

Straight Jacket: The Implications of Multidimensional Sexuality for Relationship Quality and Stability

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Abstract: The quality and stability of couple relationships have far-reaching consequences for the well-being of individual partners and patterns of family change. Although much research has compared the quality and stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships, the multidimensional nature of sexuality has received insufficient attention in this scholarship. Individuals in same-sex (different-sex) partnerships do not necessarily identify as gay/lesbian (straight) or report exclusive same-sex (different-sex) attraction—a phenomenon we term “identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency.” By analyzing nationally representative longitudinal data collected between 2017 and 2022, we show that identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is common among U.S. adults, ranging from 2 percent of men in different-sex partnerships to 41 percent of women in same-sex partnerships. Regression results show that such inconsistency is associated with lower relationship quality and higher relationship instability, and these negative ramifications are particularly pronounced among individuals, notably men, in different-sex partnerships. Our findings uncover the implications of multidimensional sexuality for relationship dynamics and outcomes given the rigid institutionalization of different-sex couplehood and the close normative regulation of men’s heterosexuality. Our study highlights the importance of incorporating multiple dimensions of sexuality and their interplays into research on couple relationships and family change.

Keywords: couple; family; masculinity; relationship quality; relationship stability; sexuality

Reproducibility Package: The data analyzed in this article are available from the Stanford Libraries Social Science Data Collection at <https://data.stanford.edu/hcmst2017>. All replication codes for this project are available at <https://osf.io/n32ty/>.

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THE quality and stability of couple relationships have far-reaching consequences for the well-being of individual partners and patterns of family change (Garcia and Umberson 2019; Raley and Sweeney 2020). A long tradition of research has examined relationship quality and stability in different-sex couples (for reviews, see Karney and Bradbury 2020; Sassler 2010; Su and Entwisle 2023). With increasing social and legal recognition of same-sex partnerships in the past two decades, an emerging body of U.S. research has analyzed nationally representative data to compare relationship quality or union dissolution rates between same-sex and different-sex couples¹ (for reviews, see Manning and Joyner 2019; Reczek 2020). Prior studies have focused on how relationship dynamics and outcomes differ by partnership type (i.e., different-sex vs. same-sex partnership; we use “partnership” and “relationship” interchangeably to reduce repetition and enhance readability). Despite providing valuable insights into sexual minority families, these studies have yet to pay attention to sexuality as a multidimensional construct.

A separate body of research has underscored the multidimensionality of sexuality. It highlights that sexuality encompasses at least three distinct dimensions—sexual practice, identity, and attraction (Mize 2016), with substantial “mismatch” (Mize 2015), “discrepancy” (Mize and Doan 2023), or “discordance” (Silva 2018, 2022) across these dimensions. For example, it is not uncommon for individuals in different-sex relationships to identify as gay/lesbian or be sexually attracted to individuals of their own sex (Coleman 1982; Mize and Doan 2023). Meanwhile, those who have a same-sex partner may identify as straight or bisexual or report different-sex attraction (Monk, Ogolsky, and Oswald 2018; Silva 2022).

Bridging the two separate bodies of research, our study analyzes nationally representative data from a 2017–2022 longitudinal survey to examine two important unaddressed questions. First, how does the inconsistency between individuals’ sexual identity/attraction and partnership type, which we term “identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency,” shape their relationship quality and stability? Because sexuality is socially constructed in different ways and normatively regulated to varying degrees across partnership types and between men and women (England, Mishel, and Caudillo 2016; Mize and Manago 2018), our second question asks how the implications of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for relationship quality and stability differ between men and women in same-sex vs. different-sex relationships. Importantly, recognizing the inconsistency between individuals’ sexual identity/attraction and the sex of their partner does not mean that those experiencing the inconsistency are “confused” or not serious about their sexuality; rather, such inconsistency “reflects the lived realities” of multidimensional sexuality (Mize 2015, p. 1069). As we will show in this study, our findings underscore that such inconsistency reflects the tension between the rigid, binary institutionalization of couplehood and the less clear-cut, more flexible sexual identity/attraction. By shedding light on the institutional, structural, and normative roots of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and its consequences for relationship well-being, our study cautions against pathologizing the inconsistency as an individual problem.

Our study makes three contributions to the sociology of families and sexuality. First, we demonstrate the value of conceptualizing and operationalizing sexuality as a multidimensional construct in research on family and couple relationships. Although family sociologists have long acknowledged the complexity of sexuality (Patterson 2000; Umberson et al. 2015), such complexity has yet to be incorporated into research on relationship dynamics and outcomes. As early as more than two decades ago, Patterson (2000, p. 1052) pointed out that research on the relationships of sexual minorities mostly rested on the assumption that sexual identity, attraction, and practices coincided, which was “not always correct.” Echoing Patterson (2000), a growing body of research has called attention to the multidimensional nature of sexuality (e.g., Laumann et al. 1994; Mize 2015, 2016; Silva 2019). Yet, by comparing same-sex and different-sex partnerships, existing studies have focused almost exclusively on how partnership type shapes relationship dynamics and outcomes, which represents “a reductive view” of sexuality (Redlick Holland and Lannutti 2023, p. 792). Responding to Redlick Holland and Lannutti’s (2023, p. 792) recent call for research to “add more richness” to sexuality variables, we go beyond partnership type to also consider individuals’ sexual identity and attraction.

Second, we consider the interplay between multiple dimensions of sexuality and its implications for relationship quality and stability. Growing evidence reveals the prevalence of inconsistency between individuals' sexual identity/attraction and practice (e.g., Laumann et al. 1994; Mize 2015; Mize and Doan 2023; Silva 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022; Silva and Whaley 2018). Existing research has mostly operationalized sexual practice as with whom individuals have had sex (e.g., Mize and Doan 2023; Silva 2018, 2019). Extending this tradition, we focus on a crucial, institutionalized dimension of sexuality—with whom individuals form an intimate partnership—to capture the inconsistency between sexual identity/attraction and partnership type. We provide new national evidence on the prevalence of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and assess the implications of the inconsistency for both relationship quality and stability.

Third, foregrounding the institutionalization perspective (Cherlin 2004), we draw on the notion of precarious sexuality (Mize and Manago 2018) to investigate how the implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for relationship quality and stability differ between men and women in different-sex vs. same-sex couples. As different-sex relationships are institutionalized to a greater degree than same-sex ones (Cherlin 2004), members of different-sex couples may be more strongly obliged by stringent norms to navigate their relationships in rigid ways. This may mean that the less stringent normative expectation placed on individuals in same-sex as opposed to different-sex couples helps buffer the challenges arising from sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency. In addition, men's sexuality—particularly their "straightness"—is less flexible and more precarious than that of women because heteronormative ideals more closely enforce and regulate men's heterosexuality (Mize and Manago 2018). As a result, even a slight deviation from heteronormative expectations could disqualify men from being straight and provoke their status loss (Mize and Manago 2018). This means that compared with women, men's relationship outcomes may be more susceptible to sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency. By testing these theoretical considerations, our study illuminates how the consequence of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is jointly configured by the rigid institutionalization of different-sex couplehood and double standards for men and women in norms surrounding sexuality.

