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Countering the Monogamy-Superiority Myth: A Meta-Analysis of the Differences in Relationship Satisfaction and Sexual Satisfaction as a Function of Relationship Orientation

Joel R. Anderson [a,b], Jordan D. X. Hinton [a,b], Alena Bondarchuk-McLaughlin [a], Scarlet Rosa [c], Kian Jin Tan [a], and Lily Moor [a]

[a]Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society (ARCSHS), La Trobe University; [b]School of Behavioural and Health Sciences, Australian Catholic University; [c]Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

ABSTRACT

Relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction are key predictors of wellbeing and can substantially contribute to quality of life. Assumptions are often made that relationship and sexual satisfaction are heightened for those in monogamous relationship configurations. This meta-analytic review challenges such assumptions by comparing the degree of relationship and sexual satisfaction of monogamous and non-monogamous individuals. A literature search using PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, PsycEXTRA, CINAHL, LGBT+ Source, and SOCIndex, and an additional call for unpublished data, identified 35 suitable studies (N = 24,489). Meta-analytic results show null effects overall, suggesting that both relationships (k = 29; g = -0.05, 95% CIs [−0.20, 0.10], p = .496) and sex (k = 17; g = 0.06, 95% CIs [−0.07, 0.18], p = .393) are equally satisfactory for monogamous and non-monogamous individuals. Sub-group analyses revealed that these overall effects did not vary according to sampling characteristics (e.g. LGBTQ+ vs. heterosexual samples), non-monogamy agreement types (e.g. open vs. polyamorous vs. monogamish), or relationship satisfaction dimension (e.g. trust vs. commitment vs. intimacy). There was no evidence of publication bias. Methodological challenges and directions for future research are discussed.

Romantic and sexual relationships can substantially contribute to higher quality of life for most people (Bookwala, 2005; Lai & Cummins, 2013). However, research on these topics has typically focussed on the experiences of monogamous couples, and has often overlooked alternative relationship orientations, configurations, and structures (Brewster et al., 2017; Scoats & Campbell, 2022). Monogamy is the practice of maintaining a single exclusive emotional and/or sexual relationship (Chambers, 2002), and this practice has been the social norm throughout much of recent Western history. In addition, studies have shown that the majority of people in the West desire this kind of romantic relationship (Fairbrother et al., 2019; Impett et al., 2014; Scoats & Campbell, 2022). One explanation for this trend is the perception that monogamous relationships lead to improved health and wellbeing outcomes, increased relationship satisfaction, stability, and a safe environment for child-rearing (Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2013; Moors et al., 2017). Another theme that arises from the research suggests that much of Western society perceives monogamy as a moral choice, guided by religion and/or sociocultural norms. As such, monogamy is often seen as being "normal," protective, and having other benefits, including that it allows individuals to avoid stigma associated with deviations from mono-normative expectations and allows individuals to live within their moral boundaries (Anderson, Bondarchuk-McLaughlin, et al., 2025; Conley, Moors, et al., 2013). Numerous studies have shown these perceptions to exist within Western communities around the world (Moors et al., 2013).

Research situating the experience of non-monogamous relationships appears far less frequently in the literature (Brewster et al., 2017; Cardoso, Pascoal, et al., 2021), although there has been a relatively recent increase in the number of studies investigating alternative relationship orientations (Barker & Langdridge, 2010; Scoats & Campbell, 2022), and indeed these studies have presented mixed evidence about how similar or dissimilar non-monogamy is to monogamy. Non-monogamy encompasses various relationship orientations, configurations, and/or structures that involve (or allow for) multiple simultaneous romantic or sexual relationships with the consent and knowledge of all parties involved (Rubin et al., 2014; Smith, 2016). This concept is frequently termed consensual or ethical non-monogamy, although interpretations of these terms can vary among individuals and contexts. For individuals in non-monogamous relationships, it can refer to the structure of their relationships or the dynamics of their dating and sexual activities – these relationships may be intimate, emotional, and/or sexual, depending on the agreement and consent of all individuals involved (Balzarini et al., 2019). For individuals, it can signify a sexual or dating identity, an orientation, or a preference regarding their approach to dating

CONTACT Joel R. Anderson joel.anderson@latrobe.edu.au Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society (ARCSHS), La Trobe University, NR6, Melbourne, VIC 3086, Australia

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and sex (Anderson, Bondarchuk-McLaughlin, et al., 2025). Importantly, for any person, a non-monogamous identity or preference may not always match the current relationship status. For instance, a person may identify as non-monogamous but be in a monogamous relationship or be single. Additionally, these structures and practices are dynamic, with relationship models, practices, and individual orientations often evolving over time (Gupta et al., 2023; Rubel & Burleigh, 2020).

There are a range of distinct relationship agreements that fall under the umbrella of non-monogamy (Moors et al., 2017), although it is worth noting that there are a very wide range of terms to describe these relationships that vary between and within cultures. Polyamory, open relationships, swinging, and "monogamish" relationships are some examples of labels used to describe different types of non-monogamous relationships. Polyamory generally relates to the practice of maintaining several loving relationships at one time; they may or may not be sexual in nature (Conley et al., 2018). Additionally, there can be different types of polyamorous configurations, such as hierarchical (whereby individuals have primary and secondary partners) or nonhierarchical (whereby individuals have many partners, and none are considered primary; Balzarini et al., 2019). Open relationships are generally considered to be those in which there is an explicit agreement that partners can have sex outside the relationship (Rubel & Bogaert, 2015). Swinging typically involves partners mutually engaging in extradyadic sex, often in the context of a sex party or a sex-on-site venue (Garner et al., 2019). Similarly to swinging, monogamish refers to those who generally consider themselves to be monogamous, but may agree to engage in particular sexual arrangements, like threesomes, in which all members of the partnership are present (Hosking, 2014; Moors et al., 2017). It is worth noting that these categories can be overlapping (e.g., polyamorous people can also swing, etc.) and transient (people and relationships can [and do] change their agreements, configurations, and orientations), and also that the term "open relationship" is sometimes used as an umbrella term to refer to any form of consensually non-monogamous relationship configuration.

Studies have shown that non-monogamy is a largely misunderstood concept within general society, and it has often been assumed that non-monogamous relationships are inferior to monogamous relationships (Conley et al., 2018; Hutzler et al., 2016). In terms of prevalence, estimates consistently suggest that 5% of (United States-based) adult samples identify as being in non-monogamous relationships (Rubin et al., 2014; Scoats & Campbell, 2022). Of course, relationships and relationship orientations are also fluid across time. Haupert et al. (2017) reported that around 20% of their sample of single citizens of the United States had been in a non-monogamous relationship at some point in their lifetime (see also Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2013). However, the true proportion of non-monogamy relationships is likely to be larger than 5%, given that the disclosure of these relationships is often met with stigma, and they are seen as being non-typical, are largely absent from mainstream media, and are often not recognized in medical or legal institutions. For example, parenting rights are typically established for two adults only (Morrison et al., 2013), which could result in false reports of relationship orientations and configurations.

