

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005
Doug McAdam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Putting Social Movements in Their Place

*Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the
United States, 2000–2005*

The field of social movement studies has expanded dramatically throughout the past three decades. But as it has done so, its focus has become increasingly narrow and “movement-centric.” When combined with the tendency to select successful struggles for study, the conceptual and methodological conventions of the field conduce to a decidedly Ptolemaic view of social movements: one that exaggerates the frequency and causal significance of movements as a form of politics.

This book reports the results of a comparative study, not of movements, but of twenty communities earmarked for environmentally risky energy projects. In stark contrast to the central thrust of the social movement literature, the authors find that the overall level of emergent opposition to the projects has been very low, and they seek to explain that variation and the impact, if any, it had on the ultimate fate of the proposed projects.

Doug McAdam is Professor of Sociology at Stanford University and the former Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS). He is the author or coauthor of thirteen books and some seventy-five articles in the area of political sociology, with a special emphasis on the study of social movements and revolutions. Among his best-known works are *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*, a new edition of which was published in 1999; *Freedom Summer* (1988), which was awarded the 1990 C. Wright Mills Award and was a finalist for the American Sociological Association's best book prize for 1991; and *Dynamics of Contention* (2001) with Sid Tarrow and Charles Tilly. He is also the author of the forthcoming book, *A Theory of Fields* (with Neil Fligstein). He is a two-time former Fellow of CASBS, a recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (since 2003).

Hilary Schaffer Boudet holds a PhD from the Emmett Interdisciplinary Program in Environment and Resources at Stanford University. Her research interests include the environmental and social impacts associated with energy development and public participation in environmental decision making. Her dissertation focused on the factors and processes that shape community mobilization around proposals for liquefied natural gas facilities. She is currently a postdoctoral scholar at the Stanford University School of Medicine/Stanford Prevention Research Center and a lecturer in the Stanford University Urban Studies Program. She has published in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *Environmental Politics*, *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management*, and *Sociological Forum*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN CONTENTIOUS POLITICS

Editors

- MARK BEISSINGER Princeton University
 JACK A. GOLDSTONE George Mason University
 MICHAEL HANAGAN Vassar College
 DOUG MCADAM Stanford University and Center for Advanced Study
 in the Behavioral Sciences
 SUZANNE STAGGENBORG University of Pittsburgh
 SIDNEY TARROW Cornell University
 CHARLES TILLY (d. 2008) Columbia University
 ELISABETH J. WOOD Yale University
 DEBORAH YASHAR Princeton University

- Ronald Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*
 Javier Auyero, *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State
 Power*
 Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International
 Activism*
 Charles Brockett, *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*
 Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in
 Postcommunist Countries*
 Christian Davenport, *Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression*
 Gerald F. Davis, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer N. Zald, *Social
 Movements and Organization Theory*
 Jack A. Goldstone, editor, *States, Parties, and Social Movements*
 Tamara Kay, *NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism*
 Joseph Luders, *The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change*
 Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*
 Sharon Nepstad, *War Resistance and the Plowshares Movement*
 Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*
 Silvia Pedraza, *Political Disaffection in Cuba's Revolution and Exodus*
 Eduardo Silva, *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*
 Sarah Soule, *Contention and Corporate Social Responsibility*
 Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution*
 Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*
 Ralph Thaxton, Jr., *Catastrophe and Contention in Rural China: Mao's Great
 Leap Forward Famine and the Origins of Righteous Resistance in Da Fo Village*
 Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000*
 Charles Tilly, *Contentious Performances*
 Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*
 Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*
 Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous
 Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*
 Andrew Yeo, *Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Putting Social Movements in Their Place

*Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects
in the United States, 2000–2005*

DOUG MCADAM

Stanford University

HILARY SCHAFFER BOUDET

Stanford University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug McAdam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107650312

© Doug McAdam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

McAdam, Doug.

