

Appendix 1 – Discourse analysis data

Data inclusion parameters

Keyword: “AUKUS” or “submarine” in title, or keyword, or body of text.

Filtering: Texts manually checked for relevance.

Timeframe: 1 Sept 2021 – 28 Feb 2022.

Source: Texts located from Lexis Nexis, parliamentary and congressional databases, ministerial websites, and direct from publisher’s web pages where necessary.

QDA dataset breakdown by source and frequency

UK	Australia	US	France
Political elites 24: - Prime Minister 7 - Foreign Secretary 9 - Defence Secretary 2 - Parliamentary debates 5 - Other 1	Political elites 45: - Prime Minister 19 - Foreign Secretary 3 - Defence Secretary 2 - Leader of the Opposition 7 - Parliamentary debates 6 - Other 7	Political elites 39: - President and Press Secretary 14 - Secretary of State 14 - Department of Defence 6 - Congressional debate 5	Political elites: 17 - President 3 - Government 7 - Presidential candidates 4 - Ambassadors 3
Media 103: - Guardian 30 - Telegraph 30 - Daily Mail 30 - Mirror 13	Media 150: - Australian 30 - Sydney Morning Herald 30 - Canberra Times 30 - The Age 30 - Courier Mail 30	Media 46: - Wall Street Journal 20 - New York Times 14 - LA Times 10 - Washington Post 2	Media 106: - Le Monde 44 - Le Figaro 41 - Libération 21
Total 127	Total 195	Total 85	Total 133

Appendix 2 – Data coding

Codebook for English-language texts

SENTIMENT

Positive
Negative

EMOTION

Fear
Anger
Hope
Bravery
Crazy / insanity
Sensible

CAPITALISM/FINANCE

Trade
Economy
Brexit

REMIT

Cyber
Intelligence
Submarines
Nuclear technology

SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Five Eyes
Quad
Five power defence arrangement
NATO
UN (SC)

BINDS/UNDERPINNINGS

Values
Cultural ties
English language
Democracy
Freedom
Trust

BENEFITS

Stability
Security
Defence
Jobs

World order / liberal international order
Maritime/sea routes

COSTS

Cost / expensive
Sovereignty
Cheat / betrayal
Aggression
Nuclear risks – NPT, ‘floating Chernobyls’
Colonial / imperial / empire

REGIONAL ALLIANCES / FOCUS

Indo-Pacific
Asia-Pacific
China
India
Japan
South Korea

EUROPEAN RELATIONS

France
Ambassador
Germany
European Union
Ukraine
Russia

IDENTITY

History / old allies
Global Britain
British exceptionalism
US Exceptionalism
Australian identity
Anglosphere / Anglophone
Masculinity

FUTURE

Future / twenty-first century
Forever partnership
Pivotal moment / geopolitical shift

HISTORY / WAR ANALOGIES

World War One
World War Two
Cold War
War on Terror
Afghanistan

Codebook for French-language texts

SENTIMENT

Positif
Négatif

EMOTION

Humiliation
Duplicité / Mensonge
Trahison
Surprise
Colère
Peur
Espoir
Rationnel
Déception

RAISONS DU PARTENARIAT FRANCO-AUSTRALIEN

Contrat
Partenaire stratégique
Partenariat industriel
Stratégie Indo Pacifique de la France
Troisième voix / Alternative
Confiance
Allié
Valeurs
Souveraineté australienne
Souveraineté française
Rang / Puissance
Puissance régionale / de l'Indo Pacifique
Chine
Sécurité
Stabilité
Coopération
Industrie navale
Sous marins conventionnels
Sous marins nucléaires

JUSTIFICATION D'AUKUS (DU POINT DE VUE FRANCAIS)

Difficultés industrielles
Format 2 + 2
Sous marins nucléaires
Chine
Contradiction
Sécurité
Souveraineté

CONSEQUENCES D'AUKUS (GENERIQUES)

Confrontation
Nucléaire / Traite de non prolifération (TNP)
Alternative / Troisième voix
Future / 21eme siècle
Multilatéralisme
Stratégie Indo-Pacifique de la France
Perte de crédibilité (de la France) / humiliation