In addition to this lack of recognition about non-monogamous relationships, those identifying as non-monogamous often experience discrimination (Conley et al., 2018; Cox et al., 2013; Hutzler et al., 2016). Cox et al. (2013) conducted a survey on discrimination and polyamory, finding that 25% of those in polyamorous relationships had experienced prejudice on the basis of their relationship orientation. Experiences of prejudice and minority stress often leads individuals to conceal their identity, which is also known to adversely impact relationship satisfaction and general wellbeing (Hinton et al., 2024). Additionally, research has shown that healthcare practitioners are likely to view non-monogamy as a sign of ill-health or distress (Perel, 2007), and to make mononormative assumptions about their clients' relationships (Anderson, Bondarchuk-McLaughlin, et al., 2025). This further stigmatizes non-monogamy and negatively impacts the therapeutic relationship between a non-monogamous individual and their healthcare provider, which reduces the efficacy of treatment (Graham, 2014; Weitzman, 2006).

Relationship Satisfaction and Sexual Satisfaction

Relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction play a significant role in an individual's wellbeing (Byers, 2005; Schoenfeld et al., 2017). Relationship satisfaction is defined as an individuals' overall happiness with their relationship/s (Garner et al., 2019). Some studies view relationship satisfaction in terms of the overall quality of the relationship, whereas others view relationship satisfaction as being comprised of different facets, such as commitment, intimacy, passion, and trust (Hosking, 2013). Sexual satisfaction is the overall level of pleasure and happiness experienced during and after sexual experiences, and the general perception of satisfaction toward one's sex life and sexual experiences (Conley et al., 2018). Some research suggests that those in monogamous relationships are more satisfied, intimate, committed, passionate, and more trusting of their partners than those in non-monogamous relationships (Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2013). Moreover, monogamous relationships are often perceived as resulting in more frequent and satisfying sex, and in fewer sexual health risks (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013).

This perception – we term the *monogamy-superiority myth* – is a widespread belief commonly held by the general public and perpetuated by stereotypes and media discourse (Cardoso, Rosa, et al., 2021; Klesse, 2018; Vil et al., 2022). However, evidence from recent studies present a less straightforward pattern of findings, challenging this myth. For instance, Wood et al. (2018) conducted a study in which both monogamous and non-monogamous individuals reported on their levels of sexual satisfaction in relation to their current relationship/s. Their findings demonstrated no difference in average levels of sexual satisfaction between the two relationship orientations. Similarly, Parsons et al. (2012) investigated the relationship between relationship configurations and sexual quality in same-sex male couples, finding that sexual quality was equivalent for monogamous and non-monogamous individuals. A study by Conley et al. (2017) found that those in non-monogamous relationships were not

quantitatively different to those in monogamous relationships on a range of variables, including relationship satisfaction, commitment, jealousy, and trust. Finally, a review by Rubel and Bogaert (2015) compared monogamous and non-monogamous individuals on measures of psychological wellbeing and relationship quality, finding that both groups rated similarly across outcomes. Collectively, these results challenge previous research findings and societal perceptions that exist about the benefits of monogamy, with respect to both relationship and sexual satisfaction. A meta-analytic exploration of the available evidence is warranted to explore if there is any validity to the *monogamy-superiority myth.*

The Present Study

Research exploring relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction in monogamous individuals is well-established, whereas the satisfaction experienced by non-monogamous individuals is represented less in the literature. Additionally, common beliefs and social perceptions in the West suggest that non-monogamous relationships are less satisfying, trustworthy, and committed (Conley et al., 2018; Hutzler et al., 2016). Yet, others have found no such evidence of a distinction between these relationship configurations (Conley et al., 2017; Parsons et al., 2012; Rubel & Bogaert, 2015; Wood et al., 2018). To address these inconsistent findings in past studies, the current study presents the first (to our knowledge) meta-analysis of the evidence comparing relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction as a function of relationship orientations (monogamous vs. non-monogamous). In addition, we explored relevant moderators for which data are available at the point of extraction (e.g., heterosexual vs LGBTQ samples).

Method

This meta-analytic review was conducted and reported based on the Cochrane methodology (Higgins, 2008). The method and results are presented in accordance with the relevant sections of the *Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses* statement (PRISMA; Page et al., 2021). The protocol detailed below was developed prior to study commencement to guide the systematic search and data extraction. The protocol was not pre-registered.

Search Strategy

A systematic search was conducted in March 2024 and then updated in December 2024 using the following six databases: PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, PsycEXTRA, CINAHL, LGBT+ Source, and SOCIndex. The final search terms were selected based on the single concept of non-monogamy; however, we used a range of relationship-relevant terms in order to ensure all relevant studies were captured. These terms were based on terms used in prior reviews that systematically explored research on consensual non-monogamy (e.g., Haupert et al., 2017; Sizemore & Olmstead, 2017). The exact search terms included: *Polyamorous* OR *Polyamory* OR *Polyfidelitous* OR *Polyfidelity* OR *"Non-monogam*"* OR *"Ethical* non-monogam*"* OR *"Sexual* non-monogam*"* OR *"Consensual* non-monogam*"* OR *CNM* OR *Monogamish* OR *"Open relationship"* OR *"Open marriage"* OR *Swinging* OR "sexual agreement*" OR "relationship agreement*" OR monogam* OR swingers OR "non-exclusive" OR "extra-dyadic." Further, a search of included article reference lists was also undertaken to expand the evidence base beyond studies included through databases, and prominent authors in the field were contacted with a call for unpublished data.

Screening and Inclusion Criteria

The search strategy identified 9,172 records, which were exported to Endnote where duplicates were removed ($n = 3{,}985$). All remaining records ($n = 5{,}184$) were uploaded to Covidence (www.covidence.org) where the titles and abstracts were screened for relevance to the aims of the paper by two independent researchers. This process determined which records would proceed to full-text screening. To be eligible for the meta-analysis, the studies described in articles had to meet the following criteria: (a) include participants that identified as having at least one romantic and/or sexual partner; (b) include a self-report measures of relationship orientation (e.g., monogamous or non-monogamous); (c) include a measure of relationship satisfaction and/or sexual satisfaction (but not related constructs such as length or relationship or satisfaction with relationship agreements); (d) report quantitative data that would allow the calculation of an effect size estimate of differences between monogamous and non-monogamous participants on the measure of relationship satisfaction and/or sexual satisfaction, and (e) be available in English.

Data Extraction

Sample Information

Information was extracted from each eligible study, including the sample size, relationship orientation (monogamous or non-monogamous), and if specified, the type of non-monogamous agreement (e.g., polyamorous, open, monogamish, swinging). For the purposes of the moderation analysis, sample characteristics pertaining to sexuality were extracted (e.g., heterosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual, etc.), as were specifics about the dimension of relationship and sexual satisfaction (e.g., trust vs intimacy).

