**Qualitative Comparison Table – within case: Newfoundland & Labrador**

| **Dimension** | **Corpus Analysis (mass media)** | **Interviews** | **Field Notes** | **Internet Ethnography (netnography)** | **Document Analysis** | **Key points of comparison** |
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| **Direct contact:**  **Conflict over oil exploration & extraction** | - Tourism and oil topics are both present, and actually well-connected, but no indicators of conflict. | - Coding for oil and tourism as incompatible development paths comes up for 10 participants across sectors, generally linked to whales, fracking, Gros Morne, and oil as source of environmental risk, as well as the notion that governance is dominated by oil interests.  - Direct conflict and controversy does emerge, though specifically in relation to oil exploration proposals (i.e. fracking, Old Harry) around western NL, in particular framed around protecting Gros Morne, whales, etc… from risks of oil/fracking development.  - Where oil and tourism are framed as incompatible, this is often framed through risks (i.e. of disasters or of seismic work in exploratory phases) to whales, seabirds, or fish/marine life that are valued as part of the tourism economy (or as part of a tourism-fisheries synergy). | - Not a major recurring theme, but the fracking controversy comes up at one point in fieldwork at Gros Morne. This was a critical event for tourism-oil contact and controversy, positioning the park and wilderness values of the region as “the economic and ecological basis of sustainability in the region” (one of the few most vibrant rural areas in the province, largely as a result of tourism development) against the prospect of oil and gas development. | - Fracking (onshore-offshore) comes up on ENGO, government, oil and tourism sites. Here, we see direct conflict between tourism, linked with Gros Morne and economic impacts of tourism, in conflict with proposed fracking development. This is linked to material on the Western NL fracking panel, as a particular forum of environmental governance, as well as notions of oil and tourism as incompatible development paths.  - The main park/protected area that comes up is Gros Morne, which is referenced by tourism, government and ENGO sites, and is often referenced in terms of the fracking controversy. | - Fracking in western NL comes up as a particular point of contention, where the potential threats of oil & gas development to tourism values and Gros Morne national park are raised. | - Conflict is more exceptional and sporadic rather than normal and ongoing, and erupts when oil exploration is proposed to extend into regions that have established tourism (and fisheries) economies. Gros Morne national park is a particular rallying point, its ecological and economic significance is seen as being put at risk by oil and gas development (onshore-offshore fracking), with the Old Harry conflict serving as another similar point of conflict. Concerns are raised about seabirds, whales, ocean environments, but often insofar as these are valued as the basis of nature-based tourism economies. |
| **Direct contact:**  **Threat of oil extraction as “envirotisement” for tourism – increasing tourism as strategy for opposition to oil** | - Not present. | -N/A | - N/A | -N/A | - N/A | - not visible. |
| **Direct contact:**  **Oil as a tourism attractor** | - Tourism and oil topics are both present, and well-connected, but this is not explicitly visible. | -N/A | - This comes up at a couple of museums that create touristic narratives of oil: The Geocentre (more prominently), and the Rooms (less prominently) where oil narratives focus on benefits for host communities, framed primarily through economic benefits. In this context, Exxon Mobil and Huskey come up as supporters and featured in content.  - The Johnson Geocentre serves as an oil-tourism hub (similar to the Norwegian Petroleum Museum, Esbjerg Maritime Museum, Aberdeen Maritime Museum) that creates a touristic narrative of oil in the region, enacting coastal environments as sites of oil prospectivity and extraction, oil as an important part of history and culture, and the social-economic benefits of oil for host communities. | - The Johnson Geocentre is referenced on multiple sites, including tourism and oil (Exxon Mobil) sites. It is the key tourism attractor that provides oil-oriented narratives. | - N/A | - Not a dominant theme, but this comes up in a sporadically at specific sites, particularly the Johnson Geocentre and the Rooms, where tourism sites enact narratives of the social-economic importance of oil to the region, and where oil companies are also visible as supporters of these attractors. |
| **Direct contact:**  **Oil money supports tourism development** | - Tourism and oil topics are both present, and well-connected, but this is not explicitly visible. | - The notion of oil and tourism as compatible development paths also comes up for 10 participants across sectors, mostly linked to the economic and employment benefits for host communities. Oil is seen as having spillover effects in terms of funding for local educational/tourist sites, such as the Manuels River interpretation centre, Fluvarium, GeoCentre. The oil sector is also seen as structuring mobility and migration to the region, thereby attracting new residents who in effect become residential tourists for the broader region. | - Not a dominant theme, but on coding for oil & tourism as complementary development paths, we see instances of this in terms of oil companies supporting local arts & culture events (i.e. Equinor sponsorship of Folk Fest, featured on a large billboard along the waterfront near their downtown office), which are both local amenities and tourism attractors, as well as references to oil sector (Husky) support of the Manuels River interpretation centre, a space for environmental education. | - Exxon Mobil supports tourism/education attractors like the Johnson Geocentre (a key site of oil-oriented tourism) and also the Petty Harbour Mini-Aquarium.  – Oil company support for arts, craft & culture (which feeds into tourism) comes up on the Equinor site, in reference to the NL folk festival.  - Support for these amenities/events is part of the social benefit of oil to host communities, which indirectly feeds into tourism development. | - N/A | - Not a dominant theme, but also comes up in specific instances where the spillover effects of oil economies provides supports for educational/tourism attractors (Manuels River centre, Fluvarium, Geocentre, Petty Harbour Mini-Aquarium) and arts and culture (NL folk festival), thereby indirectly supporting tourism amenities and infrastructure. |
| **Indirect contact:**  **tourism is carbon intensive** | - The main tourism topic does include airport as keyword – carbon-intensive tourism mobility. | - Tourism contributions to climate change come up with reference to automobility, aeromobility, and aquamobility (i.e. ferry travel), though more often for government and NGO participants than among tourism participants. The significance of the tourism carbon footprint is also often downplayed as relatively unimportant in a larger context.  - The notion that tourism itself contributes to climate change comes up among 8 participants across sectors, mostly in reference to automobility and aeromobility, but also aquamobility (i.e. ferry travel), which are often seen as more “macro issues” that are often beyond the control of individual tourism sector participants. Tourism is generally seen as a positive, environmentally, despite this carbon footprint. | - In terms of mobilities related to tourism, the main thing that comes up is automobility. This is largely unproblematic, in terms of environmental reflexivity or climate change, but is a mode of connection to historic and outdoor recreation tourism sites.  - Boat tours are one of the main modes of interaction with nature via tourism (along with hiking), though any carbon footprint impacts are largely bracketed out.  - An interesting outlier, in the tourism governance theme about lobbying government on behalf of tourism, TIAC (Tourism Industry Association of Canada) points to high cost of air travel as a barrier/challenge to increasing tourism in Canada – need to work towards lower airfares for increased tourism mobility. | - Automobility, aeromobility, and aquamobility all come up recurrently, and are often discussed together. These themes appear on tourism-oriented government (i.e. TCII, Parks Canada) and tourism (Hospitality NL) websites. In this context, Marine Atlantic comes up as a key actor. This all implies the carbon intensity of tourism, but is these connections to tourism contributions to climate change are generally not made explicit.  - Boat tours come up repeatedly as one of the valued modes of tourist interaction with coastal environments, linked with icebergs, puffins, whales, but talk about tourism contributions to climate change are largely bracketed out here.  - Conversely to the idea of tourism as carbon intensive, the NL government links tourism as part of a “green economy” to climate change performance and policy. | - N/A | - Various modes of carbon-intensive mobility come up quite often – automobility, aeromobility, aquamobility, boat tours. However, these are rarely problematized in terms of tourism’s carbon footprint or contribution to climate change, which is mostly bracketed out.  - The interviews provide some more reflexivity about the carbon intensity of tourism, though this is often minimized by framing tourism’s contribution as marginal within a broader, global context, and also framing tourism mobility networks as macro issues as beyond the control of local/regional tourism sector actors. The overall narrative of tourism is environmentally sustainable, with positive impacts for host communities. |
| **Indirect contact:**  **tourism environments impacted by climate change** | - Climate change is marginal to network. | - Risks and impacts of climate change come up among 10 participants across government, NGOs, tourism, most often in reference to sea level rise, but also in terms of changing weather patterns, often noting impacts on winter sport & tourism (snowmobiling, skiing), but also with reference to changing tourism cycles, and impacts on Gros Morne, kayaking, and also on capelin (which has broader impacts re: fisheries, seabirds, whales). | - There are several references to climate change risks and impacts, much of which are concentrated into the Gros Morne climate symposium workshop. Main impacts are things like coastal erosion, sea level rise, increased extreme weather and associated flooding. Often framed more in terms of local communities and adaptation, than explicitly connected to tourism, this is a changing context for tourism-oriented landscapes, such as the Gros Morne region.  - The main park & protected area that comes up is Gros Morne, often in context of the climate change adaptation symposium, where a great deal of material focuses on climate change impacts and building governance around adaptation for this tourism-oriented region. | - Not visible here. | - Major forecasted impacts for the island include sea level rise, coastal erosion, and increasingly severe hurricane and storm cycles. There will also be increasingly mild winters, with impacts on winter outdoor recreation and tourism (i.e. snowmobiling). These latter winter climate change impacts are already becoming significant in Labrador. | - There is a lot of variation in the visibility and salience of climate change across different data sources. Climate change impacts on tourism environments is largely invisible/marginal in the mass media and website analysis (i.e. publicly facing tourism discourse), but is more visible in other data sources.  - Key impacts include sea level rise, changing weather patterns, extreme weather and flooding, milder winters. These are seen as having the potential to alter tourism landscapes and seasonal tourism cycles (i.e. negative impacts on winter tourism). |
