

## Nonbelief Among Ex-Muslims in the United States: A Critical Grounded Theory Study

### Codes

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| 1. [CORE] Fear and deconversion  | 11    | 119        |
| [CLSTR] Fear slowed my deconversion.   | 8     | 32         |
| [CAT] Fears about leaving Islam slowed my deconversion.  | 4     | 7          |
| [IC] I was scared of the consequences of leaving Islam.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I was afraid to question my faith as a kid because I thought I would get in trouble or go to hell.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I used to believe something terrible would happen if I did not practice Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Seeing the backlash of not practicing Islam stalled my atheism.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The unknown of the afterlife pulled me toward faith.  | 2     | 4          |
| [BLK W] As a Muslim, I tried to live my life a certasin way to attain salvation.   | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I think most people pursue religion to attain salvation.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] My fear of going to hell made it hard to explore my doubts.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] When I was questioning, I still had fear of going to hell.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I resisted my deconversion for a time.   | 8     | 25         |
| [IC] For a while, staying Muslim offered me some benefits.   | 1     | 3          |
| [W BLK] As I became more orthodox, the more being Muslim felt like my choice rather than an obligation.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Being Muslim and marrying young allowed me to escape my father's abuse.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Meeting less conservative reverts made me think there was a version of being Muslim I might like.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I fought against my nonbelief before becoming atheist.  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I fought my atheism because I did not see it as a possibility due to lack of exposure to atheism and atheists in my early life. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I used to reason with God to re-instill my faith until my nonbelief solidified.   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] I suppressed the part of me that wanted to question Islam.  | 3     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I was afraid to question my faith as a kid because I thought I would get in trouble or go to hell.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I fought my atheism because I did not see it as a possibility due to lack of exposure to atheism and atheists in my early life. | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I used to repress my anti-Islam sentiments and questions about God.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I tried not to lose my faith.   | 4     | 6          |
| [BLK W] I tried many other religions before identifying as an atheist, but didn't connect with any of them.                            | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I used to reason with God to re-instill my faith until my nonbelief solidified.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I used to repress my anti-Islam sentiments and questions about God.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I hung on to my remaining seed of faith for a long time.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I tried other religions because I really wanted to believe in something.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Sometimes it felt easier to make people happy and try to believe.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My deconversion was a slow and gradual process.   | 5     | 9          |
| [BLK W] The development of my atheism was a gradual process.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Being in a religious community slowed down my journey to atheism and makes my current atheism less extreme.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Renouncing faith was a long and gradual process.  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] My journey toward nonbelief was a long and gradual process.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] My apostasy was a slow process because I needed time to critically question Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I hung on to my remaining seed of faith for a long time.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I hung on to my remaining seed of faith for a long time. (2)   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Realizing Christianity was a farce sent me back to Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] When I was immersed in Muslim community, I'd get indoctrinated again.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] When I was religious, I defended Islam against nonbelievers.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] There was a difference in my religion's beliefs and my personal beliefs.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [M ME] When first exposed to challenges to my belief, I defended Islam.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I am careful about when and how I disclose my nonbelief.   | 8     | 23         |
| [CAT] I am cautious about what I say when discussing (non)religion.                                      | 5     | 10         |
| [IC] I have to hide my thoughts on (non)religion.  | 3     | 3          |
| [M AA] I'm expected to not discuss my nonbelief with other Muslim people.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I can't be as candid as I would like during conversations about religion.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't tend to talk about my nonbelief with religious people.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I have to hold back in my conversations about religion.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] My parents and I avoid certain conversation topics because of my atheism.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I can't be as candid as I would like during conversations about religion.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I hold back parts of my nonbelief when discussing with others.                                      | 2     | 4          |
| [F AA] I tone down my atheism publically in my religious community even though it is implicitly obvious. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] My parents and I avoid certain conversation topics because of my atheism.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I can't be as candid as I would like during conversations about religion.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I don't feel comfortable conveying my whole beliefs with my parents.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I challenge Islamic traditions respectfully with family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I manage my disclosure of atheism in social settings to avoid stress.                              | 4     | 5          |
| [IC] I make efforts to make being a nonbeliever socially easier.   | 3     | 3          |
| [F AA] I tone down my atheism publically in my religious community even though it is implicitly obvious. | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I prefer a nonreligious label than ex-Muslim because it is exhausting to argue about Islam.       | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I conceal my atheist identity from members of my Muslim community.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] To hide, I don't frame my activism as related to being atheism.                                     | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I stay closeted in my activism for ex-muslims because being out is too risky                     | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I am not as public about my atheism, but I do let my political beliefs that contrast Islam known. | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [CAT] I manage the degree of my outness based on context.  | 5     | 8          |
| [IC] I'm unsure about how open to be about my atheism in social settings.                                | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] Meeting Muslim people can be awkward because I do not know how to disclose my atheist identity.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] In social settings, I usually use agnostic due to the stigma attached with atheism.               | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] In some circumstances, I am comfortable disclosing my atheism.                                      | 3     | 4          |
| [LNX MAN] Over time I've grown in my willingness to disclose my atheism.                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I'm comfortable sharing my nonbelief to people I meet.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I feel comfortable disclosing my nonbelief to my friends.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I'm comfortable disclosing my atheist identity to people outside of my Muslim community.        | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It's easier for me to use labels other than atheist or exMuslim.                                    | 2     | 2          |
| [M AA] I prefer a nonreligious label than ex-Muslim because it is exhausting to argue about Islam.       | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] In social settings, I usually use agnostic due to the stigma attached with atheism.               | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I hide my nonbelief from Muslims due to my discomfort.   | 5     | 42         |
| [CAT] I am quiet about my nonbelief because it shames my family.   | 5     | 18         |
| [F AA] The shame of being ExMuslim overshadows my successes in my community.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I hide my atheism to protect my family.   | 4     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I don't tell me parents I'm atheist or ex-muslim because I don't want to add stress to our lives | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have to be quiet about my criticism about Islam sometimes to save face for my family.           | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I've prayed, despite my nonbelief, to uphold my family's social status.                           | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] It would be selfish to come out as exMuslim to my family.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I keep my critiques of Islam quiet  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I have concrete criticisms about Islam that I am discouraged to voice.                            | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have to be quiet about my criticism about Islam sometimes to save face for my family.           | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I sometimes pretend(ed) to be religious.  | 3     | 10         |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [F AA] Even after I realized I'm an atheist, I pretended to practice Islam for several years.                      | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] For a period of time, I pretended that I was religious.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I didn't question before I was an atheist, I just pretended.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I felt the need to hide my nonbelief.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I pretend that I am still religious around my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] When I'm around family, I have to pretend like I believe.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I lie to make my family believe I still practice Islam.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I lie to my family about my partner's religion to make them happy.  | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] I pretend to be a Muslim with my family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Even though we weren't strict, I worried not practicing would upset my mom.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I am uncomfortable being out about nonbelief among Muslims.  | 3     | 9          |
| [IC] I hide my atheism from Muslim community.  | 2     | 3          |
| [F AA] Even though I stopped believing in Islam when I was very young, I had to hide it for a long time to fit in. | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I conceal my atheist identity from members of my Muslim community.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My extended family does not know about my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I preferred others continue to think I was a Muslim even after my belief was gone.                            | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] Even when I didn't believe, I identified as Muslim   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Even after I realized I'm an atheist, I pretended to practice Islam for several years.                      | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] For a period of time, I pretended that I was religious.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I pretend that I am still religious around my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I'm cautious about sharing my atheism with Muslims.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] Meeting Muslim people can be awkward because I do not know how to disclose my atheist identity.             | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I conceal my atheist identity from members of my Muslim community.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I choose to conceal my nonbelief from my Muslim family.  | 5     | 15         |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] I am not comfortable disclosing my atheism to may family.   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I don't tell me parents I'm atheist or ex-muslim because I don't want to add stress to our lives         | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I don't feel comfortable conveying my whole beliefs with my parents.                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I do not discuss my atheism with my family.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There is an air of don't ask don't tell regarding my atheism with my family.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I hide my nonbelief from extended family.   | 2     | 3          |
| [M ME] I conceal my nonreligious identity from extended family members due to the uncertainty of their reaction. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I don't engage in religious conversations with extended family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My extended family does not know about my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It is necessary to hide my atheism from my family.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I don't tell me parents I'm atheist or ex-muslim because I don't want to add stress to our lives         | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My extended family does not know about my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Because I can't tell my family, being ex Muslim is a secret identity.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I lie to make my family believe I still practice Islam.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I lie to my family about my partner's religion to make them happy.                                      | 1     | 2          |
| [CLSTR] It was emotionally hard to leave faith.  | 8     | 22         |