Effect Size Data

The way relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction were operationalized in each study was extracted (e.g., constructs, scale measurements), as was the information necessary to compute between-group effect sizes (e.g., *M, SD*, and *n* for each group, or where appropriate, *t*-statistic, *f*-statistic, or confidence intervals). Extracted sub-group coefficients (e.g., *M, SD, n*) were first standardized into Hedge's *g* effect size estimates. These effect sizes were interpreted based on suggestions by Cohen (1992), whereby 0.2, 0.5, and 0.8 represent small, moderate, and large effect sizes, respectively.

Data Synthesis

Effects were coded such that positive values reflected an effect in the direction *against* the monogamous assumption (i.e., that monogamy is associated with higher levels of sexual and

relationship satisfaction). Thus, a positive Hedge's *g* reflects an effect in which non-monogamous individuals report *higher* levels of satisfaction than monogamous individuals, and a negative Hedge's *g* reflects an effect in which non-monogamous individuals report *lower* levels of satisfaction than monogamous individuals. Effect sizes and their standard errors were then imported into IBM SPSS (v.29), and were meta-analyzed using random-effects modeling with restricted maximum likelihood estimation to ascertain both overall effects and subgroup moderation effects.

When measures of relationship or sexual satisfaction were theoretically similar, or if studies reported two or more group comparisons (e.g., monogamous vs. open relationships, and monogamous vs. polyamorous relationships), effect sizes were combined in order to calculate a single, independent effect size per study, as suggested by Borenstein et al. (2014).

Quality Assessment of Individual Studies

The AXIS appraisal tool is designed to assess study quality for cross-sectional research (Downes et al., 2016). There are 20 criteria (e.g., "Was the study design appropriate for the stated aim?") rated as either 1 (*yes*) or 0 (*no*). Each criterion is sum scored within studies, resulting in a total quality score out of 20 whereby higher scores are indicative of higher quality. In line with the authors' recommendations, no studies were excluded based on these scores, and instead the range of evidence quality was considered in the synthesis of the evidence.

Heterogeneity

Heterogeneity was assessed for all main analyses and subgroup analyses, using Cochrane's *Q* (to test the presence of heterogeneity) and I^2 statistics (to assess the proportion of between-study heterogeneity – values of 25%, 50%, and 75% indicate the presence of small, moderate, and large degrees of heterogeneity, respectively (Huedo-Medina et al., 2006).

Publication Bias Analysis

Publication bias across meta-analyses was examined through a visual assessment of funnel plots of effect estimates (*g*) by standard errors. Asymmetry of points in these plots reflect the possibility of publication bias. We also used Egger's test which regresses the standardized effect sizes on their precisions (in the absence of publication bias, the regression intercept is expected to be zero [i.e., non-significant]; Rothstein et al., 2005). In addition, Duval and Tweedie's (2000) trim-and-fill method was used to estimate the number of imputed studies missing from analyses based on the file-drawer problem (i.e., underreporting of data, typically non-significant findings, or unpublished thesis data). Finally, *p*-curve analyses were conducted to examine the robustness of the distribution of significant results (i.e., to examine the potential of publication bias or *p*-hacking; Simonsohn et al., 2014).

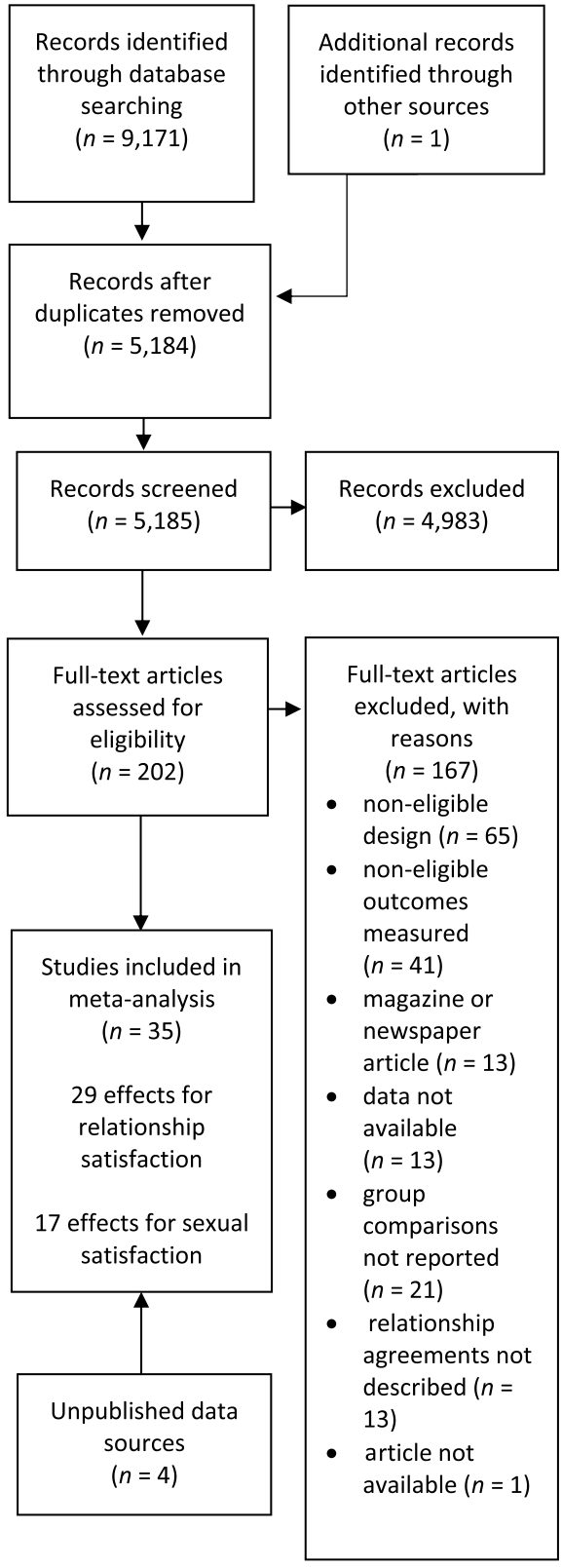

Figure 1. Flowchart for study selection process (based on PRISMA statement; Page et al., 2021).

Results

The systematic search and study selection process (illustrated in Figure 1) identified 32 studies (inclusive of 25 published journal articles, 3 doctoral theses, and 4 unpublished data files or supplementary materials) that explored relevant differences between monogamous and non-monogamous individuals. All records were published between 2007 and 2024, with the majority (59.4%) being published within the last 5 years (i.e., since 2019).

Sample Characteristics

In total 24,489 participants (n_{range} = 104 to 4,248) were included and analyzed across all studies. All studies were reported in English and were conducted in either the United States or Canada (k = 24), Australia (k = 6), Portugal (k = 2), Spain (k = 1), Italy (k = 1), or across multiple countries (k = 1). The sexual orientation and gender identity of participants was relatively diverse across studies. LGBTQ+ samples (k = 12) were the most commonly reported. These consisted of studies sampling gay men (k = 6), cisgender gay or bisexual men (k = 4), members of the whole LGBTQ+ community (k = 2), asexual or aromantic participants (k = 1), cisgender lesbian, gay, or bisexual participants (k = 1), or trans and gender-diverse participants (k = 1). The remaining studies sampled heterosexual or mostly heterosexual participants (k = 9), were equally mixed across LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ participants (k = 7), or did not report on sexual orientation (k = 4). Only one study (Godfrey et al., 2021) sampled people of color, with the remaining studies either not reporting on participant ethnicity (k = 12), or including samples of a majority of White participants (k = 22; percentage of White participants across studies = 59.9% to 92.5%).