Quality and Stability of Same-Sex vs. Different-Sex Relationships: Existing Research

Previous U.S. research has compared the quality and stability of same-sex vs. different-sex relationships (for reviews, see Biblarz and Savci 2010; Manning and Joyner 2019; Moore and Stambolis-Ruhstorfer 2013; Patterson 2000; Peplau and Fingerhut 2007; Reczek 2020; Redlick Holland and Lannutti 2023). Until relatively recently, however, this body of research mostly relied on small convenience or community samples rather than population-based data. Our review in this section focuses on the research that has used nationally representative U.S. data, which is most relevant and comparable to the focus and scope of our study.

Research on relationship quality found little difference between individuals in same-sex and different-sex partnerships. As noted in Peplau and Fingerhut's (2007, p. 409) review, contrary to the stereotypes that same-sex relationships are dysfunctional, "research finds striking similarities in the reports of love and satisfaction" between same-sex and different-sex couples. Other comprehensive literature reviews have similarly concluded that same-sex and different-sex couples report comparable relationship quality (Moore and Stambolis-Ruhstorfer 2013; Patterson 2000; Reczek 2020). Although most research covered by these reviews drew on non-representative samples, their consistent findings were corroborated by two recent population-based studies. Rosenfeld (2014) analyzed data from the original How Couples Meet and Stay Together (HCMST) survey, which was first fielded in 2009 and tracked individuals in both marital and nonmarital relationships over time. He found no difference in self-reported relationship quality between individuals in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. Joyner, Manning, and Prince (2019) used Add Health data to examine relationship quality among a specific cohort (i.e., 7th to 12th graders in 1994–1995) in 2007–2008 when most of the respondents were in their late 20s and early 30s. They found that both men and women in same-sex and different-sex partnerships enjoyed a similar level of relationship quality, as captured by multiple measures including commitment, relationship satisfaction, and emotional intimacy.

Evidence of relationship stability is less conclusive, but on balance, researchers found greater similarity than difference in the stability of same-sex and different-sex partnerships after controlling for marital status. Rosenfeld (2014) analyzed data from the original HCMST survey and found that, after controlling for whether a relationship was a marriage/marriage-like union, relationship stability differed little between same-sex and different-sex couples. Another study based on the original HCMST survey found that without controlling for marriage/marriage-like partnerships, same-sex relationships were more likely to dissolve than different-sex ones (Allen and Price 2020). Also analyzing the original HCMST survey, Ketcham and Bennett (2019) examined cohabiting and formalized unions (marriage, domestic partnership, or civil union) separately. They found that relationship stability varied little across female same-sex, male same-sex, and different-sex cohabiting couples. Among those in formal unions, dissolution rates were higher for female same-sex couples than for male same-sex and different-sex couples, but we need to interpret the results with caution given the small sample sizes (15 female and 4 male same-sex formal unions). Using 2008–2013 panel data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation, Manning, Brown, and Bart Stykes (2016) also found that same-sex and different-sex cohabiting couples had similar levels of relationship stability, although both were less stable than different-sex married couples. Analyzing Add Health data, Joyner, Manning, and Bogle (2017) tracked intimate relationships from their onset and found that male same-sex partnerships had higher dissolution rates than female same-sex and different-sex partnerships.

In sum, previous research has provided valuable insights into the functioning of same-sex and different-sex relationships. However, most research to date has only considered different-sex and same-sex partnership types but not other dimensions of sexuality. The handful of studies that did consider sexual identity or

attraction used these measures to cross-validate individuals' sexuality, treating cases in which one's sexual identity/attraction and partnership type were inconsistent as potential data errors (e.g., Joyner et al. 2017, 2019). In our study, we argue that sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is substantively meaningful for research on relationship quality and stability.

Multidimensional Sexuality and Inconsistency across Dimensions

In addition to the institutionalized dimension of sexuality captured by the sex composition of a couple, sexuality encompasses at least two other prominent dimensions: sexual identity and sexual attraction (Laumann et al. 1994; Mize 2015, 2016). Sexual identity refers to how individuals identify their membership to socially defined sexual groups, which often include categories such as straight, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and other sexual identities (Silva 2019). Sexual attraction refers to the sex(es) to whom individuals feel sexually attracted (Mize 2016), which can range from exclusive different-sex attraction to exclusive same-sex attraction, as well as varying degrees in between. The multidimensional nature of sexuality underscores the importance of incorporating not only partnership type but also sexual identity and attraction into the study of relationship quality and stability (Manning and Joyner 2019; Reczek 2020; Redlick Holland and Lannutti 2023). Without doing so, research risks “overlook(ing) important sources of diversity among same- and different-sex relationships” (Umberson et al. 2015, p. 100).

Both qualitative evidence and national statistics show substantial inconsistency between individuals' sexual identity/attraction and sexual practice (e.g., Mize 2015; Silva 2019, 2021). Using U.S. data from the 2011 to 2017 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), Silva (2022) estimated that 11.5 percent of straight-identified women and 2.3 percent of straight-identified men had ever had at least one same-sex sexual partner. Analyzing 2001–2008 Add Health data, another study found that although 7.7 percent of women and 2.6 percent of men identified as not 100 percent straight, they did not report any same-sex attraction or ever having sex with someone of their own sex (Silva 2018).

The inconsistency across multiple dimensions of sexuality may well take the form of a discrepancy between individuals' sexual identity/attraction and partnership type, which we examine in this study. Men/women in same-sex relationships may not identify as gay/lesbian or report exclusive same-sex attraction (Monk et al. 2018; Petruzzella, Feinstein, and Lavner 2019). Similarly, men and women in different-sex relationships may not identify as straight or express exclusive different-sex attraction (Coleman 1982; Monk et al. 2018). Such inconsistencies may arise because given normative constraints, some individuals are not able to enact their sexual identity or fulfill their sexual attraction in forming a partnership (Gates 2015). Ultimately, sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is rooted in how intimate relationships are structured, institutionalized, and normalized in society based on a binary understanding of partners' sex pairing. In legislation and popular discourse, individuals are often classified as being in either a different-sex

or a same-sex relationship (Manning and Joyner 2019; Nielsen 2022). In contrast, sexual identity and attraction are not binary; they fall under multiple categories or along a spectrum. Although sexual identity and attraction have some degrees of flexibility, contemporary couplehood tends to be rigidly and narrowly viewed as either a different-sex or a same-sex construct. The institutionalized binary understandings of couplehood often, for example, insufficiently represent and recognize the experiences of individuals with a bisexual identity (Bradford 2004).