| **Indirect contact:**  **oil infrastructure supports tourism** | - Tourism and oil topics are both present, and well-connected, but this is not explicitly visible. | - N/A | - N/A | - N/A | - N/A | - not visible. |
| **Culture:**  **Mediated representations of coastal communities & environments as spaces for nature-based tourism and oil extraction** | - There are four main topics, which are moderately well-connected to each other. These include topics oriented around tourism; and oriented around oil, economy, development. Other topics, which connect to both, are oriented around: coastal environments, fisheries, food; and culture, family, coasts. | - In terms of landscape, the coastline, seascape comes up most often across participants (9) from all sectors, often linked with whales, icebergs, rural communities as sites of authenticity and history, wilderness, and Gros Morne national park.  - Wilderness discourse is also invoked by most (8) participants across sectors, similarly linked with whales, icebergs, Gros Morne as tourism attractors, hiking, and the notion of tourism as a space for environmental education.  - Icebergs also come up as an iconic feature of the landscape and tourism attractor for 6 participants, and is often cross-coded with hiking, wilderness, whales, Gros Morne, coastlines/seascapes as focal point.  - “Being close to nature” similarly comes up for several (5) participants, defining the NL tourism landscape as peaceful and off the beaten track, again also linked with things like Gros Morne, whales, and icebergs as key tourism attractors.  - Whales and seabirds are the most frequently invoked animals, by most participants across all sectors. They appear as a) part of a bundle of nature-based key tourism attractors and activities, alongside seabirds, icebergs, boat tours and hiking. They also appear (often also with seabirds) in talk about the risks of offshore oil exploration and development in terms of oil disaster or seismic activity.  - Fish and marine life also come up recurrently linked both to notions of tourism-fisheries synergy, and to oil as a source of environmental risk (i.e. seismic activity during exploration).  - The main modes of interaction that come up are boat tours and hiking, which are often invoked by the same participants, and are also cross-coded with whales, Gros Morne, tourism sustainability discourse, and notions of tourism as a space for environmental education. At some points, this also connects with talk about concerns over fracking.  - Other modes of interaction come up in ways that are more contested, i.e. snowmobiling and OHV use, where their negative environmental impacts are noted, particularly with regard to planning and land use around snowmobiles in and near Gros Morne.  - In terms of parks & protected areas, Gros Morne comes up by far the most often (discussed by 10 participants across sectors), often linked to hiking and sustainability discourse, but also oil as a source of environmental risk and oil & tourism as incompatible development paths (specifically around the fracking controversy). In discussions of Gros Morne, UNESCO also comes up as a key actor.  - The main culture & identity theme that comes up is rural communities as sites of authenticity & history, referenced across 7 interviews by participants from NGOs, government, and the oil sector (but not directly by tourism participants, interestingly). This is often cross-referenced with material on coastlines, seascapes as focal points. For one particular government participant, this also connects with talk about positive impacts (economic, rural communities, Indigenous communities), as well as challenges for host communities.  - Art, craft & culture as tourism attractors also come up for 6 participants across tourism, government and NGO sectors. This is also often linked to food and drink as tourism attractors, as well as talk about positive impacts for host communities. | - In terms of landscape, the coastline, seascape as focal point comes up most often, across both tourism-oriented and oil-oriented fieldnotes. This is often linked with whales, hiking, history as tourism attractor, photography as tourism practice, rural coastal communities as sites of authenticity and history.  - The NL coastal environment is also often defined as a harsh, risky environment, though this appears exclusively in oil-related fieldnotes, where it is often linked to talk about the coast as a site of oil extraction and prospectivity, the oil sector as a field of technological innovation.  - The third prevalent theme around coastal environments is icebergs, also invoked across both tourism-oriented and oil-oriented fieldnotes. In the case of oil, this often connects to notions of the NL environment as a harsh, risky operating environment, with icebergs as a source of risk. By contrast, in tourism-related notes icebergs are positioned as a tourism attractor, linked with history as a tourism attractor, whales, puffins, boat tours; and art, craft & culture as tourism attractors.  - In terms of ecological dimensions of oil, the two main themes are coastal environments as sites of oil extraction (linked with positive social-economic benefits of oil for host communities, oil as a field of technological innovation), and coastal environments as sites of oil prospectivity (also linked with positive impacts of oil for host communities, but also focusing on the geological, technical qualities of oil environments, and notion of the oil sector as an international network). Both of these themes are mostly articulated in oil-oriented field sites (i.e. NOIA), but both also appear in touristic enactments of oil narratives at the Johnson Geocentre, an oil-tourism hub.  - The main animals that come repeatedly up are whales (most often) followed by puffins, though they also often appear together as iconic animals of coastal tourism environments. They appear as objects of tourism experiences (i.e. boat tours), but also as symbols in tourism objects (i.e. gift shops), and are often linked with coastlines/seascapes as the focal point, icebergs, boat tours, hiking, and history as a tourism attractor.  - Two main themes come up around modes of interaction with coastal environments. First, hiking is the most prevalent, which is often linked with whales, boat tours, mountain landscapes and coastal landscapes/seascapes as focal points, and history as a tourism attractor. Second, boat tours also come up recurrently, linked with whales, icebergs, coastlines/seascapes as the focal point, fjords (esp. Gros Morne), and hiking.  - Photography as tourist practice comes up repeatedly, most cross-coded with coastlines/seascapes as focal point, mountain landscapes as focal point, hiking, and whales.  - Two parks and protected areas come up most often. Fist, Gros Morne is the most frequent (partly reflecting the field work trip to the park, but in turn also reflecting the centrality and importance of this region to nature-based tourism within the province). This is often linked to hiking, the mountain landscape and seascape as focal points, and Parks Canada as a key actor. Second, Torngats National Park comes up recurrently, mostly in the context of the fieldwork at HNL, connected with Indigenous tourism development, Parks Canada as a key actor, and also to Mealey Mountains.  - The main theme related to culture & identity focuses on rural coastal communities as embodying authenticity & history, which appears across tourism sites, but is also a common trope of both tourism and oil sector events. This is often cross-coded with whales, history as a tourism attractor, hiking, the seascape as focal point, and Gros Morne National Park.  - Art, craft and culture, and also food & drink, both also come up frequently as culture & identity themes that are part of enacting coastal environments as tourism sites. These are both frequently linked with icebergs, whales, puffins, and history as a tourism package.  - History as a tourism attractor is also a recurring theme related to culture & identity, often oriented around fisheries history, also linked with coastlines/seascapes as the focal point, whales, hiking, art & culture, food & drink. | - In terms of tourism landscapes, the most prevalent theme is coastlines and seascapes as focal point, which appears across a broad range of tourism sites, as well as some government, ENGO, and oil sites, often linked with rural communities as sites of authenticity & history, as well as hiking.  - Icebergs also come up across a broad range of sites, mostly tourism but also government and oil (but, in this case, as a source of risk more than a tourism attractor). Coding for icebergs often links with whales, puffins, boat tours and notions of wilderness.  - The most frequently invoked animals are whales, seabirds, and puffins, which are often represented on the same sites as iconic wildlife, mostly on tourism operator websites, but also on ENGO sites (particularly CPAWS), and occasionally on oil websites. Coding for these animals also frequently overlaps with coding for boat tours, icebergs, and coastlines and seascapes.  - In terms of modes of interaction, hiking comes up frequently across a range of sites, including tourism operators, Hospitality NL, Nunatsiavut, Parks Canada, Gros Morne, etc.. and is often linked to seascapes as focal point, Gros Morne, and wilderness discourse. Boat tours also come up repeatedly, mostly through tourism sites, linked with icebergs, puffins, whales, Gros Morne, and hiking. Kayaking also comes up on several tourism websites, and is cross-coded with positive impacts of tourism for host communities, hiking, and tourism-government collaboration.  - Gros Morne is the main park/protected area that comes up, framed through its unique geology and hiking, but also linked with the fracking controversy.  - In terms of culture and collective identity, the main themes are: history as a tourism attractor is the most prevalent, which is particularly visible in Parks Canada, but also across other tourism and government websites. This is often linked with a focus on coastlines and seascapes, and hiking,  - Art, craft and culture as a tourism attractor also comes up repeatedly across government (particularly ACOA) and tourism websites, but also (interestingly) on the Equinor site, where we see oil company support for cultural events that work as tourism attractors. This also connects with coding for whales, and talk about the Fogo Island Inn and Shorefast.  - The notion of rural coastal communities as places of history and authenticity also comes up repeatedly across government and tourism sites, particularly Hospitality NL. This is often linked with material on boat tours, representations as coastal environments as sites of fisheries, and mentions of the Fogo Island Inn/Shorefast.  - The coast as a site of oil extraction also comes up repeatedly across oil sector and government websites, particularly for Equinor/Statoil, Exxon, and NOIA. This often connects with coastal environments as places of oil prospectivity, which also comes up across a broad range of oil and government sources harsh and risky operating environments, and Arctic oil frontiers. Coasts as spaces of oil prospectivity also connects with claims that oil risk mitigation is well done, and links with NOIA, Exxon, the Natural Resources Ministry, and Government of Canada as key actors. Coding for harsh operating environments also links with material on oil-university collaboration and icebergs. | - Coastal environments are defined as a source of oil extraction and ongoing exploration and prospectivity. | - The dominant tourism imaginary of coastal communities & environments focuses on seascapes & coastlines, whales, puffins, seabirds, icebergs as tourism attractors, Gros Morne as a particularly significant protected area and tourism attractor, and hiking and boat tours as modes of interaction with coastal environments. Wilderness discourse is recurrent. The notion of rural communities as sites of history and authenticity is also a core part of the tourism imaginary; and arts ,craft and culture are also important tourism attractors.  - By contrast, the oil imaginary represents coastal environments primarily as sites of ongoing oil extraction and future prospectivity. While similar imagery is often invoked across tourism and oil representations, the oil imaginary is also more likely to frame coastal environments as harsh, risky operating environments. Whereas icebergs appear as key tourism attractors in the tourism imaginary, in the oil imaginary they are defined as sources of risk to be navigated. |
| **Culture:**  **Discourses of positive & negative social-environmental impacts of tourism development** | - Not really linked to positive/negative impacts, or affective dimension, though the tourism topic connects to topic oriented around family, culture, coast, adventure, which implicitly might be read as positive framing. | - The positive impacts of tourism for host communities come up for 15 participants (almost all) across sectors. Benefits are interpreted via economic impacts, community impact, benefits for rural communities specifically, and employment benefits. This is also often cross-coded with tourism sustainability discourse, and Gros Morne as a particularly important tourism anchor.  - The challenges of tourism for host communities also come up recurrently for 12 participants across sectors, mostly around issues of seasonality and labour issues, which are more challenges of building and sustaining a tourism economy. Less frequently, a few participants raise issues of negative impacts of tourism on host communities including garbage and waste management (3 participants), issues of appropriate infrastructure development (3 participants), and issues of overcrowding of tourism spaces (3 participants), but attention to these specific negative impacts is relatively minor compared to the overarching focus on the positive impacts of tourism and challenges to expanding tourism flows.  - Tourism sustainability discourse is invoked by most/all participants, framing tourism as generally environmentally positive. Relatedly, most participants also agree with the idea of tourism as a space for environmental education. Furthermore, 7 participants talk about the role of tourism in legitimating the preservation of natural environments. These three recurrent themes also often connect with each other, as well as coding for wilderness, puffins, whales, hiking, Gros Morne park, positive impacts of tourism for host communities, and tourism-fisheries synergies. These environmentally-positive framings of tourism come up for participants across all sectors.  - At the same time, most participants (10) also note environmental drawbacks or costs of tourism, which includes talk about concerns with boat tours and whales, hunting, and OHV (off-highway vehicle) use, so concerns are focused on a specific range of tourism activity.  - Some of the talk about automobility, particularly as connected with Gros Morne, alludes to issues of traffic and overcrowding of roads and highways with increased tourism flows. | - Positive impacts of tourism come up repeatedly (26 references) at tourism-oriented field sites and events. This is primarily interpreted through a) economic impacts, and b) community impact (i.e. skills development, benefits for local and rural communities). The positive impacts of oil and tourism are both emphasized, but where oil impacts are viewed through a more economistic lens, the interpretations of tourism benefits appear to be broader, focused on both economic and social-cultural benefits for host communities. This is also often cross-coded with art, craft & culture as tourism attractors, Indigenous communities, and hiking.  - Tourism as a site of environmental education comes up repeatedly at tourism sites and tourism events. This is mostly about building ecological literacy/education i.e. about local geology, wildlife, climate, etc…, rather than about environmental issues explicitly. This often connects with moose, caribou, hiking, mountain landscape as focal point, Gros Morne.  - Tourism sustainability discourse also comes up repeatedly at HNL (tourism event) and Gros Morne fieldnotes. Here, tourism is positioned as a sustainable economy and development pathway for coastal communities, using a broad definition of environmental, social, economic sustainability. The focus is mostly on local environments, more than reflection on larger scale issues (i.e. climate change). There are a couple moments (i.e. HNL) where this is coupled with reflection about potential negative environmental impacts of over-tourism and need to ensure integrity of local environments, but these moments are few.  - Challenges of tourism development also come up repeatedly (23 references), primarily relation to labour issues, i.e. recruitment, labour shortages, issues of seasonality and challenges with season extension. | - Positive impacts of tourism for host communities come up repeatedly (8 websites), predominantly in government websites (more than in tourism sector sites, interestingly), and particularly with TCII and ACOA. Impacts are primarily defined as economic, though this is also cross-coded with tourism-government collaboration, as well as with claims about tourism development having positive impacts in terms of employment benefits, and for rural communities specifically.  - Sustainability discourse related to tourism is invoked repeatedly across tourism and government sites, especially the ACO site, and is linked with claims about the positive economic impacts of tourism, as well as the idea that tourism legitimates nature preservation.  - The idea that tourism is a site of environmental education also comes up repeatedly in tourism sector and government (Parks Canada, Natural Resources) sites. Key sites for this include the Petty Harbour mini-aquarium and Johnson Geocentre. As is often the case across the project, environmental education is geared more at ecological literacy, rather than focusing on environmental problems or issues. | - Tourism is an important form of economic development and employment , in particular in rural regions like Fogo Island and Gros Morne/Bonne Bay. In the Fogo case, tourism is being used as a core component of social enterprise to attempt to do more holistic, sustainable forms of rural development. | - Tourism is mostly framed as having positive impacts that are economic, but also related to social and community benefits for local, rural, and Indigenous communities. Tourism is largely positioned as sustainable and as a site for environmental education, with Gros Morne often coming up as a key attractor in the context of sustainable tourism. The notion that tourism legitimates nature preservation also comes up here.  - The positive impacts are emphasized across all data sources. By contrast, reflection on challenges and negative impacts are less visible in the public facing content (media, websites, documents) than in the fieldnotes and interviews. Challenges typically relate to labour issues and problems of seasonality. Reflection on negative impacts on host communities is less visible, though there is some discussion of waste management and appropriate infrastructure development. |
| **Culture: Discourses of positive & negative social-environmental impacts of oil extraction** | - Oil keywords cluster into topic on economy and development, with other keywords like job, home, people, community, implying positive impacts for host communities. | - Among social-economic themes, the most frequent, across most participants from all sectors, focuses on the positive impacts of oil for host communities, which are most often interpreted through the lens of economic benefits, as well as oil employment. This also is cross-coded with talk about the quality of oil governance processes (i.e. positive view of oil governance), that the oil economy structures migration, but also to reflection about challenges for host communities, particularly around the cyclical and volatile nature of the sector.  - Conversely, the challenges of oil for host communities also come up recurrently, through for fewer participants (7 versus 12 who focus on positives), but also from across all sectors. This is most often linked with the notion of the oil sector as cyclical and volatile. From a more critical perspective this is also linked with talk about fracking, Gros Morne, and oil and tourism as incompatible development paths.  - Compared with fieldnotes, much more of the focus in interviews in on ecological risks and negative impacts of oil. The notion of oil as a source of environmental risk is raised by 13 participants across all non-oil sectors (tourism, government, NGO), often defined with regard to fracking, seismic impacts from exploration activity, and potential impacts on Gros Morne, and whales. The notion of tourism and oil as incompatible development paths comes up here. The Gulf of Mexico spill is also referenced by 4 participants as an iconic example of oil risk.  - Fracking, specifically, is also referenced by several (10) participants, mostly tourism and ENGO, as a source of conflict and controversy. This is specifically in reference to fracking proposals for western NL, including the onshore-to-offshore proposal near Gros Morne. Fracking as a source of risk is often linked to talk about Gros Morne and the notion of oil and tourism as incompatible development paths.  - Notion that oil contributes to climate change comes up among 11 participants, across government, tourism, ENGOs,. This is also cross-cded with talk about oil as a source of environmental risk, whales, fracking, and oil-ENGO conflict.  - Material on key animals (whales, seabirds, fish & marine life) often focuses on risks of oil exploration (i.e. seismic) and extraction, framing oil as a source of risk and potential negative impacts on wildlife and by extension tourism and fisheries economies.  - Oil pro-sustainability discourse is invoked by a minority (4) participants, often in conjunction with talk about oil as a source of environmental risk, but also in conjunction with talk about economic and employment benefits of oil.  - Of the social futures theme, the one that comes up most often (5 participants, mostly NGO) is around renewable energy transitions, largely discussed as something underdeveloped so far in NL, but also (by 1 participant) as an alternative to the oil sector that should be scaling up, particularly as a preferred alternative to fracking in western NL, and also (by 1 participant) as something that carries its own ecological footprint and costs. | - Positive impacts of oil for host communities is a dominant theme, most often interpreted through the lens of oil employment, but also through broader economic impacts. This is often linked to the coast as a site of oil prospectivity and oil as an important part of history and culture. This discourse mostly appears in oil sector field sites (NOIA), but also in museums (Rooms, Geocentre) that create touristic narratives of the oil sector.  - In terms of social-economic impacts, the notion of oil as a field of technological innovation also comes up repeatedly at NOIA as a field site, often linked to notions of the coast as a site of oil extraction, coastal environments as harsh, risky operating environments, oil-university collaboration, and positive impacts of oil for host communities.  - Sustainability discourse comes up repeatedly, mostly in oil sector sites (i.e. NOIA), but also in the oil-tourism site (Geocentre), with assertions that the oil sector engages in environmentally safe and responsible oil development, or using technological innovation for sustainable energy extraction.  - Several related themes related to social-economic impacts refer to navigating the recent period of price declines and volatility: that the downturn requires a restructuring of the industry; that the oil sector is inherently cyclical and volatile; and that we are in a tough economic climate for oil. These connect with each other, as well as coding for oil-government collaboration, positive impacts of oil for host communities, and notions that the oil sector is an international network that the NL field is embedded within.  - One of the key recurrent themes around oil governance is worker safety as a priority, discussion of worker safety issues, which mostly appears in the context of NOIA, but also in the Johnson Geocentre touristic narrative of oil. This is linked to coding for the coast as a site of oil extraction, as well as environmental assessment processes, the notion that government regulation can`t be too complex or onerous, and the CNLOPB as a key actor. Coding references for worker safety appear more frequently than coding around environmental risk management.  - Not a dominant culture & identity theme, but certainly recurrent enough to be notable is that oil is an important part of history and culture, which is often linked to coding for the positive social-economic benefits of oil for host communities, framed particularly in terms of economic benefits. This is most prominent in notes from NOIA events, though this narrative also appears in exhibitions at the Rooms (provincial museum). This theme is also, at a couple points, linked to a narrative of outports and rural communities as places in decline.  - Not a prominent theme (5 references), but there are recurrent references to the cod moratorium as a critical event, in both touristic narratives (i.e. at the Rooms museum) and in oil sector events (NOIA) that frame a historical narrative of the decline of the cod fishery to the emergence and success of the oil sector, a political economic shift from cod to oil as the core of the provincial economy.  - Not a dominant theme, but the Gros Morne fracking controversy comes up, with fracking as a threat to the park & wilderness values that are the “ecological & economic basis of sustainability” for the region.  - Most coding related to social futures comes from oil-oriented sites, and there are three notable themes: a) future orientations on oil exploration and development; b) oil cosmopolitanism (i.e. growing global energy demand for human development = oil is a long-term part of global energy mix, despite carbon-constrained world and need for low-carbon transition), and c) renewable energy transitions. These themes often co-occur, creating a narrative of co-existence of fossil fuels and renewables in the global energy system, and a narrative of coastal as sites of prospectivity for the future. These social futures are also linked to themes of the oil sector as a field of technological innovation, the oil sector as an international network, and the role of oil in responding to climate change. | - The positive social-economic impacts of oil for host communities is a dominant theme across oil company and government websites (particularly emphasized in the Equinor and Husky notes). This is framed through economic benefits in general (i.e. government royalties, regional economic development, and in terms of oil industry employment, and other social benefits (i.e. infrastructure, investment, supports for arts and culture, tourism attractors).  - Gender equality discourse in invoked on several (5) oil company sites, in relation to oil employment, social benefits of oil, and economic benefits of oil.  - Sustainability discourse is invoked across oil company and government websites, and is particularly evident in notes on Suncor, linked with corporate environmental responsibility and responding to climate change through measures like technological innovation to reduce the carbon footprint of oil extraction, but also engaging in programs for biodiversity protection/promotion, and oil spill prevention and management.  - Oil as a source of environmental risk comes up repeatedly, though differently, across oil sector, government and ENGO sites, particularly the CNLOPB site, which is the industry regulator. The dominant (industry and government) version of this is that oil is a source of risk, but that risk mitigation is well done and that the sector engages in corporate environmental responsibility.  - By contrast, ENGOs take a more critical focus on risks oil poses to wildlife (seabirds, whales), and tourism and fisheries practices.  - The notion that the oil sector contributes to climate change comes up repeatedly on oil company websites, but often in conjunction with talk about corporate environmental responsibility, oil as a field of technological innovation, climate governance, and renewable energy transitions.  - Relatedly, the notion that oil has a role in responding to climate change comes up repeatedly across oil sector websites, as well as government sites, which is often linked to talk about technological innovation and shaping consumer behaviour as solutions, and to notions of corporate environmental responsibility.  - The controversy over proposed onshore to offshore fracking near Gros Morne comes up several times, and positions oil development as a risk to Gros Morne and the positive economic impacts of the tourism sector. Gros Morne is also the main park/protected area that comes up as a tourism attractor in this data, across tourism sector, government and ENGO sites.  - The most common social futures theme is renewable energy transitions, appearing on oil (Exxon) and government sites. For Exxon, support for renewable energy development is part of a suite of responses to climate change that also includes technological innovation, carbon capture and storage, and shaping consumer behaviour. Government websites point to renewable energy development, sometimes mixing talk about mega-hydro (i.e. Muskrat Falls) and other forms of renewables (i.e. wind), and also talking about how oil revenues can be used to help support renewables development.  - The other futures theme is around new exploration and development, particularly visible on the NOIA website, which is linked to representations of coastal environments as sites of oil prospectivity, economic and employment benefits of oil, and the notion that there needs to be more government support for the oil sector. | - Oil is a significant economic driver for the province over the past 20 years, driving the recovery from the cod fishery collapse and the transition of the province to “have province” status. It is also important in terms of direct and indirect employment. | - The dominant narrative across data sources is that oil is positive for host communities as an engine for economic development, with benefits primarily framed in terms of regional economic wellbeing and employment. Oil as a source of environmental risk is acknowledged, but usually as a prelude (or in conjunction with) framing oil risk mitigation and governance as well done and ensuring sustainability in the sector. Similarly, there are acknowledgements of the climate change impacts of the oil sector, but usually in conjunction with material on oil industry responses to climate change through technological innovation. As such, the dominant narrative is of oil as basically positive, economically significant, and sustainable.  - The main critical counter-discourse appears in interviews and ENGO (and sometimes tourism) content, wherein oil is seen as a source of environmental risk for whales, seabirds, and a threat to the ecological and tourism values of places like Gros Morne National Park. The critical narrative of oil risk tends to focus on new oil development impinging on valued and established tourism and fisheries economies, with Gros Morne (and the Gulf of St. Lawrence more generally) being contested spaces. This counter-discourse focuses on specific episodes of contention and isolated development projects, rarely extending to a general critique of the sector.  - In terms of energy futures, we see a dual (and parallel) focus on renewable energy transitions (often encompassing both hydro and newer alternative energy systems), but also a focus on future oil prospectivity and extraction. These two future visions often go together, envisioning oil and renewables as part of an evolving energy mix into the future, so that coastal environments are spaces of oil prospectivity extended out into an indefinite future horizon. |
