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

**Codebook**

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**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
   1. Challengers: Individuals or organizations whose communications clearly disprove of fossil fuel expansion, i.e., developing new fields after 2021
   2. 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)

1. We categorized utterances into the following categories which actors used to rhetorically justify (incumbents) or disprove of fossil fuel expansion (challengers).
   1. Climate/environmental (code 100)
   2. Economic/fiscal (code 200)
   3. Political/geopolitical/legal (code 300)
2. 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.
   1. Legal action (code 400)
   2. Political lobbying (code 500)
   3. 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.

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| ***Challengers: Disproving of fossil fuel expansion*** | | | | |
| **General category** | **Code** | **Sub-category** | **Description/rationale** | **Semantic descriptors** |
| *Rhetorical elements (justifications)* | | | | |
| ***Climate/environmental*** | **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 invididual arguments are cogent, they do not add up at systems level, which invalidates the argument | Incogency of arguments, exceptionalism, tipping elements |
| ***Economic/fiscal*** | **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 |

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| |  |  |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | ***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 | |  | 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** |  |  |  | |  | 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, mis-leading 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** |
| *Rhetorical elements (justifications)* | | | | |
| ***Climate/environmental*** | **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 |
| ***Economic/fiscal*** | **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 |
| ***Political/geopolitical/legal*** | **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 |
| *Non-rhetorical elements (actions/strategies to defend dominant subject positions)* | | | | |
| **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 |