To date, few studies have investigated the consequences of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency. Drawing on identity theory, Mize and Doan (2023) posited that sexual identity–behavior inconsistency could provoke identity disconfirmation, thereby undermining individuals’ mental health. Emerging evidence shows that individuals tend to report higher levels of stress, lower self-esteem, and greater depressive symptoms when experiencing inconsistency across multiple dimensions of sexuality (Caplan 2017; Mize and Doan 2023). Extending the insights from mental health to relationship outcomes, we expect sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency to undermine individuals’ perceived relationship quality and heighten the risk of union dissolution.

***Hypothesis 1:** Sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is associated with decreased relationship quality and stability.*

Differences between Men and Women in Same-Sex and Different-Sex Partnerships

In their agenda-setting article on researching same-sex relationships, Umberson et al. (2015) advocated that, to unravel the dynamics and outcomes of couple relationships, researchers should examine four different groups: men in same-sex relationships, men in different-sex relationships, women in same-sex relationships, and women in different-sex relationships. Therefore, further to Hypothesis 1, we consider how the implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for relationship quality and stability differ between men and women in same-sex and different-sex partnerships.

Because same-sex unions are institutionalized to a lesser extent than different-sex ones (Cherlin 2004), same-sex couples may have more leeway in how they navigate their relationships. Although partners in incompletely institutionalized relationships may have more conflicts and higher risks of breakup due to a lack of normative scripts and an increased need for frequent negotiation (Cherlin 1978), this may not always be the case. As a highly institutionalized partnership type, different-sex couplehood is regulated by rigid heteronormative ideals that expect individuals’ sexual identity/attraction to match their “straight” relationship setup (Ward and Schneider 2009). As a result, partners in different-sex couples who deviate from such expectations (e.g., have a non-straight identity or feel same-sex attraction) could be harshly judged and experience considerable relationship strain. In contrast, same-sex couples are afforded greater space to forge their own paths to a satisfying and lasting relationship, given the absence of well-established institutional norms and social scripts governing their intimate lives (Donovan,

Heaphy, and Weeks 2001). Thus, a rigid match between sexual identity/attraction and partnership type may not necessarily be expected of individuals in same-sex partnerships, which suggests that identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency may be less consequential for their relationship quality and stability. We sum up these considerations in Hypothesis 2.

***Hypothesis 2:** The negative implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for relationship quality and stability are more pronounced in different-sex than in same-sex partnerships.*

For those in different-sex partnerships, men’s heterosexuality is more precarious than that of women (Mize and Manago 2018). Given the high status and privilege associated with men’s heterosexuality, the gatekeeping and policing around who qualifies as a “heterosexual man” are particularly intense; men’s heterosexuality is thus more rigidly defined, precarious, and easily lost than women’s heterosexuality (Mize and Manago 2018). In contrast, women’s femininity and heterosexuality carry a lower status and less privilege, which means that they are less likely than men to experience penalties or identity disconfirmation associated with deviating from heterosexual norms (England et al. 2016; Mize and Manago 2018). The double standards for men and women in sexuality norms are corroborated by research showing less harsh judgment and greater social acceptance of women’s than men’s bisexuality (Diamond 2008). Demographic trends also show cohort increases in women, but not men, having sex with same-sex partners and identifying as bisexual (England et al. 2016). The precarity of men’s heterosexuality and the tighter “straight jacket” imposed on men mean that when men’s sexual identity/attraction deviates from their different-sex partnership setup, they tend to face harsher normative judgment, feel more stigmatized, and have more to lose in terms of social status, compared to women in different-sex partnerships. Thus, we propose Hypothesis 3.

***Hypothesis 3:** In different-sex partnerships, sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency undermines relationship quality to a greater extent among men than among women.*

We do not hypothesize differences in relationship stability between men and women in different-sex partnerships. Although we expect sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency to have a greater impact on men than women in different-sex couples, such impact would heighten the risk of union dissolution for not only the man but also the two partners of a couple.

Methods

Data

We use longitudinal data from the new HCMST survey (Rosenfeld, Thomas, and Hausen 2023). The survey was fielded online through the Knowledge Panel, a nationally representative probability-based panel. A sample of 3,510 U.S. adults were first surveyed in 2017 (wave 1) and then followed up in 2020 (wave 2) and 2022 (wave 3). This survey has been used in prior research to investigate relationship

formation and dynamics among U.S. couples (e.g., Rosenfeld and Hausen 2023; Rosenfeld, Thomas, and Hausen 2019; Thomas 2020). The new HCMST survey is uniquely suitable for our study for two reasons. First, it measured multiple dimensions of respondents' sexuality, including sexual identity and attraction, as well as partnership type (i.e., different-sex vs. same-sex), alongside data on relationship quality and stability. Second, the survey oversampled adults who identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, which ensures sufficient sample sizes and statistical power for our analysis. Note that there is also the original HCMST survey, which was first fielded in 2009 (Rosenfeld, Thomas, and Falcon 2018). We do not use the original HCMST survey because it used a yes/no response to the question "Are you yourself gay, lesbian, or bisexual?" without distinguishing one's specific sexual identity. Despite sharing a similar name, the original and new HCMST samples do not overlap (for details, see Rosenfeld et al. 2023).

Sample

The new HCMST survey asked about respondents' partnerships, which broadly encompass marriage, cohabitation, and sexual and romantic relationships. It collected respondents' partnership information in both retrospective and prospective ways. Retrospectively, wave 1 asked unpartnered respondents about their last relationship. Prospectively, wave 1 asked partnered respondents about their current relationship. In follow-up waves, respondents who had a partner during their previous interview were asked if they were still with their partner; if not, they were asked whether they were in a new relationship. For respondents who had no partner when last interviewed, the survey asked whether they were in a relationship now and prospectively tracked the relationship. Throughout our analysis, we exclude 94 respondents without any relationship information across the three waves of data, leaving a sample of 3,416 respondents who reported a total of 3,643 relationships. As described below, we construct three analytical samples to address different research objectives.

In the first sample, the unit of analysis is relationships. We use this sample to describe the population-wide distributions of men's and women's sexual identity, sexual attraction, and identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency in different-sex and same-sex relationships. After dropping 37 relationships with missing data on partnership type, sexual identity, or sexual attraction, we obtain a sample of 3,606 relationships.

In the second sample, which is used to analyze relationship quality, each row represents an individual's current relationship in a given wave. In each wave, respondents were asked to rate the quality of their current relationship. After dropping 129 observations (2 percent) with missing data on the variables used in our analysis of relationship quality, we obtain a sample of 5,705 relationship-waves from 2,875 respondents.

We use the third sample for discrete-time event history analysis of relationship stability, and the unit of analysis is relationship-month (Rosenfeld 2017). After dropping 121 relationships with missing data on the variables used in event history analysis, we obtain a sample of 3,522 relationships reported by 3,307 respondents.