Type of Non-Monogamy Relationship Agreements and Satisfaction Constructs

As outlined in Table 1, and among participants who are in relationships, the proportion of non-monogamous participants ranged from 4.0% to 69.9% (M = 34.8%, SD = 16.1%). Within some studies, monogamous participants were compared against multiple non-monogamous relationship agreement types (e.g., polyamorous, open relationships) either separately or collectively, totaling 46 comparisons extracted across the included studies. Monogamous participants were mostly compared with an undifferentiated category of non-monogamous participants due to either the conflation of non-monogamous sub-group types, or the lack of assessing distinct non-monogamous sub-group types (k = 19). This was followed by comparisons made with those in open relationships (k = 11), polyamorous participants (k = 10), monogamish participants (k = 3), and swingers (k = 2).

Meta-Analyses

Across studies, 29 effects explored differences in relationship satisfaction (n = 18,658) and 17 effects explored differences in sexual satisfaction (n = 12,962). Meta-analytical data (e.g., study details, estimated effect sizes) for effects exploring differences in relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction are presented in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. Sub-group analyses were conducted to examine if sample identity characteristics (e.g., heterosexual vs. LGBTQ+ samples) or non-monogamous relationship agreement type (e.g., open relationship vs monogamish) moderated the observed effect sizes (presented in Table 4). Finally, we explored differences in effect sizes across relationship satisfaction dimensions (e.g., intimacy, trust, also in Table 4) among the few studies that differentiated these dimensions.

Relationship Satisfaction: Overall Effect and Subgroup Analyses

Among the analyzed studies, most (k = 19) found no significant differences between monogamous and non-monogamous individuals on relationship satisfaction. Six studies (Bajada et al., 2024; Bricker & Horne, 2007; Fairbrother et al., 2019; Godfrey et al., 2021; Levine et al., 2018; Pereira & Esgalhado, 2021) found that monogamous individuals were significantly more satisfied in their relationships (g's = 0.25 to 1.67), and six studies (Balzarini et al., 2019; Brooks et al., 2022; Kessinger, 2015; LaSala, 2004; Morrison et al., 2013; Shaw et al., 2018) found that non-monogamous individuals were significantly more satisfied in their relationships (g's = 0.25 to 0.79). The overall effect estimate showed no significant differences in relationship satisfaction for non-monogamous individuals compared with monogamous individuals (g = −0.05, 95% CIs [−0.20, 0.10], p = .496; Table 2).

Sub-group analyses (Table 4) indicated that this effect did not significantly differ as a function of the sample's identity characteristics (p = .113), with both heterosexual and LGBTQ+ samples having non-significant aggregate effect sizes. Subgroup analyses also indicated that this overall effect did not significantly differ as a function of the non-monogamous relationship agreement type (p = .091). An inspection of within-subgroup effects revealed that "monogamish" relationships (k = 3; g = 0.22, 95% CIs [0.04, 0.40], p = .015) were rated as significantly more satisfactory compared to monogamous relationships across a small pool of studies and with a small effect size.

Most studies operationalized relationship satisfaction simply as a homogenous construct of "satisfaction." However, a small number of studies reported multi-dimensional versions of satisfaction (sometimes considered to be facets of the higher order construct called *relationship quality*). Specifically, some studies included measures of commitment (k = 7), intimacy (k = 5), passion (k = 5), and trust (k = 5). Subgroup analyses revealed no significant differences across effect sizes between different satisfaction sub-dimensions (p = .460; Table 4). At the within-subgroup level, non-monogamous individuals reported significantly higher levels of trust (an aspect of multidimensional relationship satisfaction) compared with monogamous individuals (k = 5; g = 0.12, 95% CIs [0.001, 0.24]), yielding a weak effect size. There were no significant differences between monogamous and non-monogamous individuals on the other aspects of multidimensional relationship satisfaction (i.e., commitment, intimacy, and passion).

Sexual Satisfaction: Overall Effect and Subgroup Analyses

Across the meta-analyzed studies for sexual satisfaction, most (k = 11) were again found to not significantly differ between monogamous and non-monogamous individuals. For the remaining six studies, two (Bricker & Horne, 2007; Levine et al., 2018) found that monogamous individuals reported higher levels of sexual satisfaction (g's = −0.35 to −0.48), and four studies (Anderson, Hinton, et al., 2025; Conley et al., 2017, 2018; Murphy et al., 2021) found that non-monogamous individuals reported higher levels of sexual satisfaction (g's = 0.18 to 0.65). Again, the overall effect estimate for the differences in sexual satisfaction between

Table 1. Description of study characteristics for articles included in meta-analyses (n = 24,086).