Putting social movements in their place : explaining opposition to energy projects in the United States, 2000–2005 / Doug McAdam, Hilary Boudet.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in contentious politics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02066-5 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-65031-2 (paperback)

I. Energy development – Environmental aspects – United States. 2. Protest movements – United States. I. Boudet, Hilary, 1979– II. Title.

HD9502.U52M3915 2012

333.790973'090511-dc23

2011036706

ISBN 978-1-107-02066-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-65031-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*For my earliest mentors, Chick Perrow, Mayer Zald, and especially
John McCarthy – Doug*

*For my husband, Julien Boudet, and my parents, Denise and Daniel
Schaffer – Hilary*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page xi</i>
1 From Copernicus to Ptolemy and (Hopefully) Back Again	1
2 Comparing Communities “At Risk” for Mobilization	28
3 Explaining Variation in the Level of Opposition to Energy Projects	54
4 Does Opposition Matter? Mobilization and Project Outcome	98
5 From Not in My Backyard to Not in <i>Anyone’s</i> Backyard: The Emergence of Regional Movements against Liquefied Natural Gas	132
6 Back to the Future: Returning to a Copernican Approach to the Study of Contention	179
<i>Appendix A.</i> Additional Community Data Collected Not Used in Causal and Outcome Condition Scoring	209
<i>Appendix B.</i> Raw Data and Methods for Scoring Causal Conditions	210
<i>Appendix C.</i> Interview Sources by Case	232
<i>Bibliography</i>	241
<i>Index</i>	259

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Over the course of any long-term research project, one invariably collects a host of debts to various individuals who have made contributions to the project along the way. This is our chance to extend our heartfelt thanks to all of these folk. Our biggest debt is to the nearly 250 informants who took time to share their stories and versions of events in their communities with us. In a very real sense, their accounts constitute the empirical foundation upon which this book rests. It is a tribute to our subjects and the time and care they took with their stories that we have as much confidence in this foundation as we do.

We have many academic colleagues to thank as well. The inspiration for the project and the context in which we forged our collaboration was yet another research project. Touched on at various points in the book, the project involved an ambitious interdisciplinary effort to understand the factors that shaped grassroots opposition to water and pipeline projects in the developing world. The linchpin of the project was Ray Levitt, in Stanford's Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering (CEE). But others worked on the project as well, most notably Dick Scott of the Sociology Department and Jenna Davis, also of CEE. We consider ourselves incredibly lucky to have been a part of that collaborative project. Even though we wound up being critical about some methodological aspects of the project, it was the desire to overcome those problems that led directly to our collaboration.

Once it was underway, a host of others aided the project. Pride of place in this regard has to go to the National Science Foundation (SES-0749913), without whose funding support the project would not have been possible. In carrying out the research, we also had the help of a number of talented and dedicated graduate and undergraduate research assistants. No one was more important in this regard than Rachel Gong,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02066-5 - Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy
Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug Mcadam and Hilary Schaffer Boudet

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

who worked full time on the project for some nine months. Several others served shorter stints on the project but were no less committed to the study during their period of involvement. These other research assistants included Sookyung Kim, Griffin Matthew, Erin Olivella-Wright, Beth Siegfried, and Sean Weisberg. Then there were the anonymous reviewers for Cambridge who affirmed the value of the manuscript even as they offered a host of invaluable suggestions for how we might improve the book through revision. They should be able to see the imprint of their many comments and suggestions reflected in the final product.

Finally, we close with two very special thank yous. We are deeply grateful to Sid Tarrow for his close and critical reading of the entire manuscript at an especially formative stage in the book's development. It would be hard to overstate just how much the project benefited from his careful review of that early draft. But no one deserves our thanks more than our friend and colleague Rachel Wright. Rachel joined the project very early on and helped to shape all components of the research strategy. In addition, she was primarily responsible for collecting most of the online data that we used to fashion the "before" profiles of our communities. She also conducted the fieldwork for three of our twenty cases. More than anything, she was a sharp critic, consistent source of inspired research suggestions, and a great pleasure to work with.

Stanford, California

June 2011