

DISBELIEF

by Damian Fozard

Audiobook Handout

Diagrams and appendices referenced in the audio edition

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About This Handout

The audio edition of Disbelief follows the print edition from the Preface through the Epilogue. Three diagrams and the appendices cannot be read aloud, so they are collected here. Where the narrator refers to the Audiobook Handout, the relevant diagram or appendix is on the pages that follow.

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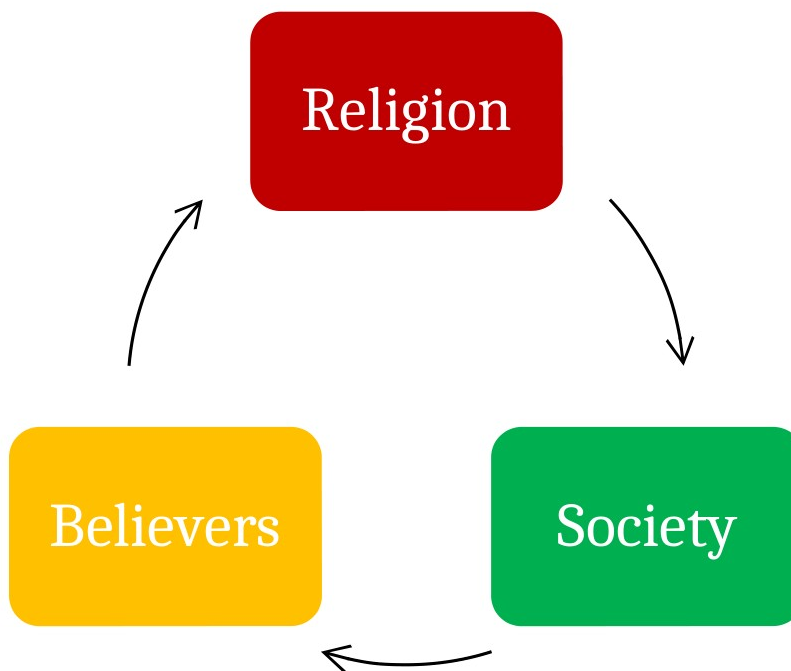
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Bibliography

DIAGRAMS

Diagram 1 — The Belief Trade Triangle

Chapter 8, The Belief Quotient — section “Belief Trade Triangle”

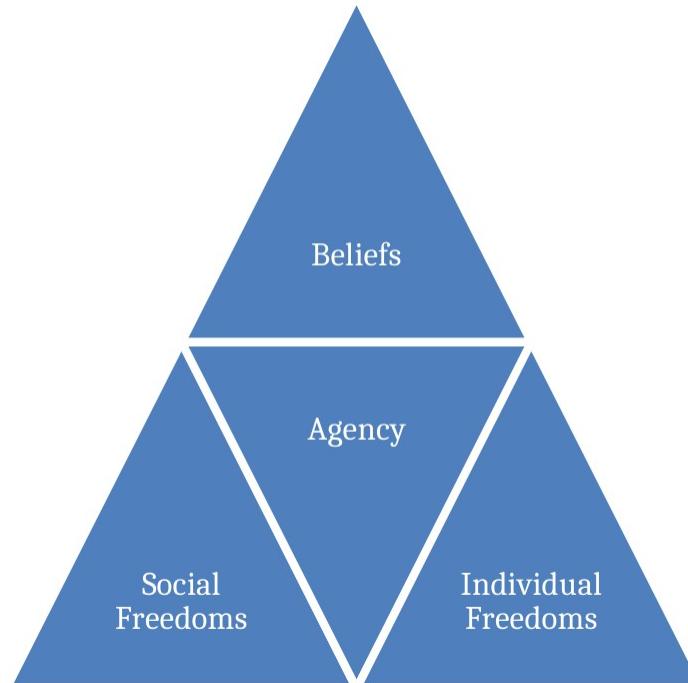


From the book:

“Consider the dynamic that exists among the religion, the individual believer, and society. For the belief to maintain tangible worth, the relationships among all three must be in some way mutually beneficial and sustaining. Also, these relationships change over time, and as they do, the apex of the belief system, the religion, either increases or decreases in power and influence.”