| [CAT] Being an exMuslim can be scary.  | 7     | 12         |
| [IC] I was scared to violate the laws of Islam.  | 1     | 4          |
| [W BLK] As a kid I had extreme fear of not being considered marriageable.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was exposed to scary religious texts very early in life.   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [W BLK] I was preoccupied with fear of going to hell if I made a mistake.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I worried about whether my Muslim community perceived me as a good Muslim girl.                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My perception of my safety informs how I talk about my nonbelief.   | 2     | 3          |
| [MENA MAN] I started exploring religious questions when I was in an safe environment.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I'm willing to talk about my nonbelief in a safe and protected environment.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] If prompted, I will disclose my atheist identity.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] There are risks associated with being open about my critiques of Islam.   | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I stay closeted in my activism for ex-muslims because being out is too risky   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have to be quiet about my criticism about Islam sometimes to save face for my family.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I sometimes have to conceal my ex-Muslim identity due to Islamaphobia at large.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] It is difficult to criticize Islam with other people in the West because of their lack of knoweldge and Islamaphobia. | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] It feels safer to be nonreligious than a Muslim because of Islamophobia.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Being an ExMuslim comes with emotional challenges.   | 6     | 10         |
| [IC] I sometimes miss the comforts of belief.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W AAPI] I sometimes would like an external source to provide reason during challenging times.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I would like for there to be a reason for occurances or knowldge about what's after death, sometimes.               | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was often angry when becoming an exMuslim.  | 4     | 4          |
| [EXM W] Being ex-muslim is an emotional journey with a lot of anger  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Anger was a salient emotion when I was in the process of becoming Ex-Muslim.  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I resent feeling guilty about my choices, like eating pork.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Anger sparked by negative aspects of Islam (e.g., wife beating; slavery) led me to apostatize.                        | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It's tough to constantly pretend.   | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] Faking participation in traditions is the hardest part of being exMuslim for me.                                    | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [WOM ME] It's frustrating to constantly have to fake my identity.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My atheism is sometimes emotionally difficult.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Being ex-muslim is an emotional journey with a lot of anger  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My atheism is only challenging during hard times.   | 1     | 1          |
| 2. [CORE] Values misalignment - update name  | 11    | 131        |
| [CLSTR] Leaving Islam made me more aware of social injustice.  | 7     | 24         |
| [CAT] Being an ex-Muslim allows me to advocate for social justice.   | 5     | 9          |
| [IC] As an ex-Muslim, I try to educate others about marginalization.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] being ex-muslim has helped me to understand marginalization and center those experiences                     | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] With certain political issues, such as sexism and homophobia, I am very vocal.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I reject the way religion influences government and policy.   | 2     | 5          |
| [BLK W] I was put off by the politics within my congregation.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I am fine with religion if it remains a story, but don't like when it influences legislation.             | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I appreciate religious freedom in the US, but worry it's being chipped away.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I have an issue with religion when it infringes on the rights of people.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I see that there has been a rewriting of the history of freedom of religion in the US.                    | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam has made me an advocate for equality.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] being ex-muslim has helped me to understand marginalization and center those experiences                     | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs. | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Leaving Islam helped me see the social marginalization around me.  | 5     | 15         |
| [IC] Being outside Islam gave me a new perspective on people who are marginalized.                                   | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] being ex-muslim has helped me to understand marginalization and center those experiences                     | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Being exposed to people with diverse beliefs and identities helped me realize they all aren't going to hell  | 1     | 1          |



| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] Leaving Islam allowed me to affirm diverse people.  | 4     | 9          |
| [BLK W] My nonbelief allows me to be more accepting of others.   | 1     | 3          |
| [EXM W] being ex-muslim has helped me to understand marginalization and center those experiences                   | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] My nonbelief allows me to be more accepting of people from all religions.                                | 1     | 4          |
| [M AA] Islam instilled in non-accepting views (e.g., anti-LGBT views) that I was able to reject once I apostatize. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam allowed me to affirm diverse sexualities.   | 2     | 2          |
| [M AA] Being a nonbeliever helped me understand my asexuality, from which Islam kept me away.                      | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I questioned my beliefs when asked about the morality of homosexuality.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My doubt informed a critique of systems of inequality in society.   | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] As I became more conscious, I began questioning systems.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I started questioning unethical and systemic issues.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] My values were out of alignment with Islam.  | 10    | 52         |
| [CAT] As a Muslim, I judged other people.  | 5     | 10         |
| [BLK W] I experienced Islam as very judgemental.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Being Muslim made me closed to people who were different from me.   | 2     | 6          |
| [LNX MAN] I only felt comfortable pursuing close friendships with other Muslims.                                   | 1     | 2          |
| [LNX MAN] My religious beliefs prevented me from being open-minded.  | 1     | 3          |
| [W BLK] I became the kind of judgmental Muslim I'd always hated.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam allowed me to reject the judgmental aspects of the faith.                                       | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I stepped away from Islam and also let go of God and the idea that I am being judged or punished           | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Islam instilled in non-accepting views (e.g., anti-LGBT views) that I was able to reject once I apostatize. | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I regret influencing other girls and women to be more orthodox.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I can't relate to religious ways of seeing the world.  | 4     | 5          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] I found the way people were emotionally invested in faith to be confusing.  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I never felt emotionally moved by religious stories and was confused by people who were.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Religious people around me were irrational and emotional about faith, which distanced me from religion further.         | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Muslims around me were not using critical thinking to understand the world.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAP] I felt like critical thinking and questioning religious beliefs were not encouraged.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I can't grasp how religion fuels so much conflict between people.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Muslim extremism influenced my deconversion.   | 4     | 9          |
| [IC] 911 was a catalyst for me to closely examine my religion.   | 2     | 2          |
| [LNX MAN] I felt the need to explore my beliefs after the September 11 attacks.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] The September 11 attacks prompted me to look at the history of my religion.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It was scary for me to be Muslim during and after 911.  | 2     | 2          |
| [LNX MAN] I worried about Islamophobia during the September 11 attacks.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] It was tough to be a Muslim kid during 9-11.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The influence of extremism in Islam is harmful to Muslims.  | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] My parents felt like they couldn't keep up with extremist muslims in our community                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Seeing extremism and censorship of creativity in the name of Islam is disturbing to me.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I saw that Islamic extremism didn't align with Islamic values.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't like how religion is weaponized against people.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] It makes me uncomfortable how religion fuels violence.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] The misuse of religion to condone harm was disappointing.  | 5     | 10         |
| [IC] I reject the use of religion to justify harm.   | 2     | 4          |
| [M AA] Liberal Muslims don't see the real Islam that I see.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [M AA] My anti-Islam views are a result of how Islam impacted by life.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] It disturbs me how religion has been utilized to justify tragedies.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] It doesn't make sense how religion is used to justify the death of people who positively contributed to humankind. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was disappointed by the unethical practices of faith communities.  | 2     | 2          |
| [M ME] I expected Muslim-majority countries to treat their inhabitants better.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPJ] I noticed that there was a lack in transparency regarding donations.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My abusers used Islam to justify their behavior.   | 1     | 4          |
| [W BLK] I was physically abused for not being a good Muslim girl.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] My father used Islam to justify his and other men's abuse toward me and the girls in our family.                      | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] My father weaponized Islam in his physical abuse.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] The oppressive nature of Islam did not fit my values.   | 8     | 18         |
| [IC] I am loud about my opposition to oppressive systems in Islam.  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I am not as public about my atheism, but I do let my political beliefs that contrast Islam known.                      | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] With certain political issues, such as sexism and homophobia, I am very vocal.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I rejected Islam's anti-LGBT stance.   | 3     | 3          |
| [BLK W] I saw that there was a lack of acceptance for queer people in Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Islam instilled in non-accepting views (e.g., anti-LGBT views) that I was able to reject once I apostatize.            | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I questioned my beliefs when asked about the morality of homosexuality.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was angry at oppression in Islam during my deconversion.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] I was angry about the misogyny in Islam and broader culture.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Anger sparked by negative aspects of Islam (e.g., wife beating; slavery) led me to apostatize.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Recognizing injustice in the world made me rethink Islam's role in that injustice.                                       | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] My social justice work allowed me to see Islam from a different angle   | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] noticing and reflecting on gender differences in islam is the main cause of my atheism  | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] With time I started to be more critical of the misogyny and sexism embedded in Islam  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Anger sparked by negative aspects of Islam (e.g., wife beating; slavery) led me to apostatize.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I started questioning unethical and systemic issues.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The way Islam upheld systems of oppression influenced my decision to leave.  | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I was put off by the classism within my congregation.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] When I learned more about the history of islam, specifically slavery, colonization, homophobia, and gender issues this helped me to leave | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] With time I started to be more critical of the misogyny and sexism embedded in Islam  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I have an issue when religious beliefs lead to oppression.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My religion viewed progressive values as culturally inauthentic.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I don't want marginalized people to be harmed because their religion doesn't accept them.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] The mistreatment of women led me away from faith.   | 6     | 55         |
| [CAT] For women in Islam, there is a sexual double standard.  | 2     | 15         |
| [IC] As a woman, I was not allowed to be sexual.  | 1     | 4          |
