

# From Anti-Government to Anti-Science: Why Conservatives Have Turned Against Science

*Naomi Oreskes & Erik M. Conway*

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I n 2020, the world was gripped by a pandemic. In January, a new coronavirus, SARS-CoV-2, was identified in Wuhan, China. By March, it had spread globally, with over 100 million cases and more than 2 million deaths. The World Health Organization declared it a global health emergency. The pandemic exposed the fragility of our global health systems and the urgent need for scientific research and international cooperation. The United States, under the leadership of President Donald Trump, initially downplayed the severity of the virus, leading to a delayed and disorganized response. This chapter explores the political and cultural forces that have shaped the American response to the pandemic, from the initial denial to the current focus on individual freedoms and economic recovery.

Conservative opposition to government intervention in the economy and public health has been a long-standing theme. In the early 2000s, the Bush administration's "No Nukes" executive order and the "War on Terror" policies were seen as examples of executive overreach. The 2017 "Executive Order on Reducing Regulation and Controlling Spending" further signaled a shift towards deregulation. The pandemic provided a stark test of these policies. As the virus spread, many conservatives argued that government actions to control the virus, such as lockdowns and mask mandates, were an infringement on personal liberties. This chapter examines the ideological roots of this opposition and the impact of the pandemic on public opinion and policy.

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70 ... A ... A ... A ...

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T ... H ... R ... R ... D ...

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S ... 94 ... D ... 31 ... R ...

69 ... R ...

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7 T ... D ... O ... T ...

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... 70 ... J ... 2019 ... 54 ... M ... 2021, ... D ...<sup>11</sup>

T ... R ... I ... R ...

<sup>12</sup>P ... 2021 ... COVID-19 ... R ...

(67 ... 12 ... D ...).<sup>13</sup>D ... 2021, ... T ...

I ... 2010 ... D ...

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<sup>14</sup>A ... 2010, A ... M. M. C. ... R ... E. D ... A ...

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<sup>30</sup>H ... D ... N ... T

<sup>31</sup>H ... R ... K ... <sup>32</sup>

T ... F ... T ... C ... NELA

<sup>33</sup>E ... G ... U.S.S. ... NELA ... D ... P ... I ... O ... <sup>34</sup>

I ... 1930 ... G ... D ... N ... A ... M ... (NAM) ... NELA

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NAM' ... E ... B ... NAM ... ( ... ) ... <sup>35</sup> NAM





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51H/ K. P. -F. C. : I.

52  
C. L. A. K. M.  
T. M.

$^{137}\text{Cs}$  -  $^{137}\text{Ba}$   $\beta^-$  decay.  $G_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$  ground state,  $S_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $A_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $D_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $M_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $F_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $H_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state,  $H_{\text{CS}}$  is the  $^{137}\text{Cs}$   $5/2^+$  state.

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H ... H ...

... 59 E ...

S. S. ... ▲ ... N. D. ...

T. ... 60

B ... G ... 1964, ...

61 O ... A ...

A ... 62

T ... R ... R ... T. G ...

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R ... M ... P ...

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G ... C ... R ... H ... U.S.

B ... B ... R ... U.S.

C ... ( ... ) ...

C ... 73 B ...

74 S ...

1950 ... 1960 ... U.S.

B ... O ... B ...

C ... ( ... ) ... B ... 75 F ... 1990

A ... B ... 2020 , R ...

T ...

F ... I ... A ... C ... 76 C ...

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... F... 1940 ... 1990 ...  
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**B**... S...  
... A...  
... A... P... G... H... T...  
... A... A... R... L... I... T...  
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### authors' note

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B. M. P. B. I. H. G. (2023).

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*D* :

e /ch ic e/a ic e/ a m i g-c i a e- m - e i ca-high igh -f - h-i cc -a e m e - e .

<sup>8</sup> Ke ed ~ U.S.C ce ab . C i a e Cha ge I Ri i g-; La i Pe e ~ Si e Li - i g E m e Wea he E e ? De c ac a d C i a e Cha ge Mi ga i , - 21 (1) (2021): 23 53; a d i F e e , ~ The T Fi e Wea he E e f 2019, - F , Dec m be 20, 2019, h :// . f be .c m / i e / i f e e /2019/12/20/ he- , e- ea he -e e - f-2019.

<sup>9</sup> Pe Re ea ch Ce e , , D A C C (Wa hi g , D.C.: Pe Re ea ch Ce e , 2020), h :// . e e ea ch. g/ i ic /2020/06/25/ e b i ca -d m c a m e-e e -f he -a a -i -c a i . -c ce .

<sup>10</sup> Je i fe Ka e , Je i fe T be , a d Ke da O ge a ~ The Red/B e Di ide i COVID-19 Vacci a i Ra e , -KFF, Se m be 14, 2021, h :// . ff. g/ ic - a ch/ he -ed-b e-di ide-i -c id-19- acci a i - a e .

<sup>11</sup> Ca F a d A ec T ~ G i g Sha e f A e i ca Sa The Pa Ge a COVID-19 Vacci e A ead Ha e , -Pe Re ea ch Ce e , Ma ch 5, 2021, h :// . e e ea ch. g/ cie ce /2021/03/05/g i g- ha e -f- a e i ca - a - he - a - -ge -a-c id-19- acci e - a ead -ha e/#a a i - f-ad - ee i i e- effec - f- cie ce - - cie -b - a i a -diffe e ce -ha e- jide ed- i ce-bef e- he- a d m ic .