Most respondents ($n = 3,103$; 94 percent) reported only one relationship, 193 respondents reported two, and only 11 respondents reported three. The relationships examined include both retrospective ones surveyed in wave 1 and current and new ones that were prospectively tracked across the survey waves. Retrospective relationships entered the risk set of experiencing breakups when they started. Prospectively tracked relationships were left truncated and we handle left truncation by treating these cases as entering the risk set when they were first observed in the survey (Cleves, Gould, and Marchenko 2016). Relationships exited the risk set at the time of breakup (including divorce and separation). Relationships were right-censored if no breakup was reported by the end of the observation window or when one's partner passed away (Joyner et al. 2017; Ruiz-Vallejo and Boertien 2021). Using survey dates and relationship history information (specific to the month), we structure the data into 147,127 relationship-month observations.

Dependent Variables

We have two dependent variables. The first is *relationship quality*. Respondents were asked: "In general, how would you describe the quality of your relationship with [Partner_Name]?" The response options were 1 (excellent), 2 (good), 3 (fair), 4 (poor), and 5 (very poor). We reverse code the responses such that a higher score on the 1–5 scale indicates better relationship quality. The second dependent variable is *relationship stability*, which is measured through a dummy variable indicating relationship breakup in each month (1 = breakup, 0 = otherwise). There are a total of 647 breakups out of the 3,522 relationships in our sample of 147,127 relationship-month observations.

Key Predictors

Our analysis considers two key predictors. The first captures *sexual identity–partnership inconsistency* (1 = inconsistent, 0 = consistent). The survey measured sexual identity through the question "Do you think of yourself as...?" and respondents were asked to choose one of the following options (original survey wording presented): (1) heterosexual or straight, (2) gay, (3) lesbian, (4) bisexual, and (5) something else (<1 percent reporting this category). This measure has been widely used in population surveys, such as in the NSFG conducted by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. For respondents in different-sex relationships, we assign them a value of 0 if they identified as "heterosexual or straight" and a value of 1 for other scenarios. For respondents in same-sex relationships, we assign them a value of 0 if they identified as "gay" or "lesbian" and a value of 1 for other scenarios.

The second independent variable measures *sexual attraction–partnership inconsistency* (1 = inconsistent, 0 = consistent). For sexual attraction, women (men) respondents were asked to choose one of the following options (original survey wording presented): (1) I am sexually attracted only to men (women); (2) I am mostly sexually attracted to men (women), less often sexually attracted to women (men); (3) I am equally sexually attracted to men and women; (4) I am mostly sexually attracted to women (men), less often sexually attracted to men (women);

and (5) I am sexually attracted only to women (men). Similar to the sexual identity measure, the sexual attraction measure was adapted from existing surveys such as the NSFG. Based on respondents' sexual attraction and their own sex, we create a five-category variable, indicating whether they reported (1) only different-sex attraction, (2) mostly different-sex attraction, (3) equal attraction to men and women, (4) mostly same-sex attraction, or (5) only same-sex attraction. Respondents in different-sex partnerships are then assigned a value of 0 if they reported different-sex attraction only and a value of 1 for other scenarios. Those in same-sex partnerships are assigned a value of 0 if they were sexually attracted to individuals of their own sex only and a value of 1 for other scenarios.

Control Variables

One of our analytic goals is to examine whether the implications of sexual identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency vary across men and women in different-sex vs. same-sex partnerships. Thus, we control for respondents' sex and partnership type in all regression models. Respondents' sex is measured through a dummy variable that distinguishes between women (= 1) and men (= 0). In the new HCMST survey, an instruction was presented to respondents: "If you have several romantic or sexual partners, please name the partner who is most important to you." Thus, partnerships included in the survey only captured dyadic relationships between respondents and their most important partner. Following previous research (e.g., Joyner et al. 2017, 2019; Ketcham and Bennett 2019; Manning et al. 2016; Rosenfeld 2014), we jointly consider a respondent's and their partner's sex (woman and man) to measure partnership type through a dummy variable that distinguishes between same-sex (= 1) and different-sex (= 0) partnerships. Our measure reflects institutionalized understandings of partnership types, although individuals may well have or self-define relationship experiences beyond a binary categorization. Umberson et al. (2015) cautioned that the misreporting of one's own or partner's sex could introduce classification errors in identifying same-sex couples. As recommended by Julian, Manning, and Kamp Dush (2024) and Ruiz-Vallejo and Boertien (2021), we have verified that all respondents in same-sex partnerships answered "yes" to the question, "Is [Partner_Name] the same sex as you?"

Our regression analysis also controls for sociodemographic characteristics that may shape relationship quality and stability (Joyner et al. 2019; Rosenfeld 2017), including relationship duration and its squared term, relationship status (dating, cohabiting, and married), respondents' age and its squared term, respondents' race (non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, and other), and whether respondents had a bachelor's degree or above (1 = yes, 0 = no). All these sociodemographic controls, except for race, are time-varying variables. In keeping with recommended practice (Joyner et al. 2017; Umberson et al. 2015), we measure relationship duration as the total length of time that had elapsed since a respondent's relationship with a given partner began (not just, for example, since they got married). Finally, when modeling relationship quality using relationship-wave data, we additionally control for the survey waves (2017, 2020, and 2022). When modeling relationship stability, we combine retrospective and prospective data to

take advantage of a larger sample, and we include a dummy control variable to distinguish between relationships that were retrospectively surveyed in wave 1 (= 1) and those that were prospectively tracked across waves (= 0) (Thomas 2020). We present the descriptive statistics for our dependent, independent, and control variables in the online supplement (Table A1).

Analytic Strategies

First, we conduct descriptive analysis to examine the distribution of men's and women's sexual identity, sexual attraction, and identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. Second, we examine how identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency predicts one's relationship quality and stability. We use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models to predict relationship quality and discrete-time event history regression models with a logit specification to predict relationship breakups. Discrete-time event history analysis is widely used to analyze the risk of event occurrence when time is discrete while accounting for right censoring (Singer and Willett 2003). In our case, time is discrete because it is measured in months. We cluster standard errors at the individual level to account for within-person correlation (Ruiz-Vallejo and Boertien 2021). Third, in investigating how the implications of sexual identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency vary with respondents' sex and partnership type, we further add the three-way interaction (inconsistency \times respondents' sex \times partnership type) and all lower-order two-way interactions between the three variables in the regression models estimated in the second step.

For the descriptive analysis in the first step, we present weighted, nationally representative statistics on multidimensional sexuality and identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency. For the regression analysis in the second and third steps, we present unweighted results in the article, but weighted analysis produced similar results (see Tables A2 and A3 and Figs. A1 and A2 in the online supplement). When the results are substantively similar, unweighted estimates are more efficient, produce correct standard errors, and are therefore preferred over weighted estimates (Winship and Radbill 1994).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

In Table 1, we present the percentage distribution of sexual identity, sexual attraction, and identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency, separately for men and women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. We focus on weighted, nationally representative results in this table, although weighted and unweighted results are substantively similar (for the unweighted results, see Table A4 in the online supplement).

Being in a different-sex (same-sex) partnership does not always reflect how individuals think of their sexual identity. For those in different-sex partnerships, 97.6 percent of men and 95.0 percent of women identify as straight, which means

Table 1: Weighted percentage distribution of sexual identity, sexual attraction, and identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency, separately for men and women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships.