| [WOM ME] Men are allowed to be sexual but I am not.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Men in Islam are entitled to be sexual whereas I was not as a woman.   | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] My parents want me to avoid sex to protect me from men.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] As a woman, my sexuality was demonized.  | 1     | 3          |
| [WOM ME] My mom believes she'll burn in hell because I'm not practicing modesty.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My mom called me a whore for revealing too much skin.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] The Quran told me I was a horrible person for being a sexual woman.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I am not seen as a sexual being because I was woman.   | 1     | 3          |
| [WOM ME] My dad sees me as asexual because I'm an unmarried woman.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [WOM ME] My father can't imagine that I'm a sexual person because I'm a woman.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My mom projects her own sexual repression onto me.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was denied sexual health education as a Muslim.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] I wasn't allowed to learn about sex or my body.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] It was scary to not be taught about how my body functioned.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was angry at puberty because it meant I'd have to change the way I dressed.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I don't tell my family that I'm a sexual person.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My grandmother was suppressed as a Muslim woman.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I was turned off by the misogyny in Islam.  | 6     | 22         |
| [IC] I was critical of the misogyny in Islam.   | 3     | 6          |
| [BLK W] I was put off by the sexism within Islam.   | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] My coursework in feminism and sociology helped put into perspective how different I was treated because I am female                       | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] With time I started to be more critical of the misogyny and sexism embedded in Islam  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I noticed that many religious practices were gendered.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I saw that men and women were treated differently and held to different standards.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Islam's restrictive position on gender contributed to my nonbelief   | 5     | 9          |
| [BLK W] I disagreed with Islam's stances on gender and sexuality.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Being treated differently because I am female is what pulled me away from the faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] When I learned more about the history of islam, specifically slavery, colonization, homophobia, and gender issues this helped me to leave | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] With time I started to be more critical of the misogyny and sexism embedded in Islam  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I was angry about the misogyny in Islam and broader culture.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] With certain political issues, such as sexism and homophobia, I am very vocal.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I saw that men and women were treated differently and held to different standards.   | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [W AAPI] My former religion held patriarchal principles.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was depressed about my inability to express myself as a Muslim woman.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Misogyny in Islam is at the center of my nonbelief.  | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] noticing and reflecting on gender differences in islam is the main cause of my atheism                              | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Sexism in Islam pushed me towards atheism.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was taught to be subservient to men.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] My husband was my path to heaven not a partner.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I learned the Quran was misinterpreted to oppress women.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I refuse to compromise my career goals for a man.  | 1     | 2          |
| [CAT] My personal experiences being devalued as a woman in Islam led me toward nonbelief.                                   | 5     | 18         |
| [IC] As a girl, I was sexualized by Muslim men.   | 1     | 4          |
| [W BLK] I now see the way Islam sexualizes girls.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was sexualized by men in my mosque.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Islam taught me the sexualization of children was normal.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Preserving my chastity was important to my family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Discovering I was treated differently as a woman in Islam contributed to my nonbelief                                  | 2     | 5          |
| [EXM W] Being treated differently because I am female is what pulled me away from the faith                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] My coursework in feminism and sociology helped put into perspective how different I was treated because I am female | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] noticing and reflecting on gender differences in islam is the main cause of my atheism                              | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I saw that men and women were treated differently and held to different standards.                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I was taught to view men as people with more power.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I find marginalized people leave Islam because of discrimination.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I have seen that personal experiences guide women and LGBTQ people out of Islam but men use science and logic       | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] I think straight men leave Islam because of critica thinking but women leave because of the emotional burden of discrimination | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] It's easier to question the Quran as a women because it does not benefit me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was discriminated against as a woman in Islam   | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] Being treated differently because I am female is what pulled me away from the faith  | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I think straight men leave Islam because of critica thinking but women leave because of the emotional burden of discrimination | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Sexism in Islam pushed me towards atheism.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was depressed about my inability to express myself as a Muslim woman.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was held to different standards as a girl than my brother.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] As a woman, I am erased in Islam, a religion for men.   | 1     | 1          |
| 3. [CORE] Unable to unsee what is seen   | 11    | 159        |
| [CLSTR] Educating myself about Islam made it impossible to believe.  | 9     | 71         |
| [CAT] Educating myself led me away from Islam.   | 4     | 12         |
| [IC] Access to information and knowledge allowed me to question my belief  | 1     | 4          |
| [EXM W] Doing my own research and rereading the Quran helped inform my nonbelief   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Freedom of speech and religion in the US helped me to lose my faith  | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Taking classes on religion and Islam in college helped me think more critically about my own beliefs.                          | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] The intenet helped me establish an ex-Muslim identity  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Education contributed to my atheism.  | 2     | 4          |
| [BLK W] As I became more educated and culturally-aware, I began to question religion more.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Going to school with diverse people and being exposed to objective concepts helped promote atheism                             | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] My coursework in feminism and sociology helped put into perspective how different I was treated because I am female            | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] Taking classes on religion and Islam in college helped me think more critically about my own beliefs.       | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I wanted more knowledge about religion in order to question my faith.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] Doing my own research and rereading the Quran helped inform my nonbelief                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] As I began to have doubts, I became more invested in learning about religion.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I wanted to learn about religion from people outside of my social circle.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I wanted to learn so I could believe only what was explicit in the Quran.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Guilt catalyzed my deconversion.  | 1     | 3          |
| [IC] Guilt about my doubt made me educate myself about Islam.   | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] I learned about Islam to decrease the guilt I felt about not practicing.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I studied Islam in order to assuage my guilt and justify my behaviors.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Rejecting my sexual guilt spurred my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I had a desire to expand my knowledge of the world beyond Islam.  | 7     | 12         |
| [IC] I had a desire to learn from people with different beliefs than mine   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Being exposed to people with diverse beliefs and identities helped me realize they all aren't going to hell | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I wanted to learn about religion from people outside of my social circle.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I value diversity or thought and experience.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Going to school with diverse people and being exposed to objective concepts helped promote atheism          | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I wanted to learn about religion from people outside of my social circle.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Learning new things allowed me to see Islam with a different perspective.                                      | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] learning about islam as an adult helped me to rethink the faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] My social justice work allowed me to see Islam from a different angle                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Questioning Islam led me to learn about other religions, which diluted my faith further.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] As I had doubts, I researched the origins of religion and its purpose in society.                          | 1     | 1          |



| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [IC] My natural curiosity led me to doubt.  | 2     | 2          |
| [LNX MAN] I remember being inquisitive as a kid.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I have always been a curious person, which allowed me to question religion.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My natural curiosity fueled my religious questioning.  | 1     | 2          |
| [CAT] Really studying Islam led me away from religion.  | 5     | 10         |
| [IC] Deepening my knowledge of Islam influenced my deconversion.  | 1     | 3          |
| [EXM W] learning about islam as an adult helped me to rethink the faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Taking classes on religion and Islam in college helped me think more critically about my own beliefs.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] When I learned more about the history of islam, specifically slavery, colonization, homophobia, and gender issues this helped me to leave | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Doing my own independent study of Islam informed my nonbelief.   | 4     | 6          |
| [BLK W] I did some research and came to the conclusion that there wasn't sufficient evidence for a supreme being.                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Doing my own research and rereading the Quran helped inform my nonbelief  | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] learning about islam as an adult helped me to rethink the faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] When I learned more about the history of islam, specifically slavery, colonization, homophobia, and gender issues this helped me to leave | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] My apostasy was a slow process because I needed time to critically question Islam.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began learning about the truth of my religion from online sources.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My curiosity led me to really examine Islam in a secular way.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] The unscientific nature of Islam made me doubt.   | 7     | 34         |
| [IC] I am not able to be Muslim because it is unscientific and lacks evidence.  | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I did some research and came to the conclusion that there wasn't sufficient evidence for a supreme being.                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| referred to the Quran only   |       |            |
| [M ME] My decision to leave Islam is because it lacks evidence, not because of personal reasons.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Religious doctrine's lack of empirical evidence pushed me away.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I don't find religion or Islam to be empirically based.   | 1     | 5          |