| **Culture:**  **Dominant discourse of relationship between oil & tourism as different development pathways – antagonism, co-existence, or silos (black-boxing)** | - Topics related to tourism and oil are moderately well-connected, though oil and tourism keywords don’t cluster together within the same topics - implying co-existence? | - Coding for the oil-tourism interface contains recurrent references to both the notion that these are compatible development pathways (10 participants across sectors), which is generally defined through the economic and employment benefits of oil for host communities generating spillover effects that benefit tourism; and also the notion that these are incompatible development pathways (10 participants across sectors), which is framed through oil environmental risks, impacts on whales, fracking and Gros Morne – so the narrative of them as incompatible is more narrowly focused on specific controversies and protection of existing tourism sites, whereas the narrative of them as compatible is broader and applied to the region in general.  - Coding for oil as a source of environmental risk and fracking is often cross-referenced with the notion of oil and tourism as incompatible development paths, though this is mostly with specific reference to the landscapes of Gros Morne and/or western NL, rather than the province as a whole. | - The main recurrent theme (11 coding references) is oil and tourism as complementary development paths, which comes up in oil and tourism-oriented field sites. This is perhaps most visible within the St. John’s harbourfront where there are both oil sector offices and supply depots, ships, etc…. within a space that is also ordered for tourism. This is also visible in museums that create touristic narratives of oil development, and also at a few points in talks at HNL at NOIA.  - Not a dominant theme, but the Gros Morne fracking controversy points to moments where the two forms of development are seen as antagonistic and incompatible. | - The notion of oil and tourism as compatible development pathways comes up on 6 websites from government and the oil sector. This links to oil-tourism collaboration at specific sites like the Johnson Geocentre and the Petty Harbour Mini-Aquarium, and also to the notion of tourism as a space for environmental education.  - Conversely, the notion oil and tourism as incompatible development paths is less visible, and comes up on three sites, also government and industry. This primarily orients around the Gros Morne fracking controversy, wherein oil and gas development poses risks to the park and its positive economic impacts.  - The Gros Morne fracking controversy comes up several times, and is a key episode of antagonism, where oil and tourism are seen as incompatible development paths. | - In particular instances of contention, like the western NL fracking controversy, tourism and oil & gas development are seen as incompatible and antagonistic. One framing the issue positions short-term, temporary oil & gas employment in fracking projects as unsustainable labour vs. long-term sustainable employment I the tourism sector. | - The dominant relationship is of co-existence as parallel (and often separate) development pathways, both of which are generally positive for host communities.  - Antagonism and the notion of tourism and oil as incompatible comes up less often, and is generally limited to specific episodes of contention where proposed oil development impinges on existing tourism landscapes and economies, particularly around Gros Morne, but western NL. |
| **Governance:**  **“Connective” dimension - Political spaces for engagement across oil & tourism** | - Governance-oriented keywords appear in the topic oriented around oil, economy and development, not so much in relation to tourism, though these topics are moderately well-connected. | - The notion of oil and tourism as incompatible development pathways focuses primarily on specific points of controversy around protecting Gros Morne and whales from risks of fracking and oil development. For some participants, this also connects with the notion that governance is dominated by oil sector interests.  - Among conflict network themes, oil-tourism conflict comes up for several participants (5) across tourism, NGO and government sectors. This is mostly linked to Gros Morne NP and the fracking controversy, where fracking is juxtaposed with fisheries-tourism synergies. Here, we also see invocations of Hospitality NL and UNESCO as key actors that have/could intervene in the fracking controversy on behalf of tourism interests. | - While the two sectors are often viewed as complementary development paths, they are almost completely siloed in terms of governance or contact in the political sphere – there is little in terms of the connective dimension of environmental governance. The exceptions are sporadic controversies, such as fracking in western NL, where oil development risks intruding on the tourism-oriented social-ecological networks that centre on Gros Morne. Here, conflict becomes directed to the Provincial government  and the CNLOPB. | - The Western NL fracking panel appears as a meeting point, or site of engagement across oil and tourism, and a site of environmental governance that attempts to manage tensions between prospective oil and gas development and the established tourism economy of Gros Morne. Coding for this forum connects with thematic coding for tourism as a basis for opposition to oil development, tourism-oil conflict, fracking, Gros Morne, and the notion that there should be more dialogue between oil and tourism. | - Generally black-boxed, though the NL Fracking Panel stands out as a (temporary) site of political engagement across the oil and tourism sectors around the particular issue and controversy over fracking in Western NL. | - While the general sense is of co-existence of oil and tourism development, there are few governance forums or processes that actually create connectivity across sectors. They are mostly siloed in terms of governance. The main exception is around the fracking controversy in Gros Morne, where we see the emergence of the Western NL fracking panel as a forum for bridging sectors. Where conflict between sectors emerges, the provincial government and CNLOPB become key organizational actors and potential mediators. |
| **Governance:**  **“vertical” dimension – governance as local, regional, national, international** | - Not much here to work with, though the topic on oil, economy, development includes keywords of government, province, community, pointing to multi-scalar nature?  - Not so much in relation to tourism. | - Material on oil governance and public engagement highlights the role of the CNLOPB as a key actor, which is a bridging organization between the federal and provincial government. Talk about public engagement in oil also invokes UNESCO as a key actor. There are also claims (primarily by ENGOs) that (regional) oil governance is dominated by (international, national) oil interests, all of which points to flows of actors and interests between international, national, provincial political-economic levels regarding oil governance.  - Gros Morne is the most often-referenced park and protected area, seen as a key tourism attractor (and site of direct contact and controversy over oil development). In this context, UNESCO is often invoked as a key actor.  - Regarding tourism governance, there isn’t really much in the interviews. The only theme that comes up repeatedly (2 participants only, though, from government and tourism) is that we have to envision what kind of tourism we would like. For the tourism participant this is linked to the issues of multi-scalar, multi-actor governance associated with Gros Morne and the need for engagement and communication to inform governance between communities and Parks Canada.  - Tourism-government collaboration comes up from several tourism and government participants, linked with coding for key organizations including Western DMO, Eastern DMO, Parks Canada, NL Dept. of TCII, Hospitality NL, Government of Canada, which points to the main provincial and national government agencies that serve as key hubs or network weavers for tourism sector collaboration, and potentially for structuring/building tourism governance.  - Similarly, several participants talk about collaboration across the tourism sector, again highlighting the centrality of provincial organizations (Hospitality NL, EDMO), but in this case also UNESCO as provincial and international organizations are collaboration nodes. | - One of the main recurring themes for oil governance focuses on environmental assessment processes, which mostly comes up in the context of NOIA, and is often linked to the notion that government regulation can’t be too onerous or complex (in terms of maintaining competitiveness for the oil sector within the broader global field), which is another dominant theme related to oil governance. Material on environmental assessment processes is also often linked to regional-national scale tensions around oil regulation and governance, with key actors including the Government of Canada and the CNLOPB.  - Cross-case linkages related to oil social network dynamics come up repeatedly, often linked to Norway and Equinor/Statoil as a key actor, and to coding for social learning. Here, we see Equinor as something of a bridge or switcher across NL and Norwegian oil sectors, with influence in both.  - Not a major recurrent theme (5 coding references) but the Paris climate agreement comes up as a critical event at a few points in the NOIA meetings, mostly as a political challenge to be navigated for the oil sector in NL.  - As a critical event, the Atlantic Accord also comes up recurrently, though not a major theme (5 references) as a framework structuring oil-government collaboration to ensure community benefits.  - Material on developing climate governance focuses mostly on local-provincial connections for climate adaptation in coastal communities (and by extension tourism-oriented landscapes) around Gros Morne.  - Coding for Gros Morne and Torngats both point to the key role of Parks Canada as an actor in tourism development/governance in the province.  - In looking at key organizational actors, there we see a range along the vertical dimension related to tourism (Parks Canada, UNESCO, Nunatsiavut Government, NL Premier’s Office) and also in relation to oil development (CNLOPB, NL Premier’s Office, Government of Canada).  - In looking at tourism-government collaboration, the main actors that come up include the Government of Canada, Parks Canada, and Gros Morne Cooperating Association, with Gros Morne appearing as a particularly important point of contact for local-national collaboration around tourism governance. | - Key government organizational actors that come up include those at the international (UNESCO), national (Government of Canada), and provincial level (NL Government, Ministry of Natural Resources, Dept of Tourism, Culture, Industry, and Innovation). Provincial orgs are tend to be more prevalent. The CNLOPB is also particularly visible and important and is a scale bridging organization (provincial & national) that is a core actor in oil governance.  - There is tension between national-scale climate change policy and responses, and the NL regional interests of the oil sector, and resistance to national climate policy change based on perceived risks to the competiveness of the NL oil sector.  - Coding for Environmental Assessment processes also suggests provincial-national government tensions with regard to federal proposed changes to the Environmental Assessment process under Bill C-69. The NOIA site captures provincial government and oil sector opposition based on perceived increases to EA regulatory burdens.  - Cross-case linkages related to oil development come up recurrently with particular reference to Norway, which is invoked by government sites as a point of social comparison, and also on oil company sites (Suncor, Equinor) as a connected operating region. | - The significance of Gros Morne to both tourism development and in the episode of contention over fracking highlight the vertical dimension, as Gros Morne is a space that links local communities, business operators, etc… with regional bodies, the provincial government, national government (via Parks Canada), and UNESCO as a key actor. | - With regard to tourism, much of the tourism sector is provincial/regional in focus. National Parks and UNESCO sites, typified by Gros Morne, are the most visible spaces of vertical multi-level governance, involving international (UNESCO), national (Parks Canada), provincial and local actors and interests. There generally does not seem to be a lot of tension or points of conflict in managing the vertical dimension here.  - With regard to oil, there does seem to be more tension or conflict within the vertical dimension, particularly around things like climate change policy and performance, or Environmental Assessment regulations and oil governance, where there is more tension and potential conflict between the provincial and federal governments (with the provincial government more explicitly aligned with the interests of the oil sector). The Paris agreement also comes up at some points as an international critical event that poses political challenges for the NL oil sector. |
| **Governance**  **“horizontal” dimension –range of actors involved** | - Topic on oil, economy and development includes keywords for government and business actors.  - Not so much in relation to tourism. | - With regard to oil governance, the most common theme (across 8 participants, mostly ENGO, but also tourism & government) is that oil governance is dominated by oil interests. This is often linked to coding for oil as a source of environmental risk, fracking, environmental assessment processes, and the CNLOPB as a key actor.  - Public engagement in oil governance also comes up quite a bit (mostly NGO, also tourism and government), linked to coding for Gros Morne, oil-tourism as incompatible development paths, and mentions of the CNLOPB, Hospitality NL, and UNESCO as key actors.  - The third most prevalent theme regarding oil governance (4 participants) is that the tourism sector is not very engaged in issues of oil governance.  - Coding for oil as environmental risk, and for the fracking controversy/conflict often connects to talk about the CNLOPB as a key actor structuring oil governance (and environmental assessment processes), as well as claims that oil governance is dominated by oil interests.  - As mentioned above, there isn`t a lot of talk directly about tourism governance, other than the recurring theme (2 participants only) that we need to envision what kind of tourism we would like, which is linked by one (tourism) participant to the need to engage in multi-scalar, multi-level governance involving communities as well as Parks Canada. For the government participant, this theme is linked to to art, craft and culture as tourism attractors, positive impacts for host communities, tourism as a way of legitimating nature preservation and providing space for environmental education – not explicitly linked to the horizontal dimension, but perhaps suggestive of this, i.e. identifying sectors that do have/should have a stake in tourism development.  - Tourism-government collaboration comes up from several tourism and government participants, linked with coding for key organizations including Western DMO, Eastern DMO, Parks Canada, NL Dept. of TCII, Hospitality NL, Government of Canada, which points to the main provincial and national government agencies that serve as key hubs or network weavers for tourism sector collaboration, and potentially for structuring/building tourism governance.  - Similarly, several participants talk about collaboration across the tourism sector, again highlighting the centrality of provincial organizations (Hospitality NL, EDMO), but in this case also UNESCO as provincial and international organizations are collaboration nodes. Coding for this theme, though, also includes repeated references to tensions within the tourism sector, some of which deals with different interpretations and orientations around oil controversies (particularly fracking). | - Among the social network themes, oil-government collaboration is a dominant theme (41 references), mostly in the context of NOIA events. This is linked to talk about positive impacts of oil for host communities, and highlights the following key actors: NL Premier’s Office, CAPP, Equinor/Statoil.  - In terms of oil development, there are also several references to oil-university collaboration, though less directly around governance, more around issues of technological innovation, though also linked to notions of positive impacts of oil for host communities.  - The notion that government regulation for the oil sector can`t be too complex or onerous is a key recurrent theme related to oil governance (mostly appearing in oil-oriented fieldwork sites, i.e. NOIA), and is often linked to the horizontal dimension, cross-coded with oil-government collaboration, environmental assessment processes, as well as notions of the need for certainty in oil governance, and the CNLOPB as a key actor.  - In coding for network power, there are several coding references for the influence/power of key actors, related to oil-government collaboration, where the NL Premier’s Office and Husky come up as key actors.  - In terms of tourism-oriented social network dynamics, there are far less references in this data compared to the oil sector. However, tourism collaboration within the sector comes up repeatedly (12 references), linked to themes like skills development, social learning, and building tourism governance. Tourism-government collaboration also comes up repeatedly (13 references), linked to tourism sustainability discourse and practices of media-work. Key actors that come up in this context include Parks Canada, Government of Canada, and the Gros Morne Cooperating Association.  - Not much comes up in the fieldnotes in terms of tourism governance. The main theme (only 3 references) is lobbying (the federal) government on behalf of tourism interests, which focuses on the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) around issues like relaxing visa requirements to increase tourism flows, labour availability issues, aeromobility (i.e. high cost of air travel) and facilitating tourism flows from China.  - There are recurrent references to climate change governance, mostly concentrated in fieldwork at the Gros Morne climate symposium. Here, the focus is on building governance for climate adaptation of coastal communities, social learning, and interchange and collaboration among researchers/academics, local communities/governments, and the provincial government (with some further connection to the national government, but mostly framed in local-provincial terms).  - Coding for Torngats National Park points to the engagement of Indigenous groups (Nunatsiavut government, in particular) in tourism development and collaboration with Parks Canada around this protected area.  - In terms of key actors, a far larger range of oil sector actors appear as key actors in the fieldnotes (multiple oil companies - the most referenced being Equinor/Statoil and Husky- as well as CAPP, NOIA) in comparison to the tourism sector, where the main recurrent key non-governmental actor is the Gros Morne Cooperating Association. | - Among the social network themes, oil-government collaboration is most prominent, coming up in government and oil company sites, but particularly pronounced on the Nalcor site. This is cross-coded with coasts as places of oil prospectivity, economic benefits of oil, the oil industry as a site of technological innovation, and the CNLOPB and NL Ministry of Natural Resources as key actors.  - The key theme related to oil governance is that oil risk mitigation is well done, which is particularly prevalent in the notes from the CNLOPB site, which is the industry regulator. This theme connects key actors from government and the oil sector, particularly NOIA and the CNLOPB, and also ties into the  - In material on government performance and policy on climate change, we see (particularly from NOIA) tension/antagonism between the NL oil sector and Government of Canada and NL movement on climate policy due to potential costs to the oil sector.  - Tourism-government collaboration comes up across several sites, particularly TCII, and is often linked with economic impacts of tourism, TCII as a key actor, and key tourism attractors/activities including icebergs and hiking.  - There’s not much on tourism governance specifically, but two items are worth noting: 1) the role of Hospitality NL as a tourism umbrella organization in lobbying government on behalf of tourism sector interests (linked to talk about Air BnB as an issue; labour issues; collaboration across tourism sector actors); 2) Indigenous community engagement in tourism governance, specifically Nunatsiavut involvement in co-management of Torngats National Park with Parks Canada.  - Indigenous peoples appear in a couple key ways that are relevant here: 1) in relation to tourism development and Indigenous involvement in parks & protected areas co-management, specifically around Torngats NP, Nunitsiavut government and Parks Canada, where tourism is linked with Inuit history. 2) in relation to oil development and corporate-community relations/engagement, where oil companies speak of their commitment to engaging with Indigenous communities. This is often framed as a general operating principle, more than localized specifically to NL. | - The fracking controversy connected actors in the public, tourism sector, oil & gas sector within a government-convened public input process (resulting in a moratorium).  - Tourism development through the Fogo model also highlights the horizontal dimension, with the Shorefast foundation as a key actor using tourism as a core part of its social enterprise as a model of rural economic development. | - There is quite a lot of material on oil-government collaboration, with key actors including government agencies (i.e. CNLOPB, Natural Resources) and key oil companies (Equinor, etc…). This links with positive views of the oil sector and notions of the oil sector as a field of technological innovation. There is generally a positive view of oil governance, as well as the discourse that government regulations can’t be too complex or onerous. There is material on public engagement, though generally not a lot of evidence of engagement of the tourism sector in environmental governance.  - There is also quite a bit of material on tourism-government collaboration for tourism development, with “network weaving” often done by provincial and national government organizations (i.e. Parks Canada, TCII) and tourism groups (i.e. Hospitality NL). In contrast to oil, there appears to be more engagement of Indigenous communities in tourism governance, particularly around co-management of national parks in Labrador (Torngats, Mealey Mountains) and increasing Indigenous interest/involvement in tourism development.  - Just as there is not a lot of involvement of the tourism sector in oil governance, the inverse is also true of oil sector involvement in tourism governance.  - In general, non-state actors seem more engaged and important to oil governance than tourism governance, where there seem to be a smaller number of key influential non-government actors (i.e. Hospitality NL, Gros Morne Cooperating Association). |