Study (Year)	Sample Size	Article Type	Country	M_{Age} (years)	Gender (majority)	Sexuality (majority)	Ethnicity (majority)	% CNM participants[d]	Quality Assessment
Anderson, Hinton, et al. (2025)	504	Unpub.	Australia	39	69.6% cisgender women/men	100% LGBQ+	Majority White (% unreported)	27.6%	N/A[c]
Bajada et al. (2024)	136	Unpub.	Australia	38	92% men	68% gay	–[a]	44.1%	N/A[c]
Balzarini et al. (2019)	2,122	Jour.	USA & Canada	34	62% women	51% heterosexual	85% White	56.4%	16
Bricker and Horne (2007)	179	Jour.	USA & Canada	37	100% men	100% gay	86% White	26.3%	15
Brooks et al. (2022)	555	Jour.	USA	32	55% women	100% heterosexual	80% White	36.4%	16
Conley et al. (2017)	4,248	Jour.	USA	39	63% women	100% heterosexual	83% White	29.0%	12
Conley et al. (2018) - Study 2	1,687	Jour.	USA	35	59% women	Mixed (% unreported)	72% White	30.2%	12
Fairbrother et al. (2019)	1,173	Jour.	Canada	47	50% women	–[a]	83% White	4.2%	15
Fleckenstein and Cox (2015)	571	Jour.	USA	64	49% women	85% heterosexual	–[a]	40.5%	13
Garner et al. (2019)	291	Jour.	USA	39	69% women	–[a]	–[a]	51.5%	16
Grov et al. (2014)	94	Jour.	USA	41	100% men	100% gay	–[a]	10.6%	19
Godfrey et al. (2021)	338	Jour.	USA	21	91% men	72% gay	33% Black and 32% Hispanic	17.2%	17
Hinton et al. (2024)	481	Unpub.	Australia	37	72% cisgender women/men	100% LGBQ+	-[a]	20.6%	N/A[c]
Hinton et al. (2019)	118	Unpub.	Australia	40	95% men	93% gay	–[a]	33.1%	N/A[c]
Hosking (2013)	229	Jour.	Australia	–[a]	100% men	100% gay	–[a]	44.1%	12
Hosking (2014)	772	Jour.	Australia	37	100% men	100% gay	88% White	69.9%	15
Kessinger (2015)	67	Thesis	USA	33	100% men	100% gay	59.7% White	25.4%	15
Kushnir (2020)	372	Thes.	USA	–[a]	79% women	–[a]	90% White	27.7%	18
LaSala (2004)	242	Jour.	USA	43	100% men	100% gay	88% White	39.7%	16
Lecuona et al. (2021)	372	Jour.	Spain	23	71% women	54% heterosexual	–[a]	55.4%	20
Levine et al. (2018)	2,093	Jour.	USA	39	50% women	94% heterosexual	69% White	4.0%	13
Ma et al. (2024)	104	Jour.	USA	29	Majority women[b]	100% asexual/ aromantic	71% White	34.4%	13
Mitchell et al. (2020)	449	Jour.	USA	23	80% women	80% heterosexual	82% White	28.3%	17
Mogilski et al. (2017)	199	Jour.	USA	27	65% women	55% heterosexual	89% White	38.2%	14
Morrison et al. (2013)	284	Jour.	Canada	30	75% women	53% bisexual	Majority White (% unreported)	67.2%	15
Murphy et al. (2021)	233	Jour.	USA	–[a]	61% women	55% LGBQ+	–[a]	66.5%	20
Parsons et al. (2012)	260	Jour.	USA	38	100% men	100% gay	60% White	34.6%	14
Pereira and Esgalhado (2021)	182	Jour.	Portugal	18	56% women	100% LGBQ+	–[a]	24.2%	15
Perez and Pepping (2024)	162	Jour.	Global	27	76% non-binary	93% LGBQ+	78% White	32.1%	19
Rodrigues et al. (2021)	656	Jour.	Portugal	27	66% women	85% heterosexual	–[a]	15.9%	18
Rogier et al. (2024)	178	Jour.	Italy	29	77% women	–[a]	–[a]	42.7%	15
Séguin et al. (2017)	3,463	Jour.	Canada	28	73% women	74% heterosexual	93% White	20.4%	17
Shaw et al. (2018)	996	Thes.	USA	30	55% women	100% heterosexual	80% White	32.1%	13
Thombre (2021)	331	Thes.	USA	30	61% women	51% LGBQ+	90% White	45.2%	19
Wood et al. (2018)	348	Jour.	USA & Canada	34	50% women	77% heterosexual	75% White	40.8%	13

[a]Not reported within studies. [b]Multiple gender selections were allowed, so exact % unknown. [c]Quality assessment was not performed on unpublished or supplementary materials was the information required to assess quality of information reported in text. [d]% of CNM participants among those in a relationship. LGBQ+ = Lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or with other non-heterosexual sexual orientations. Unpub. = Unpublished data. Jour. = Journal article. Thes. = Thesis.

monogamous and non-monogamous couples was non-significant (g = 0.06, 95% CIs [−0.07, 0.18], p = .393; Table 3), suggesting that non-monogamous individuals were as equally satisfied with their sex lives compared with monogamous individuals. Sub-group analyses indicated that this effect did not differ as a function of the sample identity characteristics (p = .822), where both LGBTQ+ and heterosexual samples showed non-significant effects (Table 4). Similarly, sub-group analyses also indicated that this overall effect did not differ as a function of non-monogamous relationship

Table 2. Effect size estimates for all studies and the overall effect of relationship satisfaction differences between monogamous and consensually non-monogamous individuals (k = 29, *n* = 18,658).

			Effect Sizes				Heterogeneity		
Study (Year)	Sampling Characteristics	Agreement Type	Hedge's *g*	95% CI	*z*	*p*	*Q*	*p*	I^2(%)
Anderson, Hinton, et al. (2025)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.11	−0.30, 0.09	−1.06	.289			
Bajada et al. (2024)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.04	−0.37, 0.30	−0.21	.837			
Balzarini et al. (2019)	**Mixed**	**Polyamorous**	**0.25**	**0.16, 0.35**	**5.08**	**<.001**			
Bricker and Horne (2007)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**−0.39**	**-0.73, −0.06**	**−2.32**	**.020**			
Brooks et al. (2022)	**Heterosexual**	**Open relationship**	**0.34**	**0.16, 0.51**	**3.74**	**<.001**			
Conley et al. (2017)	Heterosexual	CNM	0.05	−0.05, 0.15	1.04	.298			
Conley et al. (2018) - Study 2	Mixed	CNM	0.02	−0.07, 0.12	0.48	.631			
Fairbrother et al. (2019)	–[a]	**CNM**	**−0.33**	**-0.63, −0.04**	**−2.23**	**.026**			
Fleckenstein and Cox (2015)	Heterosexual	CNM	−0.12	−0.30, 0.06	−1.33	.182			
Garner et al. (2019)	–[a]	CNM	−0.12	−0.35, 0.12	−0.99	.321			
Godfrey et al. (2021)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**−0.32**	**-0.63, 0.002**	**−1.98**	**.048**			
Grov et al. (2014)	LGBTQ	Monogamish	0.44	−0.22, 1.09	1.31	.190			
Hinton et al. (2024)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**−0.25**	**-0.47, −0.03**	**−2.26**	**.024**			
Hinton et al. (2019)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.06	−0.44, 0.31	−0.33	.740			
Hosking (2013)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.10[b]	−0.41, 0.22	−0.61	.540			
Hosking (2014)	LGBTQ	CNM	0.12[b]	−0.05, 0.30	1.36	.175			
Kessinger (2015)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**−0.79**	**-1.35, −0.23**	**−2.77**	**.006**			
Kushnir (2020)	-[a]	Polyamorous	0.17	−0.06, 0.41	1.43	.152			
LaSala (2004)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**0.38**	**0.12, 0.63**	**2.84**	**.004**			
Levine et al. (2018)	**Heterosexual**	**Open relationship**	**−0.28**	**-0.49, −0.06**	**−2.50**	**.012**			
Ma et al. (2024)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.22	−0.65, 0.22	−0.98	.326			
Mogilski et al. (2017)	Mixed	CNM	0.01	−0.29, 0.30	0.04	.968			
Morrison et al. (2013)	**Mixed**	**Polyamorous**	**0.46[b]**	**0.13, 0.79**	**2.71**	**.007**			
Pereira and Esgalhado (2021)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**−1.67**	**-2.04, −1.30**	**−8.77**	**<.001**			
Perez and Pepping (2024)	LGBTQ	CNM	0.01	−0.32, 0.35	0.07	.944			
Séguin et al. (2017)	Heterosexual	CNM	−0.01[b]	−0.13, 0.10	−0.23	.816			
Shaw et al. (2018)	**Heterosexual**	**CNM**	**0.76**	**0.62, 0.89**	**10.79**	**<.001**			
Thombre (2021)	Mixed	CNM	0.08[b]	−0.19, 0.35	0.57	.568			
Wood et al. (2018)	Heterosexual	CNM	−0.14	−0.36, 0.07	−1.30	.194			
Overall Effect			−0.06	−0.21, 0.09	−0.76	.445	267.30	<.001	93.8

CI = confidence intervals. CNM = consensually non-monogamous. "Mixed" samples = samples with approximately equal distributions of heterosexual and LGBTQ participants. [a]Study did not report this. [b]Effect size was created by aggregating effects (e.g., similar measures or across different relationship agreements) within studies. Bold cells represent significant effects (i.e., 95% CIs not including 0).