Diagram 2 — Beliefs, Agency, and Freedoms

Chapter 10, Agency and the Boundaries of Individual Will — Nicole Beauregard's model of agency

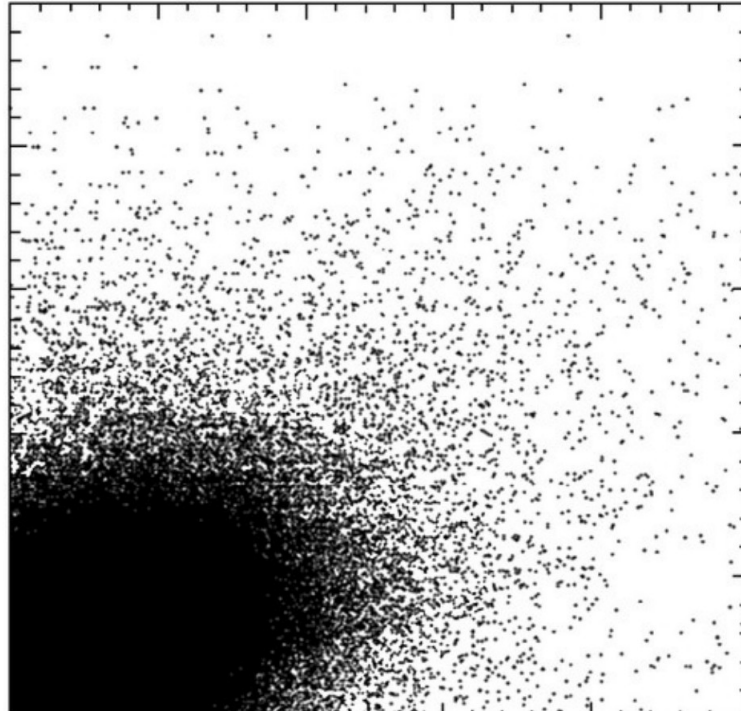


From the book:

“The executive coach and leadership expert Nicole Beauregard uses a model to illustrate why changing our behaviours or agency is so difficult. Agency, or our willingness and ability to act, is constrained by three factors: societal freedoms (laws, peer pressure), individual freedoms (personal consequences and abilities to act), and beliefs.”

Diagram 3 — Figure 11.1: Scatter Diagram of Beliefs about Superior Intelligence beyond Humanity

Chapter 11, Equality of Belief

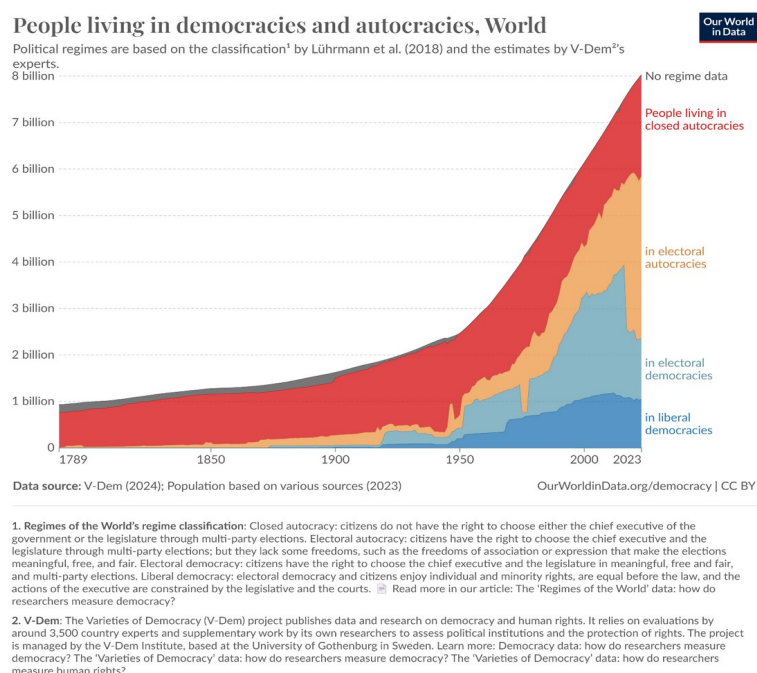


From the book:

“Consider if we were to ask everyone on the planet whether there are superintelligent, or even supernatural, beings in or beyond our universe. We have no evidence to prove or disprove the answer, so we are asking for an imaginary representation of the answers to this question ... The graph suggests that most people would answer that there is intelligence in or beyond the universe superior to humans; however, that is not what the graph represents.”