| **Social movements: When does intervention happen** | - Not present. | - Intervention (concern, mobilization) is provoked where proposed new oil/fracking (onshore-offshore) is proposed that risks impacting on Gros Morne as a key tourism attractor, whales, etc… | - Intervention focuses on risks of oil, rather than on tourism, per se. This focuses on sporadic conflicts, i.e. fracking when it risks impinging on the ecological & tourism-driven economic values centred on Gros Morne, rather than the oil sector in general. | - The two controversies captured here are: 1) around proposed fracking in Western NL, which is problematized due to potential risks/impacts to Gros Morne national park and its positive tourism economic benefits for the region; and 2) the Old Harry controversy, where we see concerns around whales and ENGO-fishers alliances. | - The main controversy that comes up is around fracking in Western NL. This analysis describes public opposition, but does not explicitly connect this to social movement organizations. | - Mobilization around oil is exceptional and sporadic. It is not geared at the oil sector in general, but rather when proposed oil development risks impinging on established and highly valued tourism (and fisheries) economies and relationships. This is most apparent with the Gros Morne fracking controversy, but also with the Old Harry controversy. Movements appear to be mobilized more by resistance to oil development (often in alliance or on behalf of more “sustainable” tourism economies), rather than intervening around tourism per se. In other words, tourism is positioned as a more sustainable alternative to oil development, and Gros Morne and its ecological and economic importance is used as a rationale for opposing new oil development. |
| **Social movements:**  **Key discourses used to intervene in oil-tourism interface** | - Not present. | - WRT environmental risks of oil and fracking, much of the focus is on wellbeing of Gros Morne, whales, and framing oil and tourism economies as incompatible development paths for the Gros Morne/Western region.  - There is an emphasis on oil risks to fisheries and wildlife, i.e. whales, seabirds, which are valuable part of tourism economy, and a tourism-fisheries synergy. | - Fracking poses risks to the park & wilderness values of the Gros Morne region, which serve as the ecological-economic basis of a sustainable regional economy. | - Oil development poses environmental risks to wildlife (i.e. seabirds, whales), as well as to established practices/economies of tourism and fisheries.  - There is a need to protect Gros Morne from proposed fracking. Gros Morne is an important tourism attractor and wildlife habitat that is put at risk by fracking.  - Regarding the Old Harry conflict, we see concerns about oil prospectivity with oil framed as a source of environmental risk, with specific reference to whales. | - An interesting frame invoked in the fracking controversy is of oil & gas employment as short-term/unsustainable in contrast to tourism employment as long-term/sustainable. | - The focus is on new oil development and the risks posed to the environmental wellbeing (and related economic value via tourism) to Gros Morne, whales, seabirds, wilderness values, and fisheries. Tourism and fisheries are positioned as sustainable economies put at risk by potential new oil development. |
| **Social movements: repertoire of action, tactics** | - Not present. | - The main thing that comes up for social movement participants (4) is the importance of holding local meetings and public events as a tactic for awareness raising and building support on issues related to oil and gas development (particularly fracking), and climate change. This is also linked to practices of media work, using web 2.0 applications, lobbying, oil-ENGO conflict. Other tactics that are talked about less often (i.e. by 2 participants) include lobbying, letter-writing, environmental education initiatives. | - Not much here. | - Not a lot here, and most comes from the web 2.0 analysis specifically of the Old Harry controversy. The mix of tactics displayed by ENGOs includes court/legal actions, calls for donations, letter-writing campaigns, developing hashtags, such as #SaveOurGulf, petitions, and calls for volunteering. Essentially in-system tactics around the controversy over Old Harry. | - N/A | - Not a lot here. Mostly in-system tactics are used in conflicts over oil development: public meetings and events, lobbying, using web 2.0 applications, letter-writing campaigns, court/legal actions. |
| **Social movements:**  **structure of field** | - Not present. | - The main organization that comes up repeatedly is CPAWS (8 participants, including NGO, tourism, government participants). Other groups that come up recurrently include Save Our Seas and Shores (4 participants) and St. Lawrence Coalition (3 participants).  - Of the network themes, the idea of people circulating through networks comes up repeatedly among ENGO participants, including connections to multiple ENGOs, but also ties of people to ENGOs as well as government. CPAWS also comes up a couple times as a key organization in this regard. | - The only ENGO that comes up repeatedly in the fieldnotes as a main organizational actor (though only 4 references) is the East Coast Trail Association. | - The web 2.0 material on the Old Harry controversy identifies several groups involved in this conflict, including: Sierra Club, Coalition for the Protection of PEI Water, Ecojustice, Council of Canadians, Citizens Climate Lobby Canada, David Suzuki Foundation, Greenpeace, Oceana, Whitby Blue Dot, WWF, and Green Party Canada. | - N/A | - CPAWS NL comes up as a particularly important actor, as does East Coast Trail Association (which is primarily a hiking/outdoor rec NGO). A range of other national groups, regional alliances (Save our Seas and Shores, St. Lawrence Coalition) and local groups also come up. Overall, however, there are few highly visible ENGOs and the field generally seems fragmented and relatively underdeveloped compared with some other cases? |
| **Social movements:**  **Collaboration & conflict networks** | - Not present. | - Coding for collaboration networks includes quite a bit of talk about collaboration across the ENGO field. This is linked with coding for public engagement (in particular), also letter-writing, fracking, oil as a source of risk, ENGO-government conflict. There are also repeated mentions to Western Environmental Centre as a key organization in this regard.  - There are several references, across ENGO and tourism participants, to ENGO-tourism collaboration. More often this comes up in relation to oil as a source of environmental risks and in reference to Gros Morne NP, but it also comes up in relation to environmental education initiatives. CPAWS comes up recurrently as a key organization in this theme.  - Among conflict network themes, ENGO-oil conflict comes up repeatedly among ENGO and energy sector participants, linked with coding for oil as a source of environmental risk, whales, fracking, oil sector contributions to climate change, conflict with government, and the CNLOPB as a key organizational actor.  - ENGO-government conflict also comes up repeatedly among ENGO participants, linked with ecological value of coastal areas, need to ensure protection of natural areas, oil as a source of environmental risk, whales, and oil-ENGO conflict.  - Coding for seabirds and whales links to ENGO-oil conflict networks around risks to wildlife of oil activity.  - WRT oil governance, there are recurring claims by ENGO participants that oil governance is dominated by the oil sector (i.e. that NL is characterized by regulator capture). | - The main social movement theme, and only one that is particularly recurrent in the fieldnotes is anti-environmentalism. This comes up most often within oil sector sites (i.e. NOIA) around oil-ENGO conflict. Interestingly, anti-environmentalist views are articulated by keynote speakers, not directly by speakers from oil companies. Environmentalists (in the abstract, more than references to specific groups) are positioned as enemies of the sector and its contribution to social and economic wellbeing, and are seen as inflating requirements for community consultation and consent.  - At one point (i.e. not a recurrent theme, but an interesting outlier), anti-environmentalism also comes up in the tourism field, in the context of anti-sealing campaigns, where environmentalist & animal rights movements are positioned as “extremists” opposed to rural community and Indigenous livelihoods. | - With regard to the Old Harry controversy, we primarily see ENGO-government conflict. Government alters that are referenced include provincial ministries, as well as the Government of Canada. There is also coding here for collaboration within the environmental movement, as well as ENGO-academic and ENGO-fishers collaboration on this issue. | - N/A | - Social movement collaboration networks are within the movement and also with tourism sector actors, as well as with fishers, mostly in relation to oil-related conflict at Gros Morne and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.  - Conversely, ENGO conflict networks focus on government and the oil sector, with proposed oil development positioned as a risk to established national park landscapes, tourism and fisheries economies.  - The field notes also highlight interesting examples of anti-environmentalism around oil development and also around anti-sealing campaigns, though these are not dominant themes in the project overall. |

