

in itself, and for the most part, this network takes Samsø's success as a given. The network does, however, provide access to one debate surrounding Samsø, which played out in *The Scientific American*. In 2010, the journal published a long, uncritical article about Samsø. The first comment below the article links to a 2007 article in *The Australian Business Review* named "When the wind doesn't blow, power doesn't flow even in Denmark". The comment sparks a long debate of more than fifty comments with several participants arguing for and against Samsø's accomplishment, concluding with this last comment: "Well, I see that this article hasn't received the warmest of receptions, but at least the Danes are actually trying things." Quite a step down for "the world's most inspiring renewable energy-powered island", as formulated in another article located through the network visualization (Ecowatch 2014). Such contestations are, however, rare, and Samsø's movements in the US- and climate change-dominated media zone appear to continue undisturbed. The network provides access to articles from the early 00's as well as to articles and blog posts from last week. Not only is the view of Samsø's accomplishments predominantly positive, but Samsø is still considered relevant by its spectators.

Although these three maps and the PowerPoint presentation bring different versions of Samsø's networked practices and movements, the RE Island rarely figures as a disputed object. Samsø plays a different role from one context to another: in one network it is evoked as a model community in terms of public participation, in another as an example of carbon neutrality or rural development, and in the Danish context as nothing out of the ordinary. However variable its definition, it seems that across these various contexts Samsø consistently displays feasibility, demonstrating that a more sustainable society could be within reach.

Conclusion

Throughout the analysis I have attempted to illuminate how Denmark's Renewable Energy Island Samsø has managed to travel 'across scales,

sites, and practices' (Wahlberg 2022) and traverse multiple zones, geographic as well as thematic, on and off the Web, to become the successful demonstration island it has become. Combining a Web-based quali-quantitative approach with ethnographic fieldwork has allowed for a flexible investigation of the heterogeneous ways in which demonstration projects can gain influence through networking practices and assert themselves as 'success stories' for diverse audiences to learn from and invest in. This assemblage ethnographic approach has made Samsø's network activities and politics visible. While the online issue network mapping gives a sense of different zones of influence, the examples from the field, especially the PowerPoint presentation, allow for an appreciation of the importance of contextuality and the manipulability of the reality the spokespeople of the demonstration project wish to convey. Together they bring to the fore the fact that which type of network is the salient form of organization for Samsø depends on time and place, and I have argued that this variability – 'Samsø's' ability to circulate network-specific versions of itself, adjusted to specific sites – is one of its strengths as a demonstration project.

The various networking practices that Samsø engages in display their own politics. The US-dominated media network in figure 4 displays a politics of issuefication (Marres and Rogers 2005), turning Samsø into a counterargument to be mobilized against climate skeptics. The director's handmade map of the world shows Samsø's conscious strategy of diversification, of adjusting to different contexts to make itself relevant world-wide. Samsø's organizational network, displaying an EU and a Danish cluster, demonstrates Samsø's profile as an example to be followed, learned from, collaborated with; but at the same time as just another place in Denmark. The PowerPoint presentation, lastly, turned witnesses into network participants through its manipulating moves.

Being a Renewable Energy Island created to produce similar effects in other places takes work. Becoming energy self-sufficient by investing in wind turbines and building district heating plants, creating citizen groups and arranging public meetings is just the first step, the foundation of the net-work that follows. During fieldwork, I frequently encountered

'networks' in conversation, presentations and practice. Networking, understood as "practices that circulate information, people and things" (Marres and Rogers 2008: 253), offers a way to modify size and escape the boundaries of place, create zones of relevance and change horizons. In the field of environmental change, most influential examples and solutions on display are local; they are instances of success limited in scope and scale. International schemes and agreements, as we were recently once again reminded with the 28th COP meeting under the UNFCCC in Dubai, have yet to prove themselves efficient at achieving necessary carbon reductions and putting an end to the fossil economy. While policy makers nationally and internationally struggle to come up with large-scale solutions to tackle a changing climate and a fossil fuel-based world economy, successful examples out there, however small in scale, are mobilized to communicate that sustainability may be doable after all. However mundane, a successful RE Island challenges through its very example the fossil fuel-based economy by suggesting to policy makers and others that *it may be otherwise* (Star 1988), thus carrying with it a radical political potential for change.