APPENDICES

Appendix A — Agency in the World in 2023



Freedom and the Book Disbelief

Throughout the writing of this book, it is assumed that the reader enjoys a certain level of freedom and agency similar to those I have enjoyed in my lifetime. As I wrote *Disbelief*, I realized that the ideas expressed in a book that tackles fundamental beliefs and challenges authority might be dangerous and even life-threatening for some. Using data from V-DEM institute¹, which monitors a long list of factors in countries around the globe to assess each freedom in each country (a list of factors are included at the end of this appendix) and excellent research by Bastian Herre, Lucas Rodés-Guirao and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina² for the Our World in Data Project, I discovered a global pattern where individuals are losing the freedoms of democracy, laws, and free speech.

¹ In this chapter, to frame the two main arguments of the book—namely, that disbelief must be taken as seriously as belief and that each must be granted dominion over distinct, nonoverlapping domains—I take up the question that Richard Dawkins opts *not* to pursue in his classic *The God Delusion*, that is, whether one can “argue for a sort of anti-Pascal wager.” Dawkins, *God Delusion*, 131.

² Maia Neto, “Blaise Pascal,” 353.

The Drift Toward Autocracy: Power, Belief, and the Fragile Illusion of Democracy

For all faith that we place in the power of elections to deliver and protect freedom, the reality is that democracy is a precarious experiment—one that has always existed in tension with the far older and more primal structures of power. Today, electoral autocracies account for the governance of 3.5 billion people, roughly 45 percent of the global population. Russia, Turkey, and Venezuela serve as case studies in the illusion of electoral choice, where the mechanisms of democracy remain intact, but their function has been thoroughly hollowed out. Even India, long celebrated as the world's largest democracy, crossed the threshold into electoral autocracy in 2019, a testament to how easily populist nationalism can erode institutional safeguards.

The next rung down this ladder of regression is the closed autocracy—a system in which elections are not just manipulated but rendered completely meaningless. Over the past decade, the number of such regimes has risen from 25 to 30. Meanwhile, even in Europe, the supposed cradle of liberal democracy, the tide is turning. As of 2021, an estimated 20 percent of European nations—including Hungary, Greece, Poland, and Croatia—were actively backsliding, their governments methodically stripping away democratic norms under the guise of national security, economic stability, or cultural preservation.

The Machinery of Autocracy

How does this transformation happen? What drives a nation from the rhetoric of liberty to the reality of oppression? The most overt method remains the coup—a sudden, decisive action that seizes power by force. In 2021 alone, five nations underwent coups, and four of them—Chad, Mali, Guinea, and Myanmar—descended into closed autocracies. In other cases, the shift was subtler, driven not by tanks in the streets but by the slow, methodical capture of institutions. Nigeria, Tunisia, and El Salvador, for example, maintained the outward appearance of democracy while consolidating power in the hands of strongmen.

Even among nations that did not fall into outright autocracy, the erosion of democracy was evident. Austria, Portugal, Ghana, and Trinidad and Tobago found themselves downgraded from liberal democracies to mere electoral democracies—a distinction that, while seemingly technical, carries profound consequences. The difference lies in the transparency of laws, the independence of the judiciary, and the ability of the press to function without fear of reprisal. These were nations where the mechanics of democracy still operated, but the underlying trust and balance that made them meaningful had begun to fray.

Not every movement was in decline, however. Both Armenia and Bolivia, defying the broader trend, managed to reverse course and reclaim democratic governance. Their cases illustrate that while the path to autocracy is often a one-way street, there are occasional exits—though they require immense political will and, more often than not, a crisis severe enough to force a reckoning.

The Polarization Engine

If there is a single force accelerating this global shift, it is polarization. It is not war, economic collapse, or external threats that most often lead to democratic decline but the fracturing of a society into irreconcilable factions. Since 1950, half of all deeply polarized nations—26 out of 52—have seen their democracies downgraded or dismantled entirely. The logic is simple: when a

society becomes so divided that it no longer operates under a shared reality, democracy ceases to function. Elections become less about governance and more about existential battles between two camps, convinced that the other represents an existential threat.