Discourse network: key categories for discourse network analysis

CULTURE & COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

* Art, craft & culture as tourism attractors
* Food & drink as performance of collective identity
* History as a tourism attractor
* Oil is an important part of history & culture
* Rural coastal communities = authenticity & history

ECOLOGICAL NETWORKS

* Other fish, marine life
* Puffins
* seabirds
* Whales
* Climate change governance
* Government performance & policy\_CC
* Oil industry contributes to climate change
* Oil role in responding to CC
* Risks & impacts of climate change
* Tourism contributes to climate change
* Being close to nature
* Coastline, seascape as focal point
* Harsh, risky environment
* Icebergs
* Wilderness
* Coast as site of oil extraction
* Coast as site of oil prospectivity
* Fracking
* Harsh, risky environment
* Oil as a source of environmental risk
* Boat tours
* Hiking
* Kayaking/canoeing
* snowmobiling
* Gros Morne National Park
* Torngats National Park
* Environmental drawbacks of tourism
* Oil industry\_sustainability discourse
* Tourism is a space for environmental education
* Tourism legitimates nature preservation
* Tourism\_sustainability discourse

MEDIA COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

* Photography as tourism practice
* Practices of media work
* Using web 2.0 applications

MOBILITY NETWORKS

* Aeromobility
* Aquamobility
* Automobility
* Oil economy structures migration
* Travel routes

NETWORK POWER

* Age
  + 30s-middle aged
* Class, profession
  + Fashion as marker of class
  + Middle class
* Gender
  + Gender equality and diversity discourse
  + Male
* Global region
  + America
  + China
* Influence, power of key actors in network
* Race & ethnicity
  + Indigenous Peoples
  + whiteness
* Rules that structure network

POLITICAL NETWORKS

* Environmental assessment process
* Government dominated by oil interests
* Government regulation can’t be too onerous, complex, lengthy
* Oil risk mitigation is well done
* Public engagement
* Tourism sector not engaged in oil governance
* Worker safety issues
* 2015 Paris COP agreement
* Atlantic Accord
* Cod moratorium
* Western NL fracking panel
* Anti-environmentalism
* Meetings and public events
* Envisioning what kind of tourism we would like
* Lobbying government on behalf of tourism interests

SOCIAL FUTURES

* New oil exploration & development, future orientation
* Oil cosmopolitanism
* Renewable energy transitions

SOCIAL NETWORK DYNAMICS

* Circulation of people through networks
* ENGO\_collaboration within movement
* ENGO-government collaboration
* Oil-government collaboration
* Oil-university collaboration
* Tourism-collaboration across industry actors
* Tourism-ENGO collaboration
* Tourism-government collaboration
* ENGO-government conflict
* Oil-ENGO conflict
* Tourism-oil conflict
* Cross-case linkages
  + Norway
* Social learning

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC NETWORKS

* Challenges of oil for host communities
  + Downturn = restructuring of oil industry
* Oil sector is cyclical, volatility
* Oil industry is field of technological innovation
* Positive social-economic benefits of oil for host communities
  + Economic benefits
  + Oil employment
  + Social benefits
* We are in a tough economic climate for oil
* Oil-tourism interface: complementary development paths
* Oil-tourism interface: incompatible development paths
* Oil as tourism attractor
* Challenges of tourism for host communities
  + Labour issues
  + seasonality
* Positive impacts of tourism for host communities
  + Community impact
  + Economic impact
  + Employment benefits
  + Rural communities

KEY ORGANIZATIONAL ACTORS (for two-mode analysis)

Energy sector

* Black Spruce
* CAPP
* Equinor (Statoil)
* Exxon Mobil
* Husky
* Nalcor
* NOIA

ENGOs

* CPAWS
* East Coast Trail Association
* Save our Seas and Shores
* St. Lawrence Coalition

Government

* ACOA
* CNLOPB
* Government of Canada
* NL Dept. of Tourism, Culture, Industry & Innovation
* NL Government
* NL Ministry of Natural Resources
* NL Premier’s Office
* Nunatsiavut Government
* Parks Canada

International Agencies

* UNESCO

Media sector

* CBC
* Instagram
* LinkedIn
* Twitter
* YouTube

Tourism Sector

* Gros Morne Cooperating Association
* Hospitality NL
* Johnson Geocentre

Universities & Research Institutions

* Memorial University