| [M ME] Evidence for my former religion was different from empirical evidence.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I found that there was a lack of evidence for religious stories.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My decision to leave Islam is because it lacks evidence, not because of personal reasons.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] The concept of faith didn't have sufficient evidence behind it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] There is a lack of historical evidence to many religious stories I've been exposed to.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I questioned parts of faith without evidence to support them.   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I struggled to accept claims made about religious text that were unverifiable.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] The concept of faith didn't have sufficient evidence behind it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was dissatisfied with the lack of scientific thinking in Islam.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Evidence for my former religion was different from empirical evidence.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Non-scientific and non-rational approaches to faith pushed me away.   | 3     | 3          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Religious people around me were irrational and emotional about faith, which distanced me from religion further.         | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I had to distinguish my emotions tied to my religion from the objective facts.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The absence of evidence contributed to my doubt.  | 3     | 4          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] Science and critica thinking helped my atheism develop   | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] My love of science sparked religious doubts.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My decision to leave Islam is becuase it lacks evidence, not becuase of personal reasons.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief encouraged me to look for evidence in things.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The lack of scientific evidence in Islam made it hard to believe.   | 5     | 8          |
| [BLK W] I think there is a lack of evidence for a higher power.  | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I like evidence and can't rely solely on faith.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My decision to leave Islam is becuase it lacks evidence, not becuase of personal reasons.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Religioius doctrine didn't have empirical evidence, and it required you to simply believe.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] The concept of faith didn't have sufficient evidence behind it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] There is a lack of historical evidence to many religious stories I've been exposed to.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Once I saw religion as a human-made construct, I stopped believing.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I couldn't believe unscientific explanations of the world.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I prefer to interpret the world using a scientific lens.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I'm really curious about the science of existence and afterlife.  | 1     | 3          |
| [CLSTR] Faith-based explanations no longer made sense to me.   | 9     | 29         |
| [CAT] I no longer saw my religion as a universal truth.  | 3     | 11         |
| [IC] I came to believe all religions were talking about the same thing.  | 1     | 4          |
| [MENA MAN] I learned about how the Abrahamic religions built off of each other.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I learned how major religions just borrowed material from each other.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I think all of the major religions are talking about the same entity.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] There might be a creator, but there is no God as portrayed in the major religions.                                  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] I no longer saw god's values as objective truth.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] I began to view God's beliefs as subjective and not necessarily the same as mine.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Just becuase God may have beliefs, that doesn't make them objective.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I see religion as a personal endeavor.  | 3     | 5          |
| [M ME] I viewed beliefs as personal choices rather than predetermined principles.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I realized that religion was constructed by humans.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I view religion as a human endeavor.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I don't discuss religion with others because I think it's very personal.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] My nonbelief is private and personal.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My inability to make sense of faith created doubt.   | 9     | 18         |
| [IC] I found elements of religion confusing and nonsensical.   | 6     | 10         |
| [BLK W] I saw that scientific discoveries countered religious teachings.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I never felt emotionally moved by religious stories and was confused by people who were.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Learning religion and science together was confusing.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I questioned the reality of religious stories.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] The problem of evil made me question the existence of God.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I find it frustrating when prayer is proposed as a solution to an issue.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I noticed that stories in religious texts didn't make sense.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] It doesn't make sense how religion is used to justify the death of people who positively contributed to humankind.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I began questioning the reasoning behind religious beliefs and practices.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I found aspects of my religion to be confusing, which led me to doubt more.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My doubt came from not understanding elements of faith.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [W AAPI] I found aspects of my religion to be confusing, which led me to doubt more.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Other Muslims could not adequately answer my questions about faith.   | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I couldn't get satisfying answers from religious leaders for my questions.   | 1     | 2          |
| [W AAPI] I never got fulfilling answers to my questions about religion.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I noticed discrepancies in religious stories and stances on some issues currently.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Learning the secular origin of religious stories made it clear it was not real.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I was turned off by the hypocrisy I saw among people of faith.   | 7     | 15         |
| [CAT] The love in my faith community was conditional.  | 3     | 3          |
| [BLK W] I experienced a lack of love and unity in my religious community.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I am or was accepted by Muslims as long as didn't challenge their beliefs.  | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] My religious community is chill about my nonbelief partially because I play along their incorrect assumptions.          | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My Muslim social circle accepted me because I believed like them.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] The Muslims around me weren't living their alleged religious values.   | 5     | 12         |
| [IC] I didn't see Muslim countries care for people in line with the religion.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] Even though I lived in a religious country, I saw disparities in quality of life.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I expected Muslim-majority countries to treat their inhabitants better.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was turned off by hypocrisy among Muslims.  | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I can't be in a church with hypocrites.  | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I noticed that religious people were hypocritical.   | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I won't listen to religious people who don't practice what they preach.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I see that religious people pick and choose which scripture to abide by.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Seeing religious people not living their values contributed to my deconversion.   | 2     | 5          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [BLK W] I have had experiences where religious people did not help people in difficult situations.                  | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I have witnessed religious people act in ways that goes against religious principles.                       | 1     | 2          |
| [BLK W] I noticed that many Muslims did not act in accordance to their religious beliefs.                           | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I noticed that religious people were hypocritical.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I experienced abuse and trauma at the hands of family members.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] My exposure to and contact with non-Muslim culture helped my deconversion along.                            | 9     | 28         |
| [CAT] Exposure to non-Muslim people and faiths challenged my belief.  | 2     | 5          |
| [IC] Exposure to other belief systems challenged my faith   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Being exposed to people with diverse beliefs and identities helped me realize they all aren't going to hell | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Questioning Islam led me to learn about other religions, which diluted my faith further.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Meeting diverse people challenged my beliefs   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] Being exposed to people with diverse beliefs and identities helped me realize they all aren't going to hell | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Going to school with diverse people and being exposed to objective concepts helped promote atheism          | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being raised in the West exposed me to nonreligious ideas that pushed me to my apostasy.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Living in the US offered freedom to leave faith.  | 6     | 11         |
| [IC] Being in the US gave me more freedom to quesiton faith.  | 4     | 4          |
| [EXM W] Freedom of speech and religion in the US helped me to lose my faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being raised in the West exposed me to nonreligious ideas that pushed me to my apostasy.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Being a nonbeliever in the US is easier than it would have been in a Muslim-majority country.                | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I appreciate that I can be involved in nonreligious organizations in the US.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I feel free to be an exMuslim in the US.   | 4     | 6          |
| [EXM W] Freedom of speech and religion in the US helped me to lose my faith   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [LNX MAN] I may experience more freedom as a nonbeliever in the US compared to Muslim-majority countries.                | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I see the freedom to believe different things as an American value.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Being a nonbeliever in the US is easier than it would have been in a Muslim-majority country.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I am grateful to live in the US, as I can be more open about my nonbelief than if I lived in the Middle East. | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I had the freedom to question religion, which I wouldn't have experienced in the Middle East.                 | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I feel mostly safe in the US sharing that I'm an ex-Muslim.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My family is more open than most to my nonbelief.  | 3     | 5          |
| [BLK W] It took time for my family to accept my nonbelief.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Some of my family members are open to ideas that challenge Islam.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I had more freedom than most with regard to my practice as a Muslim.  | 1     | 3          |
| [WOM ME] My family did not practice as traditionally as many ME famlies.   | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] My parents were flexible about my adherence to Muslim practices.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Questioning was facilitated by finding non-Muslim spaces.  | 4     | 7          |
| [IC] I had to get away from Muslim culture to stop believing.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] When I left my home, I had the freedom to doubt faith.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] When I stopped being forced to practice Islam, I stopped believing.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The internet gave me access to information about exMuslim identity.   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] The intenet helped me establish an ex-Muslim identity  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] A content creator encouraged that my beliefs have backing to them.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began learning about the truth of my religion from online sources.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Debating and discussing with others helped me understand my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Physical distance from my family makes being an exMuslim easier.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] Religion didn't help when I and others needed it.  | 5     | 16         |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [CAT] I couldn't understand why God never helped when people needed help.                                 | 4     | 9          |
| [IC] I doubted because God never intervened to help me.   | 3     | 3          |
| [LNX MAN] I didn't feel anything when I prayed.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I never felt like God helped me, so I stopped praying.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Following the rules of Islam didn't protect me from sexual assault.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I struggled with how god could let horrible things happen.   | 2     | 6          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't know why an all-knowing God wouldn't stop evil.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't know why God wouldn't intervene to prevent death or suffering.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't understand how a God would allow people to kill each other over religious differences. | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] No God would allow this much suffering to occur under his name.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Racial injustice and police violence shook my faith.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Seeing all the racial violence and death in the world made it impossible to believe.              | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Leaving Islam allowed me to escape religious trauma.  | 2     | 4          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam allowed me to heal.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] Leaving Islam helped me heal from trauma.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Mental health treatment gave me the space to discover what I believed for myself.                 | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My religious trauma made me consider suicide.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Religious trauma hit me hard and I had suicidal ideation because of it                            | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] The abuse I experienced made me suicidal.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Prayer and faith were not adequate to address my troubles.  | 2     | 3          |