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Appendix 2

Samsø organizational network: Starting points for the IssueCrawler

The Energy Academy:

<http://www.energitjenesten.dk/>

<http://energiakademiet.dk/viden/>

www.energiinstitutet.dk

Implement - EU project (and project partners):

<http://peopleandbiogas.com/baggrund/>

<http://www.innovatum.se/>

<http://www.ipark.no/ipark>

<http://www.samsoe.dk/site.aspx?LangRef=1>

<http://www.time.kommune.no/kart/>

<http://www.trollhattanenergi.se/om-oss/>

<http://www.lemvig.dk/>

<http://www.fyrbodal.se/2.52a880561341fd21f7380008686.html>

<http://www.greengascluster.com/>

Night Hawks - EU project:

<http://www.night-hawks.eu/>

<http://www.prioriterre.org/>

<http://www.severnwye.org.uk/>

<http://www.ekodoma.lv/index.php?lang=en>

<http://stratagem.com.cy/partners.html>

<http://www.saena.de/>

<http://www.craca.it/homeEN.aspx?lang=EN>

Smilegov - EU project:

<http://www.sustainableislands.eu/partners.html>

<http://www.dafni.net.gr/en/>

<http://www.gotland.se/>

<http://www.oland.se/olandskommunalforbund/>

<http://www.visitestonia.com/en/holiday-destinations/the-islands/saaremaa-island>

<http://europeansmallislands.com/>

<http://www.itccanarias.org/web/>

<http://www.aream.pt/>

<http://www.cea.org.cy/CEA%20English/Links.html>

<http://www.lca.org.mt/pages/iseMain.asp>

D2D - EU project:

<http://www.wisle.org/people>

<http://www.shetland.gov.uk/>

<http://www.en.aau.dk/>

<http://www.inselundhalligkonferenz.de/>

<http://www.lunduniversity.lu.se/>

<http://www.fryslan.nl/>

<http://www.tudelft.nl/en/business/research-projects/>

<http://www.epea.com/en/content/links>

<http://arkitema.dk/presse/#/>

<http://www.texel.nl/>

<http://www.planenergi.dk/>

<http://www.brk.dk/Sider/Forside.aspx>

<http://www.laesoe.dk/default.asp?PageID=81>

<http://aeroekommune.dk/>

<http://www.danske-smaaoer.dk/links>

Organizations mentioned on the Energy Academy website:

<http://www.ve.dk/vedvarendeenergis-samarbejdsprojekter>

<http://www.ictsd.org/bridges-news/biores/overview>

<http://www.seagency.dk/projects.html>

<http://stateofgreen.com/en>

<http://www.shelburnefarms.org/>

<http://www.ecday.eu/news/>

<http://www.aarhus2017.dk/sponsorer-0>

<http://masdecoracion.latercera.com/>

<http://www.arte.tv/de>

<http://ruab.org/>

Appendix 3

Samsø media network: Starting points for the IssueCrawler

News media links on the Wikipedia.com page "Samsø":

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samsø#Renewable_energy

<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1883373,00.html>

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/07/07/the-island-in-the-wind?currentPage=all>

<http://www.metaefficient.com/renewable-power/danish-island-is-energy-self-sufficient.html>

<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/danish-island-is-energy-self-sufficient/>

Google.com: "Samsø renewable energy island"

<http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/samsø-attempts-100-percent-renewable-power/>

<http://ecowatch.com/2014/05/01/samsø-renewable-energy-island-sustainable-communities/>

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stefanie-penn-spear/samsø-worlds-first-100-re_b_5303237.html

<http://www.go100percent.org/cms/index.php?id=58>

<http://earthtechling.com/2014/09/students-study-renewable-energy-on-denmarks-island-of-samsø/>

<http://www.nextworldtv.com/videos/energy/samsø--the-renewable-energy-island-of-denmark.html>