Table 3. Effect size estimates for all studies and the overall effect of sexual satisfaction differences between monogamous and consensually non-monogamous individuals (k = 17, *n* = 12,962).

			Effect Sizes				Heterogeneity		
Study (Year)	Sampling Characteristics	Agreement Type	Hedge's *g*	95% CI	*z*	*p*	*Q*	*p*	I^2(%)
Anderson, Hinton, et al. (2025)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**0.27**	**0.07, 0.46**	**2.66**	**.008**			
Bajada et al. (2024)	LGBTQ	CNM	0.00	−0.35, 0.35	0.00	.999			
Bricker and Horne (2007)	**Heterosexual**	**CNM**	**−0.48**	**-0.82, −0.15**	**−2.85**	**.004**			
Conley et al. (2018) **- Study 2**	**Mixed**	**CNM**	**0.37**	**0.27, 0.47**	**7.40**	**<.001**			
Conley et al. (2017)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**0.18**	**0.08, 0.27**	**3.50**	**<.001**			
Hinton et al. (2019)	LGBTQ	CNM	0.03	−0.38, 0.44	0.15	.879			
Hosking (2014)	Mixed	CNM	0.03[b]	−0.14, 0.21	0.36	.722			
Lecuona et al. (2021)	Heterosexual	Open relationship	−0.11	−0.32, 0.11	−0.96	.335			
Levine et al. (2018)	**Heterosexual**	**CNM**	**−0.35**	**-0.56, −0.13**	**−3.16**	**.002**			
Mitchell et al. (2020)	Mixed	CNM	0.11[b]	−0.16, 0.39	0.81	.415			
Murphy et al. (2021)	**LGBTQ**	**CNM**	**0.65**	**0.37, 0.92**	**4.63**	**<.001**			
Parsons et al. (2012)	LGBTQ	CNM	−0.21[b]	−0.54, 0.12	−1.24	.215			
Perez and Pepping (2024)	Heterosexual	CNM	0.00	−0.33, 0.33	0.00	.999			
Rodrigues et al. (2021)	–[a]	Polyamorous	−0.14[b]	−0.36, 0.07	−1.32	.187			
Rogier et al. (2024)	Heterosexual	CNM	0.28	−0.01, 0.58	1.89	.059			
Séguin et al. (2017)	Heterosexual	CNM	0.01[b]	−0.11, 0.13	0.18	.855			
Wood et al. (2018)	Heterosexual	CNM	0.12	−0.09, 0.34	1.12	.263			
Overall Effect			0.06	−0.07, 0.18	0.85	.393	93.63	<.001	85.1

CI = confidence intervals. CNM = consensually non-monogamous. "Mixed" samples = samples with approximately equal distributions of heterosexual and LGBTQ participants. [a]Study did not report this. [b]Effect size was created by aggregating effects (e.g., similar measures or across different relationship agreements) within studies. Bold cells represent significant effects (i.e., 95% CIs not including 0).

agreement type ($p = .058$). However, an inspection of the within-subgroup effect sizes outlined in Table 4 suggests that polyamorous ($k = 6$; $g = 0.16$, 95% CIs [0.04, 0.29], $p = .010$) and swinging ($k = 2$; 0.43, 95% CIs [0.15, 0.72], $p = .003$) non-monogamous individuals were significantly more satisfied in their sexual lives compared with their monogamous counterparts, yielding small to moderate effect sizes, respectively. No other within-subgroup effects were significant for other non-monogamous relationship agreement types.

Table 4. Effect size estimates for sub-group moderation analyses as a function of (a) the LGBTQ+ Sampling Characteristics, (b) Relationship Agreement Type, and (c) Relationship satisfaction construct.

		Effect Sizes				Sub-Group Differences	
Moderator	*k*	Hedge's *g*	95% CI	*z*	*p*	*Q*	*p*
Relationship Satisfaction							
Sampling Characteristics ($n = 13{,}018$)						2.51	.113
Heterosexual/Mostly Heterosexual	7	0.09	−0.17, 0.35	0.67	.506		
LGBTQ+	14	−0.21	−0.47, 0.05	−1.57	.310		
Agreement Type ($n = 28{,}424$)						8.02	.091
CNM	16	−0.19	−0.44, 0.06	−1.49	.136		
Monogamish	**3**	**0.22**	**0.04, 0.40**	**2.43**	**.015**		
Open Relationship	9	−0.03	−0.19, 0.13	−0.34	.737		
Polyamorous	8	0.07	−0.09, 0.24	0.86	.388		
Swinging	2	0.05	−0.08, 0.17	0.73	.468		
Satisfaction Dimensions ($n = 21{,}221$)						2.58	.460
Commitment	7	0.02	−0.14, 0.17	0.20	.845		
Intimacy	5	0.37	−0.10, 0.84	1.55	.120		
Passion	5	0.12	−0.20, 0.43	0.71	.475		
Trust	**5**	**0.12**	**0.001, 0.24**	**1.98**	**.047**		
Sexual Satisfaction							
Sampling Characteristics ($n = 10{,}510$)						0.05	.822
Heterosexual/Mostly Heterosexual	6	−0.01	−0.16, 0.15	−0.06	.951		
LGBTQ+	7	−0.03	−0.21, 0.15	−0.35	.725		
Agreement Type ($n = 22{,}892$)						9.11	.058
CNM	8	0.01	−0.21, 0.23	0.11	.916		
Monogamish	2	0.19	−0.13, 0.50	1.17	.242		
Open Relationship	8	−0.03	−0.21, 0.14	−0.37	.711		
Polyamorous	**6**	**0.16**	**0.04, 0.29**	**2.57**	**.010**		
Swinging	**2**	**0.43**	**0.15, 0.72**	**2.99**	**.003**		

CI = confidence intervals. CNM = consensually non-monogamous. Bold cells represent significant effects (i.e., 95% CIs not including 0).

Heterogeneity

All analyses contained significant amounts of heterogeneity in effect sizes, indicated by large Cochran's *Q* values, and confirmed by I^2 statistics (see Tables 2 and 3). High levels of variation in effect sizes are potentially due to true differences between studies, likely driven by differences in construct measurements and other study-specific contextual factors, and may also indicate the potential presence of untested moderating factors (Huedo-Medina et al., 2006).