| [IC] I was encouraged to use faith to address my mental health, and it didn't work.                       | 1     | 2          |
| [W AAPI] I learned other ways to improve my mental health, that didn't involve religion or God.           | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I was encouraged to pray in order to help my mental health issues.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I find it frustrating when prayer is proposed as a solution to an issue.                       | 1     | 1          |



| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| 4. [CORE] Difficulty maintaining connection in Muslim community   | 11    | 111        |
| [CLSTR] My atheism strained my family.  | 8     | 43         |
| [CAT] Coming out to family was harmful to me.   | 2     | 7          |
| [IC] Coming out to my family was harmful to me.   | 2     | 4          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents about my nonbeliever identity was not worth it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents was traumatic, so I avoid thinking or talking about it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] My parents' reaction to my disclosure was unpleasant and uncomfortable.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My mother had a challenging time accepting that I no longer identify as Muslim.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My family's response to my coming out as exMuslim was harmful.   | 1     | 3          |
| [M AA] After coming out, I am less inclined to disclose my ex-Muslim identity, especially because my family's lack of acknowledgement (silent disapproval). | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents was traumatic, so I avoid thinking or talking about it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] My parents' reaction to my disclosure was unpleasant and uncomfortable.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I was raised with Islam at the center of my life.   | 4     | 12         |
| [IC] I was surrounded by very faithful Muslims.   | 4     | 5          |
| [EXM W] I felt like I was deeply immersed in Islamic culture because my family was so strict  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Being surrounded by people of faith made it challenging for me to feel solid in my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Everyone's faith made it challenging for me to feel solid in my nonbelief in the beginning and delayed my journey towards atheism.                   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Muslim identity is central to a lot of my family's social activities.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My social network and cultural experiences were all associated with religion.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Islam permeated every aspect of my family life.  | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] A seed of doubt was planted for me when my mom couldn't explain questions about science and referred to the Quran only                              | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I felt like I was deeply immersed in Islamic culture because my family was so strict  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [IC] Islam strongly influenced my beliefs early in life.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] Even though I grew up around diverse religions, attending school run by my religious community indoctrinated in specific religious teachings. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Growing up, I saw being Muslim as meaning you have good values and were a good person.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] When I was religious, Islam was the center of my life.  | 1     | 3          |
| [W AAP] Being Muslim was a huge part of my identity and took up a lot of my time.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAP] I was surprised to reflect on how much being Muslim was a part of my life.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAP] My social network and cultural experiences were all associated with religion.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My family does not accept my nonbelief.  | 8     | 24         |
| [IC] My atheism is unwelcome in my family.   | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There are parts of me attached to my atheism that my family do not know about or want to know about   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Even though my beliefs are informed by evidence, my family still disagrees with me.   | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] My nonreligious worldview was seen as a threat to family well-being.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My atheism strained relationships with family.  | 3     | 4          |
| [LNX MAN] My nonbelief generated conflict in my family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My mother had a challenging time accepting that I no longer identify as Muslim.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has negatively impacted my relationship with my mother.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Islam prevents me from having a close relationship with my mom.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My family and I avoid discussing my nonbelief.  | 2     | 5          |
| [F AA] My parents and I avoid certain conversation topics because of my atheism.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There are parts of me attached to my atheism that my family do not know about or want to know about   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There is an air of don't ask don't tell regarding my atheism with my family.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [M ME] I don't engage in religious conversations with extended family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I find it challenging to talk about religion with my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My family is not accepting of my nonbelief.  | 4     | 9          |
| [F AA] There are parts of me attached to my atheism that my family do not know about or want to know about  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There is an air of don't ask don't tell regarding my atheism with my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] After coming out, I am less inclined to disclose my ex-Muslim identity, especially because my family's lack of acknowledgement (silent disapproval). | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents about my nonbeliever identity was not worth it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents was traumatic, so I avoid thinking or talking about it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I have to tell my family I won't engage in their religious practices.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I repeatedly had to justify my nonreligious beliefs to family members.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I repeatedly have to say that I'm no longer Muslim to my parents.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I've talked with my family about my nonbelief, but have not recieved acceptance.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Family didn't support my attempt to adapt Islam to fit my life.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] There are barriers to my engagement with other Muslims.   | 8     | 31         |
| [CAT] I have trouble building meaningful connection with religious people.  | 6     | 11         |
| [IC] I prefer forming connections and community with poeple outside of faith.   | 3     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I can feel connectedness in other ways outside of a faith community or practice   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I find it easier to connect with those who share similar worldviews and values.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Although I'm new to atheism, I feel a sense of community   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It is difficult to connect with Muslims and other religious people because our values are different.   | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] My nonbelief makes it challenging to talk to friends.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] As an ex-muslim I have lost opportunities for belogningnss and community  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] It's challegning to connect with others who hold different beliefs.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [M ME] My nonreligious worldview may have prevented me from developing friendships with religious people.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It's tough for me to connect with people who are still religious.  | 2     | 3          |
| [F AA] I experience some professional downfalls for being an atheist, such as missing out on networking opportunities with other Muslim people. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] It's challenging to connect with others who hold different beliefs.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonreligious worldview may have prevented me from developing friendships with religious people.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I don't really know other exMuslims.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] It is difficult to engage in my culture as an ExMuslim.   | 3     | 6          |
| [IC] Engaging in my cultural community is difficult to do without faith.  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] Culture and religion intersect significantly, and often culture is more important than religion in my community.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It can be hard to bridge my ex-Muslim and cultural identities and communities.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I lose some social and cultural capital as an exMuslim.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] As an ex-muslim I have lost opportunities for belongingness and community   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I experience some professional downfalls for being an atheist, such as missing out on networking opportunities with other Muslim people. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It is a challenge to be exMuslim and still engaged in Muslim community.  | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] There is constant balancing of my ex-Muslim identity that I do not consciously think about daily.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I miss out because Muslim identity is central to a lot of my family's social activities.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My atheism is erroneously conflated with Islamophobia.  | 4     | 12         |
| [IC] I fear critiquing Islam will be perceived as Islamophobia.   | 2     | 5          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim can be harder in academic or liberal circles due to Islamophobia.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim in American is more complicated because it can often be misconstrued by an Islamophobic person.                          | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I sometimes have to conceal my ex-Muslim identity to avoid fueling Islamophobia  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [W BLK] I balance objective criticism of Islam with avoiding and protecting Muslims from Islamophobia.                       | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I want people to allow critique of Islam without Islamophobia like we allow critique of other religions.             | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Islamophobia in the West makes discussions of Islam challenging for me.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim can be harder in academic or liberal circles due to Islamophobia.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] It is difficult to criticize Islam with other people in the West because of their lack of knowledge and Islamophobia. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Sometimes my nonbelief is conflated with Islamophobia.  | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] I believe that Islamophobia is a problematic term because it shuts down dissent                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim can be harder in academic or liberal circles due to Islamophobia.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim in American is more complicated because it can often be misconstrued by an Islamophobic person.       | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I sometimes have to conceal my ex-Muslim identity due to Islamophobia at large.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] It is difficult to criticize Islam with other people in the West because of their lack of knowledge and Islamophobia. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My social locations confuse people.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] Being ex-Muslim is politically confusing because some parts of my identity are demonized by both parties.             | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] The combination of my racial, ethnic, and religious identities confused people.                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] There is a relational risk with being ExMuslim.  | 10    | 37         |
| [CAT] Coming out as exMuslim is relationally risky for me  | 5     | 9          |
| [IC] ExMuslims are impressed by other ExMuslims who come out to their families.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M AA] Coming out to family members about your nonbeliever identity is regarded highly in the Ex-Muslim community.           | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] There was social capital that came with my coming out as ex-Muslim.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] There are barriers to discussing nonbelief with my Muslim family.   | 3     | 5          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I find it challenging, and potentially unsafe, to be a nonbeliever in a Muslim family.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Even though my beliefs are informed by evidence, my family still disagrees with me.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] I find it challenging to talk about religion with my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I don't share my nonbelief because I know Muslims won't understand.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I wish I could share all of myself with my mom.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I feel isolated as an ExMuslim.   | 2     | 5          |
| [IC] I sometimes feel alone as an ex Muslim.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] As an ex-muslim I have lost opportunities for belongingness and community   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Because I am more moderate in my ex-Muslim identity, I feel less connected to the ex-Muslim community.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] My community connection weakened after I became an atheist.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] There is a lack of social support for ExMuslims.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] There's a lack of supports for atheists trying to leave faith   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] My community connection weakened after I became an atheist.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Leaving Islam resulted in losing important relationships in my life.  | 5     | 9          |