	Men in Different-Sex Partnerships (<i>n</i> = 1,544)	Men in Same-Sex Partnerships (<i>n</i> = 219)	Women in Different-Sex Partnerships (<i>n</i> = 1,716)	Women in Same-Sex Partnerships (<i>n</i> = 127)
Sexual identity				
Gay or lesbian	0.1	88.1	0.1	80.1
Heterosexual or straight	97.6	2.3	95.0	0.0
Bisexual	1.6	9.6	3.5	19.9
Other	0.7	0.0	1.3	0.0
Identity-partnership inconsistency	2.4	11.9	5.0	19.9
Sexual attraction				
Only different-sex attraction	96.8	1.9	89.4	0.0
Mostly different-sex attraction	1.4	0.8	7.0	2.0
Equal attraction to men and women	0.8	3.4	2.4	12.0
Mostly same-sex attraction	0.3	13.3	0.4	26.7
Only same-sex attraction	0.7	80.6	0.9	59.3
Attraction-partnership inconsistency	3.2	19.4	10.6	40.7

Note: Sample size (*n*) refers to the number of relationships.

that 2.4 percent of men and 5.0 percent of women experience sexual identity-partnership inconsistency. This inconsistency is more prevalent among those in same-sex partnerships. Among men in same-sex relationships, 88.1 percent, 2.3 percent, and 9.6 percent identify as gay, straight, and bisexual, respectively. Among women in same-sex relationships, 80.1 percent identify as lesbian and 19.9 percent identify as bisexual. Taken together, for 11.9 percent of men and 19.9 percent of women in same-sex partnerships, their sexual identity is inconsistent with their partnership type.

Being in a different-sex (same-sex) relationship does not always mean that individuals feel exclusive different-sex (same-sex) attraction. Among those in different-sex relationships, 96.8 percent of men and 89.4 percent of women report different-sex attraction only, with the rest, 3.2 percent of men and 10.6 percent of women, perceiving at least some degree of same-sex attraction. In other words, for 3.2 percent of men and 10.6 percent of women in different-sex couples, their sexual attraction is inconsistent with their partnership type. In same-sex relationships, 80.6 percent of men and 59.3 percent of women are sexually attracted to individuals of their own sex only. Despite being mostly attracted to the same sex, 13.3 percent of men and 26.7 percent of women in same-sex relationships feel some degree of different-sex attraction; another 3.4 percent of the men and 12.0 percent of the women are equally attracted to men and women; and 2.0–2.7 percent of those with a same-sex partner report mostly or only different-sex attraction. Overall, sexual attraction-partnership inconsistency is observed among 19.4 percent of men and as high as 40.7 percent of women in same-sex couples.

In sum, Table 1 shows that sexual identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency is higher in same-sex than in different-sex partnerships and is higher among women

Table 2: OLS regression models predicting relationship quality.

	Model 1	Model 2
Identity–partnership inconsistency (reference = no)	−0.189* (0.052)	
Attraction–partnership inconsistency (reference = no)		−0.221* (0.046)
Same-sex partnership (reference = different-sex)	0.021 (0.046)	0.041 (0.046)

Note: Robust standard errors (clustered at the individual level) are in parentheses. $N = 5,705$ relationship-waves. Both models control for respondents' sex, relationship duration and its squared term, relationship status, age and its squared term, race, education, and survey year (for full model results, see Table A5 in the online supplement).

* $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests).

than among men. A particularly high share of women in same-sex partnerships have a sexual identity or attraction that is inconsistent with their partnership type.

Regression Results for Relationship Quality and Stability

In Table 2, we present the coefficients for the variables of key interest from OLS regression models predicting relationship quality (measured on a 1–5 scale) (for full model results, see Table A5 in the online supplement). Holding other variables constant, sexual identity–partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.189-point decrease in individuals' perceived relationship quality ($p < 0.001$). Sexual attraction–partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.221-point reduction in relationship quality ($p < 0.001$).

Table 3 presents the coefficients for the variables of key interest from discrete-time event history models predicting the log odds of breakup in a month (for full model results, see Table A6 in the online supplement). As shown in model 1, holding all covariates constant, the odds for individuals with sexual identity–partnership inconsistency to experience a breakup in a month are 1.7 times as large as the odds for those without such inconsistency ($1.7 = \exp[0.515]$, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, according to model 2, the odds of breakup in a month for individuals with sexual attraction–partnership inconsistency are 1.8 times as large as those for individuals without such inconsistency ($1.8 = \exp[0.605]$, $p < 0.001$). Overall, the results from Tables 2 and 3 support Hypothesis 1 that sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is associated with decreased relationship quality and stability.

In the online supplement (Table A7), we sequentially add sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and partnership type into the models to examine whether including one variable would change the coefficient for the other. In predicting relationship quality, including the inconsistency measure does not change the statistical significance of the coefficient for partnership type and vice versa. In predicting breakup, however, after including the inconsistency measure, the coefficient for same-sex partnership is no longer statistically significant (a change from $b = 0.238$, $p < 0.05$ to $b = 0.191$ or 0.114 , $p > 0.10$). Identity/attraction–partnership

Table 3: Discrete-time event history models predicting the log odds of breakup in a month.

	Model 1	Model 2
Identity–partnership inconsistency (reference = no)	0.515* (0.122)	
Attraction–partnership inconsistency (reference = no)		0.605* (0.115)
Same-sex partnership (reference = different-sex)	0.191 (0.120)	0.114 (0.123)

Note: Robust standard errors (clustered at the individual level) are in parentheses. $N = 147, 127$ relationship-months. Both models control for respondents' sex, relationship duration and its squared term, relationship status, age and its squared term, race, education, and retrospectively surveyed relationship (for full model results, see Table A6 in the online supplement).

* $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests).

inconsistency helps explain the potentially greater instability of same-sex relationships, because individuals in same-sex relationships are more likely than those in different-sex ones to experience such inconsistency (Table 1) and the inconsistency is associated with greater risks of breakup (Table 3). When both the partnership type and inconsistency measures are included, only the inconsistency, but not the partnership type, measure is statistically significant (Tables 2 and 3). Putting the substantive importance of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency into perspective, the sizes of the coefficients for the inconsistency in predicting relationship quality and stability are 2.7–9.0 times as large as the sizes of the coefficients for the partnership type dummy ($2.7 = 0.515/0.191$ based on model 1 in Table 3; $9.0 = 0.189/0.021$ based on model 1 in Table 2). Thus, the results show that the interplay between sexual identity/attraction and partnership type, rather than partnership type alone, plays a crucial role in shaping relationship quality and stability.

Regression Results for Differences between Men and Women in Different-Sex and Same-Sex Partnerships

Next, we examine whether the negative implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency vary across men and women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. To facilitate interpretation (Mize 2019), we graph the average marginal effects (AMEs) of the inconsistency in the article and show the full regression models in the online supplement (Tables A8 and A9). In Figures 1 and 2, we use thinner and thicker error bars to denote 95 percent and 90 percent confidence intervals, respectively. We obtain the AMEs using Stata's *margins* command by holding all other covariates at their observed values.