CONSEQUENCES D'AUKUS POUR L'AUSTRALIE ET SES RELATIONS AVEC LA FRANCE

Accord de libre échange
Reconsidération / Alternative au partenariat avec l'Australie
Souveraineté
Dépendance (des États-Unis)
Crise diplomatique
Perte de crédibilité (de l'Australie)
Ambassadeur
Cout financier / contrat
Sécurité
Changement climatique
Temps / Délais
Pas de sous marins

CONSEQUENCES RELATIONS FRANCE-US

Crise diplomatique
Duplicité / Tromperie / Trahison
Allies
Ambassadeur
Dialogue
Anti-terrorisme
Crise transatlantique
Afghanistan
Temps
Divergence d'approche
Sahel
Repli américain

CONSEQUENCES RELATIONS FRANCE-UK

Crise diplomatique
Duplicité
Trahison
Allies
Prévisible
Décevant
Pêche
Migration
Crise transatlantique

Irlande du Nord
Balle dans leur camp

REGION / PARTENAIRES

Indopacifique
Asie Pacifique
Nouvelle-Zélande
Inde
Chine
Japon
Corée du Sud
Malaisie
Singapour
Indonésie
Vietnam

UNION EUROPEENNE

Stratégie de l'Indo Pacifique
Recalibration avec l'Australie
Libre échange
Valeurs
Allemagne
Conseil
Commission
Parlement
Russie
Stratégie Indo Pacifique de l'UE
Europe de la défense
Souveraineté européenne
Chine
Modèle alternatif / Troisième voie
Multilatéralisme
Livre blanc
Sommet Indo Pacifique
Boussole stratégique
OTAN
UE ignorée

OTAN

Article 5
Concept stratégique
Indo Pacifique
Sécurité collective
Pilier européen

Appendix 3 – Interview data

Data inclusion parameters

Interviewees were selected for contact based on expertise e.g. AUKUS remit within government or cooperation between two or more of four states.

Interviewees were reached through extant networks and snowballing, as well as by researching official website biographies, as well as Twitter and LinkedIn profiles. Interviewees were approached for interview, formally, through email.

At later stages, interviewees were approached for interview to balance the range of voices represented, with reference to country and sector expertise, as well as EDI considerations. However, bias was not a significant factor for data selection, given the project sought to uncover the (biased) individual and contextual viewpoints of participants.

Interviews were conducted online by the authors, or a research assistant, in French or English.

Number of interview participants by professional field / expertise

Field / expertise			
Policy¹	NGOs²	Media³	Academia
24	9	3	7

Total interviewees: 37 (multiple interviewees possessed expertise across sectors and countries).

Ethics

Ethical approval for this project was gained from the Australian National University. Interviewees received a Participant Information Sheet, with detailed guidance of the process and their rights to anonymity, as well as information on the project, researchers, and data processing. Even where permission to cite interviewees by name has been granted, we have opted to retain participants' anonymity, due to the ongoing sensitivity of AUKUS.

¹ Policy maker, diplomat, elected representative, practitioner, civil servant, policy advisor etc.

² Think tanks and (international) non-governmental organisations.

³ Journalists across TV, newspapers, online.

Interview questions

Interview questions were broadly asked of all participants, with tailored questions and follow ups designed to uncover and elaborate on specific areas of expertise.

1. How would you define Frances's relationship with the Anglosphere both today and historically?
2. Do you think France and the Anglosphere share common values and goals?
3. How were the members of AUKUS decided? Why was France not included in AUKUS?
4. What underpins the alliance, binding these states together, to the exclusion of others?
5. Why was AUKUS created? What would you say is the main priority of AUKUS?
6. How do you envision the future of the relationship between France and the Anglosphere following the diplomatic crisis that occurred following the announcement of AUKUS?
7. Focusing on AUKUS, what progress has been achieved since its announcement and what will the alliance look like?
8. What does AUKUS mean for other multilateral groups such as the Quad or the Five Power Defence Arrangements?
9. What is your overall assessment of the UK-Australia relationship at this moment in time?
10. Has Brexit had an impact on the idea of the Anglosphere or development of AUKUS?
11. What is your understanding of the UK's Global Britain discourse and strategy? (and has it had an impact?)