| [IC] I expect(ed) to lose my family if I came out as ExMuslim.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I was told my nonbelief would ostracize me from my family.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonreligious worldview was seen as a threat to family well-being.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I lost access to interpersonal relationships in the Muslim community because I'm exMuslim.   | 3     | 6          |
| [BLK W] I lost friendships and a relationship because of my nonbelief.  | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I experience some professional downfalls for being an atheist, such as missing out on networking opportunities with other Muslim people. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] My community connection weakened after I became an atheist.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [LNX MAN] I lost friendships due to my nonbelief.   | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I lost some friendships due to my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] The risks of coming out as Ex Muslim may not be worth it.   | 7     | 14         |
| [IC] Coming out as exMuslim is not worth the cost.  | 3     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I don't tell me parents I'm atheist or ex-muslim because I don't want to add stress to our lives  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents about my nonbeliever identity was not worth it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Not participating in religious practices would cause more harm than it's worth.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I experience discrimination as an atheist.   | 2     | 2          |
| [BLK W] I experience judgement from religious people as an atheist.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I still worry about stigma associated with atheism.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was scared of the consequences of coming out as ExMuslim.  | 4     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I would lose my family if I was not closeted as an atheist  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I had fear about coming out as Ex-Muslim.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonreligious worldview was seen as a threat to family well-being.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Although there's still anxiety when I say I'm atheist, I'm becoming more confident.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] If I had to do it again, I wouldn't come out to my family.   | 1     | 2          |
| [M AA] After coming out, I am less inclined to disclose my ex-Muslim identity, especially because my family's lack of acknowledgement (silent disapproval). | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents about my nonbeliever identity was not worth it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Making waves in my family or community over my nonbelief is not worth it.  | 2     | 2          |
| [M AA] Coming out to my parents about my nonbeliever identity was not worth it.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Not participating in religious practices would cause more harm than it's worth.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Coming out is not worth the risk of judgment from Muslims I know.  | 1     | 1          |
| 5. [CORE] Reimagining the worldview outside limits  | 11    | 159        |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [CLSTR] Atheism freed me from the limits of Islam.   | 10    | 55         |
| [CAT] Atheism freed me from Islam's rules for living.  | 8     | 21         |
| [IC] As an ex-Muslim, I feel a sense of freedom from the expectations of religion.                                   | 6     | 8          |
| [BLK W] I experience more freedom as an atheist.   | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] My nonbelief allows me to think more clearly, without having to worry about religious rules.                 | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I stepped away from Islam and also let go of God and the idea that I am being judged or punished             | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Being a nonbeliever gives me freedom from religious doctrine.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs. | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My atheism has given me agency over my beliefs, which increases my sense of independence.                   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Being an ExMuslim liberated me from indoctrination.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Choosing not to be Muslim is my personal emancipation.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Being a nonbeliever meant I was no longer tied to religious rules.  | 2     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I don't feel the need to live my life according to religious rules.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Being a nonbeliever gives me freedom from religious doctrine.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I viewed beliefs as personal choices rather than predetermined principles.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I no longer measure myself against the expectations of Islam.   | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] As an adult I've learned how to let go of external standards and live by my values                           | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I stepped away from Islam and also let go of God and the idea that I am being judged or punished             | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam allowed me to create my own rules for living.   | 3     | 5          |
| [BLK W] I don't feel the need to live my life according to religious rules.  | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] My nonbelief grants me more freedom with my fashion.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] As an adult I've learned how to let go of external standards and live by my values                           | 1     | 1          |



| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [M AA] Apostasy helped me feel more passionate and true to myself.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I appreciate that my nonbelief allows me to form my own ideologies, rather than following arbitrary rules. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Nonbelief allows me to think outside the box.  | 2     | 2          |
| [BLK W] My atheism allows me to think critically.   | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] My nonbelief allows me to accept that my views could be wrong.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Muslim practices limited how I was able to live my life.  | 5     | 20         |
| [IC] Expectations of my faith limited my ability to participate in certain activities.                            | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] My creative pursuits were sidelined because they were not aligned with the faith                          | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Religious restrictions prohibited me from participating in school activities, such as prom.                | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I missed experiences because of following Muslim tradition.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] I missed opportunities in my effort to please god.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I resented not just being able to be a teenager because of Islam.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I worry about Islam stifling creativity.   | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] My creative pursuits were sidelined because they were not aligned with the faith                          | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] Seeing extremism and censorship of creativity in the name of Islam is disturbing to me.                   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Islamic rules and expectations felt stifling to me.  | 3     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I felt like I was deeply immersed in Islamic culture because my family was so strict                      | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I felt restricted by the rules of Islam growing up.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Religious restrictions prohibited me from participating in school activities, such as prom.                | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Certain religious practices (e.g., eating halal) felt restrictive to me.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The rules for my life as a young person were restrictive.  | 4     | 10         |
| [F AA] I felt restricted by the rules of Islam growing up.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Religious restrictions prohibited me from participating in school activities, such as prom.                | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [F AA] There was pressure at school (religious) to conform.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There was pressure from the community, which led to pressure from my family, to wear a hijab.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I feel like I lacked agency with my religion.  | 1     | 2          |
| [M AA] Certain religious practices (e.g., eating halal) felt restrictive to me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I had more choice about my religious practices before puberty than after puberty.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Islam didn't offer me room to make my own choices.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] So many things were not allowed as a kid that I wasn't able to develop my own identity.                          | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My values are determined by me instead of faith.   | 7     | 14         |
| [IC] Being an atheist allowed me to determine my personal values.  | 4     | 8          |
| [EXM W] As an adult I've learned how to let go of external standards and live by my values                               | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Atheism allowed me to untangle myself from religious guilt and become more free by engaging in critical thinking. | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being a nonbeliever helped me develop beliefs and ideologies that feel true to me.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I appreciate that my nonbelief allows me to form my own ideologies, rather than following arbitrary rules.        | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began to recognize my agency in choosing what I believe.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I viewed beliefs as personal choices rather than predetermined principles.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs.     | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has made me more active in determining what I believe in.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I believe I can be good without god.  | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I can be a good person without religion.   | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I think it's still possible to be a good person without religion.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't view religion as essential for morality.  | 1     | 2          |
| [IC] My nonbelief was informed by a discrepancy between the religion's values and my personal values.                    | 2     | 2          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] As an adult I've learned how to let go of external standards and live by my values                               | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs.     | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I created my own personal worldview.   | 7     | 20         |
| [CAT] I adapted some Muslim practices to fit my current life.  | 5     | 11         |
| [IC] I adapted religious practices to feel congruent.  | 3     | 4          |
| [M ME] I reframed praying as abstracting information about life.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I maintain some religious practices, but I do them for myself.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] For a while I adapted my Islam to fit my values.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I change the intention of religious practices from reward to doing the right thing.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I continue some practices from when I was religious.  | 2     | 3          |
| [M ME] I practice some religious rituals out of habit not belief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I still hold onto a religious practice, because it was a part of my life growing up.                            | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I still maintain religious practices, even though I don't believe in them.                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I work to balance my exMuslim identity with expectations of my Muslim community.                                    | 3     | 4          |
| [F AA] It can be hard to bridge my ex-Muslim and cultural identities and communities.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There is constant balancing of my ex-Muslim identity that I do not consciously think about daily.                 | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I'm expected to not discuss my nonbelief with other Muslim people.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Not participating in religious practices would cause more harm than it's worth.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Leaving Islam allowed me to create my own personal worldview.  | 6     | 9          |
| [IC] Atheism allowed my beliefs to be unrestrained by faith.   | 3     | 6          |
| [F AA] Atheism allowed me to untangle myself from religious guilt and become more free by engaging in critical thinking. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began to recognize my agency in choosing what I believe.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I viewed beliefs as personal choices rather than predetermined principles.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to hold high standards for what I deem to be true.                                | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has allowed me to value equality, and allows me to not have to conform to my religion's beliefs. | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My atheism has given me agency over my beliefs, which increases my sense of independence.                   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I reconstructed my purpose and 'beliefs' outside of Islam.  | 3     | 3          |
| [BLK W] I live my life to improve humankind, not please a higher power.  | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] I may have faith in something, but I don't follow Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I find peace in routines and practices that aren't religiously based.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I have no need for faith in my life.   | 8     | 35         |
| [CAT] I did not want to replace Islam with some other faith.   | 3     | 4          |