Figure 1 presents the AMEs of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency on relationship quality. Sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is negatively associated with relationship quality across the board, but in line with Hypothesis 2, statistically significant results are observed only for men and women in different-sex partnerships.

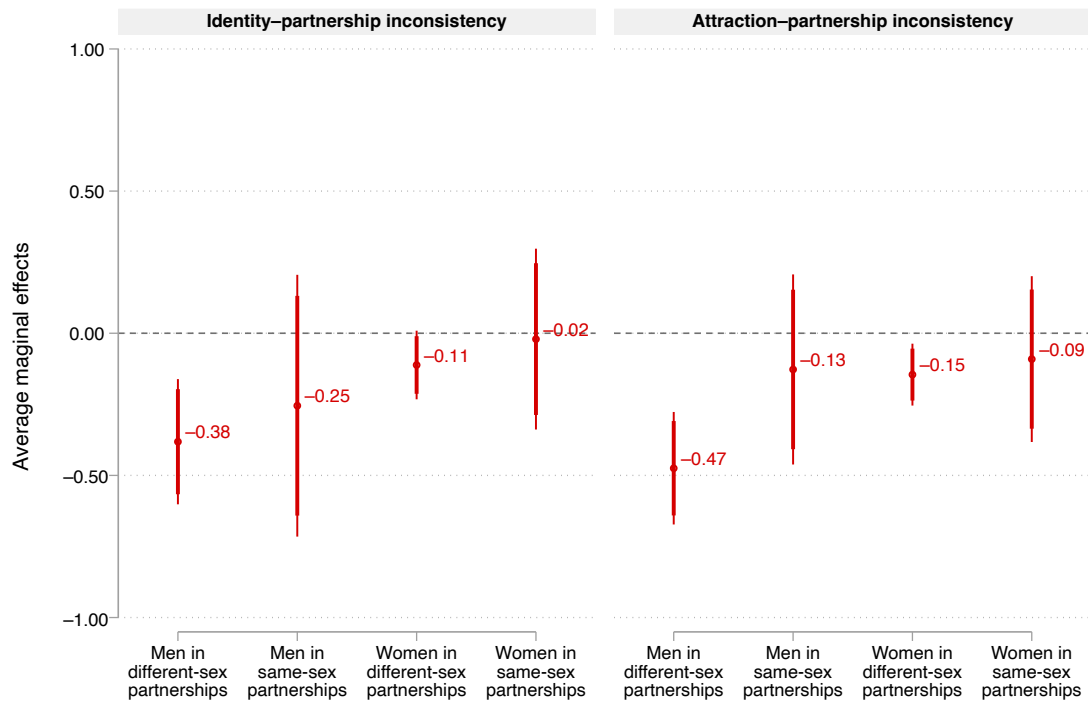


Figure 1: AMEs of identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency on relationship quality, separately for men and women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. Thinner and thicker error bars denote 95 percent and 90 percent confidence intervals, respectively. See Table A8 in the online supplement for the regression models underlying this figure.

The left panel of Figure 1 shows that sexual identity-partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.38-point ($p < 0.01$) and 0.11-point ($p < 0.10$) decrease in relationship quality for men and women in different-sex partnerships, respectively. In contrast, such inconsistency is not associated with a statistically significant reduction in relationship quality for men or women in same-sex partnerships ($p > 0.10$ for both). Here, the lack of statistical significance for men in same-sex relationships could be related to the small sample size (AME = -0.25 , $p > 0.10$). Postestimation tests show that the negative implication of identity-partnership inconsistency is more pronounced among men than among women in different-sex partnerships (AMEs: -0.38 vs. -0.11 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.05$), which supports Hypothesis 3.

The right panel of Figure 1 shows that sexual attraction-partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.47-point ($p < 0.001$) and 0.15-point ($p < 0.01$) reduction in relationship quality for men and women in different-sex partnerships, respectively. In contrast, no statistically significant association is found among men or women in same-sex partnerships ($p > 0.10$ for both). Postestimation tests support Hypothesis 2 by showing that the negative implication of attraction-partnership inconsistency for relationship quality is more pronounced among men in different-sex than in same-sex partnerships (AMEs = -0.47 vs. -0.13 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.10$). Postestimation tests also support Hypothesis 3 by showing that the negative implication of sexual attraction-partnership inconsistency for relationship quality is greater

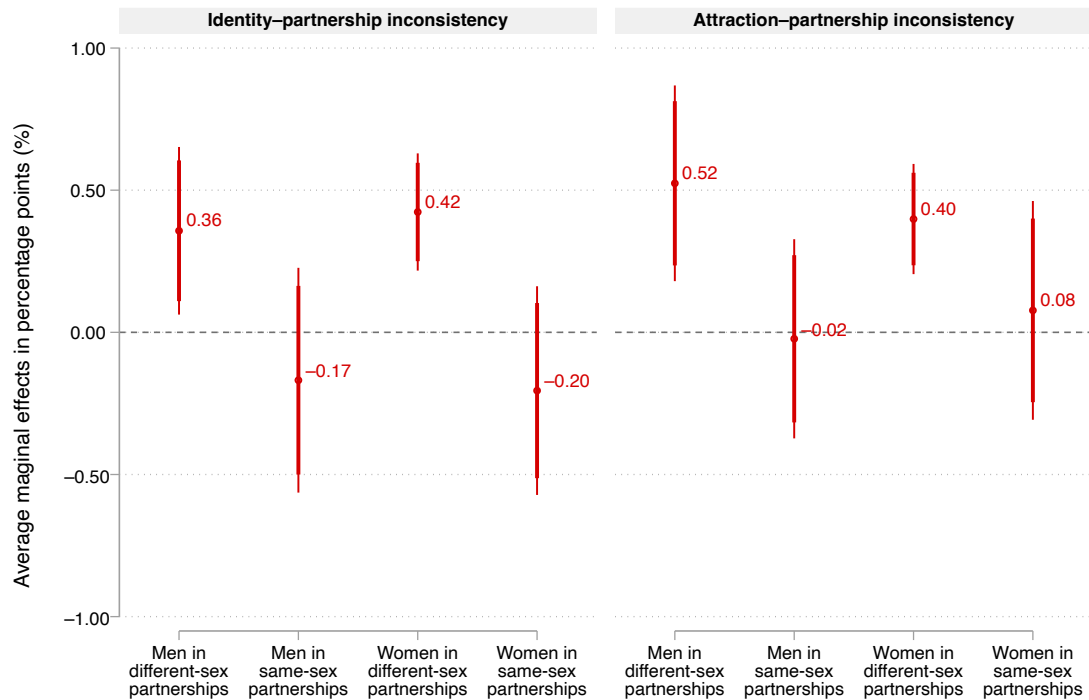


Figure 2: AMEs (in percentage points) of identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency on the chances of breakup in a month, separately for men and women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships. Thinner and thicker error bars denote 95 percent and 90 percent confidence intervals, respectively. See Table A9 in the online supplement for the regression models underlying this figure.

for men than for women in different-sex partnerships (AMEs = -0.47 vs. -0.15 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.01$).

