] we've adopted this model, this free market approach, which Mrs. Thatcher felt was needed when she sold everything off and we continue with that model" (IND7 - UK)</i>
Pol./geopol./legal	351	"International reputation"	19%	<i>"We have taken a lead since 2008 as a country in climate change negotiations internationally [...] there was a sense of the international community needed us to take that decision" (POL3 - UK)</i>

	352	"Popular support for just transitions"	19%	"Most of them [oil and gas workers] accept that things are going to change. What concerns them is: what are they going to change to? [...] what they'd really like to see, is some certainty, something which gives them security and is sustainable" (IND7 - UK) "Even before 2019, The UK has historically enjoyed a consensus on the need to act on climate that other countries haven't [...]" (CSO6 – UK)
	353	"Illegality of the activity"	5%	"The Court of Justice of the European Union has clarified that the scope of the Directive must be interpreted broadly, and that it would be too narrow and counterproductive to assess only the direct effects of a project, and not possible environmental impacts from the end use" (Plaintiff's argument, p.16, Oslo District Court Ruling 2024)
Legal strategy	451	"Suits against governments"	22%	"We were aware from the outset [in the Finch case won at the UK Supreme Court] that the downstream emission point was a good point [...] but I don't think we realized quite the extent of its strategic importance" (LAW1 - UK)
	452	"Adjunct legal actions"	5%	"A phenomena that we've seen in the United Kingdom [...] is that activists, mainly XR or just stop oil activists have very clearly broken the law: They have driven a fire engine into the Treasury and sprayed it with red paint or broken the windows of this or that bank or government building or broken into critical infrastructure [...] and there's no doubt that they have committed a criminal offense [...] but because these tend to be jury trials, the defendants put across their arguments [...]and they tend to acquit which is really interesting" (LAW2 - UK)
Influencing political decisions	551	"Strengthening of actor alliances"	38%	"What we're going to try to do is to create physical meeting spaces for the progressives in the Labor Party in Britain, in Denmark and in Norway to kind of get them to cooperate more [...]" (CSO3 - NOR) "The movement is facing the next evolution which is to campaign alongside workers and unions [...]" (Big Oil in Court: Rosebank and the fight for the North Sea - UK)
	552	"Political lobbying"	24%	"Collectively, the movement is trying to do everything: we are having meetings with the local chapters of Labor Party and the Conservative Party, trying to influence them [and] strategize with the youth parties [and] the unions [...] I think it's safe to say if the if the labor unions were to change their mind about oil, Labor [the Labor Party] would as well - 100%" (CSO3 - NOR)
	553	"Civil disobedience/direct action/protests"	22%	"If you look to all these different movements, whether it's women's rights, queer rights, labor movement, anti-racist, anti-colonial movements, civil resistance, civil disobedience and direct action has always been a strong component of all those struggles [...] our governments have been failing for decades [...] there's so little time that an immediate step to direct action is now justified" (CSO1 - NOR)
Corporate strategy	651	"Shareholder activism"	16%	"We got like 40% of the votes for our proposal at the AGM. So that enables us to make the argument that, well, the other owners are more progressive than the state [...] 18 financial actors sent a letter to Prime Minister Støre ahead of the previous AGM saying 'We don't believe in Equinor's Transition Plans - you need to do something' [...] Not that we think that the State will suddenly vote with us [...] it's a way to communicate" (CSO3 - NOR)
	652	"Campaigns (e.g., EquinorOut)"	11%	"Equinor is the biggest [O&G] producer on the Norwegian continental shelf and the biggest single emitter CO ₂ in Norway [...] [and] the Norwegian oil company that's active abroad and leading the opening of new projects in many countries [...] they're state owned, so they [...] are accountable to the Norwegian government and the Norwegian people. So that's why we focus on them" (CSO3 - NOR)

*Note: *Within-group share indicates the percentage of challengers in the assembled data corpus whose utterances express a given belief or refer to a given action or strategy at least once.*