| [IC] Experiences of grief destroyed any remaining spirituality.  | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] Experiencing grief made me nonspiritual because I'd never see the person again.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Grief made me pessimistic in general and about spirituality.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Other religions didn't appeal to me either.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I will not take on a new faith for the same reasons I rejected Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Evangelical Christianity scared me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I didn't need religion or god.   | 5     | 7          |
| [IC] The absence of belief in or need for a god drove my atheism.  | 4     | 5          |
| [LNX MAN] I attribute good things to luck or kindness, not God.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Losing faith in God was the initial driving force of apostatizing, rather than being critical of Islam.       | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I don't like having morality determined by an external source.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I didn't feel like I needed the concept of God to be grounded.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I don't need a God to exist for my life to have purpose.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I'm not spiritual even though I think it would be easier to be.   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [WOM ME] I've accepted what I can't know about death.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I don't care to continue any Muslim practices in my current life.                                  | 4     | 6          |
| [IC] I am not interested in continuing practices from Islam in my current life.                          | 3     | 3          |
| [F AA] Maintaining traditions is not important to me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I do not practice anything from my former religion in my day-to-day life.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I no longer practice certain aspects of my former religion.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] When I left the faith, I let go of all aspects of Islam.  | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I stepped away from Islam and also let go of God and the idea that I am being judged or punished | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] When I became atheist I let go of all aspects of being Muslim.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Maintaining traditions is not important to me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I have a lifelong history of questioning faith.  | 4     | 14         |
| [IC] From an early age, I rebelled against Islam.  | 1     | 5          |
| [W BLK] As a kid, I believed but also pushed back against restrictive Islamic rules for my life.         | 1     | 3          |
| [W BLK] As a teen, I rebelled against the restrictive rules of Islam.                                    | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I rebelled when I felt misunderstood.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I never felt particularly drawn to religion.  | 3     | 3          |
| [F AA] I never felt emotionally moved by religious stories and was confused by people who were.          | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I never had a strong attachment to my Muslim identity, which helped me with apostasy.             | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I was never convinced that my former religion was the only correct one.                           | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was skeptical of the idea that Islam or any religion was true.                                    | 2     | 6          |
| [F AA] I never felt emotionally moved by religious stories and was confused by people who were.          | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I feel that religious stories may be altered to serve a specific narrative.                       | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I questioned the reality of religious stories.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I saw contradictions in claims made about religious text.   | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [M ME] I was never convinced that my former religion was the only correct one.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I wasn't convinced that religious text was holy.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I have secular ways of feeling better when things are hard.  | 2     | 4          |
| [IC] I realized I didn't need god to help me when things were hard.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W AAPI] As I was experiencing struggles, I helped myself instead of depending on God.                                       | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I learned other ways to improve my mental health, that didn't involve religion or God.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I use strategies other than faith to feel better.   | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] Sharing my experience through my activist art is cathartic   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I learned other ways to improve my mental health, that didn't involve religion or God.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] My curiosity about faith was stifled by other Muslims.   | 8     | 49         |
| [CAT] I felt pressure to conform as a Muslim.  | 5     | 14         |
| [IC] I experienced an expectation to conform to Muslim values and practices.   | 2     | 4          |
| [F AA] After coming out as an atheist, there is still subtle pressure to conform from my family that is gradually subsiding. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There was pressure at school (religious) to conform.  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There was pressure from the community, which led to pressure from my family, to wear a hijab.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I have felt pressure to go to religious celebrations, despite my nonbelief.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I felt pressure to be Muslim to fit in with my community  | 2     | 4          |
| [F AA] After coming out as an atheist, there is still subtle pressure to conform from my family that is gradually subsiding. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Even though I stopped believing in Islam when I was very young, I had to hide it for a long time to fit in.           | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There was pressure at school (religious) to conform.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I participated in some religious practices (e.g., hijab) because I wanted to be like my sisters.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I have felt pressure to participate in religious traditions or practices.   | 3     | 4          |
| [F AA] There was pressure at school (religious) to conform.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [F AA] There was pressure from the community, which led to pressure from my family, to wear a hijab.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I have felt pressure to go to religious celebrations, despite my nonbelief.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I attend religious services to appease family members.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] In Muslim communities, there is an expectation to conform.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I was indoctrinated to not ask questions and accept things as they are   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There was pressure at school (religious) to conform.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Islam was presented as the only option for my faith.   | 5     | 12         |
| [IC] I was exposed to almost exclusively Muslim teachings and expectations.  | 4     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I felt like I was deeply immersed in Islamic culture because my family was so strict   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Even though I grew up around diverse religions, attending school run by my religious community indoctrinated in specific religious teachings. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My religion represented objective moral beliefs, with no room for disagreement.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Religion was a big part of my life growing up.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was not exposed to atheism as an option for my worldview.   | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I fought my atheism because I did not see it as a possibility due to lack of exposure to atheism and atheists in my early life.               | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I was indoctrinated to think disbelief wasn't even an option.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I was raised with expectations for strict adherence to Islam.   | 3     | 5          |
| [EXM W] I felt like I was deeply immersed in Islamic culture because my family was so strict   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I was indoctrinated to not ask questions and accept things as they are   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] My family was strictly adherent out of fear that they would lose their Pakistani culture in the US   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Although I see my parent's religion as strict and rigid, they don't.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] In my family, I wasn't given a choice to not be Muslim.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I was strongly influenced to be a 'good' Muslim by my sister.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] My Muslim community discourages me from speaking openly about my nonbelief.  | 3     | 9          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [IC] I have been discouraged from speaking publicly about my atheism.   | 3     | 4          |
| [F AA] Even though my family is okay with controversy about Islam, they do not encourage talking publically about it. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have concrete criticisms about Islam that I am discouraged to voice.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I'm expected to not discuss my nonbelief with other Muslim people.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I've been told I should conceal my nonreligious identity.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It is not acceptable in my family or community to be vocal about my nonbelief.                                   | 2     | 3          |
| [M AA] I'm expected to not discuss my nonbelief with other Muslim people.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Disagreeing with authority figures about religion is not socially acceptable.                                  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Disagreeing with my family about religion was considered rude.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My family discourages discussing my nonbelief.   | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] I have concrete criticisms about Islam that I am discouraged to voice.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] There is an air of don't ask don't tell regarding my atheism with my family.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Questioning was not permitted in my faith community.  | 7     | 14         |
| [IC] It was unacceptable for me to critique Islam.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I was indoctrinated to not ask questions and accept things as they are  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have concrete criticisms about Islam that I am discouraged to voice.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] People didn't take my religious doubt seriously.   | 2     | 2          |
| [BLK W] People interpreted my nonbelief as a rebellious act and impermanent.  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I was told to read the Quran to solve my religious doubts, but it didn't.                                   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Questioning was discouraged in my Muslim community.  | 5     | 9          |
| [EXM W] I was indoctrinated to not ask questions and accept things as they are  | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] Even though my family is okay with controversy about Islam, they do not encourage talking publically about it. | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I have concrete criticisms about Islam that I am discouraged to voice.   | 1     | 1          |



| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [F AA] I was indoctrinated to think disbelief wasn't even an option.                          | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I think Muslims are discouraged from criticizing other Muslims.                     | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] Disagreeing with authority figures about religion is not socially acceptable.          | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My religion represented objective moral beliefs, with no room for disagreement.        | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I felt like critical thinking and questioning religious beliefs were not encouraged. | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] The more questions I asked, the less accepting my religious community became.        | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Other Muslims tried to convince me not to leave the faith.                            | 1     | 1          |
| 6. [CORE] Comfort and peace with secularization   | 11    | 92         |
| [CLSTR] I am feeling more grounded in who I am as a person as a nonbeliever.                  | 6     | 19         |
| [IC] Being an atheist made me feel more authentically myself.                                 | 2     | 4          |
| [BLK W] My nonbelief allows me to be the best version of myself.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Apostasy helped me feel more passionate and true to myself.                            | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being a nonbeliever helped me develop beliefs and ideologies that feel true to me.     | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being a nonbeliever helped me understand my asexuality, from which Islam kept me away. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving faith allowed me to lean into my womanhood.                                      | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] Being exMuslim allowed me to be proud of being a woman.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Being exMuslim freed me from suppressing my femininity.                              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] My confidence as an atheist is growing.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W AAPI] Although there's still anxiety when I say I'm atheist, I'm becoming more confident.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] I enjoyed reflecting on the strengths associated with my nonbelief.                  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Nonbelief has given me a sense of personal agency.                                       | 5     | 9          |