Publication Bias

Publication bias was examined by inspecting the funnel plot of Hedge's *g* by standard errors estimates for symmetrical distributions. Across all meta-analyses conducted, results revealed little evidence of publication bias (i.e., plot asymmetry). The Egger's tests analyses were all non-significant ($p_{\text{intercept}} < .112$) which suggests that there was no evidence of publication bias at the level of the main or subgroup analyses. In addition, the trim-and-fill method (Duval & Tweedie, 2000) was examined across all analyses, and again indicated no imputed studies biasing the final analyzed effects.

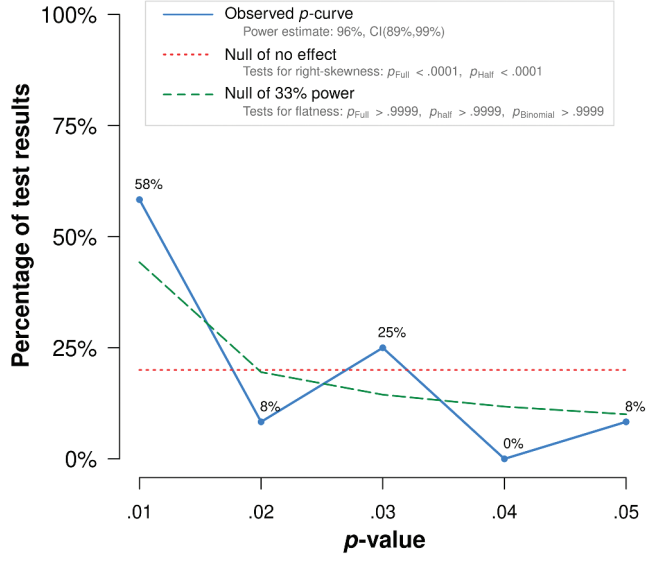

Figure 2. P-curve analysis for relationship satisfaction effects. The observed *p*-curve includes 12 statistically significant ($p < .05$) results, of which 10 are $p < .025$. There were 17 additional results entered but excluded from *p*-curve because they were $p > .05$. This analysis aligns with patterns expected from a non-problematic data set (i.e., more *p*-values are expected < .025 than between .025 and .05). Figure extracted from https://www.p-curve.com/app4/.

P-Curve Analysis

The results of the *p*-curve analysis for both overall effect meta-analyses pertaining to relationship satisfaction (Figure 2) and sexual satisfaction (Figure 3) were significantly skewed to the right. The majority of studies with statistically significant results had *p*-values < .025 (i.e., 80% of studies reporting significant differences on relationship satisfaction, and 100% of studies reporting significant differences on sexual satisfaction), which is inconsistent with the pattern of results that would be expected if this literature had been subjected to questionable research practices such as *p*-hacking. Thus, we can infer that the effects observed in this literature are not likely to be falsely inflated by *p*-hacking practices (for more, see Simonsohn et al., 2014).

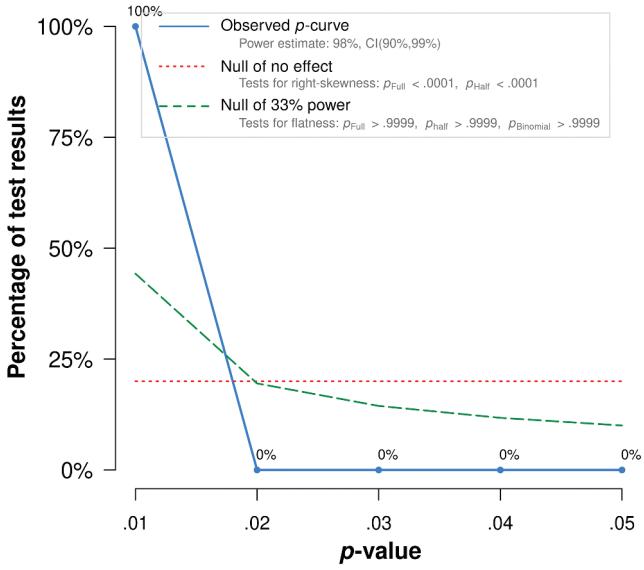

Figure 3. P-curve analysis for sexual satisfaction effects. The observed *p*-curve includes 6 statistically significant ($p < .05$) results, of which 6 were $p < .025$. There were 11 additional results entered but excluded from *p*-curve because they were $p > .05$. This analysis aligns with patterns expected from a non-problematic data set (i.e., more *p*-values are expected < .025 than between .025 and .05). Figure extracted from https://www.p-curve.com/app4/.

Quality Assessment

The results of the quality assessment indicated that studies had generally high quality, with total scores ranging from 12 to 20 ($M = 15.55$, $SD = 2.39$; see Table 1 for full results).

Discussion

This meta-analytic review aimed to synthesize the available quantitative evidence comparing relationship satisfaction or sexual satisfaction levels of individuals in monogamous and non-monogamous relationships. Broadly, this synthesis showed that rates of relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction did not differ across relationship configurations, suggesting that those in non-monogamous relationships are equally satisfied with their relationships and sexual lives as those in monogamous relationships, thus providing no evidence for the monogamy-superiority myth.

Summary of Evidence

Across a number of populations, consistent evidence was found to indicate that monogamous and non-monogamous individuals experience equal levels of relationship and sexual satisfaction. These results confirm and strengthen prior research that demonstrates that non-monogamous individuals lead fulfilling and satisfying lives (Moors et al., 2017; Rubel & Bogaert, 2015) and challenge common perceptions, which proport non-monogamous relationships to be less satisfying and generally as being inferior to monogamous relationships (Conley et al., 2018; Hutzler et al., 2016). Interestingly, these satisfaction levels are equal despite individuals who are in non-monogamous relationships facing higher levels of discrimination (and having to consistently navigate disclosure). It could be that their satisfaction levels counter this discrimination since they likely experience more variety and an increased sense of free will within relationships (Conley et al., 2018). Additionally, literature suggests that the structure of non-monogamous relationships enables individuals to have a wide variety of needs met (often by different partners), whereas monogamous individuals may share this experience in the same way (Moors et al., 2017). Another theme in the research suggests that non-monogamy enables individual growth, autonomy, and development (Aguilar, 2013) and in turn this growth may lead to an increase in relationship and sexual satisfaction (Sheff, 2014). These proposed benefits of non-monogamy may counteract the effects of stigma and discrimination and contribute to the overall level of relational and sexual satisfaction experienced by non-monogamous individuals.

Although it was not a primary aim of this study to explore differences within the type of non-monogamous relationship agreement, we did find some preliminary evidence suggesting increased levels of relationship satisfaction for monogamish individuals (in evidence from a small literature), and increased sexual satisfaction for swingers and polyamorous individuals, in comparison to those in monogamous relationships. Polyamory is often described as an agreement focused on love, openness and communication and may involve any number of partners (Morrison et al., 2013), whereas open relationships are often focused on romantic commitment to one partner and sexual freedom with others (Moors et al., 2017). As such, practices such as polyamory (and swinging, by definition) might result in higher levels of sexual satisfaction as a result of greater openness and needs communication between partners, and potentially by virtue of having more frequent sex or more opportunities to have their sexual needs met (see Balzarini & Muise, 2020; which we note is not the same as quality of sexual satisfaction, see Bondarchuk-McLaughlin & Anderson, 2024). It is also worth noting that the labels individuals use to describe their non-monogamous relationship agreement (e.g., polyamorous, open) can have varied meanings and structure (e.g., consensual rules) for different non-monogamous people. While this review was not intended to provide conceptual clarity among these differing labels (i.e., we grouped these participants according to how the included articles labeled them), it would be beneficial for future research to explore these potential nuances in more depth.