Figure 2 shows the AMEs of identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency on the chances of breakup in a month, with the AMEs presented in the unit of percentage points. Here, the AMEs are small in size because the models predict the chances of experiencing a breakup in a short window (i.e., one month). In Figure 2, the results support Hypothesis 2 by showing that sexual identity/attraction-partnership inconsistency is associated with increased relationship instability only in different-sex, but not same-sex, partnerships.

The left panel of Figure 2 shows that sexual identity-partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.36 ($p < 0.05$) and 0.42 ($p < 0.001$) percentage-point increase in the chances of breakup in a month for men and women in different-sex partnerships, respectively. In contrast, for men and women in same-sex partnerships, the associations between identity-partnership inconsistency and the chances of breakup are not statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, postestimation tests indicate that sexual identity-partnership inconsistency is associated with increased risks of breakup to a greater extent in different-sex than in same-sex partnerships, and this result holds for both men (AMEs: 0.36 vs. -0.17 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.05$) and women (AMEs: 0.42 vs. -0.20 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.01$).

The right panel of Figure 2 shows that sexual attraction–partnership inconsistency is associated with a 0.52 ($p < 0.01$) and 0.40 ($p < 0.001$) percentage-point increase in the chances of breakup in a month for men and women in different-sex partnerships, respectively. In contrast, attraction–partnership inconsistency bears hardly any association with the chances of breakup for men and women in same-sex partnerships ($p > 0.10$ for both). Postestimation tests support Hypothesis 2 by showing that the association between attraction–partnership inconsistency and heightened risks of breakup is more pronounced among men in different-sex than in same-sex partnerships (AMEs: 0.52 vs. -0.02 , $p_{\text{difference}} < 0.05$). Although the corresponding difference between women in different-sex and same-sex partnerships is also sizable (AMEs: 0.40 vs. 0.08), the difference is not statistically significant at the 10 percent level, potentially due to small sample sizes.

Supplementary Analyses

We have conducted a comprehensive set of supplementary analyses within the constraints of the sample size and survey questions asked. As we discuss in this section, these analyses support the robustness of our results and provide further insights into our main findings.

First, we have combined the retrospective and prospective data when analyzing relationship instability because the occurrence of relationship breakup would be too low for analysis if only the prospective data were used. For example, among men in same-sex relationships who experience sexual identity–partnership inconsistency, only one breakup was observed in the prospective data. Supplementary analysis shows that the prevalence of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is similar between retrospectively-surveyed and prospectively-tracked relationships (see Table A10 in the online supplement). In our main analysis, we not only have controlled for relevant covariates (e.g., relationship duration and marital status) to adjust for the potential differences between retrospectively surveyed and prospectively tracked relationships, but we have also included a dummy variable distinguishing retrospectively surveyed relationships (not statistically significant). Further bolstering our confidence in the results for relationship stability, our main analysis of relationship quality using only the prospective data also reveals negative implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency. In further robustness checks, we have examined the interaction terms between identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and the dummy indicator for retrospectively surveyed relationships in predicting breakup, and the interaction terms are not statistically significant (see Table A11 in the online supplement). In addition, only a minority of retrospectively surveyed relationships were long-lasting, and our results are robust to excluding those at the 90th percentile (381 months) or above for relationship duration (see Table A12 and Fig. A3 in the online supplement).

Second, although our main analysis uses dummy variables to measure identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency given sample size constraints, our results are robust to using more detailed categories to capture the inconsistency. In our supplementary analysis, we disaggregate sexual identity–partnership inconsistency into three categories: straight-identified (gay/lesbian-identified) individuals in same-sex

(different-sex) partnerships, bisexual-identified individuals in either type of partnership, and individuals with other sexual identities in either type of partnership. We use a five-category variable ranging from 0 to 4 to measure the distance between sexual attraction and partnership type. For those in different-sex partnerships, for example, if they report different-sex attraction only, the distance score would be 0; if they feel an exclusive same-sex attraction, the distance score would be 4. Consistent with our main findings, Table A13 in the online supplement shows that the detailed types/degrees of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency are generally associated with lower relationship quality and higher odds of breakup (the few non-significant coefficients are likely due to extremely small cell sizes). Notably, a large share of individuals classified as experiencing identity–partnership inconsistency are those who identify as bisexual (Table 1). Although being in a relationship with someone of one’s own sex or a different sex does not necessarily contradict one’s bisexual identity, bisexual-identified individuals have lower relationship quality ($b = -0.173, p < 0.01$) and higher risks of breakup ($b = 0.426, p < 0.01$), compared with straight-identified individuals in different-sex relationships and gay/lesbian-identified individuals in same-sex relationships (see Table A13 in the online supplement).

Third, the extent to which individuals are (able to be) “out” about their sexual identity may shape how identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency relates to their relationship well-being. The new HCMST survey asked respondents who identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual whether “the important people in [their] life” were aware of their identity, and if yes, when those people first became aware of it. We construct a time-varying dummy variable indicating “closeted” gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity (1 = yes, 0 = otherwise) and find that controlling for this variable does not alter our findings (models 1–2 and 5–6 in Table A14 and Fig. A4–A5 in the online supplement). We have also examined whether the negative implications of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency would be more pronounced for those with a “closeted” gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity, but have not found any statistically significant interaction effect (models 3–4 and 7–8 in Table A14 in the online supplement).

Fourth, it is possible that individuals who experience sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency have a low level of sexual activity within their relationship, which undermines their relationship well-being. The new HCMST survey asked respondents who were currently in a relationship how often they had sex with their partner during the past 12 months. All our findings still hold after we control for a dummy variable distinguishing between respondents reporting the lowest frequency of “once a month or less” and those who were more sexually active within their relationship (see Table A15 and Fig. A6 in the online supplement).

Finally, our results are robust to several additional checks. Controlling for a time-varying variable indicating the presence of minor children in the household (similar to Ketcham and Bennett 2019; Manning et al. 2016) makes little difference to our findings (see Table A16 and Figs. A7 and A8 in the online supplement). We have decided not to control for the presence of minor children in the main analysis because such information is not available for retrospectively surveyed relationships. Moreover, considering that relationship quality is an ordinal measure, we have also estimated ordered logit regression models to examine relationship quality, yielding substan-

tively consistent findings (see Table A17 in the online supplement). In this case, we focus on the OLS regression results in the main analysis for ease of interpretation.

Conclusion and Discussion

Sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency is a common but understudied phenomenon. By analyzing nationally representative longitudinal data from the new HCMST survey fielded between 2017 and 2022, we have examined the prevalence of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and its implications for relationship quality and stability. Our study unites two previously separate bodies of research on (1) relationship dynamics and outcomes and (2) the multidimensionality of sexuality (for reviews, see Manning and Joyner 2019; Mize 2015). In doing so, our findings provide novel insights into how the (mis)alignment of multiple dimensions of sexuality may shape couple relationships and patterns of family change, as discussed below.