<sup>12</sup> A e i ca Acade f A a d Scie ce , A ; Fa Ne a d A de D ga ~ C ege-Ed ca ed Re b i ca M S e i ca f G ba Wa m - i g, - Ga , Ma ch 26, 2015, h :// e .ga .c m / /182159/c ege-ed ca ed - e b i ca - e i ca -g ba - a m i ga ; a d Nic A m , Pa ic S gi , Di i a Tab a i , a d la B - S m i h ~ Scie ce K edge a d A i de ac C e : A Me a - A a i , - 17 (1) (2008): 35 54, h ://d i. g/ 10.1177/0963662506070159.

<sup>13</sup> G ace S a , A he Ki i ge , a d M a B die ~ KFF COVID-19 Vacci e M i : P , e f he U acci a ed, -KFF, J e 11, 2021, h :// . ff. g/c a i . -c id-19/ , di g/ ff-c id-19- acci m i - , e- f- he- acci a ed.

<sup>14</sup> Na m i O e e a d E i M. C a , D : (Ne Y : B m b P b i hi g, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Aa M. McC igh a d Ri e E. D a , ~ A i- Re e i i : The A e i ca C e - a i e M m e ' S cce i U de m i i g C i a e Scie ce a d P ic , - , C , 27(2 3)(2010):100 133, h ://d i. g/10.1177/0263276409356001; a d Aa M. McC igh , Ka he i e De m a , Megha Cha e , a d Th m a Die , ~ The I e ce f P i ca Ide g T i Scie ce, - 10 f 0009 BDC q 20109 , 20

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 . e .c.m / e /b i e /a i c e /2021-11-04/g - . h b a c - m e - a c c i e  
 m a d a e - d e a i - a e .
- 17 F. S. i h' d i c i h e i f i a d e a e b a e g a i , e e A d a S. i h, A  
 C , f a c i i e e d i i (N e Y : A -  
 g . M. K e e P b i h e , 1966), 229 234. F e c e f a i e f b a i g e g a i ,  
 e e A a A d a i a d M a i H e i g , B ' C : ' B  
 D (P i c e , N. J. : P i c e U i e i P e , 2014).
- 18 F. e a e, R i c h a d W h i e, :  
 A (N e Y : W. W. N , 2011); W i a G. R , C :  
 C A (P i c e , N. J. : P i c e U i e i P e ,  
 1999); a d G a G e e, C : A (P i c e ,  
 N. J. : P i c e U i e i P e , 2017).
- 19 E g e e V h \_ W h F i S a i d, 'T h e B e G e m e I T h a W h i c h G e L e a ?'  
 N T h e a , - T h e V h C i a c ( b g), , S e m. be 6, 2017,  
 h.:// . a h i g .c.m / e / h - c i a c / / 2017/09/06/ h  
 - a i d - h e - b e - g e m e - i - h a - h i c h - g e - e a - - h e a .
- 20 O i i R e e a c h C a i \_ S e : W h a h e F a c W e T h i a b . F e e  
 E e i e, - F e b a 11, 1942, b 83, f d e 3, N a i a A c i a i f M a f a c e  
 R e c d, a c c e i m. be 1411, H a g e M e m a d L i b a , W i g , D e a a e.
- 21 A c c d i g e e i a e, e i e e h a d A e i c a e i 1900 a i e d  
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 A : C , D , A  
 (C a b i d g e, M a : H a a d U i e i P e , 2004), 3. S e e a J e f f e H e g e ,  
 - A e i c a L a b a d W i g - C a H i , 1900 1945, -  
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 9780199329175.013.330.
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 E e i e a d h e R e i e i f h e A e i c a W E h i c - (P h D d i . , H a a d U i e  
 e i , 2022), c h a . 5.
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 . e a g a f d a i . g/ a d - e a g a / e a g a - e - e e c h e / i a g a - a d d e - 2.
- 24 S i i a M b i i a i a a e i b e e e e i g i . g a i a i a d e c a b i e  
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 A B (N e Y :  
 B m. b P b i h i g, 2023); K e i K e e, : C A -  
 C A (N e Y : B a i c B , 2016); a d J a e M c K a , C -  
 a d i g f C a i a i m. : C h i a C a i a i a d h e I d e g i c a R f h e C e -

a ic a c h a e cie ce, eeR bi Ve d a , A d e S a , a dRa d hHa a-  
DeLa ~ C h a e Cha ge a d Re igi A Re ie f E i i g Re ea ch,-  
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C C (Oa a d: The U i e i f Ca if ia P e , 2019).

<sup>25</sup> Da id E. N e, A :

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e 'Fee E e i e Rhe ica I eg a i P aga dai , 1937  
1939, - 11 (3) (2010): 380,

W. A. C. & S. H. T. A. S.

in,

26 (2) (2014): 103-116,





<sup>73</sup> Ch i M e , (Ne Y :Ba icB , 2005).

<sup>74</sup> O e e a dC a , D ,e ecia di c i i cha e f .

<sup>75</sup> See, f e a e,~ Big Ba g,-A e i Ge e i ,h ://a e i ge e i . g/big -ba g.

<sup>76</sup> See, f e a e, heca eagai Michae Ma a d heU i e i fVi gi ia. Michae Ha e ~ B ea i g: C i a e Cha ge Scie i Michae Ma (a d Scie i c I i ) Wi i Vi gi ia FOIA Ca e,-The E a i :U i fC ce ed Scie i ,Se e be 17, 2022, h ://b g. c a. g/ ichae-ha e /b ea i g-c i a e-cha ge- cie i Michae a -a d- cie i c-i i - i - i - i gi ia-f ia-ca e. Ma c i e be i ed i a defa ai i agai he a e, a i-eg a C e i i e E - e i e I i e. M . C l ' S i i , E , ' I , S i i , 2012 CA 0082 9.27 506.2471 T (-)TET(e -US)/