And nothing fuels this divide more effectively than misinformation. In an age where narratives are crafted and disseminated with surgical precision, the very concept of truth has become negotiable. Democratic institutions rely on an informed electorate, but when belief supersedes fact, institutions lose their authority. When faith in democracy itself is eroded—when voters no longer trust the process, the courts, or the press—the autocrat no longer needs to seize power. The people will hand it to him willingly.

The question, then, is not whether the drift toward autocracy will continue. That much is already in motion. The question is whether societies will realize, before it is too late, that democracy is not an inevitable state of governance but a fragile, fleeting condition—one that requires constant vigilance to maintain.

Appendix B — List of Democratic Factors & Source

Access to justice for men - Regimes of the World
 Access to justice for women - Regimes of the World
 Age of democracy - Boix et al.
 Age of democracy - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 Age of democracy - Polity
 Age of electoral democracy - Regimes of the World
 Age of electoral democracy - Lexical Index
 Age of liberal democracy - Regimes of the World
 Age of polyarchy - Lexical Index
 Basic state functions score - BTI
 Child mortality rate vs. electoral democracy
 Citizen satisfaction with democracy
 Citizen support for democracy
 Civil liberties index - EIU
 Civil liberties rating - Freedom House
 Civil liberties score - Freedom House
 Civil rights score - BTI
 Civil society participation index - VDem
 Common good justifications score - VDem
 Competitive elections - Lexical Index
 Competitiveness of executive recruitment score - Polity
 Competitiveness of political participation score - Polity
 Constraints on the executive score - Polity
 Countries that are democracies and autocracies - Regimes of the World
 Countries that are democracies and autocracies - Regimes of the World, including ambiguous - Regimes
 Countries that are democracies and autocracies - Lexical Index
 Countries that are democracies and autocracies - BTI
 Countries that are democracies and non-democracies - Boix et al.
 Countries that are democracies and non-democracies - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 Countries that are democracies and non-democracies - Freedom House
 Countries that are democracies and non-democracies - Polity
 Countries that are democracies and non-democracies - EIU
 Countries that are democratizing and autocratizing - Episodes of Regime Transformation
 Countries that are democratizing and autocratizing - Episodes of Regime Transformation, within - Regimes
 Countries that are long-standing democracies - Boix et al.
 Countries that are long-standing democracies - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 Countries that are long-standing democracies - Polity
 Countries that are long-standing electoral democracies - Regimes of the World
 Countries that are long-standing electoral democracies - Lexical Index
 Countries that are long-standing liberal democracies - Regimes of the World
 Countries that are long-standing polyarchies - Lexical Index
 Countries with universal right to vote
 Deliberative democracy index - VDem
 Deliberative democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Deliberative political institutions index - VDem
 Democracy index - Polity
 Democracy index - Polity, weighted by population
 Democracy index - EIU
 Democracy index - EIU, weighted by population

Democracy index by source
 Democratic culture index - EIU
 Democratic electoral institutions - Freedom House
 Democratic features - BTI
 Democratic features - BTI, weighted by population
 Direct popular voting index - VDem
 Distribution of deliberative democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Distribution of deliberative democracy index - VDem
 Distribution of democracy index - Polity, weighted by population
 Distribution of democracy index - EIU, weighted by population
 Distribution of democracy index - EIU
 Distribution of democracy index - Polity
 Distribution of democratic features index - BTI
 Distribution of democratic features index - BTI, weighted by population
 Distribution of egalitarian democracy - VDem, weighted by population
 Distribution of egalitarian democracy index - VDem
 Distribution of electoral democracy index - VDem
 Distribution of electoral democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Distribution of liberal democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Distribution of liberal democracy index - VDem
 Distribution of participatory democracy index - VDem
 Distribution of participatory democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Effective power to govern score - BTI
 Egalitarian democracy index - VDem
 Egalitarian democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Egalitarian political institutions index - VDem
 Elected political leaders index
 Elections for government's chief executive - Lexical Index
 Elections for legislature - Lexical Index
 Electoral democracy - Lexical Index
 Electoral democracy - Regimes of the World
 Electoral democracy index - VDem
 Electoral democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Electoral pluralism index - EIU
 Elite consultations score - VDem
 Engaged society score - VDem
 Equal access to power index - VDem
 Equal resource distribution index - VDem
 Equal rights protection index - VDem
 Free and fair elections-Regimes of the World
 Free and fair elections index - VDem
 Free and fair elections score - BTI
 Free countries and territories - Freedom House
 Freedom of association index - VDem
 Freedom of association score - BTI
 Freedom of expression index - VDem
 Freedom of expression score - BTI
 Functioning government index - EIU
 GDP per capita vs. electoral democracy index
 Government effectiveness vs. liberal democracy
 Human rights index vs. electoral democracy index
 Individual liberties and equality before the law index
 Judicial constraints on the executive index
 Justified political positions score - VDem
 Legislative constraints on the executive index
 Liberal democracy-Regimes of the World
 Liberal democracy index - VDem
 Liberal democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Liberal political institutions - Regimes of the World
 Liberal political institutions index
 Life expectancy vs. liberal democracy index