Our descriptive findings uncover a non-negligible and previously hidden population of U.S. adults in different-sex partnerships who do not identify as straight or report exclusive different-sex attraction, as well as a sizable proportion of individuals in same-sex partnerships who do not identify as gay/lesbian or report exclusive same-sex attraction. Our national statistics show that the prevalence of sexual identity–partnership inconsistency ranges from 2 percent of men and 5 percent of women in different-sex partnerships to 12 percent of men and 20 percent of women in same-sex partnerships. The prevalence of sexual attraction–partnership inconsistency is even higher, ranging from 3 percent of men and 11 percent of women in different-sex couples to 19 percent of men and 41 percent of women in same-sex couples. The nontrivial prevalence of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency underscores the critical need to go beyond a limited focus on partnership type and incorporate various dimensions of sexuality, as well as their interplays, into research on couple relationships and family change.

Building on our descriptive results, we have investigated the implications of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for relationship quality and stability—two key indicators of relationship well-being (Cao et al. 2017). Our findings show that such inconsistency is associated with a lower level of relationship quality and a higher level of relationship instability. We further reveal that the negative implications of identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency are unevenly felt by men and women in different-sex vs. same-sex partnerships. For relationship quality, the implications are particularly pronounced among individuals, notably men, in different-sex couples. For relationship stability, inconsistency does not bear statistically significant associations with the risk of union dissolution in same-sex relationships, but it is associated with heightened risks of union dissolution in different-sex relationships, similarly for men and women.

Our findings underscore the value of incorporating an institutional lens into understanding the implications of multidimensional sexuality. First, sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency arises from the institutionalized binary construct of different-sex and same-sex couplehood. Although sexual identity and attraction are widely understood as multi-category or continuous constructs,

a dichotomized classification of intimate partnerships as either different-sex or same-sex ones is entrenched in both legislation (e.g., the Supreme Court extended the legal rights of marriage to same-sex couples nationwide in 2015) and popular discourse (Nielsen 2022). Second, within this binary frame, different-sex partnerships are institutionalized to a greater extent than same-sex ones (Cherlin 2004). As a result, partners of different-sex couples tend to be more closely regulated and face greater normative pressure to conform to heteronormative ideals that expect their sexual identity/attraction to match the “straight” setup of their relationships (Ward and Schneider 2009). A recent study found that individuals who identified as gay/lesbian but had different-sex sexual partners suffered from greater mental stress than those who identified as straight but had same-sex partners (Mize and Doan 2023). Our new evidence shows that sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency undermines relationship quality and stability for individuals in different-sex but not same-sex partnerships. Therefore, extending prior research, we show that the inconsistency across multiple dimensions of sexuality shapes not only individual but also relationship well-being.

Our study builds on the notion of precarious sexuality (Mize and Manago 2018) and provides novel evidence for its consequences. As men’s heterosexuality confers high symbolic status and privilege, it is heavily policed and easily lost (Mize and Manago 2018). Given the close normative regulation of heteronormative masculinity, coupled with the rigid institutionalization of different-sex couplehood, men in different-sex couples are caught in a tight “straight jacket.” Thus, an inconsistency between men’s sexual identity/attraction and their different-sex partnership presents a great risk of status loss, which can trigger a high level of stress that impairs their relationship quality. As a result of the double standards for men and women in sexuality norms, sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency plays a prominent role in undermining relationship quality for men, more so than for women, in different-sex relationships.

Multidimensional sexuality and its impact on relationship stability also have far-reaching implications for patterns of family change. As sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency heightens the risk of breakup for different-sex (but not same-sex) couples, we bring to the fore the inconsistency as a largely under-recognized but crucial driver of union dissolution (Raley and Sweeney 2020). Following an “inconsistency-prompted” breakup, individuals may seek to establish new relationships that align with their sexual identity/attraction, which encourages future research to also examine the role of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency in shaping repartnering patterns.

Our study is not without limitations. First, our study uncovers the association, rather than causality, between identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency and relationship outcomes, and we are unable to pinpoint the mechanisms underlying the association. Although the inconsistency may causally undermine relationship quality and stability, it is also possible that individuals experiencing the inconsistency suffer from other hardships that also affect their relationship. For example, the inconsistency features prominently in the relationship experiences of individuals with a bisexual identity/attraction, and prior research has shown that bisexual individuals tend to be disadvantaged in the labor market (e.g., lower wages) and

have worse mental health (Mize 2015, 2016). In turn, economic and mental health challenges may undermine bisexual individuals' relationship quality and stability. It is a major task for future research to identify and test potential mechanisms that help explain the findings of our study. Second, in Figures 1 and 2, the AMEs of sexual identity/attraction–partnership inconsistency for men and women in same-sex relationships have wide confidence intervals and do not reach statistical significance. We recognize that although the new HCMST survey oversampled sexual minorities, the sample size for same-sex couples is still relatively small (as shown in Table 1). To better understand the implications of multidimensional sexuality and potential inconsistencies across the dimensions, future research needs to collect larger samples of sexual minority couples. Third, although an emerging body of research has drawn attention to sexual fluidity (e.g., Diamond 2008; Hu and Denier 2023; Mittleman 2023), we were unable to capture changes in sexual identity/attraction due to data constraints. The existence of sexual fluidity means that the (in)consistency between individuals' sexual identity/attraction and partnership type is subject to change. We call for longitudinal surveys to collect time-varying data on respondents' multidimensional sexuality. Finally, we only have information on the respondents' but not their partners' sexual identity/attraction. If appropriate data become available, future research could investigate how the interplays between partners' multidimensional sexuality shape relationship outcomes.

Notwithstanding its limitations, our study illustrates the value of the cross-fertilization between the sociology of families and the sociology of sexuality. Despite increasing social and legal recognition of same-sex partnerships in the United States and across many countries (Gates 2015), our findings suggest that the institutionalization of different-sex couplehood and the social regulation of heteronormative masculinity continue to play powerful roles in shaping the relationship dynamics and outcomes of individuals caught in the “straight jacket.” In this sense, the normalization of same-sex unions may contribute to rather than undermine the institutionalization of a binary understanding of couple relationships (Cherlin 2020). In sum, our study highlights the necessity of mainstreaming multidimensional sexuality into research on couple relationships and family change.

Note

- 1 Due to data limitations, this study focuses on sexuality and individuals' and their partner's sex rather than gender identity. The survey data we used did not capture sex beyond the male–female binary. Therefore, we follow a large body of existing research to compare women and men in different-sex and same-sex couples (for reviews, see Manning and Joyner 2019; Umberson et al. 2015). Although this operationalization does not fully capture people's lived experiences or diverse ways of “doing” intimacy, it reflects institutionalized understandings of sexuality and couple relationships.

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