It has been suggested that the very nature of the types of non-monogamous relationships lead individuals to perceive and rate levels of relationship and sexual satisfaction differently (Levine et al., 2018). While it may be useful to use the results of a meta-analysis to draw broad conclusions about the differences between monogamous and non-monogamy, some researchers highlight the differences between types of non-monogamous relationship agreements and suggest it is inappropriate to collapse these agreements into one category (Conley et al., 2017). This same trend was observed in this review – the majority of included and analyzed articles failed to differentiate between types of non-monogamous relationships. Due to the limited size of non-monogamous samples in the published literature, it may have been necessary to collapse different non-monogamous relationship agreements into one category in individual studies. More specifically, the term

"open relationship" is often used in the literature as an umbrella term for all types of consensual non-monogamous relationships. This could be done for ease of reporting, or because this was the way that questions about relationships were asked. We acknowledge that this over simplification of how relationship data has been collected has been carried forward in our synthesis of the literature, and unfortunately this limited our ability to discuss differences in relationship or sexual satisfaction as a function of relationship configurations. Future research should strive to accurately collect and report data on relationship configurations, and also specifically investigate separate types of non-monogamous relationship agreements so as to draw more concrete conclusions about the differences between these agreements and monogamy.

Similarly, the relationship between relationship configurations and relationship or sexual satisfaction did not vary based on the sexuality of the participants (e.g., heterosexual vs LGBTQ). However, it has been noted in the literature that same-sex attracted men in non-monogamous relationships are particularly likely to experience high levels of relationship satisfaction (in comparison to monogamous individuals). Specific to gay men, previous research suggests that engaging in non-monogamous behavior can have a positive effect on individuals and relationships, as it enables a deeper connection to develop based on the open communication of needs (Hickson et al., 1992). Additionally, the normative celebration of sexual opportunity and sexual freedoms within gay communities (Duncan et al., 2015) may increase the likelihood that gay individuals are more satisfied in non-monogamous relationships.

With respect to the sub-dimensions of relationship satisfaction (of which, only a small portion of the included studies observed), non-monogamous individuals rated levels of trust higher than monogamous individuals, and equally on commitment, intimacy, and passion. The very nature of non-monogamous relationships might result in non-monogamous individuals putting extra effort into communication, mutual disclosure and empathic understanding in order to maintain and navigate multiple relationships (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013). These factors could be speculatively considered core components of trust and thus it makes sense that non-monogamous individuals rate highly on these.

Implications

The results of this review have relevance to non-monogamous individuals, their friends and family, and to the healthcare professionals who service them – the latter of which may use these results to inform their work with future non-monogamous clients. Specifically, these results challenge the misconception held by some practitioners that non-monogamy is a sign of distress (Perel, 2007), and may help to reduce the discrimination that non-monogamous individuals experience when seeking help from therapists and other health professionals. Additionally, these results are relevant to researchers and policy makers, who may use these findings to guide future research and policy that affects non-monogamous individuals.

Limitations

Findings from the present review should be interpreted in the context of its limitations. Two of the studies reviewed used non-targeted, nationally representative samples (Fairbrother et al., 2019; Levine et al., 2018); however, the majority of participants included in this review were recruited via social networks and online snowball sampling and were therefore not representative of the population in which they were drawn. Thus, the findings should be generalized with caution. Additionally, it has been hypothesized that non-monogamous participants who self-select into studies are open to sharing their experiences and may therefore be less likely to have had negative experiences (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013). Moreover, the reviewed studies all used self-report measures, which can be biased by self-enhancement, in groups that have experienced stigma and may want to justify their choices. Targeted, convenience sampling is often an effective way of recruiting participants from marginalized groups, such as non-monogamous individuals, who may be difficult to find otherwise (Conley et al., 2017); however, it is recommended that future research attempt to recruit large samples from the general population. This type of recruitment enables for more accurate generalization of results and increases the validity of self-report data, as participants' sexual/relationship identities are not the focus (Rubel & Bogaert, 2015).

Research has shown that different polyamorous configurations, and different partners (i.e., primary vs secondary) may be linked with contrasting levels of satisfaction (Balzarini et al., 2019). This review did not intend to explore further distinctions among articles focusing on polyamory, and given that only a small proportion specifically focused on polyamorous samples, proving robust evidence on further sub-group distinctions at this level would have been limited. As such, this may have missed important information about other partners or relationship configurations. Future researchers are urged to consider all of the possible configurations of non-monogamous relationships to improve on the validity and generalizability of results.

Most studies reviewed did not report results separately for different genders. Some directly reported that there were no significant differences between men and women (e.g., Garner et al., 2019); however, many studies simply did not mention gender differences in their results or discussion. As non-monogamy is a relatively new area of study, and due to the small samples of non-monogamous individuals in many of the studies, gender differences may be something that is considered in future research (and indeed, a move away from binary considerations of gender is a must for future research).

Finally, all studies included in the review were published in English and were predominantly conducted in the United States (or other Western countries). This limits the results as other countries and cultures may have differing perspectives on non-monogamy. It is hoped that as more literature is published on non-monogamy, future reviews can then bring together studies from a broader, more diverse range of populations.

Conclusions

This is the first meta-analytic review to investigate the relationship between relationship configurations and satisfaction (relationship and sexual), and the findings lend support to a growing body of evidence on non-monogamy and well-being. More specifically, this review provides evidence that non-monogamous individuals are likely to experience equal levels of relationship and sexual satisfaction as monogamous individuals, thus providing robust evidence to dispel the monogamy-superiority myth. Much of the stigma and discrimination surrounding non-monogamy is based on the belief that it is inferior to monogamy, and significantly impacts those who choose to practice non-monogamous relationship configurations (Conley et al., 2018; Cox et al., 2013; Hutzler et al., 2016). The results of the present review call into question some of the common misconceptions about non-monogamy and may help reduce the stigma and discrimination experienced by non-monogamous individuals. Additionally, healthcare professionals are urged to use the results of this study to inform their practice with individuals and families who do not fit into mono-normative structures.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Data availability statement

No original data were collected for this project (i.e., project was secondary data analysis). Materials (e.g., code book, meta-analytic data) are available at by contacting the corresponding author.

ORCID

Joel R. Anderson http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3649-2003
Jordan D. X. Hinton http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0922-5620
Alena Bondarchuk-McLaughlin http://orcid.org/0009-0007-0233-1419
Scarlet Rosa http://orcid.org/0009-0007-1360-8727
Kian Jin Tan http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1339-4152
Lily Moor http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3839-1313

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