Meaningful democratic electoral institutions - Regimes of the World
 Men's universal right to vote - Lexical Index
 Multi-party elections - Regimes of the World
 Multi-party elections for government's chief executive - Regimes of the World
 Multi-party elections for legislature - Regimes of the World
 Number of democracies by age - Boix et al.
 Number of democracies by age - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 Number of democracies by age - Polity
 Number of electoral democracies by age - Regimes of the World
 Number of electoral democracies by age - Lexical Index
 Number of liberal democracies by age - Regimes of the World
 Number of polyarchies by age - Lexical Index
 Openness of executive recruitment score - Polity
 Participatory democracy index - VDem, weighted by population
 Participatory democracy index - VDem
 Participatory political institutions index - VDem
 People living in countries with universal right to vote
 People living in democracies and autocracies - Regimes of the World, including ambiguous - Regimes
 People living in democracies and autocracies - Lexical Index
 People living in democracies and autocracies - BTI
 People living in democracies and autocracies - Lexical Index, simplified
 People living in democracies and non-democracies - Boix et al.
 People living in democracies and non-democracies - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 People living in democracies and non-democracies - Freedom House
 People living in democracies and non-democracies - Polity
 People living in democracies and non-democracies - EIU
 People living in democratizing and autocratizing countries - Episodes of Regime Transformation
 People living in democratizing and autocratizing countries - Episodes of Regime Transformation, within - Regimes
 People living in free countries and territories - Freedom House
 People living in long-standing democracies - Boix et al.
 People living in long-standing democracies - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 People living in long-standing democracies - Polity
 People living in long-standing electoral democracies - Regimes of the World
 People living in long-standing electoral democracies - Lexical Index
 People living in long-standing liberal democracies - Regimes of the World
 People living in long-standing polyarchies - Lexical Index
 Political and social integration index - BTI
 Political centralization index
 Political liberties - Lexical Index
 Political opposition - Lexical Index
 Political participation index - BTI
 Political participation index - EIU
 Political regime - Regimes of the World
 Political regime - Boix et al.
 Political regime - Regimes of the World, including ambiguous - Regimes
 Political regime - Boix et al., including women's right to vote
 Political regime - Freedom House, free countries
 Political regime - Freedom House, electoral democracies
 Political regime - Lexical Index
 Political regime - Polity
 Political regime - BTI
 Political regime - EIU
 Political regime - Episodes of Regime Transformation
 Political regime - Episodes of Regime Transformation, within - Regimes
 Political regime classification by source
 Political rights rating - Freedom House
 Political rights score - Freedom House
 Polyarchy - Lexical Index
 Progress towards the implementation of UNCLOS
 Regulation of political participation score - Polity

Respect for counterarguments score - VDem
Rule of law index - BTI
Rule of law index - VDem
Separation of powers score - BTI
Share of adult citizens who have the right to vote
Share of member states in international organizations
Share of people who find political decision-making inclusive and responsive
Share of people who trust their national government
Share of voting rights in international organizations
Stability of democratic institutions index - BTI
Stateness index - BTI
Strong elected local governments index - VDem
Strong elected regional governments index - VDem
Tax revenues vs. electoral democracy index
Transparent laws - Regimes of the World
Trust in government, OECD average
Universal right to vote - Lexical Index
Varieties of democracy - VDem, weighted by population
Varieties of democracy - VDem
Voter turnout of registered voters
Voter turnout of voting-age population
Women's political empowerment index vs. electoral democracy index
Women's universal right to vote - Lexical Index