| [BLK W] I wanted more authority over what I believed in.                                      | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] As an adult I've learned how to let go of external standards and live by my values    | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Being a nonbeliever helped me develop beliefs and ideologies that feel true to me.     | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [M AA] I appreciate that my nonbelief allows me to form my own ideologies, rather than following arbitrary rules. | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began to recognize my agency in choosing what I believe.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began to view God's beliefs as his own subjective beliefs.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] My nonbelief has made me more active in determining what I believe in.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My atheism has given me agency over my beliefs, which increases my sense of independence.                | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] My atheism has given me confidence in myself, because I don't depend on God.                             | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I discovered so much about myself by leaving Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Self-discovery was a benefit of becoming exMuslim to me.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I am not interested proselytizing for deconversion. [live and let live]                                   | 8     | 18         |
| [CAT] I am not interested in discussing religion with religious people.   | 4     | 5          |
| [IC] I don't find discussing religion with others interesting.  | 3     | 3          |
| [F AA] I do not think or talk much about Islam with others because it is not very significant to me.              | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I tend to disengage when people start talking about their faith.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I don't discuss religion with others because I think it's very personal.                                 | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] It's hard to have a rational conversation with religious people.   | 1     | 2          |
| [MENA MAN] I don't think religious people are able to critically examine their beliefs.                           | 1     | 1          |
| [MENA MAN] It's challenging to discuss nonbelief with Muslims because it's rational as opposed to emotional.      | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I am not invested in changing Islam.  | 2     | 4          |
| [IC] I don't feel a strong urge to critique Islam at this stage of my life.                                       | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] Because I am more moderate in my ex-Muslim identity, I feel less connected to the ex-Muslim community.     | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I do not think or talk much about Islam with others because it is not very significant to me.              | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I'm tired of discussing and thinking about (non)faith.   | 1     | 2          |

| Name   | Files | References |
|--|-------|------------|
| [M ME] I don't want to continue to think about my belief system.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I tend to disengage when people start talking about their faith.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I am not invested in changing the minds of Muslims.  | 5     | 9          |
| [IC] I do not try to deconvert others.   | 3     | 4          |
| [BLK W] I don't feel the need to force my nonbelief onto others, as long as they respect me I will respect them. | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I don't feel the need to justify my nonbelief to others, since I don't like being preached to either.    | 1     | 1          |
| [BLK W] I don't try to convert other people to atheism.  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I don't seek to push my nonbelief onto others.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I'm not interested in changing the minds of Muslims.  | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I don't expect my parents to change and don't fully blame them   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I no longer feel like I need to argue about Islam with anyone or try to change minds of Muslims          | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I challenge Islam but not others' beliefs in it.  | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] I'm not interested in changing Muslims' minds about religion.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I have a balanced perspective on the pros and cons of religion.  | 5     | 13         |
| [CAT] I remain open to the possibility that I'm wrong about belief.  | 2     | 3          |
| [IC] Sometimes I wonder if my nonbelief is right or the truth.   | 1     | 2          |
| [M ME] Although I may have doubts, I stand behind my beliefs.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I sometimes wonder if my beliefs are wrong.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I am agnostic in that I believe I'm too small to understand the universe.                               | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I view elements of my former faith in a positive manner.   | 4     | 7          |
| [IC] I have a fondness for my religious community.   | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] I still feel close to my religious community even after coming out as an atheist.                         | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] I enjoyed quality time with family that practicing Islam afforded me.                                     | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [IC] Parts of being Muslim were valuable and made me feel good.   | 2     | 4          |
| [M AA] I enjoyed quality time with family that practicing Islam afforded me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M AA] Practicing Islam made me feel pure and connected despite my skepticism.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I felt something when I prayed and memorized religious text.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I used to feel something when I prayed.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I have more respect for Islam than other religions.  | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] My nonbelief is not fueled by anger or hurt.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I dislike attaching labels to my belief system.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I think my family's gendered oppression is meant to protect me.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] I have found community among nonreligious people.   | 8     | 31         |
| [CAT] I found supportive nonreligious community as an ex Muslim.  | 6     | 12         |
| [F AA] My engagement with ExMuslim community is about connection and is not political.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I am able to find supportive community outside of faith.   | 2     | 5          |
| [EXM W] communities are a supportive place away from the hate from faithful muslims   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I can feel connectedness in other ways outside of a faith community or practice   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I have observed that social media and youtube helps ex-muslims feel connected and a sense of belonging                        | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] i have seen that ex-muslims like to find other ex-muslims because they want to belong to a community that doesn't reject them | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It is nice to be able to joke about being ex-Muslim with other ex-Muslims without fear of judgment or Islamophobia backlash.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I met non-Muslims who allowed me to explore what I believed.   | 3     | 5          |
| [MENA MAN] Learning about the lived experiences of others helped shape my nonbelief.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] If prompted, I will disclose my atheist identity.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I appreciate knowing an atheist person that opened my mind to my options for (non)faith.                                      | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [W BLK] I have fond memories of a non-Muslim family member letting me express myself.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Meeting people from other faiths helped me discover I didn't believe in Islam.  | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Being accepted by my partner when I came out as ex Muslim helped me accept myself.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I have found community with other Ex-Muslims.   | 4     | 12         |
| [IC] As an ExMuslim, I feel part of a community.  | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] It is exciting and affirming to be in the ex-Muslim community.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Although I'm new to atheism, I feel a sense of community   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] ExMuslim community provides me solidarity.   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] I have observed that social media and youtube helps ex-muslims feel connected and a sense of belonging                        | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] i have seen that ex-muslims like to find other ex-muslims because they want to belong to a community that doesn't reject them | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] A content creator encouraged that my beliefs have backing to them.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I feel connected to other ex-Muslims.  | 3     | 3          |
| [EXM W] communities are a supportive place away from the hate from faithful muslims   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It is exciting and affirming to be in the ex-Muslim community.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W AAPI] Although I'm new to atheism, I feel a sense of community   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] The internet and online community has supported my deconversion.   | 2     | 4          |
| [EXM W] I have observed that social media and youtube helps ex-muslims feel connected and a sense of belonging                        | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] The internet helped me establish an ex-Muslim identity  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] A content creator encouraged that my beliefs have backing to them.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I began learning about the truth of my religion from online sources.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] I support others Muslims who are doubting.  | 3     | 7          |
| [IC] I help others question Islam and deconvert.  | 2     | 3          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [EXM W] I seek opportunities to learn about how to support people struggling with leaving their muslim faith                        | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] I help others question Islam even though I am not public or loud about my atheism.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] While I do not try to convert others, I am always open to question religion with others.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I want others to be able to talk about their doubt with me.  | 2     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I seek opportunities to learn about how to support people struggling with leaving their muslim faith                        | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] While I do not try to convert others, I am always open to question religion with others.                                     | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I hope more Ex-Muslim people experience the freedom to express their views.   | 1     | 1          |
| [LNX MAN] I wanted to give my children the freedom to determine their own beliefs.  | 1     | 1          |
| [CLSTR] Leaving faith brought me joy.   | 5     | 11         |
| [CAT] Atheism makes me happier than I was as a Muslim.  | 2     | 4          |
| [IC] Being Muslim made me unhappy.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] I was doing everything right and was still deeply unhappy.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] Islam is the root of my trauma.   | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Leaving Islam made me happier than being a Muslim.   | 2     | 2          |
| [LNX MAN] I experienced more joy when I dropped the facade of believing.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I'm happier as an atheist than I was as a Muslim.   | 1     | 1          |
| [CAT] Being with other exMuslims brings me joy.   | 3     | 7          |
| [IC] I feel free to be myself around other exMuslims.   | 1     | 2          |
| [F AA] It is exciting and affirming to be in the ex-Muslim community.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It is nice to be able to joke about being ex-Muslim with other ex-Muslims without fear of judgment or Islamaphobia backlash. | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I value being with people with similar values and worldviews.  | 2     | 2          |
| [F AA] It is exciting and affirming to be in the ex-Muslim community.   | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I find it easier to connect with those who share similar worldviews and values.  | 1     | 1          |

| Name  | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| [IC] I value time spent with other exMuslims.   | 2     | 3          |
| [EXM W] i have seen that ex-muslims like to find other ex-mulsims because they want to belong to a community that doesn't reject them | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It is exciting and affirming to be in the ex-Muslim community.   | 1     | 1          |
| [F AA] It is nice to be able to joke about being ex-Muslim with other ex-Muslims without fear of judgment or Islamaphobia backlash.   | 1     | 1          |
| UNSORTED  | 4     | 13         |
| [CAT] My combination of identities is confusing to people.  | 3     | 8          |
| [IC] I didn't fit in in the US because of my race and faith.  | 1     | 2          |
| [EXM W] I experienced racism and xenophobia because I was south asian and Muslim.   | 1     | 1          |
| [EXM W] I felt in between worlds as a south asian and never good enough for American or Muslim culture                                | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I felt different as a Muslim kid.  | 1     | 2          |
| [W BLK] Being a Muslim kid at school was difficult, but I defended myself.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I adapted my religious practice (e.g., hijab) to fit in better with non-Muslims.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] Wearing hijab made me feel othered.  | 1     | 3          |
| [W BLK] Even though I was American, peers saw me as 'foreign' because of my hijab.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] For a while I didn't wear hijab due to discrimination.  | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I didn't feel like a 'normal' kid because I wore hijab.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] At a PWI, I feel like the odd one out as a ME person.  | 1     | 1          |
| [IC] I am somewhat protected from Islamophobia.   | 1     | 2          |
| [WOM ME] I am able to hide because I do not wear hijab.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] Living around other ME people protected me from Islamophobia in the US.  | 1     | 1          |
| [M ME] I don't experience a lot of questions about my nonbelief from friends.   | 1     | 1          |
| [W BLK] I value a connection to the spiritual through my ancestors.   | 1     | 1          |
| [WOM ME] I wonder if my father is testing my faith when he makes jokes about Islam.   | 1     | 1          |