<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/need-to-know/environment/an-island-without-oil/1328/>

<http://climateheroes.org/support-us/>

<http://www.nationofchange.org/samsø-world-s-first-100-percent-renewable-energy-powered-island-beacon-sustainable-communities-13990>

<http://www.csmonitor.com/Business/The-Bite/2014/0705/Samsø-s-farmers-move-toward-organic-farming-and-away-from-fossil-fuels>

<http://www.wintergreencoop.com/samsø-island/>

<http://www.care2.com/news/member/354341191/3766494>

<http://lawweb.colorado.edu/events/details.jsp?id=5130>

<http://europeupclose.com/article/samsø-island-denmark-living-the-green-dream/>

<http://theenergylibrary.com/node/601>

<http://www.euronews.com/2012/06/05/samsø-where-renewable-energy-rules-the-roost/>

<http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/climate-change/the-little-island-and-its-big-green-victory-1827638.html>

<http://www.occupy.com/article/danish-island-powered-renewables-creating-followers-worldwide>

<http://news.greenmountainpower.com/manual-releases/2014/Montpelier-announces-a-renewable-energy-future?feed=d51ec270-a483-4f6c-a55e-8e5f8e2238c2>

<http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/how-we-think-and-act/small-island-goes-green.html>

<http://www.greenenergytimes.net/2013/12/15/samsø-island-is-100-renewable/>

<http://pennsylvaniafrack.com/2014/09/24/students-study-renewable-energy-on-denmarks-island-of-samsø/>

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/an-ecotopia-for-climate-protection-samsø-island-is-face-of-danish-green-revolution-a-656325.html>

http://mitsloanblog.typepad.com/mit_clean_energy/2011/03/sams%C3%B8-a-renewable-energy-island.html

<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2008/sep/21/renewableenergy.alternativeenergy>

http://www.smartgridnews.com/artman/publish/Technologies_DG_Renewables/Sams---Denmark-s-renewable-energy-island-3775.html

<http://www.justmeans.com/blogs/the-island-of-social-innovation-samsø>

<http://www.norwegian.com/magazine/features/2013/04/is-this-the-most-eco-friendly-island-on-earth>

<http://www.sierraclub.org/sierra/green-life/2014/03/4-worlds-most-sustainable-islands>

<https://www.mum.edu/samsø-worlds-first-100-renewable-energy-powered-island/>

<http://news.coa.edu/2014/10/16/soren-hermansen-of-samsø-energy-academy-to-visit-coa-campus/>

<http://www.workingwaterfront.com/articles/Modern-day-Vikings-meet-Maine-island-delegation-in-Samsø-Island-Denmark/16139>

<http://ecowatch.com/2014/10/23/samsø-island-renewable-energy/>

Google.dk: Danish results ("Samsø vedvarende energi")

<http://denkorteavis.dk/2012/6844/>

<http://politiken.dk/klima/ECE2087817/kaffedrikkeri-har-gjort-samsø-til-verdensberømt-klimaduks/>

<http://www.information.dk/470180>

<http://ing.dk/artikel/ildsjæl-fra-samsø-far-miljøets-nobelpris-99661>

<http://aarhusstift.dk/2014/03/studietur-til-samsø-med-groenkirke/>

<http://www.djoefbladet.dk/blad/2010/21/nyt-job-s-oe-ren-stensgaard.aspx>

<http://www.information.dk/126394>

<http://www.jyllands-posten.dk/protected/premium/erhverv/ECE3508997/samsø-bliver-energi-oe/>

<http://www.csr.dk/sams%C3%B8-har-luft-under-vingerne>

<https://www.realdaniadebat.dk/landbrugsforum/pages/VedvarendemedvindoverSams%C3%B8.aspx>

<http://radikaleaarhus.dk/samsø-har-noget-at-vaere-stolt-af/>

<http://rethinkbusiness.dk/c/blog/pumper-og-cirkulaer-oekonomi-i-samsø-kommune>

<http://www.golf.dk/content/samsø-ser-groent>

<http://www.business.dk/oekonomi/samsø-skal-vaere-groent-mod-elsamfund>