Appendix C — Table of US Presidential Elections

Year of Election	President	Presidents % of Votes Cast	Opponent	Election Turnout (%)	President % of eligible Voters
<u>1788–89</u>	<u>George Washington</u>	100.00%	<u>No candidate[a]</u> ↓	11.60%	
<u>1792</u>	<u>George Washington</u>	100.00%	<u>No candidate[a]</u> ↓	6.30%	
<u>1796</u>	<u>John Adams</u>	53.45%	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	20.10%	10.74%
<u>1800</u>	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	61.43%	<u>Aaron Burr</u>	32.30%	19.84%
<u>1804</u>	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	72.79%	<u>Charles C. Pinckney</u>	23.80%	17.32%
<u>1808</u>	<u>James Madison</u>	64.74%	<u>Charles C. Pinckney</u>	36.80%	23.82%
<u>1812</u>	<u>James Madison</u>	50.37%	<u>DeWitt Clinton</u>	40.40%	20.35%
<u>1816</u>	<u>James Monroe</u>	68.16%	<u>Rufus King</u>	23.50%	16.02%
<u>1820</u>	<u>James Monroe</u>	80.61%	<u>John Quincy Adams</u>	10.10%	8.14%
<u>1824</u>	<u>John Quincy Adams</u>	30.92%	<u>Andrew Jackson</u>	26.90%	8.32%
<u>1828</u>	<u>Andrew Jackson</u>	55.93%	<u>John Quincy Adams</u>	57.30%	32.05%
<u>1832</u>	<u>Andrew Jackson</u>	54.74%	<u>Henry Clay</u>	57.00%	31.20%
<u>1836</u>	<u>Martin Van Buren</u>	50.79%	<u>William Henry Harrison</u>	56.50%	28.70%
<u>1840</u>	<u>William Henry Harrison</u>	52.87%	<u>Martin Van Buren</u>	80.30%	42.45%

Year of Election	President	Presidents % of Votes Cast	Opponent	Election Turnout (%)	President % of eligible Voters
<u>1844</u>	<u>James K. Polk</u>	49.54%	<u>Henry Clay</u>	79.20%	39.24%
<u>1848</u>	<u>Zachary Taylor</u>	47.28%	<u>Lewis Cass</u>	72.80%	34.42%
<u>1852</u>	<u>Franklin Pierce</u>	50.83%	<u>Winfield Scott</u>	69.50%	35.33%
<u>1856</u>	<u>James Buchanan</u>	45.29%	<u>John C. Frémont</u>	79.40%	35.96%
<u>1860</u>	<u>Abraham Lincoln</u>	39.65%	<u>John C. Breckinridge</u>	81.80%	32.43%
<u>1864</u>	<u>Abraham Lincoln</u>	55.03%	<u>George B. McClellan</u>	76.30%	41.99%
<u>1868</u>	<u>Ulysses S. Grant</u>	52.66%	<u>Horatio Seymour</u>	80.90%	42.60%
<u>1872</u>	<u>Ulysses S. Grant</u>	55.58%	<u>Thomas A. Hendricks</u>	72.10%	40.07%
<u>1876</u>	<u>Rutherford B. Hayes</u>	47.92%	<u>Samuel J. Tilden</u>	82.60%	39.58%
<u>1880</u>	<u>James A. Garfield</u>	48.31%	<u>Winfield Scott Hancock</u>	80.50%	38.89%
<u>1884</u>	<u>Grover Cleveland</u>	48.85%	<u>James G. Blaine</u>	78.20%	38.20%
<u>1888</u>	<u>Benjamin Harrison</u>	47.80%	<u>Grover Cleveland</u>	80.50%	38.48%
<u>1892</u>	<u>Grover Cleveland</u>	46.02%	<u>Benjamin Harrison</u>	75.80%	34.88%
<u>1896</u>	<u>William McKinley</u>	51.02%	<u>William Jennings Bryan</u>	79.60%	40.61%
<u>1900</u>	<u>William McKinley</u>	51.64%	<u>William Jennings Bryan</u>	73.70%	38.06%
<u>1904</u>	<u>Theodore Roosevelt</u>	56.42%	<u>Alton Brooks Parker</u>	65.50%	36.96%
<u>1908</u>	<u>William Howard Taft</u>	51.57%	<u>William Jennings Bryan</u>	65.70%	33.88%

Year of Election	President	Presidents % of Votes Cast	Opponent	Election Turnout (%)	President % of eligible Voters
<u>1912</u>	<u>Woodrow Wilson</u>	41.84%	<u>Theodore Roosevelt</u>	59.00%	24.69%
<u>1916</u>	<u>Woodrow Wilson</u>	49.24%	<u>Charles Evans Hughes</u>	61.80%	30.43%
<u>1920</u>	<u>Warren G. Harding</u>	60.32%	<u>James M. Cox</u>	49.20%	29.68%
<u>1924</u>	<u>Calvin Coolidge</u>	54.04%	<u>John W. Davis</u>	48.90%	26.43%
<u>1928</u>	<u>Herbert Hoover</u>	58.21%	<u>Al Smith</u>	56.90%	33.12%
<u>1932</u>	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u>	57.41%	<u>Herbert Hoover</u>	56.90%	32.67%
<u>1936</u>	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u>	60.80%	<u>Alf Landon</u>	61.00%	37.09%
<u>1940</u>	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u>	54.74%	<u>Wendell Willkie</u>	62.40%	34.16%
<u>1944</u>	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u>	53.39%	<u>Thomas E. Dewey</u>	55.90%	29.85%
<u>1948</u>	<u>Harry S. Truman</u>	49.55%	<u>Thomas E. Dewey</u>	52.20%	25.87%
<u>1952</u>	<u>Dwight D. Eisenhower</u>	55.18%	<u>Adlai Stevenson II</u>	62.30%	34.38%
<u>1956</u>	<u>Dwight D. Eisenhower</u>	57.37%	<u>Adlai Stevenson II</u>	60.20%	34.54%
<u>1960</u>	<u>John F. Kennedy</u>	49.72%	<u>Richard Nixon</u>	63.80%	31.72%
<u>1964</u>	<u>Lyndon B. Johnson</u>	61.05%	<u>Barry Goldwater</u>	62.80%	38.34%
<u>1968</u>	<u>Richard Nixon</u>	43.42%	<u>Hubert Humphrey</u>	62.50%	27.14%
<u>1972</u>	<u>Richard Nixon</u>	60.67%	<u>George McGovern</u>	56.20%	34.10%
<u>1976</u>	<u>Jimmy Carter</u>	50.08%	<u>Gerald Ford</u>	54.80%	27.44%
<u>1980</u>	<u>Ronald Reagan</u>	50.75%	<u>Jimmy Carter</u>	54.20%	27.51%
<u>1984</u>	<u>Ronald Reagan</u>	58.77%	<u>Walter Mondale</u>	55.20%	32.44%

Year of Election	President	Presidents % of Votes Cast	Opponent	Election Turnout (%)	President % of eligible Voters
<u>1988</u>	<u>George H. W. Bush</u>	53.37%	<u>Michael Dukakis</u>	52.80%	28.18%
<u>1992</u>	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	43.01%	<u>George H. W. Bush</u>	58.10%	24.99%
<u>1996</u>	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	49.23%	<u>Bob Dole</u>	51.70%	25.45%
<u>2000</u>	<u>George W. Bush</u>	47.87%	<u>Al Gore</u>	54.20%	25.95%
<u>2004</u>	<u>George W. Bush</u>	50.73%	<u>John Kerry</u>	60.10%	30.49%
<u>2008</u>	<u>Barack Obama</u>	52.93%	<u>John McCain</u>	61.60%	32.60%
<u>2012</u>	<u>Barack Obama</u>	51.06%	<u>Mitt Romney</u>	58.60%	29.92%
<u>2016</u>	<u>Donald Trump</u>	46.09%	<u>Hillary Clinton</u>	60.20%	27.75%
<u>2020</u>	<u>Joe Biden</u>	51.31%	<u>Donald Trump</u>	66.20%	33.97%

Collated by the author from various sources, including Statista, Election Lab-University of Florida and The American Presidency Project, UC Santa Barbara

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